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STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON LITHUANIAN MIGRANTS. SAMOGITIANS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR LANGUAGE VARIETY

Master of Arts Thesis

Joint study programme “Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism”, state code in Lithuania 628Q10001
Study area of Linguistics

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Kaunas, 2017
SUMMARY

Studies have been performed on how the Lithuanian language and its varieties are spoken and maintained by migrants living abroad as well as on how the standard language ideology affects the speakers of regional varieties in Lithuania. However, what is lacking, is investigations on whether and how the Lithuanian standard language ideology affects regional variety speakers who live in foreign countries. Therefore, this research tries to bridge the existing gap between previous studies by analysing Lithuanian Samogitian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional variety, the main factors that might influence such opinions and whether the standard language ideology is one of these factors. The study analyses audio-recorded and coded in-depth interview responses by 10 Lithuanian Samogitians, currently living in various places in Germany.

The in-depth analysis of the interview responses has shown that in migration, similarly as in Lithuania, people’s attitudes towards Samogitian and the usage of it are governed by the three main factors, namely education, Soviet language policy and the linguistic pressure from society. Qualities such as the pressure to speak the “right” way, the choice to use one variety over the other believing that it is common sense or thinking that the “wrong” variety is of low prestige and those who speak it are incompetent, lead to what is referred to as the ideology of the standard language.

Even though migrants do not feel intense pressure to speak the “right” language and feel much freer to use the variety of their choice when talking to other migrants, they still believe that it is common sense to use the standard in official gatherings, for public speeches or for official events. This observation leads to a conclusion that migrants’ attitudes towards their regional variety are governed by the standard Lithuanian language ideology. However, even though the ideology of the standard still plays a significant role in governing migrants’ attitudes towards the usage of Samogitian, the influence is, for sure, lesser than on those who live in Lithuania.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Studies have been performed on how the Lithuanian language and its varieties are spoken and maintained by migrants living in various countries (Ramonienė 2011-2013) as well as on how the standard language ideology affects the speakers of regional varieties in Lithuania (Vaicekauskienė 2011-2013). However, what is lacking, is investigations on whether and how the Lithuanian standard language ideology affects Lithuanian regional variety speakers who have migrated to foreign countries. Therefore, this thesis tries to bridge the gap between these studies by performing a small-scale research on Lithuanian Samogitians living in Germany and their attitudes towards their regional variety.

1.1. The Scope and Aim of the Thesis

The standard Lithuanian language ideology almost undoubtedly affects speakers’ attitudes towards regional varieties in Lithuania. As current studies suggest, even though consciously people express positive attitudes towards their own or other regional varieties, the subconscious attitudes show significantly worse social value of dialects. Standard language ideology affects people without their actual realisation. This is achieved through radio, television, other media, and, most importantly, at school (Vaicekauskienė 2013).

However, speakers who are not directly exposed to such ideological influences, for example, those living in countries other than Lithuania, might express different attitudes. Considering this, the question arises whether Lithuanian migrants are influenced by the standard language ideology even though they are not affected by it on a daily basis? Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to investigate what are Samogitian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional language variety, what key features play a role in shaping them and whether the standard Lithuanian language ideology is one of those features.
1.2. Objectives and Research Questions

To achieve the aim of the study, the following objectives have been determined:

- Assess the knowledge on linguistic attitudes, standardisation of language, standard language ideology, and the role that the standard language plays in shaping speakers’ attitudes towards language varieties.
- Investigate Samogitian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional language variety.
- Determine what main factors influence their attitudes and whether the standard Lithuanian language ideology is one of those influences.

The thesis is trying to answer the following questions:

1. What variety Samogitians choose to maintain and speak while living in Germany: Samogitian or the standard Lithuanian?
2. What are Samogitian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional language variety?
3. What are the main factors that influence migrants’ attitudes towards their regional variety?
4. Can the standard Lithuanian language ideology be considered as one of those factors?

1.3. Materials and Methods

To achieve the aim of this study, 10 Samogitians, currently living in Germany have been interviewed on their attitudes towards their regional linguistic variety. The responses have been analysed and the main influences, determining their attitudes have been examined. When talking about attitudinal research, Agheyisi and Fishman distinguish three major categories in which studies on language attitudes usually fall:

2. studies, investigating community-wide stereotyped impressions towards languages or particular language varieties (including their speakers, functions and similar). Their focus is mainly social significance of languages and language
varieties. Such studies examine attitudes towards speakers of particular language
varieties or of different languages.

3. studies, investigating the implementation of different types of language attitudes.
   Investigations falling into this category are interesting in dealing with language
   behaviour or behaviour towards language which is usually a result of specific set
   of beliefs and attitudes (1970:141).

   This study embraces the aspects from all groups, that is, it analyses respondents’
   attitudes and, usually stereotypic, impressions towards Samogitian, its usage and
   speakers. To determine the main factors that influence migrants’ attitudes, this thesis
   combines both mentalist and behaviourist approaches (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 140).
   It relies on in-depth analysis of the responses provided by the interviewees which also
   helps to determine some subconscious attitudes. What is more, the study considers the
   data gathered by short observation of the linguistic behaviour of the participants.

1.4. Data collection

The main source for data gathering in the present study is in-depth interviews which serve
as a tool for better understanding of linguistic choices of Lithuanian migrants in Germany
and their attitudes towards their language variety. Interviews provide necessary and
valuable information on the linguistic behaviour of the informants, their attitudes towards
linguistic varieties as well as the most important reasons that influence them. This study
relies on the data gathered through semi-structured interviews with Samogitians currently
living in Germany. Such interview design does not follow a strict arrangement of
questions, it allows to adapt the interview according to the topics that emerge during the
session even though still focusing on the main topic of the interview.

   The interview questions have been divided into two main parts (for full set of
   interview questions see the Appendices B and C). The first major group of questions
   embraces the linguistic behaviour of the informants in Lithuania and is further divided
   into subcategories, such as school, linguistic choices in public and private environments.
   The second group of questions is dedicated for linguistic behaviour of the migrants in
   Germany in public and private discourse.
The data have been gathered during one group interview and six individual conversations. Seven interviews with 10 respondents have been conducted throughout the period from the 4th February to the 10th March. This study is rather small-scale; therefore, 10 respondents is thought to be enough to see the most general tendencies of linguistic attitudes of the Lithuanian migrants. Six respondents have been interviewed face-to-face in Germany and four people have given an interview via online application providing video chats (Skype).

The respondents could choose the variety they were more comfortable speaking in. Most of them chose to speak the standard Lithuanian as they knew that the investigator has little knowledge of Samogitian. Even though the participants were told that they can speak their regional variety and were even encouraged to do so, they chose to speak the standard, reasoning that they “want the researcher to understand” them.

In the running text of the study, the interview excerpts are presented in English, as translated by the investigator. At some places where the original is necessary in order to illustrate the pronunciation of the respondent, the excerpt of the interview is also presented along with the English translation. After each example, in the brackets, the information about the respondent is presented: the gender and the age group to which the interviewee belongs. The full transcripts of the interviews in the original language are presented in the Appendix D.

The data have been analysed using the Maxqda software. It is a software for qualitative, quantitative and mixed research. When working with this program, a researcher is allowed to codify and classify data, make notes and later see it in one place. After the data were codified it is easy to compare the responses of the participants, see whether they share similar attitudes, and to determine the main influences on their opinions. The software also allows to export necessary data in a variety of formats.

1.5. Information About Participants

The sampling frame of the current study includes Lithuanian Samogitians that are currently living in Germany. The main criteria for the selection of respondents were the following: the prospective respondents were expected to be Samogitians and have attended school in Lithuania. Other criteria, such as age or the length of residency in either
country was not limited in order to achieve two goals. Firstly, to attract as many respondents as possible and secondly, to see the main tendencies between different migrants and be able to compare them.

To gain possible respondents, the Lithuanian Communities in Germany have been contacted via E-Mail asking to provide the contact information of people who might be interested to help. As a result, 10 respondents from different states of Germany, those including Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse, and Rhineland-Palatinate have been interviewed which allows to see the main tendencies among different regions in Germany. Consider the following table which presents the most relevant information about the participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>City of origin</th>
<th>Current place of residency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>Telšiai, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hüttenfeld, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>Telšiai, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hüttenfeld, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>Kuršėnai, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hüttenfeld, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>Rietavas, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hüttenfeld, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R5</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>Plungė, Lithuania</td>
<td>Gerolstein, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R6</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>N. Akmenė, Lithuania</td>
<td>Worms, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R7</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>Telšiai, Lithuania</td>
<td>Berlin, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R8</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>Telšiai, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hamburg, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R9</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>Tauragė, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hamburg, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>Plungė, Lithuania</td>
<td>Hamburg, Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one of the factors influencing the respondents’ attitudes towards their regional variety might be gender, the equal number of both female and male respondents have been interviewed. This allows the investigator to compare the answers by females and males and to determine whether the gender of a respondent might be one of the factors which influences their attitudes. All the participants fall into four main age groups, three respondents represent the age group 30-39 years, the other three fit into the category of the age group 40-49. The age group 60-69 is also represented by three respondents, whereas, one participant falls into the age group 50-59. Such division of the interviewees age group allows the study to achieve a better understanding of the linguistic attitudes of the middle-aged migrants and the main factors that influence them.

The reason why the age group is presented in the study rather than the age itself is because two respondents requested their age not to be displayed publicly. They have,
however, agreed, to be presented as falling into a particular age-group. For this reason, and in order to achieve consistency among all participants, their exact age is not presented, only the age group that they fit into.

Even though the city of origin was not set as one of the most important criteria when choosing respondents, it is also a valuable data for this study. What is more, the place of the current residency is also important as in some cities the Lithuanian communities are bigger than in others. As a result, people having more contact with other Lithuanians and/or Samogitians are likely to use their heritage language variety more often than those surrounded by non-Lithuanian speakers.

1.6. Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters which include different sections. Chapter 2 presents an overview of language attitudes as well as the standard Lithuanian language and attitudes towards regional varieties in Lithuania. Chapter 3 provides information about the standardisation of language and its consequences, including a brief overview of standardisation, prescription and prestige of language. Further in the thesis, the situation of heritage language in migration is surveyed (chapter 4) as well as the situation of Samogitian in Lithuania (chapter 5). Chapter 6 provides information about how Samogitian is used among migrants who live in Germany while chapter 7 examines migrants’ opinions whether Samogitian is a dialect or a language (section 7.1) and what are the main attitudes of migrants towards it (section 7.2) The main factors which influence such opinions are presented in the chapter 8. The final part of the thesis, chapter 9, delivers conclusions and implications for further research.
2. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In the first place, to be able to investigate attitudes towards languages and language varieties, it is important to understand the phenomenon itself. There is no agreed opinion between scholars on what an attitude really is. There have been many attempts to define it, however, the definitions are usually rather different. This chapter introduces some characteristics of attitudes proposed by representatives of different approaches, shortly introduce various kinds of language attitudes, and presents the linguistic situation in Lithuania.

2.1. Overview of Language Attitudes

Saville-Troike describes attitudes towards language as a complex phenomenon which is currently widely investigated among scholars. The main focus of such analyses is the influence of speakers’ linguistic beliefs on the relations between different speech communities, language maintenance and policy of intercultural communication, and similar (1990: 181-182). Attitudes are speakers’ opinions and beliefs about a certain language or dialect and are connected to the set of factors such as the variety used by speakers themselves (Brown 2006: 329-330), family members, friends, community, media (Baker 1992), and particular situations where the certain language variety is used (Garrett 2010). Attitudes are associated with feelings and have to do with speakers’ behaviour towards language or language variety (Giles and Coupland 1991, Brown 2006: 329-330). Other scholars also discuss the relationship between attitudes and behaviour towards language and language varieties. From the point of behaviourist approach, Bain puts attitudes in the same context with actual open behaviour or responses towards languages (Bain 1928 cf. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). This approach then faces almost no problems because attitudes are defined only from the data that have been observed. This approach suggests that “observation and statistical treatment of behaviour in social situation” is the only way to determine attitudes (Bain 1928: 957 cf. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). In this case, the problems that mentalists face are not existent because the observation presents researchers with actual overt substances. However, this approach might also have some problems as the theoretical implications might make an attitude a dependent variable because “attitude has no independence of the specific

Another definition that is suggested when talking about attitudes comes from the mentalist approach and suggests that attitudes may be understood as “mental and neural state of readiness” (Allport 1935 cf. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). This definition suggests that the attitudes are not seen directly but can be deducted from person’s mental and emotional processes. This approach has some methodological problems, such as questions how to measure something that has no apparent physical matter, or what would constitute the right kind of data. However, the supporters of this theory say that the main advantage of this approach is that an attitude, even though acquired through responses, still is an independent variable and is not tied to any specific external stimulus in which the responses are made (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138).

Various methods are applied to study language attitudes. The following attitudinal research methods are distinguished:

- **Survey questionnaire** is probably one of the main methods for investigating linguistic attitudes. Questionnaires may have two types of questions, namely, the closed ones and the open ones. However, the latter ones have less advantages in questionnaires than in interviews (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 150).

- **Interviewing** is thought to be the oldest method in gathering data for attitudinal research. The disadvantage of this method is audio-recording and processing ponderous amounts of data. However, this disadvantage is highly compensated by more than several advantages. First, the personal contact attained with an interviewee allows interviewers to get an honest and serious response. What is more, the investigator can detect the mood of informants and, in this way, avoid irritating or boring them (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 150). Interview also allows an interviewer to observe the behaviour of a respondent which leads to the observational method.

- **Observational** method is not very useful by itself, however, when combined with other, more direct methods, it is rather useful (Gumperz 1964: 145).

The current study embraces the latter combination of an interview and a short observation of the respondents linguistic behaviour as the main data gathering methods.
There have been many tries to define the phenomenon of attitudes towards languages and languages varieties. The representatives from different approaches tend to emphasise unique features of the named phenomenon but all definitions agree that analysing language users’ attitudes and opinions about languages is a difficult and a challenging task.

2.2. Official, Conscious and Subconscious Attitudes

For the sake of analysing speakers’ linguistic attitudes, it is important to understand that usually, the usage of language variety contradicts the officially declared opinions of speakers. According to various scholars, such as Kristiansen (2009, 2011) or Vaicekauskienė (2013), the usage and variation of language is governed by the conscious and subconscious attitudes.

Even though, theoretically, the science of linguistics states that all languages and their varieties are equal and should be treated in the same manner, the sociolinguistic reality is rather different. In practice, speakers’ attitudes towards languages, language varieties and other linguistic phenomena are rather distinct and usually people tend to have better opinions about some varieties whereas others are seen as having low prestige.

Such naming, evaluation and differentiation of languages are defined by scholars Johnson and Milani as a certain ideological practice which is usually influenced by “sociolinguistic imagination” (2010: 4). What helps to understand such “imaginations” about language is the attitudinal research or, in other words, analysing the speakers’ attitudes towards linguistic varieties. The latter research helps to find relations between “imaginative” features of languages, language varieties and the speakers’ points of view. What is more, it helps to understand how the attitudes are influenced by the ideological nuances that are closely related to linguistic beliefs of language users (Kristiansen 2010: 528).

While many scholars distinguish between conscious and subconscious linguistic attitudes, Kristiansen distinguishes three attitudinal groups, those being official, conscious, and subconscious attitudes (2005, 2009, 2011). While official and consciously expressed attitudes are similar most of the time, the subconscious one might strike a difference. In the Kristiansen’s study about the influence of English in the Nordic
countries, the scholar presents rather interesting results. In her study, while respondents express quite similar official and conscious attitudes, which have usually help to put their own country in high-ranking positions, the attitudes that are obtained subconsciously are rather different. That is, subconsciously, the respondents’ attitudes towards their language variety are rather negative (Kristiansen 2005: 100).

Therefore, if language users officially express that some language variety is better than the other but in practice they continue using the second one, it might be understood that their decision is governed by the subconscious attitudes and that is what is taken into consideration. Kristiansen notes that “subconsciously offered attitudes influence language use in a way that consciously offered attitudes do not” (2005: 102).

While the linguistic theory embraces the equality of all language varieties, the sociolinguistic reality is very much different. People tend to distinguish between “right” and “wrong” language varieties and it can be investigated through attitudinal analysis. While, most of the time, the officially declared attitudes are similar to those expressed consciously, the subconscious beliefs suggest the completely different reality. Therefore, scholars agree that when talking about speakers’ attitudes towards language varieties, the subconscious opinions should be considered as bringing the truest results.

2.3. Standard Lithuanian and Attitudes Towards Language Varieties in Lithuania

The State Language Policy Guidelines declare that the standard Lithuanian language is the most important variety in the daily life of the country and is ought to be maintained. The maintenance of the standard variety is understood as continual codification of phonetical and grammatical forms of the language as well as the control of the public use of it (2003: 2). The standard variety is considered to the absolute which is to be used in any spheres of life whereas other varieties of the Lithuanian language are given rather low prestige in everyday life.

Standard Lithuanian was formed in the end of XIX century on the basis of the Kaunas region dialect. Before one unified variety was introduced, a number of language variants had been spoken in Lithuania: The Eastern variant, the Central variant and the so-called Prussian variant (Kniūkšta 2004: 52-54).
The main factors why the dialect of Kaunas region was selected as the basis for the standard are the following: the good economic situation of the region and the fact that the majority of activists, that have taken part in the national revivals of Lithuania, have descended from the province of Suvalkai and were using Western Aukštaitian dialects. An important part in spreading the ideas of the standard language was played by the first Lithuanian newspapers “Aušra” and “Varpas” and Jonas Jablonskis who was the main creator of the standard variety (Kniūkšta 2004: 52, Vaicekauskienë 2010: 1).

Kniūkšta introduces the criteria according to which the standard Lithuanian was created. Consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clearness</strong></td>
<td>The standard language must be clear of foreign words as much as possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Correctness</strong></td>
<td>Language forms must meet the laws of language development that are influenced by the everyday usage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Characteristics</strong></td>
<td>The language must meet the general idea of the language development and certain inclinations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>Means of language must meet the purpose for which the language is used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aesthetics</strong></td>
<td>The standard Lithuanian language variety must meet the aesthetic requirements.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These criteria were introduced in 1938 when the idea of unified standard was born. However, even though they were reconsidered later, most criteria of standardisation have remained the same throughout history. Nowadays, the features of the standard Lithuanian are systematicity, purpose, clearness and constancy (Kniūkšta 2004: 53). Language is changing all the time; however, the Lithuanian language is still regulated now as it had been regulated almost 100 years ago. Therefore, the current ideas of standardisation of language are often criticised.

According to the Law on the State Language of the Republic of Lithuania, the official state language is the Standard Lithuanian and the dialects are to be protected and maintained (1995: art.19). However, even though ought to be protected and maintained, the dialects in Lithuania are seen more as a focus of various researches rather than a language variety for an actual communicative use (Vaicekauskienë 2013: 7).
What is more, a number of researches on the attitudes towards regional varieties of Lithuanian (consider those by Ramonienė (2006) or Vaicekauskiene (2013)) show that they are sometimes rather negative. Scholar Ramonienė has conducted a sociolinguistic research on Lithuanian city Joniškėlis and its residents’ attitudes towards their language variety. According to the scholar, almost 94 percent of respondents in her study admit using dialect instead of the standard. However, when asked whether their dialect is beautiful, 30 percent of respondents provide a negative answer. Respondents that answer negatively are usually young people. This fact is rather concerning because the young members of society is the most important link in maintaining dialects (2006: 142). Ramonienė notes, that the attitudes towards the regional language varieties might also be connected to the educational level of the respondents. It has been noticed that those with the lowest and those with the highest level of education tend to evaluate their dialects positively. Likewise, those, staying in-between, are likely to express negative opinions (2006: 143).

On the other hand, negative attitudes towards regional language varieties might also be a heritage that is still traced since the Soviet times when dialects have been viewed as hindrance in communication or an indication of a poor education (Girdenis 1981: 13). During the Soviet occupation in Lithuania, the control of the language had been one of the main means in order to maintain the Soviet ideology. Therefore, the idealisation of the standard language variety and its control had been very strong: one “right” variant had been chosen and then the main task had been to assure that it is maintained. In the Soviet times, the phenomenon had been dominating which Vaicekauskiene introduces as *syncetic prescriptive paradigm of language*: spoken and written languages had been merged into one and understood as one language. The difference between the two variants of language had been diminished and had been required to maintain the ‘correctness’ of the written language even when speaking (2013: 35).

Even though nowadays the language is developing quickly, the arguments for standard language are the same as during the Soviet period: the unity of the nation and language, standard language as an ideal, the menace of foreign languages to Lithuanian. All these arguments can be understood as a part of the standard language ideology (Vaicekauskiene 2013: 37) which has a strong influence on the language users’ attitudes towards language varieties.
On the other hand, in the present day, the regional varieties in Lithuania are acquiring higher prestige than in the past. The conscious attitudes expressed by school pupils in various regions in Lithuania show that they tend to put their own regional variety on the higher position than the standard. However, when investigating the subconscious attitudes of the same school pupils, it is revealed that subconsciously they still think that the standard variety of Lithuanian is better than their own dialect. The analysis of the subconscious attitudes of school students towards their regional varieties shows that the dialect usage is associated with qualities as being “from a village”, “old-fashioned”, “poor-educated” but is seen as “friendly”, “warm”, “fun” person. At the same time, the speaker of standard is seen as “well-educated”, “clever”, but “cold”, and “serious” (Vaicekauskienė 2013: 17-18).

Therefore, it can be understood that even though consciously people tend to express positive opinions towards their regional variety, subconsciously the negativity is still deeply rooted within their thinking. The dialect speakers are usually seen as less educated but, at the same time, friendly and “human”, whereas the speakers of standard even though accepted as clever and having high prestige, are seen as cold and less friendly.

It is understood that even though the conscious attitudes are positive towards regional varieties, the subconscious attitudes are still oriented towards the idealisation of the standard. According to Vaicekauskienė, it has been noticed that the subconscious attitudes of school children are influenced by the presumptions of the official standard language ideology that are deeply rooted in schools and are almost unquestionable. In the current educational system, the usage of the standard language is one of the main criteria of evaluation of students. Another crucial factor for shaping linguistic attitudes is family and friends; however, this factor is only secondary with school being over all the number one influence on school students’ attitudes (2013: 19).

Unfortunately, the situation of language varieties in Lithuania is rather poor: the standard is put on the highest place reasoning that it is ideal and is vital for achieving the unity of the nation and language, especially in the current situation when other languages have a strong influence on the language users’ choice of speaking. While, the standard is being praised, the regional varieties are seen as somewhat hindrance in communication between speakers or a possible indication of poor education. Even though in the past
years, the situation in Lithuania has improved to some extent, dialects are still seen more as a focus of research than the actual mean of communication.

To conclude this chapter, it can be said that the attitudes towards languages and languages varieties is a complex phenomenon which causes problems in defining and understanding it. Attitudinal analysis usually reveals that while the theory suggests the equality of all languages, in the sociolinguistic reality, people tend to distinguish between “right” and “wrong”, “correct” and “incorrect” varieties. This can be investigated through the analysis of the subconscious attitudes of language users towards languages and dialects. In Lithuania, the situation in not that different from other countries, that is, the standard is seen as “better” than regional varieties. The situation of dialects in the country is slowly improving, however, there is still a long way until the gap between the standard and the regional varieties can be somewhat diminished.
3. STANDARDISATION OF LANGUAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

To be able to properly analyse attitudes towards language varieties it is important to understand what influences such attitudes. Scholars like Milroy and Milroy (1999) share the opinion that an important factor in shaping them is language standardisation which is closely related to the following development of standard language ideology. This chapter presents a brief overview of the standardisation of language, the phenomenon of prestige which is usually equated with a standard variety (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 532), and attitudes that are strongly influenced by these phenomena.

3.1. Standardisation of Language

When talking about the standard language, it is important to explain the term itself. Finegan presents a rather basic definition of the standard language that helps to understand the phenomenon in general. He describes it as “the variety used by a group of people in their public discourse – newspapers, radio broadcasts, political speeches, college and university lectures, and so on” (Finegan 2007: 14). He stresses the usage of standard in the public discourse; therefore, it could be understood as “lingua franca” (Finegan 2007: 15) throughout a country. According to the author, the standard is a variety that has undergone the process of standardisation. During this process, a language is organised and structured, and its usage is defined in dictionaries and textbooks (2007: 14).

What is more, Finegan notes that standard variety is not different from any other varieties of a language. According to the author, it is not more logical than other varieties neither it is better than them in any way. On the contrary, he states that standard language variety plays an important role in the everyday life of language users: it is an asset for the better communication among different speech communities (2007: 14).

However, the standard language and the process of standardisation are much more complicated than Finegan presents. It is deeply connected to ideology and prescriptivism (Milroy and Milroy 1999, Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013: 5). Scholars Armstrong and Mackenzie adopt a view that “standardization is the expression of a broader ideology, to do with a hierarchical, as opposed to an egalitarian, view of how society should be ordered” (2013: 5). Currently, from one point of view, standardisation can be viewed as
a part of “cultural oppression”, set by the upper classes, and it might be hard to find the social advantage to speakers through the acceptance of the standard and the ideology that it carries (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013: 5).

Lodge (2004: 207) introduces the list of beliefs current in France about the standard language:

1. the ideal state of the language is uniformity;
2. writing is the most valid form of the language;
3. the standard is inherently better than the non-standard varieties.

Even though, these features have been introduced when talking about standard language in France, it can be easily applied to a wider context. Quite clearly, these beliefs about standard language suggest its ideological nature. Therefore, it is almost impossible to talk about the standardisation of language without speaking about its ideology (Milroy and Milroy 1999, Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013).

Even though some authors tend to think of standardisation as of an easily definable phenomenon which does not cause many problems, the majority of scholars agree that the standardisation of language is very complex and challenging subject. They also agree that it is impossible to talk about it without talking about prescription of language and the ideology that is brought by the standard language.

3.2. Prescription of Language

As mentioned earlier, standardisation of language cannot be discussed without talking about ideology and prescription. That means that when discussing the standard language, scholars usually simultaneously introduce the effects that prescription has on the attitudes towards languages (Milroy and Milroy 1999, Kristiansen and Coupland 2011). In order to facilitate the understanding of the prescription of language and prescriptive attitudes towards language varieties, scholars Milroy and Milroy provide a simple example about the social norms:

If, in a particular culture at a particular time, guests at dinner are required to wear evening dress (of a particular form) and required to use their knives and forks in a particular way, these requirements are prescriptive, that is, they are imposed from ‘above’ by ‘society’, not by ad hoc agreement amongst the guests themselves (1999: 1).
It is to be noted that these requirements are also arbitrary: they might vary slightly among different countries; it is possible to think about a wide variety of ways to eat; however, these have been prescribed as the ‘right ones’ and everyone who eats differently is considered to have ‘bad manners’ (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 1).

Even though language is more complex phenomenon than social manners, this example helps to illustrate how the prescription works. According to Milroy and Milroy, the ‘correct’ use of language is distinguished from ‘incorrect’ and is codified in handbooks of usage just like the table manners are written down in the etiquette books. Such imposition from “the above” about certain “right” ways of acting has been discussed by Milroy and Milroy (1999) and is referred to as a prescription of language.

Aitchison argues that linguistics and sociolinguistics is seen as a descriptive concept, that is, researcher usually is interested in “what is said not what he thinks is ought to be said” (1978: 13). In other words, the job of a linguist is to describe language in all of its forms but not to prescribe the rules of correctness. Some opinions have been shared that prescription of language is not a core focus in (socio)linguistics. Scholars like Bloomfield expresses the opinion that “study of prescriptivism is not of central topic of linguistics” (1933: 22) and find such studies to be waste of time. Later, his ideas have been nurtured by his followers like Fries (1957) or Hall (1950) who have completely ignored the idea of language prescriptivism by stating that “there is no such thing as good or bad, correct or incorrect, grammatical or ungrammatical, in language” (1950).

However, scholars Milroy and Milroy question such hypothesis by stating that even though it is important to describe language and its use, it does not mean that prescription should be forgotten. They argue that the attitudes of scholars who deny prescription have no or little influence on the wider audience who still tends to rely on language grammars, dictionaries and similar means regulating the usage of language, that is, the language is prescribed in them. Scholars express an opinion that even though the value-judgement of language structures and varieties is not appropriate, “speakers do attach values to particular words, grammatical structures and speech-sounds” (1999: 11). Therefore, it is rather obvious that there is a relatively big gap between what linguists think and what other assumptions about language ordinary people have in their daily lives (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 12).
While some scholars argue that prescription of language is not the main focus of sociolinguistics, it has been a tender topic in the recent discussions. It is important to understand how the language is prescribed to the audience and what influence it has on the usage of language. Prescription is very closely related to the language ideology, as it imposes the rules of language use “from above” and creates a gap between what is perceived as “correct” and “incorrect” language.

3.3. Prestige of Language

Relying on the rules of “correct” language use results that one variety becomes “better” than the others as perceived so by the majority of language users. This is where the process of uniformity and standardisation begins. The requirements of standardisation to be fulfilled, one language variety has to be accepted as more correct than the others. As Milroy suggests, it does not matter which variety is accepted as such, “standardisation merely requires that one, and only one” language variety (2006: 133). As a result, this one variety is begun to see as having a higher prestige than the others.

It is important to understand the phenomenon itself. In sociolinguistics, prestige or the “status of language” (Fishman 1964: 53-55, Haugen 1972: 329, Kloss 1967: 15) is described as the level of respect that has been granted to a specific language variety within a certain speech community (Eckert and Rickford 2002: 2-4). According to Ibrahim, in most languages, prestigious and standard varieties cannot be used interchangeably as they are merged into one (1986: 1). Thus, in such languages, the standard and the most prestigious one is the same language variety.

Different language varieties are granted prestige considering the factors such as “rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of its speakers” (Kloss 1967: 15). Variety which obtain many of the named qualities is viewed as that of high prestige; similarly, a language or a dialect possessing none or few of these features might be considered to have low prestige.

Not all scholars agree with this definition, for example, Weinreich argues that the usage of the term ‘prestige’ should be limited to “language’s value in social advance” (1974: 79). However, such opinion is not very popular since the majority of scholars tend

Standard language and prestige are features that are shared among a considerable number of languages worldwide. As Milroy suggests, in such “standard languages cultures” the language users’ attitudes are dominated by “powerful ideological positions” that are directly related to the existence of the standard form and strong reliance on correctness, and this tandem constitutes the so-called standard language ideology. It has to do with the common view that the standard variety is usually equated with the highest prestige variety, suggesting that it is better than others. The phenomenon of ‘prestige’ is one of the things that also links standard language with the standard language ideology (Milroy 2001: 533).

Prestige of language is considered to be the level of respect that is granted to a particular language variety in a speech community. Most often, the standard is also the most prestigious as it meets the most important qualities of the prestigious variety: it has rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernisation, considerable international standing and others. The prestige of language is also one of the factors that connects standard language with ideology.

3.4. Standard Language Ideology

First of all, before discussing the ideology of the standard, it is important to understand the phenomenon of the ideology itself. Eagleton states that ideology is “itself a text, woven of a tissue of conceptual strands” (1991:1). Woolard presents the most often reoccurring strands associated with ideology:

1. Ideology is seen as ideational or conceptual, referring to mental phenomena;
2. It has to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas;
3. Conceptualisation of ideology as derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position;
4. Ideology is seen as ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power;
5. Concept of distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalisation (Woolard 1998: 5-7).
The named strands clearly show that ideology is understood as a mental phenomenon which affects consciousness and beliefs, and might even be associated with illusion or mystification. It can be understood as a means of social, economic or political power and control. When talking about language ideology, it is clear that the similar goals can be achieved through the ideology of language. Scholars Milroy and Milroy argue that standard language is an ideology because it is an abstraction, a mental feature, created to achieve the social norms (1999:10).

The standard language ideology is defined differently among scholars, for example, Rumsey describes it as “shared bodies of common-sense notions about the nature of language in the world” (1990: 346). Heath narrows the broad Rumsey’s definition by emphasising the social point of the standard language ideology and characterising it as “self-evident ideas of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (1989: 53), whereas Silverstein puts more emphasis on the activist nature of the standard language ideology, saying that it is a “set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structures and use (1979: 193).

Language users are usually not aware that their attitudes have been conditioned by such ideological influences. On the contrary, they tend to see it as common sense that some forms are better than the others and believe that similar opinions are shared among virtually everyone. Although, it is indeed, the ideologies that is the main drive for public opinions, people who hold such attitudes believe that their beliefs are driven by purely linguistic judgements, not an ideological influence (Milroy 2001: 535, 2006: 133).

As Milroy suggests, it is now unacceptable to openly express discrimination towards people based on race, ethnic group, social class or similar. However, it seems that inequity towards language is still widely acceptable. The choice of one language variety over another is usually influenced by factors that are outside the boundaries of simply standardisation process itself and that is what constitutes the standard language ideology (Milroy 2006: 135).

Similarly to the ideology in a broader sense, the standard language ideology is also a mental phenomenon, closely related to the prescription and the prestige of language. It affects speakers’ beliefs and attitudes even though they are not usually aware of that, judging their attitudes to the common sense. Even though the open discrimination
is reprehensible, the distinguishing between “right” and “wrong” language varieties is still widely acceptable. This is the consequence of the process of standardisation which also constitutes the standard language ideology.

It goes without saying that the standardisation, prescription of language, prestige of language, and the standard language ideology are so closely intertwined with each other that it is very difficult to understand where one ends and the other begins. All these phenomena impose rules of the language use “from above” and creates a gap between what is perceived as “correct” and “incorrect” language. It affects speakers’ beliefs and opinions about languages and language varieties even though they are not usually aware of that, ascribing their attitudes to the common sense.
4. LANGUAGE IN MIGRATION

The following chapter presents the basic definitions of migration that might help to achieve the better understanding of the phenomenon itself. What is more, it considers the main problems of the heritage language maintenance in migration as well as the main reasons of leaving Lithuania, and the situation of the Lithuanian language and its varieties in migration.

4.1. Heritage Language Maintenance in Migration

For a long time, migration has been understood as the basic movement of people from one place of residence to another (Stockwell and Groat 1984). However, in the past decades, it has become a socially valuable phenomenon (Misiūnas and Bratčikovienė 2006: 16). As many other social phenomena, migration does not have one agreed-upon definition, rather scholars tend to define it indicating different features of it. Starting with basic definitions, including only the aspect of moving from one place to another (Stockwell and Groat 1984), eventually, more qualities have been added to it. Aspects, such as seeking better quality of life and higher salaries have been added to the definitions of migration in the past decade (Beržinskiene, Kairiene, Virbickaitė 2009).

When speakers of one language reside in another country, they most often face the challenge of adapting to a different language. Therefore, the question of the heritage language maintenance arises: whether the native language is maintained or forgotten is the choice of the migrant. However, this choice is even harder for a dialect speaker. If they decide to maintain their heritage language, they have another decision to make: which variety should be maintained – the standard or the dialect? According to Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, the choice whether and which variety to maintain depends on particular circumstances at the particular time, even though they are usually based on the idea of the keeping the language of heritage (2015: 2).

Studies, performed on the language maintenance in migration have shown that one of the main factors that influences language maintenance is family. It is the domain where the maintained language might be used the most commonly (Pauwels 2008, Curd-Christianisen 2009). Whether the heritage language is maintained most often depends on the language management policy of the family. The factors such as social value, how
useful the language is in general and the maintenance of the relationship with the children or parents, are usually taken into consideration when deciding whether to maintain the heritage language in the family. However, the choice is often influenced by the external geographical, political, and social circumstances in addition to the value systems of a migrant. What is more, it is important to take into consideration the ability of a migrant to use their heritage language. If the knowledge of the language is not that deep and speakers find it easier to express themselves in a language other than their heritage language, most probably the second one will be chosen for daily communication (Curd-Christiansen 2009: 352).

Even though most studies examine the heritage language maintenance in migration in general, not many of them consider the heritage dialect maintenance. The results of some investigations reveal that most migrants prefer to maintain the standard dialect over their own. The standard is usually understood as a variety having the highest prestige and the one that might help to achieve the most in life. Therefore, most migrant parents want their children first to learn the standard variety of their heritage language. They share the opinion that the standard is “clean” and “pure”, whereas the regional varieties are seen as “unclean”, “polluted by other languages” (Lytra 2011: 90) and having low prestige (Bartha 2005: 25).

When residing in another country, the decision has to be made by a migrant whether to maintain their heritage language and which variety should be maintained. One of the most important circumstances which predetermine the choice is family. Social values in this domain as well as external influences have to do with the migrant's choice whether and which variety to maintain in migration. Other important factors are the ability of the migrant to speak their heritage language variety as well as the attitudes towards it.

4.2. Lithuanian in Migration

According to the data provided by the European migration network (EMN), Lithuania can be described as a de facto country of migration with its migration rates being one of the highest in the European Union. Around one third of country’s population has already left the country since the Recreation of Independence of Lithuania in 1990 (2016).
The main reasons for migration can be distinguished into four major categories which are presented in the table below:

Table 3. Main factors influencing migration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pull factors</strong></td>
<td>Migrants are “pulled” to the countries where the quality of life is better than in their own country. The main factors are taken into consideration such as higher salaries, lower taxes, better job opportunities, better political situation and others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Push factors</strong></td>
<td>The main factors depend on the inner situation in the country such as war or other armed conflict, prominent levels of unemployment, difficult living conditions that “push” people away from a country;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chain reaction factors</strong></td>
<td>Usually people who have migrated earlier provide information about the life in another country, influencing their friends and acquaintances to leave too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psychological factors</strong></td>
<td>Personal factors which are usually influenced by the family, friends, personal feelings towards a country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another important circumstance that does not fall in the categories named above but might be even more important for huge rates of migration, is globalisation. Even though, this phenomenon does not have a direct impact on migration, it, no doubt, makes it easier. It is because of the ability to move freely among countries and presenting the technologies that allow people to communicate with the entire world. This influences the increased rates of migration as it makes moving easier and cheaper (Rudžinskienė and Paulauskaitė 2014: 65-66).

In times of massive migration, the question about languages is very tender. It is important to understand at which position the languages and, the most importantly, regional language varieties are put when talking about globalisation and moving across countries. A lot of studies have tried to understand whether and how the heritage language is maintained by migrants.

According to Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, one of the most important factors that influences the maintenance of the Lithuanian language in migration is the attitudes towards the language: whether migrants see it as a language useful for every day, the language with symbolic value, and whether they feel some kind of relation towards it (2015: 8-9). She also notes that the ideological beliefs about language are important for its maintenance in migration. Next to the efforts to maintain the Lithuanian language, it is important for migrants to keep it “clear” and clean of any kind of foreign words, jargon
or dialectal variants. The results of the research project “Emigrantų kalba” (*Language of Migrants*) have shown that Lithuanian migrants living in the USA have a tendency to think that they speak better than those living in Lithuania. This is due to the fact that they avoid using foreign or dialectal words and speak only “clear” and “proper” language when they use Lithuanian (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015: 22).

The reasons for a belief that only “clean” language is a “good” language might have come together with migrants who have migrated to the USA in the interwar period when the language in Lithuania has been controlled and standardised to a great extent. What is more, another wave of migrants, those who have left after the Recreation of the Independence, might have also brought similar attitudes towards language varieties. This is due to the fact, that nowadays the standard variant of the Lithuanian language is thought to be of a highest prestige and is “better” than other language varieties.

With migration rates being one of the highest in the whole European Union, Lithuania can be called a country of migration. However, even though around one third of population has left the country, the Lithuanian language is being widely maintained among the migrants. The maintenance of the language has been strongly influenced by the attitudes towards it, seeing it as a socially and symbolically valuable language. However, the ideology of the standard has an influence on the maintenance of dialects in migration, resulting that only the standard variety is being maintained by migrants.

Both international and Lithuanian researches on the heritage language maintenance in migration have shown that migrants face the challenge of deciding whether and which language variety to maintain in migration. The main factors predetermining this decision are family, the ability to use the heritage variety and the attitudes towards it. These are also influenced by external influences such as the standard language ideology which often results that dialects are not maintained in migration as they are seen as “not clean”, “not correct” and not reflecting the “real” language.
5. SAMOGITIAN IN LITHUANIA

This chapter provides a brief overview of the language variety spoken in the region of Samogitia. What is more, it discusses the main national movements that have been established in Samogitia in the past decades, resulting the rise of nationalistic ideas in the region and a discussion whether Samogitian is a variety of the Lithuanian language or a separate language.

5.1. The Samogitian Language (Variety)

Samogitia (Lit. Žemaitija) is one of the five historical geographic and ethnographic regions in Lithuania, currently resided by Samogitians (Gudavičius 1988). The main language variety spoken in the region is Samogitian or Žemaitian. It is one of most widely spoken language varieties in Lithuania, the other one being Aukštaitian (See Appendix A). Samogitian is considered to be much more modern than Aukštaitian, as it is more distinct from the original Proto-Baltic.

The standard Lithuanian has been created on the basis of Aukštaitian variety and since Samogitian (Žemaitian) is rather distinct from it, it is sometimes viewed as a separate language. The discussion whether it is a dialect of Lithuanian or a separate language is present for some years already. The Samogitians themselves do not seem to be able to agree whether they consider Samogitian as a dialect or a language.

Differently to many people’s belief, Samogitian is more than just one dialect, it has a variety of subdialects that are rather distinct from each other and cause problems for speakers to understand each other. Three major subdialects are distinguished:

1. Northern Samogitian: also, referred to as dounininkai dialect, from their pronunciation of the word “duona” (Eng. “bread”). This subdialect is also divided further into Eastern part of the subdialect, namely Telšiai region and the Western part, Kretinga region.

2. Western Samogitian: another name, given according to the pronunciation of the word “duona” is dūnininkai. This subdialect is also divided further into Southern and Northeastern part, or Raseiniai region and Northern part, Varniai region.
3. Southern Samogitian: the alternative name for this subdialect is donininkai dialect. It is spoken in the Klaipėda region, however, is not divided further (Zinkevičius 1994: 22).

Considering how different Samogitian itself is among regions, there is no surprise that speakers of different subdialects find it hard to understand each other. What is more, the speakers of the standard variety and those using one of the subdialects of Samogitian have almost no inherent understanding of each other. This fact reinforces the idea that Samogitian could be considered as a separate language. SIL International (formerly known as Summer Institute of Linguistics), the organisation that is serving language communities worldwide and focuses on sustainable language development, presents the main trades of an individual language: if speakers of two varieties have no inherent understanding of each variety then they should be considered different languages (SIL 2016). Therefore, the fact that Samogitians from different regions and the standard Lithuanian speakers find it hard to understand each other would suggest Samogitian to be a different language.

What is more, in 2009, the aforementioned SIL International has granted Samogitian with a New Language Code Element ISO 639. This code is given to language varieties in the world where identifiers are assumed to denote individual languages. According to SIL, this code does not grant the full right of a separate language, however, it is stated that at certain occasions the variety can be considered as an individual language (SIL 2016).

The Samogitian language variety is one of the two most widely spoken varieties in Lithuania. It can be distinguished into further subdialects which are hardly understood among speakers from different regions than Samogitia. This fact suggests that Samogitian might be not only a language variety but a separate language itself.

5.2. Samogitian Movements

Samogitia has always been an important part in the development of Lithuania. A lot of, if not all, movements which have induced the ideas of Lithuanian national revival have been established in the Samogitia region (Ivinskis 2004: 32, Kubiliūtė 2011: 3, Kulevičius 2012: 227). All the revival movements that have begun in Samogitia, have been oriented
towards the strengthening the political, cultural, and linguistic situation in Lithuania. However, in the past years, Samogitians’ interest in the welfare of Lithuania has decreased while the focus on the Samogitia itself has increased (Kulevičius 2012: 228).

According to Kulevičius, in the year 2000-2004, new national ideas have been born in the region. However, this time, the nationalism is oriented towards Samogitia itself. Some issues considering the relation between Samogitia and Lithuania have been raised (2012: 228). First of all, the question about the recreation of historical economic autonomy of Samogitia has been considered. However, no ideas of the region becoming entirely independent have been raised (Kulevičius 2012: 237). Even though this idea has not gotten much support, it is worth taking into consideration as it is a great example of strong nationalistic mentality of Samogitians.

The second question that has been widely discussed in the past years, is the issue of Samogitian nationality. Introduced in 2001 this issue has acquired support and has been considered for a number of years (Ivinskis 2004: 32). However, even though Samogitian has not been accepted as a separate nationality, people have been granted a right to put “Samogitian” in the census of population in 2011 (Kulevičius 2012: 227).

Together with the issue of nationality, other tender question has been raised, that is, the question of Samogitian as a separate language. Despite the fact that officially Samogitian is still considered as one of the dialects in Lithuania, some activists tend to see it as a separate language and try to achieve the official recognition. As a result of their efforts, the aforementioned SIL International entry has been made which presents Samogitian as an occasionally individual language.

All these issues that have been raised in the past few decades suggest that Samogitians are concerned about the individuality of their region and their language variety. Even though the region and its language variety are seen as a part of the wider Lithuanian context, some people put effort into changing the situation. What is more, the most active members of such movements continue their work even after migration to another country. Therefore, Samogitians are probably one of the best objects for this research as they express very strong positive attitudes towards their regional language variety.
6. USE OF SAMOGITIAN BEFORE AND IN MIGRATION

Before beginning to investigate migrants’ attitudes towards Samogitian, it is important to examine how the regional variety has been used by the participants before migration and in what contexts it is used now, as well as to compare whether the purposes for which the variety is used have changed or not. This also helps to determine some of the linguistic beliefs of migrants and is helpful to perform a more thorough analysis on their attitudes towards their regional variety. In the chapter, the main purposes are presented for which Samogitian has been used by interviewees before and during migration.

6.1. Use of Samogitian Before Migration

First of all, it is important to understand how migrants were using their language variety before they have left the country. This information might also reveal some of the subconscious attitudes towards the Samogitian of the respondents. When asked whether they used Samogitian in daily public life when they were still living in Lithuania, the responses varied among interviewees. The following chart presents the answers given by respondents:

Figure 1. Were you speaking Samogitian in public discourse in Lithuania?

To this question, the majority of interviewees responded that they were using Samogitian but only in their region. This answer has been rather expected, therefore, it did not strike
any interesting results. However, one respondent stated that he was using Samogitian everywhere in Lithuania:

(1) I: Were you speaking Samogitian in public places in Lithuania? Like, in a shop, library, medical institution, university, maybe?
R6: Yes. Only Samogitian and no other language. Even in cities like Kaunas or Vilnius... I was talking Samogitian everywhere.
I: And how did people in Kaunas or Vilnius react?
R6: Badly, of course [laughing]. Nobody understood me...
I: Did you translate?
R6: Not really... I repeated, without the most difficult Samogitian words and slowly. And then they would understand [laughing] (male, 40-49)

This respondent is the rare minority who claims that he speaks only Samogitian all the time. The interview and short observation have shown that, indeed, the respondent uses Samogitian most of the time even with speaking with his wife, who is originally from Vilnius. Even though his Samogitian now is “reduced” to some extent (he avoids using words that differ greatly from the standard and takes a notice about the pronunciation of some words), it is far from the Lithuanian standard.

Another interesting observation made after analysis of the answers to the question about usage of Samogitian before migration, is that one respondent only spoke Samogitian in the public place, even in Samogitia, if the person that she was talking to spoke first. That is, if a shop assistant or a doctor would start speaking Samogitian to her, then she would use this variety as well.

Such behaviour can be understood as a “safe zone” of a person. If others are speaking in this way, there is no danger to appear as a worse person than them by using dialect. In comparable situation are those interviewees who speak Samogitian only with the people that they know. Again, if a person knows that the communication partner speaks the dialect, there is no risk to be judged as being “from a village” or having low prestige. At the same time, if not sure whether the partner of a conversation speaks dialect or not, it is safe to use the standard in order to appear smart or as having high prestige.

Subconsciously associating the standard with high prestige, speakers choose to use it even if Samogitia because they are afraid of being judged for using regional variety. The dialect is understood as the “wrong” variety while the standard is ascribed to the “correct” way of speaking with non-familiar people and is a means to avoid being judged as less competent or less educated that a communication partner.
Subconscious attitudes of the respondents are expressed here to some extent. Even though some of them declare that they use Samogitian most of the time, the reality is different. The majority of them do not use it if they are not sure that the other person speaks Samogitian as well. The desire not to show themselves as worse than the others is present and subconsciously they still associate Samogitian with a dialect with lower prestige than the standard.

The analysis has revealed that when living in Lithuania, the majority of the interviewees spoke Samogitian only in their own region or when they were talking to a person that they knew. Such behaviour can be understood as a “safe zone” of a person when Samogitian was used only where the respondents were not afraid to use their variety without being judged. What is more, some respondents chose to use Samogitian only for their private communication, mainly with their families and used standard as the main means of communication in a public discourse.

6.2. Use of Samogitian in Migration

As has been discussed earlier, when a dialect speaker resides in different country, the dilemma which language variety should be maintained, that is, a dialect or a standard, arises. While, naturally, German is the main language of communication in public discourse in Germany, the language of the private environment varies among families. Consider the following chart for a better understanding of the language choice of interviewees’ families:

**Figure 2.** Language choice in migrant families.
Clearly, even after migration, Samogitian remains primary choice in the family for communication with their parents and their spouses, if they are both Samogitians. This applies to the first-generation migrants who have migrated to Germany after graduating school in Lithuania. However, the situation of the family language policy regarding children tends to be rather different. Only three respondents (30%) are teaching or planning to teach their children Samogitian together with the standard Lithuanian. Some of them have a very strong opinion about the matter:

(2) I: And which language will your future children speak?
   R6: Well, they will have to know Samogitian, there is no other way... Well.. well and German, of course, because, well...because we live in Germany [laughing] (male, 40-49)

However, the majority, that is, five respondents (50%) express that they want their children to speak Lithuanian and not Samogitian and one is speaking half-Samogitian to her grandchild, that is, she is maintaining some features of the variety but not the most distinguished ones. Consider the following example:

(3) R4: Well, [child] is, like, half and half of both. We don’t really say the most Samogitian words, use Aukštaitian instead, well, for example, when we speak Samogitian at home, we don’t say to the child “išgerk pieną” [Sam. drink the milk], we say “a nenuori pieno?” [Lit. don’t you want some milk?]. Or dounos [Sam. bread], we say “valgyk [vaike] duoną” [Lit. eat the bread] (female, 60-69)

As can be seen, when the respondent or other family members talk to the child, they still use Samogitian. However, they tend to reduce the strongest features of the variety, such as diphthongs (ei, ou) and use the standard form.

Interestingly, in this group interview, the opinions of the respondents differ among themselves. While R2 claims that they only use Aukštaitian when talking to the child, respondent R4 admits that the use both languages, even though they do reduce the key features of Samogitian. The short linguistic observation has shown that even though the respondent R2 claims not to use Samogitian, the reality is quite different. Whenever she is not using German, she is speaking Samogitian.

Although teaching their children the standard, parents nevertheless speak Samogitian to them. This suggests that the family language policy strongly affects the language choice of a speaker. Samogitian is associated with communication within family
and children are family; therefore, even though parents try to speak the standard, they proceed speaking the dialect. Subconsciously knowing that Samogitian is supposed to be used in the family they apply this knowledge to communication with their children as well.

What is more, many respondents stated that Samogitian is the language variety which is closer to heart or “feels like home”; therefore, it could be understood that parents use this variety to express feelings of love towards their children which they might not be to do with the standard. Standard is only the second language variety that a dialect speaker learns, whereas the dialect can be equated to the mother-tongue variety. The mother-tongue usually is the variety that allows a speaker to express their feelings in the most convenient way. Therefore, even though teaching their children the standard because it will be more useful in the future than Samogitian, parents nevertheless choose to communicate with them in Samogitian, as this variety is close to their heart and helps them to express strong feelings towards their children.

Since the situation of teaching migrant children Samogitian is rather different among interviewees, it is important to examine their reasoning for applying particular family language policy. The main reason why parents choose to teach their children the standard Lithuanian over Samogitian is because they think that learning three languages (namely German, Lithuanian and Samogitian) would be too difficult for a child:

(4) R1: But well it’s not on purpose… or maybe it is on purpose because it is difficult already for him to know two languages, German and Lithuanian, right? So to know the third one, Samogitian… so we use literary language here most of the time.. (male, 40-49)

(5) R10: For them there’s also German, they are attending German kindergarten, it’s too difficult for them… (female, 30-39)

However, not all parents are scared to put too much work on their children. The excerpt from the following interview shows clearly that for some respondents learning three languages does not seem too much:

(6) I: So your children will have to learn three languages?
R6: Well, yeah… so what? How many languages had we to learn? Samogitian and Lithuanian and Russian too. Also, later English and
German.. so what, we survived. Our children will also survive.. (male, 40-49).

Clearly, this respondent has a strong opinion about how many languages his children will have to learn. However, he has no children yet, only planning to have them in the future; therefore, no real investigation can be made in this particular situation. The possibility remains that when he has children he will change his opinion about the language education.

Other reasons to teach Samogitian to their children have rather symbolic value:

(7) R5: And Samogitian is... well, well, it’s closer to heart.. Well maybe Samogitian is is in our blood, I don’t know [laughing]. Well... well we didn’t even consider that, it IS necessary to know it and that's it [laughing] (male, 60-69).

Quite obviously, Samogitian plays an important social role in shaping family’s language policy. However, it is seen not as a language variety necessary for everyday communication. For the latter purpose, all children of the interviewees are taught the standard Lithuanian. Samogitian is seen rather as a dialect or language which is closer to heart, “feels like home” (R7, female, 40-49), or is a way to maintain the country’s traditions (R8, male, 40-49).

Besides being a private language variety in families, Samogitian is also used for communication with other Samogitians that live in Germany. When asked where they use the variety, almost all respondents replied that they speak it with their friends. What is more, to the question whether there would be any situation in which the respondents would never speak the standard, almost all stated that they would never choose it when speaking with their Samogitian friends who also live in Germany.

(8) I: Would there ever be a situation where you would never choose to speak the standard? Where you think only Samogitian would be appropriate? R1: For me, it would be, I think [laughing]. Possible. If there are any other Samogitians... well I wouldn’t use the standard with, for example, [a friend] (male, 40-49)

Whenever the respondents meet other Samogitian, naturally they choose to speak their dialect. What is more, having friends from the same region in migration can be an important factor for the maintenance of the language variety:
I: So you don’t speak Samogitian even with other Samogitians?
R7: Well, I don’t know many of them. The majority of our friends here are Germans and the people from Lithuania that I know are mostly from Kaunas, Vilnius, Panevėžys...
I: And if you had more Samogitian friends? How would you speak with them?
R7: Well then, Samogitian, I think. Would be easier that way, probably

This Samogitian respondent is married to a German man and in her family, she speaks, as she states, a mixture of German-Lithuanian. She does not use Samogitian, as she argues that it was too difficult for her husband to learn; therefore, she speaks the standard at home. What is more, even though she has Lithuanian friends, the majority of them are not Samogitians. Therefore, she, again, uses standard when talking to them. As a result, the Samogitian language variety is not that common in her everyday life. When asked how would she speak if she knew more people from the region, she responds that she would use Samogitian. Therefore, it can be understood that friends is an important factor then talking about dialect maintenance in migration.

Even though in migration, Samogitian remains the main choice in communication with parents and spouses, if they are Samogitian, the situation with children is already different. The majority of migrants choose the standard Lithuanian as variety to teach their children. The main reasons for such choice are the following: parents are afraid that learning three language will be too difficult for a child as well as the belief that the standard will be more useful in the future. However, even though teaching their children the standard, some parents still tend to use Samogitian with them, sometimes even without realising that. What is more, the interviewees tend to use more Samogitian in public communication in Germany than they did in Lithuania.

Both in Lithuania and Germany, Samogitian has been the main variety of communication in the family. However, when talking about its usage in public sphere, the situation is rather different. In Lithuania, the interviewees were carefully choosing the variety in which to speak in a public discourse, whereas in migration they speak their variety rather freely without a fear to be judged. What is more, even though migrants want their children to speak the standard Lithuanian, most of them still use Samogitian in the family communication, usually without even realising that.
7. ATTITUDES OF MIGRANTS TOWARDS SAMOGITIAN

The following chapter presents the opinions of the respondents regarding whether they think of Samogitian as a dialect or a language which is helpful for determining their attitudes towards the variety. What is more, the in-depth analysis of the responses of the interviewees is presented in the chapter. It tries to determine the conscious as well as (to some extent) subconscious attitudes of the migrants towards their regional heritage variety.

7.1. Samogitian: A Dialect or a Language?

First of all, as has been discussed previously, Samogitians themselves do not agree on whether Samogitian is a separate language or a dialect. Therefore, it was interesting to examine what the respondents of this study think. What is more, the question “Do you consider Samogitian to be a dialect or a language?” helps the investigator to achieve two main goals. First of all, it is easier to decide how to refer to Samogitian: as a dialect or as a language, according to how the respondents feel towards it. Moreover, it helps to determine the subconscious attitudes of the interviewees towards it: those referring to Samogitian as a language, are thought to have stronger nationalistic feelings towards their region than those who referred to it as a dialect. The following chart helps to illustrate how the opinions of the respondents differ:

![Figure 3. Do you consider Samogitian to be a dialect or a language?](image-url)
To this question the majority, that is, seven respondents expressed the opinion that it is a dialect. They all indicate more or less similar reasons for supporting their opinion, those being as follows: the differences between subdialects of Samogitian (R2 female, R3 male), because at school it has been said that Samogitian is a dialect (R5 male, R10 female), and because standard Lithuanian is the official state language, therefore, Samogitian is only a dialect (R9 female).

However, three respondents have expressed a strong opinion that Samogitian is a language on its own:

(10) I: Do you consider Samogitian to be a dialect or a language?
   R1: Language.
   I: Why do you think so?
   R1: Well, even Daukantas, I think, or someone else had written that it is a language. And also now, I read a lot of articles on the Internet and in newspapers, so there are a lot of Samogitian movements, they say it’s a language. Just like when we were at school, in textbooks it was written that it is a dialect, and now there are a lot of articles saying that it is a language. You just have to read them and analyse whether it’s a language or not… Maybe Samogitian is the main language and Lithuanian is only a dialect? (male, 40-49)

It is important to emphasise that this respondent also mentions the aspect of school as a factor in shaping attitudes towards Samogitian. However, in this case, the influence of it is not affecting the opinion of the respondent. On the contrary, the interviewee has rather different view on whether Samogitian is a language or a dialect. This respondent relies on the online material, such as Samogitian movements on the social networks where many people express the similar opinions that Samogitian is a language separate from Lithuanian. It is quite clear that such online movements have much stronger influence on the respondent than the school.

As some respondents think that having different subdialects is one of the main arguments why Samogitian is a dialect (R2 female, R3 male), one participant is certain that it is the most important reason why it is a language. Consider the following excerpts:

(11) I: Do you consider Samogitian to be a dialect or a language?
   R3: I think it is a dialect because, for example, kuršeniški [residents of Kuršėnai], luokški [residents of Luokė] speak differently than those from Plungė.. (female, 60-69)
R2: I think it’s a dialect. Because even among Samogitian there are a lot of different varieties.. (female, 30-39)

(12) I: Do you consider Samogitian to be a dialect or a language?
R6: Language, language, I think
I: And why?
R6: Well... because how different they are, Samogitian and Lithuanian. Because those who speak Lithuanian don’t even understand us, Samogitians. And Samogitians too wouldn’t probably understand Lithuanians if we didn’t have to learn that at school. And also there are so many of those, so called, subdialects.. no other dialect has so many of them. So maybe it’s because Samogitian is a separate language and the thing that they call “subdialects” are actually dialects of Samogitian? (male, 40-49)

A clear opposition in respondents’ opinions can be seen in the given examples. Even though all respondents provide similar arguments they use them to support completely different opinions. While in the first excerpt, the opinion is expressed that Samogitian is a dialect, in the second the same arguments are used to support the standpoint that it is a language.

This contradiction clearly illustrates that even among Samogitians themselves there is no common agreement whether their language variety is a dialect or a language. However, many respondents are likely to agree with the official point of view that Samogitian is one of the dialects of the Lithuanian language. This might be due to the education they received in schools and, in some cases, universities where they were told not to address this issue but to accept that Samogitian is a dialect. For now, the majority of respondents choose to maintain this point of view.

7.2. Migrants’ Attitudes Towards Samogitian

Studies on speakers’ attitudes towards their regional varieties in a country have been already published and have shown, as has been already discussed, that people tend to express positive attitudes towards their regional variety, whereas subconsciously they still believe their variety to have lower prestige than the standard (Kristiansen 2005, Vaicekaskienė 2013). For this study, it is important to see whether the situation in migration is similar, as migrants are affected by different external and internal factors which have influence on their attitudes towards their heritage variety than those living in Lithuania.
At this point, it is already quite clear that Samogitian is widely used among migrants in Germany, even without being sure what are the attitudes of migrants towards it, both conscious and, to some extent, subconscious. In order to understand respondents’ conscious attitudes, they were asked whether the feeling of being Samogitian decreased after migration or, on the contrary, became greater. The interviewees were not asked directly what they think about their language variety as the majority of them clearly expressed their attitudes when answering other questions.

The subconscious attitudes were examined by analysing the answers that were given to the questions about public use of Samogitian and situations where the interviewees think Samogitian would be inappropriate. What is more, the short observation of the linguistic behaviour of the respondents helped to understand somewhat of their subconscious attitudes.

As expected, none of the interviewees expressed negative attitudes towards their regional variety. However, not all have shown completely positive opinions either. Half of the people expressed neutral attitudes towards Samogitian, that is, they feel neither very positively nor very negatively towards the variety. They say that they are Samogitians and speak Samogitian and it is just the way it is. Consider the following examples:

(13) R2: … well for me there’s no “to be proud or not to be”. It’s just how it is.. if you are from Telšiai, then you are from Telšiai (female, 30-39)

(14) R5: I don’t feel very special that I’m Samogitian in either country [Lithuania and Germany]. Only human. Everyone is from somewhere, so you are who you are (male 60-69)

However, the other half of the respondents claimed that they have strong positive feelings towards their regional variety. What is more, these feelings became even stronger after they migrated:

(15) R8: I think of myself as Samogitian even more when I’m abroad.. (male 40-49)

(16) R10: Therefore, I’m not hiding that I am Samogitian. On the contrary, I’m like: “I also know Samogitian, not only Lithuanian, like most of you” (female, 30-39)
It is quite clear that conscious attitudes of migrants even though are not exactly as expected, do not strike very unexpected results. Many respondents are thinking positively about their regional variety, whereas other express neutrality towards it.

However, even though all respondents speak positively about Samogitian and its usage, the short observation of their linguistic behaviour and deeper analysis their answers to particular questions, have shown that subconsciously they might have rather different attitudes from what they officially declare. First of all, analysis has been performed on what respondents answered to the question: *Were you speaking Samogitian in public places in Lithuania? For example, in a shop, library, medical institution, etc?* Even though the responses to this question have been discussed earlier in the paper, it is helpful to shortly remind them again. To this question one respondent said that he was speaking Samogitian everywhere, four interviewees spoke the variety only in the region, two people claimed that they spoke Samogitian only with a person they knew and two respondents did not speak Samogitian at all in public discourse while still living in Lithuania. While the majority of answers support the expressed positive attitudes of migrants towards their regional variety, the two latter responses contradict them to some extent. In the following examples, the two answers can be seen:

(17) I: How were you speaking in public discourse in Lithuania? Let’s say while shopping, with your doctor, in a library?
R4: Well.. no.. not Samogitian...(female, 60-69)

(18) R2: Well let’s say like this: we tried not to speak Samogitian, tried to speak standard but still it was there, Samogitian (female, 30-39)

These two respondents chose the standard over Samogitian even when still living in Lithuania, Samogitia. Even though they both express rather neutral conscious attitudes towards the variety, they still choose not to use it in any kind of public discourse.

In general, respondent R2 expresses opinions that contradict each other. On the one hand, she does not identify herself as Samogitian very strongly and says that she uses the standard most of the time. On the other hand, during the entire interview she was speaking reduced Samogitian. This respondent is a notable example of what Milroy and Milroy describe as the *public consciousness of the standard* (1999: 25), a phenomenon when people believe that there is a “right” way of speaking but do not necessarily use
those “correct” forms in their own speech. Throughout the interview responses of R2, the pattern is easily noticed that the respondent mentions the standard and its usage quite a lot. However, she herself speaks it very rarely while Samogitian remains the main variety of her speech.

Very similar is the situation of another respondent. In her interview, she states that she does not use Samogitian that much:

(19) R7: *I want my children to know at least Lithuanian. Well they speak German of course, with their father and at school. And I only speak Lithuanian to them... well but not Samogitian, no.. I don’t speak Samogitian at all, only Lithuanian.* [Nuo, kad vaikai bent jau lietuviškai mokėtų. Nu anie, aišku, vokiškai šnek_ su tėvu i mokykloj_, nu bet aš tai tik lietuviškai su anais... nuu bet ne žemaitiškai, ne.. nebešneku aš jau žemaite, tik lietuviškai.]

The respondent claims that she does not use Samogitian and speak only what she considers to be a standard. However, the short linguistic observation has shown that she the main language variety that she uses to speak with her children is Samogitian. In the original transcript, the most important features of Samogitian are found in the respondent’s speech. She uses the Samogitian diphthongs wo instead of the vowel o which would normally be use in the standard. In her speech, there are also other features that are common to Samogitian such as dropping of endings as well as particular vocabulary.

The most interesting observation is that the husband of the respondent, who is German but has learned what he thinks to be standard Lithuanian, is also speaking the mixture of the standard and Samogitian. It might be understood that the respondent herself does not realise that she uses Samogitian. Consciously she thinks that she speaks standard; however, subconsciously, she still chooses to speak Samogitian.

What is more, the examples presented above signalise that even though declaring rather neutral attitudes towards Samogitian, the respondents still choose to preserve their variety to private usage only. This might be due to the fact that subconsciously they might have positive attitudes towards the variety itself but rather negative attitudes towards the usage of it, especially in the public discourse.

When talking about attitudes towards the usage of the variety, quite different tendencies can be seen among respondents. Vast majority of the respondents would
choose Samogitian for public speaking in front of the audience or for communication in official settings. This suggests that even though respondents think positively about their variety, their attitudes towards the usage of it in official settings are rather negative. The interviewees indicate the two main reasons why they think Samogitian is not a suitable variety for public speaking. First, because other people might not understand what they are saying and second, “it is the way it is, the standard has to be used in official communication”. In other words, the second reason might be understood as the common sense. The respondents tend to see it as common sense that the standard is more suitable for official communication than Samogitian and believe that similar beliefs are shared among everyone. However, it may be argued that, in this case, the ideology of the standard is the main drive for such attitudes.

While the first reason would seem rather logical because it is impossible to deliver a speech in language that the audience does not understand and to expect to be understood, one respondent makes a good remark. Consider the following excerpt from the group interview:

(20) I: Would there be any situation where you would never use Samogitian? Only the standard would be appropriate?
R1: There wouldn’t. Well, sometime happens, that people from Aukštaitija don’t understand. then I would speak the standard.
R2: Well, let’s say in some kind of gatherings, meetings. well, we have here our local Lithuanian community and if there is any kind of public speech, I never... I would never use Samogitian. if I had to say public speech. And even you don’t speak Samogitian, don’t deny. [addresses R1]
R1: For understanding... not because I’m embarrassed by Samogitian or something. Only because I want other people to understand
R2: I don’t think it’s because of that. Because I know many people here who only speak Samogitian, in any situation, and others understand them very well.

This discussion between the respondents R1 and R2 illustrates very well that conscious and subconscious attitudes are sometimes very different. The respondent R1 states that he uses the standard in public only because he wants other people to understand. However, R2 claims that she knows people who always use Samogitian in all the communication and are always understood, resulting that the R1’s reasoning about wanting to be understood is actually not a reason at all. In fact, one interviewee stated
that he uses Samogitian for all the communication, including public speeches and other official settings:

(21) I: Would there ever be a situation where you would never use Samogitian? R6: Never? No, there wouldn’t be such situation [laughing]. Well, if it’s my language then why not speaking it? I always use Samogitian. I: Even if you have to deliver a public speech or speak in an official setting? R6: Well yes.. well maybe I change the hardest, strongest Samogitian words.. don’t use them.. but still I only speak Samogitian. I: And if people don’t understand? R6: Never happened before [laughing] They always understand (male 40-49)

This interview with the respondent R6 shows clearly that Samogitian is understood among the audiences and actually cause few or no problems for Samogitian speakers. Therefore, the argument that one should speak standard in the official environments in order to be understood becomes not valid.

With the argument of understanding becoming not a valid reason for using the standard instead of Samogitian in public, two other possible reasons emerge. First, respondents might assume that it is common sense to think that one has to use standard to be understood. Therefore, probably the only reason why the respondents choose standard over Samogitian for official communication is common sense. Such choice of variety might have been imposed on the speakers “from above”, creating a gap between “correct” and “incorrect” language, that is the “right” language variety suitable for public speaking and the “wrong” one which is to be left for private communication. Although speakers believe their attitudes to be common sense (one must speak standard for public communication because it is acceptable) and driven by purely linguistic judgements, what they do not realise that they are, in fact, affected by the ideology of the standard language (Milroy 2001: 535, 2006: 133).

Second reason why some respondents choose to use the standard for public speaking might be that standard is automatically associated with power and authority. It is commonly assumed that those who speak the standard have more power than dialect speakers. Therefore, when delivering a public speech, a person tries to achieve superiority over others by using the standard. Even though the respondent R1 declares very positive conscious attitudes towards Samogitian, subconsciously he still associates it with a low
prestige and does not want to be seen as powerless. The usage of standard allows him to seem powerful and authoritative and to leave a significant impact on the audience.

When talking about maintaining authority, the ideology should be mentioned as well. It has been already discussed in the earlier chapters, the term ideology refers to ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power (Woolard 1998: 7). As, the standard helps the speaker to maintain power over the audience, it might be concluded that the ideology of the standard language, indeed, has an influence on the speakers and their attitudes towards the usage of Samogitian.

Even though Samogitians themselves do not agree on whether Samogitian is a separate language or a dialect, the study reveals that the majority of them still think of Samogitian as of a dialect. Despite the fact that their opinions on this matter differ, their attitudes towards it are not unexpected: they vary from strongly positive to neutral. However, an in-depth analysis of the interviews has shown that even though respondents officially declare strong positive attitudes toward Samogitian itself, subconsciously they tend to associate the language variety with low prestige and powerlessness. The usage of the standard in official occasions suggests that the (sub)conscious attitudes of migrants towards the usage of Samogitian in public are rather negative.
8. MAIN FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE MIGRANTS’ ATTITUDES

After being able to understand the patterns of usage of Samogitian among migrants and their attitudes towards it, it is important for this study to determine the most principal factors which influence the migrants’ attitudes towards their regional language variety. This chapter examines the main factors that might have influence on migrants’ attitudes towards the regional heritage variety and the usage of it in migration.

8.1. Influence of Education

First of all, school can be considered as one of the main influences as it is the place where children are first exposed to the differences between the standard and a dialect. As Vaicekauskienė notes, regulations of the standard language that are consolidated at schools have strong influence on pupils’ attitudes towards regional varieties in Lithuania (2013: 19). This study seeks to examine whether these regulations to which the respondents have been exposed at school still have impact on their attitudes or have they lost their influence throughout the period of migration.

When asked which language variety, Samogitian or the standard Lithuanian, was the main variety of communication at school during lessons, all interviewees declared the standard as the one. Both students and teachers were only speaking the standard during lessons. However, during breaks, pupils and some teachers were using Samogitian. This suggests that speaking in a certain way during lessons was understood by pupils as one of the many things which were requested by the teacher and obeying this meant to be successful in school. However, school breaks were for students’ free time and they meant that they could freely use a language variety of their choice.

Interestingly, a rather striking difference can be seen between different period of times. Those respondents who have attended school 20 or more years ago stated that the standard Lithuanian was the only possible language variety used during lessons. However, those who have attended school less than 10 years ago already give different answers. They argue that some lessons such as the Lithuanian language lesson was held in standard, whereas, other subjects were conducted in Samogitian.
(22) **R8:** Some subjects... were in Samogitian and some, for example, Lithuanian, were in standard (male, 30-39)

However, only one respondent said that some subjects at school were held in Samogitian. Earlier he has mentioned that he had attended gymnasium which is focused on maintaining Samogitian dialect and, therefore, some subjects were held in this variety. This suggests that in the past 10 years, the attitudes towards regional varieties became more positive and the regional varieties are now seen as something worth maintaining.

After interviewing the people, an interesting observation has been made. Those respondents who have graduated university in Lithuania, stated that that was the place where they finally mastered the standard Lithuanian and managed to stop accidentally using Samogitian in social environments.

(23) **R7:** When I was studying... well it happened, I was just accidentally using Samogitian.. but later there was no such thing anymore, I managed not to do it accidentally anymore... (female, 40-49)

School is the place where children are first introduced to the difference between a dialect and the standard. Usually, it is where the pupils acquire the most common attitudes towards dialects, namely, the negative opinions suggesting that dialect users have lower prestige than standard speakers. At school, the standard is usually associated with authority. Teachers speak the standard with pupils indicating that it is the “right” way to speak. As the teacher is the most authoritative person in the classroom children start to associate the standard with power and authority. This is also because, as Vaicekauskiené notes, the “right” language is one of the evaluation criteria at school (2013: 47). If pupils do not speak the “correct” language, it is believed that they are less clever, are evaluated as bad students.

On the other hand, the usage of the standard might also be something that is imposed on pupils from the teacher, that is it is something that has to be done in order to perform well at school. In their private time, including breaks, school students are still acknowledging Samogitian as the main variety for communication. However, if deciding to continue with the higher education, students are put to slightly different situation. University can be seen as a breaking-point where standard becomes the main variety of communication for dialect speakers. It is introduced not only as a means for official
communication but for private discourse as well, as many friends that a dialect speaker acquires do not speak the dialect. What is more, arriving to live and study to a different, usually bigger city, young dialect speakers want to be seen as educated, smart, even authoritative people; therefore, they tend to use the standard.

Even though school plays an important role in shaping speakers’ attitudes towards their regional variety and the usage of it, it might not be the most important. The university is the place where dialect speakers finally turn to using standard not only in official environment, such as lectures but also for private communication. Therefore, it might be stated that university might have even more influence on forming attitudes towards dialect usage than school. However, the data gathered for this study is not enough to reveal the actual influence of higher education, therefore, this could be considered as beginning point for future research.

8.2. Soviet Language Ideology

Soviet policies of the standardisation of language might also be considered as a crucial factor having influence on speakers’ attitudes towards their regional variety. What is more, it is also closely related to education. Therefore, due to the fact that a number of interviewees in this study have attended school during the period of the Soviet occupation, Soviet language ideology is distinguished as a separate factor which might have influence on the speakers’ attitudes towards their regional variety.

The answers of the respondents show in practice how the language was regulated at school at that time:

(24) R3: 
Later, the idea was raised that people should speak dialects but when we were attending school, we had to speak this pure Lithuanian, this literary language (male, 60-69)

This short excerpt from the interview shows two very important things. First, it shows in practice that the language ideology was consolidated at schools very strongly in Soviet times. The respondent R3 states that at school it was obligatory to use the “literary language”. This phenomenon has been already discussed in the earlier chapters. This is what Vaicekauskienė describes as *syncretic prescriptive paradigm of language*: a
phenomenon where spoken and written languages are merged into one and understood as one language (2013: 35). It can be understood that not only students at school had to speak standard Lithuanian instead of dialect, they also had to use literary language.

Clearly, the Soviet language policy, implemented at schools during the period of Soviet occupation had a profound influence on negative attitudes towards dialects and dialect speakers. Not only people who spoke dialect were shown as having low prestige, uneducated and coming “from a village” but also the significant effort was put to change the dialect as the linguistic variety itself. That is, the dialect was strongly standardised, resulting the permanent changes in the variety itself which means that the Samogitian that is spoken by people who have attended school in the Soviet period not only have rather negative attitudes towards Samogitian but also do not speak the real dialect but a standardised linguistic variety.

What is more, even though in many occasions, respondents claim that this obligation of speaking literary language at school had no impact on their linguistic choices, one respondent believes, that such regulations had a strong influence on the Samogitian dialect.

(25) R3: We, who attended school at earlier times, they were trying to diminish the Samogitian dialect, so our language is already not pure Samogitian, it is already strongly adapted, not real Samogitian (male, 60-69)

The respondent believes that the effort of Soviet language policy had an influence on their usage of Samogitian. As R3 claims, their language is not “pure Samogitian” as it has been under the influence of the literary language for a rather extended period of time. Therefore, even though people think that they speak the “real Samogitian”, the respondent believes that they do not. However, only one respondent is of such opinion, the others state that such language policy at schools had no influence on their usage of Samogitian. Even though this opinion does not make a high percentage of, it is still valuable data and requires further investigation.

For the interviewees who had been attending school during the period of the Soviet Union, the Soviet standard language ideology has left a strong impact towards Samogitian and the usage of it resulting the view that the dialect is only for the private sphere, whereas only the standard should be used in public. What is more, unfortunately,
the standard language towards the standard has not change that much since the Soviet times (Vaicekauskienė 2013: 5). The influence of the standard language ideology can still be felt strongly at school and the attitudes expressed by the interviewees only supports this fact.

8.3. Pressure from Society

One more factor that might have a strong position in shaping such attitudes is assumed to be other people’s opinions. This might also be considered as an ideology of the standard as the acceptance of one variety over the other comes from society itself. Therefore, in the study it is analysed how the participants perceive other people’s attitudes towards dialect speakers both in Lithuania and in Germany. The question *In your opinion, what are the attitudes of people in Lithuania and Germany towards dialect speakers?* was asked to which the interviewees gave the following answers:

![Figure 4. Attitudes of people towards dialect speakers in Lithuania and Germany.](image)

The striking difference can be seen between how respondents perceive the opinions on dialect speakers in Lithuania and Germany. The majority of interviewees declare that in Lithuania, other people’s attitudes towards dialects are negative. More than a half of people that have been interviewed said that they have experienced being laughed at because of the way they speak at some point of their lives while they were living in Lithuania. This situation is reflected in the following examples:
I: How do you think, what are the attitudes of people in Lithuania towards people who speak dialect?
R4: Earlier, they used to laugh even... when I came to study to Šiauliai, I said something wrong, oh how much laughter there was.. (female, 60-69)
R2: Of course. When I came to gymnasium, I would say something and everyone would laugh. I remember I said “einvu i trobq” [Sam. I’m going into a room] instead of “einvu i kambarį” [Lit. I’m going into a room]. Well and later said “guzikai” [Sam. buttons], everyone was collapsing from laughter (female, 30-39)

R10: Oh yeah, in university there were some teachers, like: “well, Samogitians, look how they speak. That language of yours – hard, not beautiful at all” (female, 30-39)

These responses show clearly that when the respondents were living in Lithuania, they have had rather negative experiences towards their regional variety. These answers support the ideas earlier expressed by Vaicekauskienė and her research team, who concluded that in Lithuania dialect speakers are seen as poor educated or being “from a village” (2013).

On the other hand, the responses by people in this study also show that Samogitians themselves sometimes have rather negative opinions about those who speak differently. This applies to either those who speak another subdialect or even standard.

R3: My relatives, kuršėnai [residents of Kuršėnai], so when I would come from Šiauliai, so they were laughing already that I was using a lot of different words, from another region. We all were Samogitians but some words were different and they there laughing (male, 60-69)

I: And how were you speaking during breaks at school?
R6: During breaks, Samogitian. Sometimes, when we wanted to make fun of a teacher, well... we were just kids, did all kinds of nonsense... so when we wanted to make fun of a teacher, we would pretend that we correct each other’s language, told each other to speak “proper Lithuanian” (male, 40-49)

These are notable examples of how Samogitians themselves make fun of different subdialects, or even the standard Lithuanian. The second response might even suggest some subconscious attitudes of children towards the standard Lithuanian. For them speaking standard is something that is worth making fun of. Even though now the respondent is justifying himself by saying that children often do nonsenses, it might be understood that he feels uneasy about making fun of the language. Therefore, it might be
understood that he feels bad because the standard is not something that can be mocked and the respondent understands that. It is possible that the ideology that is strongly rooted in the educational system, is also rooted in his mind, bringing the idea that the standard is something ideal and is not to be made fun of.

However, as Figure 4 reflects, in Germany, the attitudes of other Lithuanians towards dialect speakers are either neutral or even positive. Neither of the respondents says that they experience any kind of negative attitudes towards dialect speakers in migration. The difference between the situation of dialect speakers in Lithuania and in migration can be summarised very well by quoting the interviewee R2:

(30) R2: Well let’s put it like that. In Lithuania, the attitude towards dialects was negative. If you go to Kaunas or something and tell them that you are from Telšiai, then they think that you are.. well.. like, lower..well, like from a village. And here, I don’t have such feeling that someone would think that we’re worse than them because we are from a region (female, 30-39)

Not being afraid to be judged or laughed at for speaking their regional variety the interviewees also use Samogitian freely in a public communication even speaking with people who are not Samogitians. It can be said, that in migration, the dialect speakers have more linguistic freedom to use their own regional variety.

However, the longer a speaker had been living in Lithuania, that is, in the linguistically restricted environment, the deeper the standard ideology is rooted in their minds. The migrants who have spent less than 10 years in Germany still tend to feel restrictions when speaking Samogitian outside the boundaries of their own families. This suggest that other people’s opinions or, in other words, linguistic pressure from society can be considered a very important factor which influences speakers’ attitudes towards their reginal variety and the usage of it.

Society, or the opinions of other people, is one of the main factors which influences people’s attitudes towards Samogitian and the usage of it. Before making the decision which language variety to use in a communicative act, a speaker, first of all, most probably subconsciously, considers how the other participants of the conversation will react towards their choice of variety. In Lithuania, where the societal opinion about particular linguistic varieties is rather negative, such choice is more difficult and requires careful consideration. What is more, in Lithuania, a speaker would probably choose the
“safe zone” and speak standard with strangers. In migration, however, the linguistic societal pressure is not that strong. Speakers do not feel such intense pressure to choose the “right” variety and have no fear to be seen as having lower prestige by choosing their regional variety as the mean of communication with others.

In-depth analysis of the interviews has shown that there are three main factors that influence speakers attitudes towards their regional variety and the usage of it. First, it is education, both at school and university. In school, children are firstly introduced to the usage of the standard in official environments and they are shown the difference between public and private communication. In university, this gap is reduced by introducing the standard to the private sphere as well. This can be considered as the breaking-point of dialect speakers’ choice of language variety. Second factor that influences attitudes towards Samogitian is closely related to the first one as it had been widely consolidated at schools, is the influence of the Soviet language teaching policies. However, this factor is more influential only for senior respondents, those who have attended school during the period of Soviet occupation. The third, and probably the most influential, factor shaping speakers’ attitudes towards the dialect is the pressure from society to speak the "right" way. Linguistic choices of dialect speakers are influenced by opinions of other people and fear to be judged because of speaking not the "right" language variety. Therefore, the most respondents tend to choose the standard when talking to strangers.
9. CONCLUSIONS

This study tried to cover the existing gap between on speakers’ attitudes towards regional varieties in Lithuania and language maintenance in migration and to investigate Lithuanian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional varieties and the factors that influence them. The aim of this study was to investigate what are the attitudes of migrants towards their regional variety, what are the main factors that play a role in shaping them, and whether the standard Lithuanian language ideology is one of those factors.

The in-depth analysis of the interviews has shown that in migration, similarly as in Lithuania, migrants’ attitudes towards Samogitian and the usage of it are governed by the three main factors:

- **Education**: School is the first place where pupils are introduced to the standard as the main variety of official communication leaving dialect to the private sphere, that is as a variety to speak with family and friends. The influence of school has been already noted by researches performed earlier and this study has confirmed the results by previous investigations. However, this study has revealed new findings that have not been discussed by other researches. The analysis has shown that university, in fact, plays more important role in shaping speakers’ attitudes towards regional varieties than school. University expands the usage of the standard beyond the boundaries of public communication, becoming not only the variety of official discourse but also adopting some of the private environment, as friends of dialect speakers might usually not understand the dialect.

- **Soviet language policy** – closely related to the education but have slightly stronger influence on those who had attended school during the period of Soviet occupation. Such respondents tend to express stronger negative attitudes towards the usage of dialect in public environments, some even express an opinion that Soviet language policies changed the way Samogitians speak and that the nowadays Samogitian is not the “pure” Samogitian due to this policy. It should be noted, however, that this factor mostly influences senior respondents, those who had attended school under the Soviet regime.

- **Society** – probably the most important factor that influences speakers’ attitudes towards their language variety and the usage of it. The analysis has shown that the
pressure of the society to speak the “right” variety has a strong influence on respondents when choosing which variety to use in public communication. However, interviewees claim that in migration they do not feel such intense pressure from society to speak the “right” variety as in Lithuania. While in the latter country, dialect speakers prefer to stay in the “safe-zone” by speaking the standard in unfamiliar occasions, they have no fear to use their regional variety with person whom they do not know in migration. Therefore, many respondents stated that they use more Samogitian in public while in migration than they did in Lithuania.

Features such as the pressure to speak the “right” language variety, the choice to use one variety over the other because of common sense or thinking that the “wrong” variety is of low prestige and those who speak it are poor-educated, lead to what is referred to as the ideology of the standard language.

Many scholars believe that this phenomenon influence speakers’ attitudes towards dialects and the usage of them. It was important for this study to understand whether the ideology of the standard also influences migrants as they are not usually directly exposed to. The analysis has shown that migrants do not feel intense pressure to speak the “right” language and feel much freer to use the variety of their choice when talking to other migrants. No negative attitudes were expressed towards those who speak dialect in migration. On the other hand, interviewees still believe that it is common sense to use the standard in official gatherings, for public speeches or for official events. Therefore, even though migrants’ attitudes towards their regional language variety are still influenced by the standard Lithuanian language ideology, the influence is, for sure, lesser than on those who live in Lithuania.

The study reveals that the development of positivity towards regional varieties in Lithuania is rather stagnated. The main factor for it is the outdated educational system regarding dialects as well as deeply rooted negative attitudes towards regional variety speakers and the usage of dialects. To improve the current situation, first of all, the educational system should be modernised by removing the still existing Soviet language policy model and replacing it with a new dialect-positive schooling pattern. This would help to raise a new generation of dialect speakers who would share positive attitudes towards dialects and their usage and would not be influenced by the standard language ideology.
The current study presents a brief overview of the Lithuanian migrants’ attitudes towards their regional variety and analysis of the main factors that influence such attitudes. This investigation could be a starting point for a number of future researches. First, the study itself could be continued by expanding the circle of interviewees in order to get more extensive results. Even though this study was able to shed light on the main tendencies of migrants’ attitudes towards their regional variety, it is believed that with more data, more extensive results could be presented. Therefore, the current study can be seen as a starting point for a greater research of migrants’ attitudes towards their language varieties.

What is more, due to the lack of time and means, this research was only able to analyse conscious attitudes of the interviewees not giving enough attention to their subconscious thinking. Therefore, the future investigations could follow the path which has been begun in this thesis by paying attention to subconscious attitudes of the dialect speakers.

Finally, this study has touched the basics of a very complex and interesting phenomenon such as the ideology of the standard language and its influence on dialect speakers. This topic can, for sure, be analysed in the future, also focusing on migrants and their attitudes towards their language varieties. Therefore, the current study, again, could be a starting point for such investigation.
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Appendix A: The Lithuanian Dialects

Map 1. The Lithuanian Dialects and Subdialects (The Institute of the Lithuanian Language 2017)
Appendix B: The Original List of Interview Questions

ĮŽANGINIS KLAUSIMAS
1. Kaip manote, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

DALIS 1: Kalbinis elgesys gyvenant Lietuvoje
- Mokykla:
  2. Kaip buvo kalbama per pamokas?
  3. Kaip kalbėdavote pertraukų metu?
  4. Kaip mokytojai reaguodavo į tai, kaip Jūs kalbėdavote per pertraukas?
  5. Pagalvokite, kaip būtų reagavę mokytojai jei būtumėte kalbėję bendrine kalba/žemaičiškai?
- Kalbos atmainos pasirinkimas viešumoje:
  6. Kiek laiko po mokyklos baigimo dar gyvenote Lietuvoje?
  7. Ar dažnai prabildavote žemaičiškai viešojoje erdvėje? Parduotuvių, darbe, gatvėje, bibliotekoje, pas gydytoją ir pan.?
  8. Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Kodėl Jums atrodo būtent taip?
- Kalbinės atmainos pasirinkimas privačioje aplinkoje:
  9. Kokia kalba bendravote su tėvais gyvendami Lietuvoje?
  10. Ar gyvendami Lietuvoje jau sukūrę savo šeimą?
  11. Jei taip, kokia kalba kalbėjote su savo vaikais?
  12. Ar dažnai žiūrėdavote televiziją, klausydavote radijos? Kokias laidas dažniausiai žiūrėdavote?
  13. Kaip manote, kokiame kontekste būtų nepriimta kalbėti žemaičiškai? Kur tik bendrinė kalba būtų priimtina?
  14. Kokiam kontekstui neleiskite nekalbėtumėte bendrine kalba? Tik žemaičiškai?
  15. Kaip kalba dažniausiai galvojate ar net pasikalbate su savimi?

DALIS 2: Kalbinis elgesys gyvenant Vokietijoje
- Privati aplinka:
  16. Ar pasikeite bendravimas Jūsų šeimoje atvykus į Vokietiją? Kokia kalba dabar bendraujate šeimoje?
  17. Kaip manote, kas lėmė tokį jūsų požiūrį pasikeitimą?
  18. Ar stengiatės vaikus išmoktyti žemaičiškai? Kodėl?
  19. Ar čia žiūrėite lietuvišką televiziją, klausote radijų, sekate naujienas? (Jei taip: kokias laidas žiūrėte, klausote?)
- Vieša aplinka:
  20. Ar čia bendraujate su kitais žemaičiais? Ar dažnai su jais susitinkate?
  21. Ar jaučiatės esantis/esanti labiau žemaitis(-ė) čia, ar gyvenant Lietuvoje? Ar sumenko Jūsų “žemaičiškumas” emigravus, o gal kaip tik sustiprėjo?
Appendix C: The English Translation of Interview Questions

INTRODUCTORY QUESTION:
1. In your opinion, is Samogitian a dialect or a separate language?

PART 1: Linguistic Behaviour in Lithuania
• School:
2. What language variety was used during lessons?
3. How were you speaking during breaks between lessons?
4. How were teachers reacting to your linguistic choices during breaks?
5. In your opinion, how the teacher would have reacted if you had spoken the standard/Samogitian?
• Linguistic Choices in Public:
6. How long have you been living in Lithuania after you had graduated school?
7. What language variety were you using in public? For instance, at a shop, at work, on the street, in a library, with your doctor etc.?
8. In your opinion, what attitudes people in Lithuania have towards dialect speakers? Why do you think so?
• Linguistic Choices in Private Discourse:
9. What language variety did you speak with your parents?
10. Have you already had your own family when you were living in Lithuania?
11. If yes, what language variety did you speak with your children?
12. How often were you watching TV, listening to radio? What kind of shows were you usually watching/listening to?
13. In your opinion, would there ever be a situation when you would consider Samogitian to be inappropriate? When only the standard Lithuanian should be used?
14. Would there ever be a situation when you would consider the standard to be inappropriate? Where you would only use Samogitian?
15. In your opinion, what language variety do you use when you think or talk to yourself?

PART 2: Linguistic Behaviour in Germany:
• Private communication:
16. Has the communication in your family changed after you left Lithuania? What language variety do you use now?
17. What, in your opinion, caused such change? (If applicable)
18. Are you trying to teach your children Samogitian? Why?
19. Do you watch Lithuanian TV, listen to radio here, in Germany? What kind of shows do you usually watch/listen to?
• Public communication:
20. Do you know any Samogitians here? Do you often meet with them?
21. Do you consider yourself to be more Samogitian when living here or were you feeling more Samogitian when living in Lithuania? The Samogitian “nationalism”, has it decreased after migrating or, on the contrary, increased?
Appendix D: Transcription of the Interviews

Transcription of the Interview No. 1

**Location:** Hüttenfeld, Germany  
**Date:** 4 February 2017  
**Interviewees:**  
R1 (male, 40-49)  
R2 (female, 30-39)  
R3 (male, 60-69)  
R4 (female, 60-69)  
**Interviewer:** Indrė Nugaraitė  
**Number of Tapes:** 1  
**Length of the Interview:** 24 minutes 35 seconds

I: Visų pirma, jūsų nuomone, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R1: Kalba.

R2: Aš galvoju, kad tarmė

R4: Aš irgi tarmė, manyčiau

I: [Kreipiasi į R3] O Jums kaip atrodo?

R3: Aš manau, kad tarmė, todėl, kad kalba, pavyzdžiui, kuršėniškiai ten luokiškiai kalb kitaip ten negu Plungė, [tai sakyti, kad]

R2: [nes yra dar tarp žemaičių yra dar daug visokių šalutinių nukrypimų ir tai vis dėlto, aš galvoju, irgi, ne tik dėl to, bet ir taip, kaip žodžiai tiesiog tiesiog tariasi, tai – ne atskiri žodžiai, bet kokie, bet tai yra tiesiog ten tartis kitokia, o kiti tai yra tiesiog žodžiai, kurie yra kitokie, jie yra, aš galvoju, kad jie yra iš kitų kalbų atėję, iš rusų kalbos, ten kokie nors, koks „viedras“ ar dar kokie nors, aš manyčiau taip grynai kitokie žodžiai, kurie nuo bendrinės kalbos dažniausiai iš kitų kalbų atėję.

I: [Kreipiasi į R1] O Jūsų, pats pirmas buvo „kalba“...

R1: Kalba, jo. Nu, nu da Daukants rašė ar kas ten, kad kalba tai žemaičių yra. Ir dabar aš kiek žiūriu, skaitau internete, ne, tų yr žemaičių ten tokie judėjimai, net, ten, visi saka, kad tai yr kalba, ne?

R2: Kodėl? Ką sak, tai čia gal kitaip gal...

R1: ...nuu, jo, bet tai irgi irgi, kad tarmė irgi sako vadovėliai, ane, mūsų, kur mes mokindavomės, o dabar irgi aiškina, reik tiesiog skaityt tuos straipsnius, ane, ir... ir aiškintis ar kalba... Gal žemaičių yra pagrindinė kalba, o ne lietuvių [juokiasi]. Nuu, lietuvių gal yra tarmė, nu..

I: Paminėjot mokslus. Kaip suprantu, mokyklą visi baigėt Lietuvoje?
R2: Ne, aš čia baigiau. Bet aš gi baigiau Vasario 16-ą
I: Ai, tai irgi lietuviškai
R2: Nu nežinau, kiek čia ta mūsų Vasario 16-a atitinka Lietuvos mokymo lygį, nu, bent jau lietuvių kalbos, sakykim..  
I: Supratau. O kiti – Lietuvoj?
R4: Lietuvoj.
I: Kaip buvo kalbama per pamokas? Ar buvo orientuota žemaitiškai kalbėti ar „lietuviškai“?
R4: Lietuviškai, lietuviškai.
R3: Mes kai mokėmėms, tai lietuviškai
I: Lietuviškai.
R3: Mhm
I: O, pavyzdžiui, per pertraukas? Su klasės draugais?
R4: Kaip kas norėja, taip tas kalbėja
R3: Kaip kas jau kalbėja, taip ir ir...
I: O kaip mokytojai reagavo į tai, nesakė, kad pavyzdžiui „baik čia kalbėt taip“?
R4: Ne, ne, nebuvo taip
I: Ne?
R2: Aš tai kažkaip iš savo dar, nu aš gi mokiaus mokykloj Lietuvoj iki septintos klasės, tai aš žinau, kad kitiems mažiems vaikams, mažiems dar vaikams buvo sunkiai įprasti prie tos bendrines kalbos.. eh.. pamokoj šnekėti, jie dar sužemaičiuodavo dažnai, ir aš išku mokytojas te pataisydavo.. O kai pertraukoj, aš kiek atsi.. manau, kad mes žemaitiškai šnekėdavom.
R3: Vėlesniais laikais pradėjo jau, kad reik kalbėti tarmiškai, kur jau jeigu esi, ten, Žemaitijo, ir jau pradėjo rekomenduot tai, bet kai mes mokėmėms, tai.. grynai lietuviškai, pagal literatūriškai turėjai kalbėt, bet jau kaip išeidavo taip ir kalbėjom..
I: O kaip Lietuvoje kalbėjot viešumoje? Pavyzdžiui, parduotuvėj, su gydytoju, bibliotekoje ar panašiai?
R4: Nu.. ne ne žemaitiškai..
I: Ne? Ne žemaitiškai?

R2: Nu, sakykim taip, man atrodo, bandėm nešnekėt žemaitiškai, stengėmės kalbėti bendrine kalba, bet su žemaičiavimu, ar ne? Taip kaip va, matom per kokį nors televizijos laidą, ten kokį „Klausimėlį“, kur klausia žmogų ten kokiuse Telšiuose, stengiasi kalbėti bendrine kalba, bet bet ne visai gaunasi [juokiasi]

R1: Jaučiasi

R2: Jaučiasi [tas stiprus]

R1: [nu tai sakykim, aš, kai ten Telšiuos dažniausiai, kokias jstaigas eit, ar dar kažkur, tai vistiek tuos žmones daugiausiai žinai ir jeigu ansai žemaitis tai žemaitiškai kalbi su juo, o jeigu kokis aukštaitis yra, ans nelaba supronta, tai, nu.. aukštaitiškai šneki... Bet būdavo pas mus ir mieste Kaune, kad tyčia kalbėdavo žemaitiška, ir atsakinėdavo, pavyzdžiui, tyčia, ir viens kits būdavo toks užsispyręs.. Netgi mėgdavo ane... dėstytojai, ane, „va, žemaituks atėj“..

R2: Nu, pavyzdžiui, tava bruolis, žinau, kad žemaitiškai primyg... nu, primygtinai šneka žemaitiškai, nu.. ar su aukštaičiu ar su žemaičiu..

I: O kaip šeimoje, privačioje aplinkoje, su tėvais, su vaikais, kaip bendraujate?

R1: Žemaitiškai

R4: Žemaitiškai...

R2: Nu bet va, [vaiko vardas], jeigu lietuviškai šnekam, tai aukštaitiškai

R1: Nu taip jau išėjo...

R4: Nu toks jis per pusę, panašiai. Ten kokį labai labai žemaitišką žodį nenaudojam daugmaž, sakykim, nesakom vaikui, mes pavyzdžiui, jau kai žemaitiškai šnekam namuose, mes nesakom [vaikui], kad tu, pavyzdžiui, „išgerk peiną“, mes sakom: „a nenuori pieno?“ Vistiek jau ta...

R2: Nenuori, bet pieno [juokiasi]

R4: Pieno, nu [juokiasi] arba...

R2: Ar dounos

R4: Nu, nesakom dounos, sakom valgyk [vaikė] duoną.

I: Mhm

R4: Visokų tokių nepasakysių jau, pačius tuos didžiuosius nubraukom žemaitiškus
R1: Nu čia nespecialiai gal, arba gal kaip tik specialiai, nes... ahm, kad anam ir taip, sakykim, sudėtinga, dvi kalbas mokėt, ten vokiškai mokėt ir lietuviškai, ane, ir dar trečią žemaitiškai, tai sunkiai gal.. tai vist tik ti literatūriškai dažniausiai čia aplinkui šnekam

R2: Bet [vaikas] supranta. Kai kurį sykį, mes, pavyzdžiui, su R1 kai esam, visą laiką žemaitiškai šnekam tarp savęs, ir aš vieną sykį ir klausiu, sakau „ar tu supranti išvis, apie ką mes čia šnekam?” Jisai sako, „jo, suprantu“. Da paklausiau, sakau „pasakyk ką mes sakom“

R1: Nu..

I: Ar gyvendami čia, sekate, kas vyksta Lietuvoje? Žiūrite žinais, skaitote laikraščius, klausotės radijo?

R4: Mes televiziją žiūrom visą laiką lietuviškai.

I: Lietuviškai. O ar sekat tik bendras Lietuvos naujienas ar ir tai kas vyksta Žemaitijoj?

R4: Lietuvos.

R1: Nu tai mūsų regiono naujienas per telefoną sužinom [juokiasi]

R2: Nu bet tu tai seki visas naujienas per Facebook'ą tai ypatingai.

R1: Nu per Facebook’ą..

R2: Visas grupes ten, visokio paveldo ir... visokių.. „Varnių regioninis paveldas“, Telšių ten visokie..

I: Supratau. Kaip manot, ar būtų kokia nors situacija, kur būtų nepriimtina šnekėti žemaitiškai? Kur jokių būdu nekalbėtume žemaitiškai?

R1: Nebūtų. Ne tik sakau, kad būna, kada žmonės nesupront, iš Aukštaitijos kur nors, iš Vilniaus, ar kur kur nors, pradėti žemaitiškai šnekėti, ir nesupront, prašo pakartoti, nu tada aišku, kalbi aukštaitiškai. O kad būtų nepriimtina, nebūtų

R2: Nu bet sakykim taip, pavyzdžiui. Sakykim, galėtume šnekėti kad ir.... taip, sakykim, kokiuose susitikimuose, draugiškumo ar taip, bet pavyzdžiui, mes turim čia savo vietinę bendruomenę lietuvių, ar da ką nors, ir jeigu koks viešas pasisakymas, tai, pavyzdžiui, aš nešneku žemaitiškai. Nešnekėčiau. Jeigu, pavyzdžiui, kokią kalbą reikėtų sakyt...

R4: Ne žemaitiškai tu?

R2: Ne žemaitiškai, ne ne. Ir tu net nešneki, nesakyk [kreipiasi R1]

R1: Ne, aš [sakau]

R2: [Jeigu pasisakai, stovi [prieš[
R1: [Dėl to, kad suprastų. Bet tai ne tam, kad ten gėdintumės tos žemaičių kalbos ar kažko, kad tas būtų nepriimtina, ne. Bet, tiesiog, kad žmonės suprastų, tiesiog dėl to.

R2: Nu nemanau, kad dėl to, nes yra tokį, žinau porą, kurie kalba tik tai žemaitiškai, bet kokioj situacijo. Ir juos visi supranta...

R4: Kas anie tokie yr?

R2: Pavyzdžiui, [draugai], ane, tai, bet juos visi supranta.

R4: Jie turi žemaitiškus pasus, yra išduoti kažkokie dar, Telšius gavę buvo.. Iš Telšių ta moteriškė kur yr. Tai va...

I: O tuomet ar būtų situacija, kurioje niekuomet nekalbėtumėte bendrine kalba?

R1: Manau, kad galėtų pas mane būt [juokiasi], Įmanoma. Jeigu tenai tarp žemaičių kažkur, kur yr.. Su [draugu], nekalbėsiu aš pavyzdžiui, aukštaitiškai.

R2: Nu aš su savo šeima, pavyzdžiui, į Lietuvą kai nuvažiuojo...

R4: Į Lietuvą kai nuvažiuojo, tai tada jau „kaip reikalas“ žemaitiškai.

R3: Nu nesakyk taip jau visai, todėl, kad tie, kur senesniai mokinomės ir ten stengės tą žemaitiškimą naikint, ta vistiek jinai yr padalyta, ta žemaitiška vadinama mūsų mūsų kalba.

R2: Nu bet gal, tu gi esi iš Kuršėnų, ne, tai vėl vėl kitaip yra, [negu]

R3: [Tai kuršėniškiai jau jau reikia kitokia tarmę, jau į Luokę nuvažiavus, būdavo gryna kaip Telšiūos...

R2: Dar atsimenu grynai, kaip atvažiavo irgi mano brolis susitukoč iš Šilutės su mergina ir parvažiavo pas mus gyvent, jinai sakė, va, jau tėvai kalba dar kitaip žemaitiškai, negu kad aš, kur aš jau užaugau Rainiuose, Telšiuose, grynai jau ta intonacija visai gryna. Jinai, nu, iš dalies, nes nesuprast, sako, va tėvus tai gerai eina suprast, o mane tai sunkiausiai, nes aš grynai buvau užaugusi jau su... kieme tenai...


R2: Jau pasakė senutė pirmą sakinį, jis sako, ir jau, sako, nieko nesupratau. Nės ta senutė tai vertėjai ir sako, sako, „o kas ons toks y?“ [juokiasi] sako, ir aš jau to ir nebesupratau.
R4: Ne taip sakė, sako, aš atsivežiau tą vertėją, o tie vyrai, tai anie i klaus, „o kas ana tokia y?“ Sak, tai vat ir nesupratau. Ir neseniai aš girdėjau daba per televizorių kai šnekėjo irgi, saka „y“, kažkokia, iš kažkur irgi riebiai...

R3: Nu tai kiekviens beveik rajuons turi, pavyzdžiui, Mažeikiai tur savo, Skuodas jau savo, Kretinga vėl kažkas ne ne taip... va, žiūriu ten Šilutėj jau mažiau žemaičiuoja, ten, matyt yra ten suvažiavę, ten užpildė, kai atvyko vokiečiai, atvažiuodavo ir iš Aukštaitijos, tai biškį jau ta kalba yra ir mažyta gaunas tokia.

I: O kiek jau laiko gyvenat Vokietijoje?

R3: Nuo 91-ų metų

R2: 26 metai. 26-ti metai bus birželį

I: Kai galvojate, arba, kaip būna, kad pasišneki su savimi, kokia kalba? Lietuviškai, vokiškai, žemaitiškai?

R3: Mes vyresni, tai lietuviškai

I: Ar žemaitiškai ar lietuviškai?

R3: Nu tai čia turbūt priklauso, ji yr gimusi iš Rietavo rajono tada buvusio, tai vistiek jau yra..


R2: Gal ir žemaitiškai

R4: Žemaitiškai

R3: Nu tai čia turbūt priklauso, ji yr gimusi iš Rietavo rajono tada buvusio, tai vistiek jau yra.

R4: Nu nei šis, nei tas, kad aš iš Rietavo tai turiu galvot kitaip, negu tu iš Kuršėnų [juokiasi]

R3: Ne, nu tai, kad tu sakai žemaitiškai...
R4: Nu, kad žemaitiškai, galvojį [draugė] galvoj kitaip, ana jau kiaurai šnek, nesvarbu kiek ten žmonių, ana vistiek visalaik kalba, šnek žemaitiškai. Be kalbos jau neina. Tai vat. O mes tai vieną kitą žodžį...

R2: I vokiškų žodžių įterpiam, nu taip jau gaunas, kad ką nors...nu ta mūsų kalba neina paraleliai, sakykim, nes mes daug... nu kai aš knygas skaitau, pavyzdžiui, lietuviškai, vokiškai, maišytai, spaudą vokiškai skaitau, darbe vokiškai, tai ta mano kalba neina paraleliai, sakykim, su ta kalbos raidų, darbe ir kalba, darbe vokiškai, tai ta kalba neina paraleliai, sakykim, su ta kalbos raidų, darbe ir kalba, darbe vokiškai, tai ta kalba neina paraleliai, sakykim, su ta kalbos raidų, čia ji neina... Tai vat. O mes tai vieną kitą žodį...

I: O šeimoj vistiek daugiausia bandot lietuviškai kalbėt?

R2: Lietuviškai, tiek tiek, kad va, su [vaiku] aš kalbu vokiškai. Bet čia jau ten atskira situacija, buvo dėl klausos problemų, biškį aplamai lėčiau pradėjo kalbėti, tai, kad jam palengvinti mokymą, tai vokiškai..

I: Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Ar jaučiamas neigiamas požiūris į nebendrine kalba kalbančius žmones?

R3: Nemanau, jeigu su žmogum draugauji..

R2: Požiūris, koks yra požiūris

R3: Nu tai požiūris ir yra...

R4: Jeigu seniau seniau gal ir nekreipdavo taip dėmesio, dabar, mažiau, darbe ten maišyta viskas... ką norėjau pasakyti, seniau tai pasiųkdo dar, o kai išvažiavau į Šiaulių mokyti, o jėtai kažką pasakiau taip jau ten tiesiog...

R2: Nu tai aišku, aš ten irgi atvažiavau į gimnaziją irgi, tai irgi ten pasakyti bus, tai ten juokėsi, „einu į trobą“ pasakiau, „seinu į kambarį“ nu „einu į trobą“. Nu paskui ten „guzikai“ irgi visi leipo iš juoko, kai pasakiau „guzikai“. 

R4: Kažin dar guzikai, ar anie lietuviškai, ar nėra koks iš rusų kalbos tas guzikas...

R2: Nu tai taip, bet mes sakydavom taip, nesakydavom „sagos“, ane

R3: Mano giminės, kuršėnai, iš Šiaulių tai būdavo atvažiudoavau, tai jau juokdavos, kad pas mane labai daug žemaitiškęs atsiradusių žodžių, nors mes gi kuršėniškiai tai visi gi žemaičiai skaitė, ir Šiaulius dar skaitė tada, kad ir Žemaitijas dalis, bet jau visai lyginant su Telšiais, tai jau labai skyres tarme. 

I: Ar saučiatės esantys labiau žemaičiai čia, ar gyvendami Lietuvoje?

R4: Kad sustiprėt, kad „aš žemaitis“ pasididžiavimui, tokio dalyko nebuvo, bet kai va susirenkam kur nors gimtadienį švest, tai mes ir skaičiuojam, o kiek mūsų daug žemaičių, ane? Mes ir skaičiuodavom, ane, mūsų ten broliai atvažiuos, žmona ten ano, tai mūsų tam
būry, kai susirinkdavo tam būry, kokį dvidešimt žmonių ar daugiau būdavo, tai būdavo daugiau daugiau žemaičių

**R2**: Vos ne pusė žemaičių

**R4**: Ja ja

**R2**: Nu, sakykim, toksai, ašiškų, kai Žemaitijo gyvenai, buvai žemaitis ten tarp žemaičių ir niekam nerūpėjo, o čia tai ašiškų, kad atkreipia dėmesį, ten iš Telšių.. nes vistiek visi yra atvažiavę, ir klausia iš kokio tu miesto esin, iš kokio tu miesto, čia žemaitis iš kur, čia koks panėvežietis ar dar kas nors. Tai ašiškų toks labiau labiau yra toks supratimas, kad aš esu žemaitis, bet tai kad ten daugiau didžiuotis...

**R4**: Ne ne

**R2**: Gal taip nelabai... bent jau man tai nėr taip, kad didžiuotis, nedidžiuotis. Tiesiog yr taip kaip... esi iš Telšių, nu ir iš Telšių...

**I**: Bet vistiek labiau atkreipiamas dėmesys į tai?

**R2**: Ne, tiesiog visi atkreipia daugiau, kad čia daugiau atkreipia į tai iš kokio regiono esi žmogus, kad ten nu.. gal ir į dzūką taip pat atkreiptų dėmesį, kad ten...

**R3**: Nu taip, buvo iš Suvalkijos ir turėdavom savo nuomonę apie suvalkiečius

**R2**: Aš sakyčiau Lietuvoj buvo, jeigu taip suprasti, kad Lietuvoj daugiau neigiamas buvo požiūris, kaip nuvažiuoji, tai jeigu kur nors į Kauną ir pasakyti, aš esu iš Telšių, tai toks buvo supratimas, kad toksai nu...

**R4**: Lyg žemesnis

**R2**: Nu, lyg iš kaimo toksai, sakykim taip. O čia tai kažkaip nėr to tokio jausmo, kad kažkas galvožtų, kad vien dėl to, kad tu iš Telšių, kad tu iš provincijos. Gal daugiau irgi, kad čia daugiau tų suvažiavelių daugiau vis dėlto ir yra iš regionų, ane, o ne iš sostinės, nežinau.

**R4**: O mes taip ir nekreipiam dėmesio ar čia.. gal kas nors ir pakalba, eik tu čia tie žemaičiai, bet tai kai susirinkdavom, mes i dainų žemaitiškų padainuodavom ir...

**R2**: Tai vat sakau, kai yra atvažiavę yra žmonės, kai susitinka žmonės, kaip susitinka vyrai pažaisti futbolo susitinka, tai ašiškų, jeigu kas nors naujas ateina, tai ir toki iš karto kalba ir užėna, iš kur tu esi atvažiavęs, kur dabar gyveni, va, bet svarbus yra toks momentas, iš kur tu esi, kokio miesto.

**R4**: Bet mums mieliau, iš kur atvažiavai, saka iš Telšių, o kaip esam patenkinti nu.

**I**: Labai ačiū Jums visiems už pokalbj.
Transcription of the Interview No. 2

Location: Gerolstein, Germany
Date: 5 February 2017
Interviewees: R5 (male, 60-69)
Interviewer: Indrė Nugaraitė
Number of Tapes: 1
Length of the Interview: 11 minutes 33 seconds

I: Visų pirma, jūsų nuomone, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R5: Naa, aš manau gal… tarmė gal labiau..

I: Tarmė? O kodėl taip manot?

R5: Naa, kad priimta taip kažkaip.. jau nuo mokyklos mokė mus, kad tarmė ir viskas. Taip kažkaip kitaip ir negalvoji žmogus, priimi ir viskas.

I: Paminėjote mokyklą. Tai ir pakalbėkime tada apie tai. Ar per pamokas buvo kalbama žemaitiškai?

R5: Ne, ne per pamokas tai lietuviškai kalbėdavom. Nu ta, ta vadinama bendrine, literatūrine kalba.

I: O per pertraukas?

R5: O per pertraukas, tai niekas ten nežiūrėjo tos kalbos, svarbesnių dalykų buvo [juokiasi]. Jau ten kaip kalbėjai, taip ir kalbėjai.

I: O mokytojai ką dėl to sakė? Neliepdavo kalbėti „lietuviškai“?

R5: Nee, tikrai ne. Patys gi žemaičiuodavo per pertaukas, tiek tarpusavy tiek su mumis, vaikais kalbėdami.

I: Kiek laiko po mokyklos baigimo dar gyvenote Lietuvoje?

R5: Nu, mes kada išvažiavom... sienos atsidarė ir išvažiavom.. o mokyklą tai baigėm 70 kokiais, nepasakysiu dabar tiksliai... nu tai kokių 20 metų, žinok, tikrai dar pragyvenom po mokyklos..

I: Ar dažnai prabildavote žemaitiškai viešojoje erdvėje? Parduotuvėje, darbe, gatvėje, ir pan.?

R5: Žemaitiškai? Nu, kad ne, žinok. Nu kaip.. jei dažnai lankais ten kur nors, pažįsti tuos žmones, nu kad pavyzdžiui, gydytoją savo, tai gi aš nuo mokyklos žinojau. Tai jau ten su juo neapsimetinės, kad lietuviškai šneki. Tai ir žemaičiuoję su juo. Nu o jei nu nepažįsti ten tų žmonių, tai jau prisilaikai tada. Nu arba jei į kokį Kauną ten nuvažiuoji, tai nešnekėsi gi žemaitiškai, svieto nejuokinsi...

I: Juokdavosi kiti, kad žemaitiškai kalbat?
R5: Nu, mūsų regione tai ne. Nors ir tai, ten būdavo visko, žemaičių, taigi ne viena tarmė, skiriasi ten gi telšiškiai nuo varniškių nu ir panašiai, tai būna kad irgi pasijuokia iš tarimo ar dar ko nors.. nu, o tais laikais būdavo į jį kitą miestą nuvažiuoji, ypač didesnį, tai juokiasi, sako „iš kaimo atvažiavo, kalbėt nemoka“

I: Skaudu būdavo klausytis tokių juokų?


I: O šeimoje, su tėvais kaip bendravote?

R5: Tai jau žemaitiškai. Ir su tėvais ir su vaikais paskui jau savais. Ir dabar, kai vaikai atvažiuoja, nu jie irgi čia, Vokietyjų gyvena, tik kitur būkį, tai kai jie atvažiuoja irgi žemaitiškai kalbam. Ir anūkai irgi žemaitiškai kalba.

I: O kokio amžiaus anūkai?

R5: Penki bus balandį abiem, dvynukai jie pas mus.

I: Ir abu žemaitiškai moka?

R5: Moka, moka. Mes juos ir lietuviškai ir žemaitiškai mokinam.

I: Tai anūkai tris kalbas mokosi? Lietuviškai, žemaitiškai ir vokiškai?

R5: Ooo, nu taip išeina, taip..

I: O kodėl norit, kad vaikai ir anūkai kalbėtų ir lietuviškai ir žemaitiškai? Neužtenka vienos kalbos?

R5: Nu, kad ne.. nu lietuviškai, tai nu vistiek reikia gi. Nu jei sugalvos į Lietuvą grįžt, nu tai vistiek labiau pravers ta kalba. O žemaitiškai tai vistiek arčiau prie širdies. Kraužyje gal įstrekęs tas žemaitiškumas, nežinau [juokiais]. Nu negalvojom kažkaip apie taip, taip reikia ir viskas [juokiais].

I: Kaip manote, kokiam kontekste būtų nepriimta kalbėti žemaitiškai? (Kokiam kontekste jokiui būsu nesirinktumėte kalbėti žemaitiškai?)

R5: Nu nežinau... nu jei nespargta žmogus žemaitiškai, tai nekankinsi ten jo, tada lietuviškai kalbė. Nu, o šiaip nežinau, kokioj svarbioj institucijoje jį dirbt, ten seime kokiam, tai nežemaičiuočiai tikriausiai ant visos Lietuvos [juokiai]. Nors, va čia Vokietyjų gyvenant, tai, žinok, daugomoj žemaitiškai ir šnekam tarpusavy. Nu pas mus draugai čia beveik visižemaite, tai kitaip nė nesnekam.

I: Tai jau su jais niekada tikriausiai bendrine kalba ir nešnekėtumėt?

R5: Nu ne, tikriausiai ne. Nu jei atsirastų koks, kur nespargtų, tai jau pasiderintume ten prie jo, bet daugumoj tai tik žemaitėskai...

I: O kokia kalba dažniausiai galvojate ar net pasikalbate su savimi?
R5: Nu... sunku dabar pasakyti, nu būna, kad net ir vokiškai pagalvoju. Nu nežinau dabar. nu bet gal daugumo žemaitiškai netgi.

I: Ar pasikeitė kas nors atvykus į Vokietiją? Ar dabar mažiau kalbat žemaitiškai, ar kaip tik daugiau?

R5: Nu žinai, gal kaip tik daugiau net nei Lietuvoj. Nu ne, ta prasme, jei gatvėj, nu tai vokiškai dugiausiai, bet, sakau, su draugais, vaikais, tai žemaitiškai daugiausiai.

I: Ir nesijuokia niekas, kad žemaiciuoja?

R5: Ne, tikrai čia nesijuokia.

I: Net ir tie, kurie atvažiavę iš Kauno ar Vilniaus?

R5: Ne. Kažkaip čia visi jei jau lietuviai, tai palaiko vieni kitus, nėra čia tų juokų.

I: Na ir tada paskutinis klausimas: ar jaučiatės esantis/esantis labiau žemaitis čia, ar gyvendami Lietuvoje?


Transcription of the Interview No. 3

Location: Worms, Germany  
Date: 9 February 2017  
Interviewee: R6 (male, 40-49)  
Interviewer: Indrė Nugaraitė  
Number of Tapes: 1  
Length of the Interview: 9 minutes 59 seconds

I: Visų pirma, jūsų nuomone, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R6: Kalba, kalba, man atrodo

I: O kodėl?

R6: Nu, nes taigi ant kiek skirtinguos kalbuos yra lietuvių ir žemaitių. Taigi tie, kurie lietuviškai šneka, net nesoprant mūsų, žemaitių. O ir žemaite taigi tikriausiai nesoprastų lietuviškai, jei nereikščius privalomai mokytis juos. O dar taigi tų vadinamų puotarmių kiek. Taigi nė viena tarmė tiek puotarmių neturi. Tai gal dėl to, kad žemaitėska yra atskira kalba, o tai ką jie vadina tarmėmis, o tikrųjų yra žemaičių tarmės?

I: Hmm, įdomiai mąstote, išties... O paminėjot mokymąsi. Tad pakalbėkim apie mokymąsi. Ar per pamokas buvo kalbama žemaitiškai?


I: Ką mokytojai dėl to sakydavo?

R6: Nieko, pataisydavo ir viskas.

I: O kaip kalbėdavote pertraukų metu?

R6: Per pertraukas tai žemaitėska roko sudavo. Kartais kai pasiukoit norėdavom iš muokytino, nu šiaip, vaikai gi buvom, nesamones darėm, tai kai iš muokytø pasiukoit norėdavom, tai taisèm vienas kità, liepèm bendrène kalba šnekèt.

I: Tai juokètès iš lietuvių kalbos?

R6: Nu kartais bûdavo, jo. Vaikai gi buvom...

I: O mokytøjai kà dèl to sakè?

I: Kiek laiko po mokyklos baigimo dar gyvenote Lietuvoje?

R6: Nu puorą metų dar Lietuvoj pasilikau... 

I: O kai dar gyvenot tuos porą metų, tai kaip kalbėjot?

R6: Žemaitėškai aš visur. Tiek savo Žemaitėjoj, tiek Kaune kokiam...

I: Kokia kalba bendravote su tėvais gyvendami Lietuvoje?

R6: Žemaitėškai aišku. I su tėvais i su draugais.

I: O viešumoj? Gatvėje, pas gydytoja ar bibliotekoje?

R6: Tik Žemaite i niekaip kitaip. Net kokiam Kaune ar Vilniuj... visur kalbėjau Žemaitėškai...

I: Ir kai reagavo žmonės Kaune ar Vilniuj?

R6: Blogai, aišku [juokiasi]. Nieks monęs nesaprot...

I: Ir ką tada? Versdavote į bendrinę?

R6: Tai kad ne... pakartuodavau... be tų stipriausių žemaitėzmu ir lėčiau gal biškį... ir tad visks gerai būdavo.. [juokiasi]

I: Ar gyvendamas Lietuvoje jau buvote sukūręs savo šeimą?

R6: Ne, Lietuvoj ne. Čia atvažiavęs jau sukūriau.

I: Su žemaite?

R6: Ne, ne ėš Žemaitėjės mano žmuona, ne. Ana ėš Vilniaus yra. Bet čia suspažinuom.

I: Mhm. O tai kokia kalba bendraujate tarpusavy?


I: Ar turite vaikų?

R6: Ne dar, bet planuojam.

I: Ir kokia kalba vaikai kalbės?

R6: Nu Žemaitėškai privalės išmuokt, jau čia kitaip nebus. I vuokiškai aišku, nu nes kaip kitaip, čia gyvenant.
I: O lietuviškai?

R6: Tai i lietuviškai, tai i žmuona neleis nesimokint, i šiaip, nu jei Lietuvuon kad nuvažiuot, tai vistiek reikės muokėt.

I: Tai Jūsų vaikai, tris kalbas iškart turės mokytis.


I: Kaip manote, kokiame kontekste Jūs niekada nekalbėtumėte žemaitiškai?

R6: Niekada? Nebūtų apskritai man taip [juokiasi]. Nu jei tai - mana kalba i yra kas mone soprant, tai kam tada nešnekėt ja? Nu va, jei nesoprant žmuonės, tada jau sunkiau... Bet i tai... juo sakiau aš, kad aš tai visur žemaitėškai šneku

I: Ir, pavyzdžiui, kokią viešą kalbą žemaitiškai sakytumėt?

R6: Nu jo... Nu gal be tų stipriausių žemaitizmų... be tų labiausiai žemaitėškų žodių, bet vistiek žemaitėškai..

I: O jei nesuprastų žmonės?

R6: Nebuvo iki šiol dar taip [juokiasi]

I: O kokiam kontekste niekuomet nekalbėtumėte bendrine kalba?

R6: Nu su šeima, draugais.. nu i apskritai, aš tai visur žemaitėškai šnekėčiau. Ir šneku, jei tik turiu galimybę..

I: Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Kodėl Jums atrodo būtent taip?

R6: Neigiamas tas požiūris. Aš atsimenu, nu aš šiaip nelabai dažnai į didesnius miestus važiuodavau mokinys būdamams, nu ten į Kauną Vilnių.. bet va vieną kartą kokioj šeštoj klasėj kai buvum, tai ten kažkoks reginys buva, kad su klase mus į Vilnių vežė. Nu i mes ten su vilniečiais mokiniais būt turėjum. Tai jie ten ož akių juokės eš mūsų, girdėjau, sakė, kaimiečiai atvažiavo. Tai taip nemaloniai paliko... nu bet kita vertus mes gi irgi eš jų kalbos juokėmės, dar lenkais vadinom...

I: Tai tokia abipusė pajuoka buvo?

R6: Nu buvuo, jo..

I: O daugiau tokių atsitikimų buvo?
R6: Nu dabar neprisiminsiu taip staigiai. Nu sakau, aš nedažnai ten į kitus miestus važiuodavau, tai..

I: O čia būna, kad juokiasi kiti lietuviai iš žemaičių ar šiaip kitų tarmių?

R6: Nu per 10 metų dar nė karto nebuvo. Labai draugiški visi čia, ką pažįstu, nerūpi niekam nei čia, ką kaip kalbėti. Visi vienodai baloja čia pas mus.

I: Labai ačiū, kad sutikote pasikalbėti.
I: Visų pirma, jūsų nuomone, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?
R7: Na, sako, kad tarmė.

I: O Jums kaip atrodo?
R7: Tai tikriausiai tarmė.

I: Supratau. Sakykit, ar mokyklą baigėte Lietuvoje?
R7: Taip, taip tenai.

I: Ar per pamokas buvo kalbama žemaitiškai?

I: Įdomu. Tai per matematikos pamokas kalbdavote žemaitiškai?
R7: Taip, taip.

I: O per pertraukas?
R7: Per pertraukas tai visaip kalbėjom, kad lietuviškai, kas žemaitėškai. Bet gal visgi daugiausia žemaitiškai?

I: Kiek laiko po mokyklos baigimo dar gyvenote Lietuvoje?
R7: Porą metų... Aš dar universitete biškį mokiausi, bet mečiau paskui ir išvažiavau... nu, kai sienas atidarė...

I: Ar Lietuvoje dažnai prabildavote žemaitiškai viešojoje erdvėje? Parduotuvėje, darbe, gatvėje, ir pan.?
I: O su teta kaip kalbėdavote?


I: Ar gyvendami Lietuvoje jau buvote sukūrusi savo šeimą?

R7: Ne, labai jauna dar buvau kai išvažiavau.

I: O čia, Vokietijoje?

R7: Čia susiradau vyrą. V uokiets jis.

I: O kaip kalbate su savo vaikais?

R7: Nuoriu, kad vaikai bent jau lietuviškai muokėtų. Nu anie aišku vokiškai kalba i su tėvu i mokykloj, bet aš tai tik lietuviškai su jais kalbu. Nu kaip lietuviškai... ten ta mano kalba tuokia maišyta, aš lyg ir žemaitiškai su jais kalbu, bet supaparastinta ten tokia ta kalba. Nėra labai stiprus tas mano žemaičiavimas.

I: Tai tokia pusė per pusę?

R7: Nu nu, tokia pusė per pusę toja kalba.

I: O vaikams patinka lietuvių kalba?

R7: Nu jaunėlė tai labai aktyviai m uokosi, jau ji net galvoja užaugusi į Lietuvą važiuoti, studijuoti gal ten. O bernai mano tai nei labai muoka tą kalbą, nei labai jiems rūpi ji...

I: Neskaudu, kad nenori jie jūsų gimtosios kalbos mokytis?

R7: Skaudu, žinoma. Vistiek gi ta kalba gimtuoji mana, arčiausiai širdies. Nuorėčiau, kad vaikai mokėtų ir kalbėtų, bet ką jau padarysi, yra kaip yra...

I: Kaip manote, ar būtų situacija, kurioje jokių būdu nesirinktumėte kalbėti žemaitiškai?

R7: Tai kad aš daugumo nekalbu žemaitiškai. Dažniausiai jei kur su lietuviiais, tai bendrėne. Ta žemaičių man gal labiau kaip toks atsiminimas, sąsaja su namais, bet ne daugiau.

I: Net su kitaik žemaičiais žemaitiškai nekalbate?

R7: Kad nedaug iš tepažįstu. Dauguma draugų vokiečiai pas mus, o iš lietuvių ką pažįstu, tai daugiausi iš Kauno, Panėvėžio, Vilniaus dar...

I: Bet vistiek gal būtų situacija, kur rinktumėtės tik žemaitiškai kalbėti? Ne bendrine?
R7: Nu nežinau, tikriausiai, kad nebūtų.

I: O su savimi jei pasišnekate, pagalvojate? Kokia kalba?


I: Jūsų vyras moka lietuviškai?


I: Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Kodėl Jums atrodo būtent taip?

R7: Nežinau, gal labiau neigiamams tas požiūris. Vistiek jaučiasi, kad jei tarmiškai šnuki, tai toks biškį gal kaimietis atrodai... nežinau..

I: O čia Vokietijoje, su kitais lietuviais susitikus? Su draugais iš Kauno, vilniaus kilusiais?


I: Na ir paskutinis klausimas: Ar jaučiatės esantis/esantis labiau žemaitis čia, ar gyvendami Lietuvoje?


I: Ačiū Jums už pokalbį.
Transcription of the Interview No. 5

Location: Hamburg, Germany
Date: 9 March 2017
Interviewee: R8 (male, 40-49)
Interviewer: Indrė Nugaraitė
Number of Tapes: 1
Length of the Interview: 15 minutes 29 seconds

I: Kaip manote, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R8: Nežinau, šiaip kasdienine... gal kasdienine prasme aš labiau, mes labiau šeimų sakom žemaičių kalba, kadangi mes, pavyzdžiui, su šeimos nariais kalbame, mes tiesiog tam nesuteikiam tokios didelės reiškšmės kokia būtų tarmės reiškšme. Mes labiau.. tai yra mūsų kasdieninė kalba. Todėl aš, mano asmeniniu požiūriu, tai yra žemaičių kalba.

I: Sakykit, o Jūs mokyklą baigėt Lietuvoj?

R8: Lietuvoj, jo. Aš Lietuvoj mokyklą baigiau ir gavau bakalaurų irgi Lietuvoj.

I: Supratau. Tada prisiminkim Jūsų mokyklas. Ar per pamokas buvo kalbama žemaitiškai? Ar buvo kalbama „lietuviškai“?

R8: Mes, tiesą sakant, aš baigiau Telšių Žemaitės gimnaziją, tai ten, kaip sakant, pačioj gimnazijoj pamokos buvo bendrine lietuvių kalba, bet kadangi mes šeimų bendravom žemaičių kalba, tai ... buvo sakykim keletą mokyto... ahm, mokymo dalykų buvo ažemaičių kalba, keletą mokymo dalykų buvo, pavyzdžiui, lietuvių kalba buvo bendrinė kalba.

I: O per pertraukas, pavyzdžiui, su klasės draugais?

R8: Ah, daugiausia žemaičių kalba.

I: Daugiausia žemaitiškai. O, pavyzdžiui, mokytojai per pertraukas nieko nesakydavo, kad kalbėkit lietuviškai, ar kažką?

R8: Ne ne ne, tiesą sakant, gal greičiau buvo priešingas variantas.. tiem žmonėm, galbūt tiem moksleiviaim, kurie kalbėjo bendrine kalba, galbūt kiti iš jų pasišaipydavo, kodėl jūs esantys žemaičių, ahh, Žemaitės gimnazijoj kalbate bendrine kalba.

I: Mm, jdomu. Tuomet, persikelkim į viešą gyvenimą. Kaip kalbėdavote viešojoje erdvyje? Pavyzdžiui, parduotuvėje, darbe, gatvėje, bibliotekoje ir pan.?

R8: Žemaitijoje tai... pagrindė Telšiai, Klaipėda, Plungė, Kretinga, Skuodo rajonas, Mažeikių tai visur kalbėdavau žemaitiškai, aišku. O kitose Lietuvos vietose, kaip Vilnius, Kaunas tai pagrindė bendrine kalba, bet žinoma, kartais vienas kitas žodis išsprūsdavo žemaičių kalbos, tai visi nustebdavo, vienim patikdavo, kitiem nepatikdavo. Paskaitose, bakalaure Vilniuje taipogi daug kas prašydavo, kad pakalbėčiau žemaitiškai.. tad gana įvairiai būdavo.
I: O nebuvo to tokio, kad jei pradedi žemaitiškai kalbėt, kad ir Vilniuj, Kaune, nebūdavo, kad juokiasi žmonės ar kažką, kad „kaip tu čia šneki dabar“?

R8: Aaah, galbūt ir būdavo.. aš manau, kad būdavo, bet aš tiesiog į tai nekreipdavau dėmesio.. aš tiesiog, pavyzdžiui, kai su namiškais telefonu kalbėdavau, manau, kad būdavo, bet man tai būdavo nelabai svarbu..

I: Supratau. Ar gyvendama Lietuvoje jau buvote sukūrusi savo šeimą?

R8: Ne, dar ne, tik Vokietijoj sukūriau

I: Supratau, o Vokietijo irgi su žemaite?

R8: Ne, su.. su kauniete, bet kartais būna truputelį žemaitiškai pakalbam. Arba mes turim ten tokį šokį kolektyvą Hamburge, Vokietijo, tai ten irgi yra vienas žemaitis iš Plungės apylinkių, tai su juom irgi kartais pažemiauojam. O šiaip ten nu, daug kam patinka, nes manau, kad užsienė dar labiau žiūri į tą.. į tarmę į kilmę, giliau žiūri, su tokia gilesne prasme, tai visiems labiau patinka tai parodai tas tradicijas ir panašiai. O aš tai, kaip sakant, asmeniškai, niekad nesigėdijau savo žemaičio prigimties, žemaičių tarmės, tai... bet ašbu, kada yra žmonės aplink kalba vien bendrine kalba, tai ir pats išvengdavau kalbos, bet žemaičių kalbos, maunau niekad neuzmiršiau ir neuzmiršiu.

I: O sakykit, ar turit vaikų?

R8: Jo, turiu dukrelę vieną.

I: Ir kokia kalba šnekat su ja?

R8: Kol kas yra labai jaunutė, 5 mėnesiai, bet žmonai sakiau, kad mokinsiu žemaitiškai.

I: Žemaičių tarmė. O žmona sutinka ar sako ne?

R8: Sutinka, jokių problemų. Ji tiesą sakant, kaip tik, kadangi ji yra tokia... ji šoka tautinius šokius labai.. labai ilgą laiką, tai jai patinka toks.. tradicijų puoselėjimas, galima sakyti.

I: Kaip manote, ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti žemaičių?

R8: Aš galbūt manau, pavyzdžiui, oficialūs pranešimai, prezentacijos, kur auditorijoj, tokiie labiau formalūs. Kadangi jeigu jau yra formalus pranešimas, esi koks nors ten atstovas ar pareigūnas, tai manau, tarmė.. kada yra formalūs, pavyzdžiui, ar interviu ar pristatymai, tai kuomet nėra ta.. aš net manau, netgi tuo atveju, kada aš duodčiau tuos interviu ar pranešimus Žemaitijos sostinėj, Telšiuose, netgi tuomet, manau, reikėt bendrine kalba, nes pavyzdžiui, įsivaizduokit, jog būtų, pavyzdžiui, daryčiau prezentaciją, ir visos skaidrės būtų žemaičių, nu tai.. aišku daug būtų nesuprantančių.. net net, pavyzdžiui, mes žemaičiai, aš žemaitis, man sunku skaityti skaidres, pavyzdžiui, kaip parašyta žemaičių kalba. Nu tai va, aš manau, tokiu atveju, aš tikrai nenaudočiau žemaičių kalbos. Bet kada, pavyzdžiui, koks neformalus pašnekėsys ar ką, tai, žinoma, kodėl gi ne.
I: O tuomet ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti bendrine kalba?

R8: Ne, nemanau. Netgi tuo atveju, kada tu nueitum pas kokią, Žemaitijoj, gilioj Žemaitijoj, močiutę pasišlaus kelio, netgi tuom atveju, jeigu sakytum bendrine kalba, tai ji nemanau, kad supyktų, ji tiesiog atsakytu su giliu Žemaitiškų dialektu, bet namanau, kad lietuvių kur nors būtų... va, jeigu lietuvių bendrinė kalba, aš pats taip sakant, dirbau inžineriui aplink Vilniaus apskritį, tai kuomet va ten, kur gyvena balarusiai arba lenkų tautinės mažumos, ten kada pakalnėtum bendrine lietuvių kalba, va ten jau yra problema.. o Žemaitijo jokių problemų.

I: Supratau. Kaip manot, Lietuvoje koks vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Jis labiau neigimas ar labiau teigiamas?

R8: Aš manau, anksčiau labiau buvo neigiamas, kadangi tie tarmiškai kalbantys žmonės, jie, aišku, yra nuo.. nuo žemės ūkio, kaip aš sakau, visi esam nuo tos pačios žagrės, tik vieni suvažiavę kaimiečiai, nu, nieko nenorint įžeisti, į miestus, pasidaro miestiečiai ir taip toliau. Tai galbūt anksčiau buvo tokis požiūris, kad čia va, jūs tarmiškai kalbat, jūs kaimiečiai ar panašiai, bet manau, kad šiais laikais, kai labai daug žmonių emigruoja, grijžta, labai daug suangliškėjimas, daug tų tarptautinių žodžių, galim sakyt, naudojama ir panašiai.. daug kas net užmiršta, net yra užmiršę mūsų lietuvių unikalumą, taip sakant, pavyzdžiui, ir tas žemaitiškumas ar ten suvalkiečiai ar dar kas nors... kai tu tai, nu jau dabar, šiuo momentu, pavyzdžiui, kad ir Lietuvoj kalbėt tarme, tai jau nu, atrodo, vos ne kad esi tyraus lietuvis, aš manau. Tai va, tai aš manau, kad anksčiau buvo gal skeptiškai žiūrėta, o dabar ne, netgi gal darab priimtina ir galbūt net skambiai kitų lietuvių ausiai.. mano asmeninė nuomonė.

I: Aha. O dabar sakytit, ar jaučiatės esantis labiau žemaitis gyvenamas Vokietijoje ar kai gyvenote Lietuvoje? Ar sumenko žemaitiškumo jausmas atvykus gyventi į užsienį ar kaip sustiprėjo?

R8: Nežinau, tiesą sakant, mano, kadangi aš esu suangliškėjus po Avino Žemelį gimęs, tai tiek Lietuvoj kol aš buvau, tiek mokiausi tiek dirbau, mano akcentavo, kad aš esu žemaitis, tiek čia man daug prikašioja, čia aišku, Žmona prikašioja, kad esu užsipyryęs žemaitis ir, manau, tiek ten. Tiek Lietuvoj, tiek čia, Vokietijoj aš jaučiu... galbūt netgi užsienyje aš labiau save vertinu kaip žemaičiu, nes, pavyzdžiui, aš daug klajojau po pasaulį ir daug kolegom pasakojau, kad pavyzdžiui, nu, truputėlė su pasididžiavimu, kad va, žemaičiai atrėmė ten kryžiuočių ordino atakas ir taip toliau, tai visi labai nustebę, nes, pavyzdžiui ten JAV, jie teturėja tik 400 metų istorijos.. tai jie ten su didžiausiom išpūtusiom ausim klausėsi, kitiems irgi nu.. aš manau nors, nors galbūt aplamai paėmus, užsienyje aš labiau didžiuojuos, kad esu žemaitis.. bet ir.. bet, aišku, kokiam vokiečiui kai pasakyt, kad tu es tais žemaitis?„, „o kas tais žemaitis?„, žinai.. nesupras.. pavyzdžiui, Lietuvoj jau daugiau supranta, kad žemaitis. Ir, pavyzdžiui, iš daug ko esu ten, tokį, galbūt kaip ir komplimentų sulaikės: va, žiūrėk, koks žemaitis, jo neperkalbėsi ir panašiai. Nu, tiek ten pliusai, tiek ten..

I: O kai čia bendraujat su kitais lietuvisiais ar žiūrėt kaip kalbat? Ar stengiatės žemaičiuot ar kaip tik nežemaičiuot?
R8: Nieko nesistengiu, tiesą sakant, su šeima iš vis automatiškai, taip sakant, laisva vagą viskas išeina.. nu visais, kas kalba žemaitiškai, su tais, pavyzdžiui, su draugais ar šeimos nariais, su visais e jokių pastangų išeina žemaitiškai, o su kita be jokių pastangų išeina bendrine kalba. Pradžioj, kai buvau moksleivis toj gimnazijoj, kur sakiau, truputelį sunkiau buvo persilaužti į bendrą kalbą, be po to universitete viskas gerai praėjo, kaip sakant, kiti kolegos net nesupranta, kad aš žemaitis esu.

I: Labai ačiū už pokalbį.
**Transcription of the Interview No. 6**

**Location:** Hamburg, Germany  
**Date:** 9 March 2017  
**Interviewee:** R9 (female, 50-59)  
**Interviewer:** Indrė Nugaraitė  
**Number of Tapes:** 1  
**Length of the Interview:** 11 minutes 29 seconds

I: Visų pirma, sakykite, kaip manote, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R9: Tarmė...

I: O kodėl?

R9: Lietuvoje gyvena lietuvių ir šalies valstybinė kalba yra lietuvių. Regionuose žmonės gali kalbėti tarmiškai... Pavyzdžiui, anketose, kur reikia pasakyti, kokias kalbas moku, niekada nerašau – žemaičių [juokiasi]

I: Supratau. Sakykite, ar mokyklą baigėte Lietuvoje?

R9: Taip, Lietuvoje

I: Ar per pamokas buvo kalbama žemaitiškai?

R9: Ne, per pamokas kalbėjom bendrine.

I: O kaip kalbėdavote pertraukų metu, žemaitiškai ar bendrine kalba?

R9: Per pertraukas kalbėdavom žemaitiškai.

I: O pagalvokite, kaip būtų reagavę mokytojai jei per pamokas būtumėte prakalbusi žemaitiškai?

R9: Atsakinėjant, jei būtumėte kalbėję žemaitiškai, būtume paprašyti kalbėti bendrine kalba. Bet mums, mokiniams tas bendrinės kalbos vartojimas nekėlė jokių problemų ir neatrodė, kad tai kokia nors privarta, ar panašiai... Žemaičiavimas buvo skirtas namų aplinkai, neformaliam bendravimui.

I: Supratau, o sakykit, kiek laiko po mokyklos baigimo dar gyvenote Lietuvoje?

R9: Na, kokių 18 metų...

I: Sakykite, ar dažnai prabildavote žemaitiškai viešojoje erdvėje? Parduotuvėje, darbe, gatvėje, bibliotekoje ir pan.?
R9: Gatvėje, kieme, bendraujant su kaimynais tai taip, bet kitose vietose, pavyzdžiui, ten pardavėjų, pas gydytoją, tai ne. Na nebent jei pats pardavėjas, paštininkas, bibliotekininkas būtų pradedęs klaibėti žemaitiškai, tada taip, ir aš taip kalbėčiau.

I: Kokia kalba bendravote su tėvais, giminėmis, draugais gyvendama Lietuvoje?

R9: Su mama kalbėdavau žemaitiškai, su tėvu, na jis nežemaitis buvo, žemaitiškai nemokėjo, tai su juo aukščiau kalbėjau... panašiai, tokii pat principu maždaug ir su kitais giminačiais, bei draugais. Jei nemoka žemaitiškai, tai kaip ten ir bendrausi [juokiasi]

I: Ar gyvendama Lietuvoje jau buvote sukūrusi savo šeimą? Turėjote vaikų?

R9: Taip, turėjau

I: Kokia kalba kalbėjote su savo vaikais?

R9: Bendrine kalba kabėjom

I: Kaip manote, ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti žemaitiškai?

R9: Būtų, jei žemaitiškos komunikacijos nesupratų šalią esantys...

I: O ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti bendrine kalba?

R9: Manau būtų, jei bendrine imčiau bendrauti su namiškiais, ar draugais žemaičiais, tada būtų nepriimtina, manau...

I: Kaip manote, kokia kalba dažniausiai galvojate ar net pasikalbate su savimi?

R9: Įvairiai būna, tai žemaičiškai, tai lietuviškai, tai vokiškai... įvairiai.

I: Kokia kalba dabar bendraujate šeimoje?

R9: Na dabar su vyru, kuris yra vokietis bendrauju vokiškai, o su dukra, kuri gimė čia, Vokietijoje, bendrauju lietuviškai, bendrine kalba.

I: O ar stengiatės dukrą išmokyti žemaitiškai?


I: Ar gyvendama Vokietijoje bendraujate su kitais žemaičiais?
R9: Ne, ne... nes visi mano draugai ir ir bičiuliai ne iš Žemaitijos regiono...

I: Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones? Kodėl Jums atrodo būtent taip?

R9: Nemanau, kad tas požiūris kažkuo labai ypatingas. Niekada nesijaučiau diskriminuojama dėl to, kad esu žemaitė... Gal dėl to, kad visada žinojau, kur ir kada tinka kalbėti žemaičiškai. Viskam tinkama vieta ir laikas...

I: Supratau. Na ir paskutinis klausimas. Sakykit, ar jaučiatės esanti labiau žemaitė gyvendama Vokietijoje ar kai gyvenote Lietuvoje? Ar sumenko žemaitiškumo jausmas atvykus gyventi į užsienį ar kaip tik sustiprėjo?

R9: Šiek tiek sumenko mano žemaitiškumas, nes turiu žymiai mažiau galimybų būti žemaite čia... Žemaičiškai kalbu tik telefonu su namiškiais, svečiuodamas Lietuvoje, kai susitinku su mokyklos draugais ar panašiai... o daugiau nėra kur... Bet jokios aplinkybės negali ištrinti žemaičiškumo – jau tai mano krauju [juokiasi]

I: Labai ačiū Jums už pokalbį.
Transcription of the Interview No. 7

Location: Hamburg, Germany
Date: 10 March 2017
Interviewee: R10 (female, 30-39)
Interviewer: Indrė Nugaraitė
Number of Tapes: 1
Length of the Interview: 15 minutes 29 seconds

I: Visų pirma, Jūsų nuomone, žemaičių – tai kalba ar tarmė?

R10: Hmm, nu vis dėlto tarmė, aš kažkaip sakyčiau.

I: Mhm, o kodėl Jums taip atrodo? Nes daugelis žemaičių sako „kalba ir viskas“..

R10: Kalba, ar ne? Sako kalba... nu aš taip pagalvojau... pirmas momentas „kalba“.. nu vis dėlto mes galim susikalbėt su lietuviais... nu, vis vistiek yra... aš nežinau... vis tiek pagrindas yra ant bendrinės kalbos, tik mūsų kaip yra tas dialektas žemaitiškas.. vis dėlto mes galim ir ir su aukštaiciu susikalbėt, aš manau, nu, ne visi, bendrai, gali susikalbėt. Jeigu tokius du žmones į vieną krūvą sumestum iš kokios Šuvalkijos ir iš Žemaitijos, tenai, glūdumos, močiutes gal, tai gal kad ir nesusikalbėt.. bet šiai dienai, manau, kad nebėr tos problemos, vistiek mokykloj vaikai mokomi bendrine kalba ir ir.. ir darbai ir viskas.. ir studijuojama.. nu aš gal prie tarmės gal visgi, manau, kad pasiliksiu prie tarmės..

I: Supratau. Kaip tik paminėjot mokyklą. Pati mokyklą baigė Lietuvoje?

R10: Mhm, aš ir studijavau Lietuvoj, baigiau Šiaulių universiteta, paskui magistrantūrą Kauno technologijos, KTU

I: Supratau. Labai gerai. Tai prisiminkim Jūsų mokyklos laikus.. kaip buvo kalbama per pamokas, žemaitiškai ar bendrine kalba?

R10: Bendrine. Mokytojai bendrine kalba kalbėdavo.. nebent per pertraukas būdavo mokytojai, kurie.. galėdavom žemaitiškai su mokytojais pasikalbėt, bet kiti mokytojai ir per pertraukas, pavyzdžiui, kalbėdavo bendrine kalba. Bet būdavo su kuriais galima žemaitiškai. Aš pati mokykloj dirbau, tai tai aš žemaitiškai kalbėdavau. Aišku, per pamokas literatūriškai, bendrine, bet šiaip neoficialioj aplinkoj visalaik žemaitiškai.

I: Gerai, o tada persikelkim į viešąją erdvę, Kaip kalbėdavote viešojoje erdvėje? Parduotuvėje, darbe, gatvėje, bibliotekoje ir pan.? Gyvenant Žemaitijoj ir vėliau kitur?

R10: Žemaitiškai, Plungėj mes gyvenom, praktiškai parduotuvoėj, kad ir dabar nuvažiuoj, aš tik žemaitiškai. Kiek.. kur įmanoma, va kad ir čia susitinkam Hamburge, aš jei tik žinau, kad žemaičiai, aš tik žemaitiškai. Vat ir aš žinau žemai žmogų, matau, kad nemaloniai gal jaučiasi toj aplinkoj, todėl jis gal bendrine kalba kalba labiau, bet
aš nematau to komplekso žemaičiškai kalbėti. Aišku, jeigu pas gydytoją, nuvažiuoti į Vilnių, į Kauną, aišku, automatiškai, bendrine kalba, nu kažkaip jau.. taip priimtina nu kažkaip..

I: O pavyzdžiui, aš kai studijavau turėjau grupiokų žemaičių, tai vistiek jie ta bendrine kalba šneka, bet vistiek jie tie žemaičiški žodžiai, tarimas išsprūsta..

R10: Mhm mhm

I: Būdavo ir Jum taip?

R10: Nu iš pradžių, tai tikrai būdavo.. aš prisimenu.. jau studijų laikais gal kitaip, bet teko vaikui klinikose, Kaune, va, gulėt ir man kaip, aš atsimenu, kaip man būdavo sunku kalbėti ta bendrine literatūriška kalba.. aach, netgi toks kompleksas būdavo, aš atsimenu, kaip vaikui, visi iš manęs, galvoju, pasijuoks, nemoku pasakyti kitą kartą. Dabar va, tikrai va prisiminau, kad tikrai va toks jausmas buvo dėl tos kalbos kaip vaikas buvau.. gal ketvirtą klases... bet nu studijuodama.. aš turėjau irgi žemaičę drauge iš Telšių, tai mes žemaičiški kalbėdavom, tai gal mumis ir vadindavo ten žemait, bet tarp grupiokų, gal ir pažemaičiudavau, kokį žodį va ir tai gal jmeti žemaičiškai, bet šnekėdavom ir tiek.. o paskui nebebuvo to tokio sunkumo. Vistiek ir darbe ir ir.. reikėdavo tos tokių bendrinės kalbos.. vienim būna kur labai sunku iš tikrųjų tas akcentas visą laiką jausis, kad tu esi žemaitis ir tu mirsi žemaičiu, jau taip bus. Kitam kažkaip paprasčiau gal kažkaip...

I: O aplinkiniai, pavyzdžiui, ten kad ir grupiokai ar kas nors, juokdavosi, būdavo tokia pašaipa, kad „oi, tai tu žemaitis, tai tu jau labi įdomiai šneki čia..“ ar kažkas tokio?

R10: Nu, turbūt taip kaip i pas jús, nu tas toks „nu, žemaitis, žinai“ [juokiasi] aišku, čia... bet aš nieko... aš aš kažkaip.. aš savo kalbą.. savo šneką mylu ir mon.. žinot, kap yr užkietėjė žemaičių [juokiasi]. Nematau, tame jokios problemas, gal kitam ir nepatinka, bet man gražu. Ai, būdavo, būdavo, universitete irgi dėstytojas koks: „nu tai žemaitis, kaip jis šneka. Ta kūsų kalba – grubi, negraži“. Nu, nu, sakau, bet jūs tokį gražų mažybinių Žuodelių neturit, kap „mažulieli“ nu „pupulieli“, „ateik pavalgų zuikieli“. Arba pavyzdžiui, koks dar žemaičiškas yra... darab ant liežuvio gallo stūvė.. kad tik žemaičiškai gali išsireikšti.. „jodvi“, literatūriškai, net negalima, man atrodo, pavyzdžiui „dvila“ „jodvi“ kaip jau... va yra tokių dalykų, kur literatūriškai nepasakysi ir darab man būna, aš su vyrų bendraujau, jau ir jis iš manęs perėms yra.. aš noriu geriau išsireikšti, aš galiu savo žemaičių kalba, net nėra atitikmenų, žodžių kitą kartą literatūrė kalba. Būn tokių atvejų.

I: Sakykit, ar turite vaikų?

R10: Mhm, dvi mergaites.

I: Pakalbėkim tada apie jas. Kaip bendraujate su jom? Kokia kalba?
R10: Bendrine, literatūriška vadinama tokia... mes kai esam Plungėj, pas senelius, pavyzdžiu, daugiau kalbam žemaitiškai ir jos girdi tą kalbą ir supranta, bet joms, ašiku, yra ir vokiečių, eina į vokišką darželį, joms jau per sunku.. nu ir vistiek bendrinė kalba yra svarbesnė.. ir skaitymui ir ateity gal rašymui... vistiek propaguojam tą tokią, nu, bendrinę kalbą. Žinai, yra, vat mano draugė Švedijoj, jos mama irgi iš Plungės žemaičė buvo ir dvi mergaites turėjo, užaugino, ir tikt žemaitiškai kalba. Jos tik žemaitiškai su mama kalbėdavo. Ir jai būdavo sunku, sako, įj kokį Kauną nuvažiuoj, aš nemoku kalbėt bendrine kalba man reikia ar rašyt ką nors... tai vat, tai aš kažkaip galvoju, vat vyra iš Vilniaus, tai mes kažkaip bendrine kalba kalbam...

I: O jum pačiai norėtūsi, kad Jūsų mergaitės moketų žemaitiškai?

R10: Nuu, smagu būtų. Nu gal smagu būtų. Nu iš pradžių, kol dar pati vaikų neturėju, galvojau, kad aš tik žemaitiškai, savo šneka ta tokia galėsiu su jais šnekėt... bet dabar... nu kažkaip nebesureikšminu.. aš džiaugiuos, ka lietuviškai jos kalba, iš tikrųjų. Dar norėčiau, kad jos dar lietuviškai, kad galėtų ir rašyti ir skaityti, nežinai, kaip pavyks, bet... nu vat, tas didžiulis noras tai lietuvybę išsaugot ir kalbą laikyt. Tai va, o jau apie žemaičių, tai jau... palieku jau [juokiasi]

I: Supratau. Kaip manote, ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti žemaitiškai?

R10: Nu, ašiku, gal televizija gal kokia, gal radijas, viešoji nu gal jau, viešiau kai jau reiktų išreiškį gal savo nuomonę, vistiek priimtina bendrine kalba kalba kalbėt, kad suprastų visi žmonės gal.. o taip tai.. ašiku, įstaigose, teismuose, ligoninėse gal kartą vat tokioje, kur dokumentai kokie tvarkomi ar dar kas nors. Sostinė nuvažiavęs, ten.. gal ir liksi susitaka, bet gal ne visada.

I: O jeigu, pavyzdžiui, reikėtų sakyt kokią viešą kalbą, bet Plungėj?

R10: A, be problemų.

I: Tada žemaitiškai šnekėtumėte?

R10: Galėčiau žemaitiškai pakalbėt, jo. Žinočiau, kad dauguma supranta, tada..

I: O tuomet ar būtų situacija, kurioje Jums atrodytų nepriimtina kalbėti bendrine kalba?


I: Supratau. O kaip manote, kokia kalba dažniausiai galvojate ar net pasikalbate su savimi?
R10: Žemaitiškai. Mhm, jo jo, aš... arba net pas mane net būna kai supykstu labai, tas emocijas kai noriu, nu tada aš žemaitiškai, ten „o tu rupuže“, ar dar kas nors. Jau tas toks, nu toks žemaitiškumas tada prasinačia.

I: Koks, Jūsų nuomone, Lietuvoje vyrauja požiūris į tarmiškai kalbančius žmones?

R10: Aš manyčiau, teigiamas. Bet, aišku, yra ir.. esu susidūrusi ir Vilniuje, kad vat nemėgsta „jūs čia žemaičiai nagli“. Kažkada taksi važiavom, bet vieną kartą gyvenime, esu taip susidūrus, kad čia, čia „jau o, jau žemaitis, tai jau mandras, naglas ir jau tik nekalbėk čia savo mužiukiška kalba“. Nu, o taip tai, nu net nežinau. Nu vistiek daugiau teigiamas, aš manau. Vistiek dauguma Lietuvoj iš rajonų, iš kaimo, kiekvienas su savo tarmėm suvažiavę į sostinę ir Kauną..

I: Ar jaučiatės esanti labiau žemaitė gyvendama Vokietijoje ar kai gyvenote Lietuvoje? Ar sumenko žemaitiškumo jausmas atvykus gyventi į užsienį ar kaip tik sustiprėjo?

R10: Nesumenko. Kažkaip ir sakau, aš turiu vat draugę, kur mes galim tik žemaitiškai pasikalbė.. ir kažkaip ta bendrystė, ir atrodo mes ir geriau supranta viena kitą ir viską.. ir dar kita draugę iš Kretinagės, bet ji žemaitiškai nekalba, bet aš su ja irgi žemaitiškai kalbu. Atrodo mane kažkaip geriau gal ir supranta ir mes daugiau viena kitą suprantam ir u toks.. nesakau, kad ir su kitaip kalbančiu, aišku, yra ir su bendrine kalba kurie žmonės kalba, aišku, irgi yra draugių ir pažįstamų, bet nu nežinau, kažkas tokio savo vis dėlto. Yra tas toks savas jausmas, kaip iš keimą kaip vat net nežinau.. nesumenko visai tas žemaiškumas ir čia žino dauguma, kad.. bendruomenei vat čia, kad iš Plungės. Nėr.. aš kaip tik „o, aš esu žemaitė“, man kaip tik tas užsispypimas toksai čia žemaitiškas visą laiką. Dėl to, kad slėpt, kad aš žemaitė, ne ne, ne. Tik tai kaip tik: „aš dar moku ir žemaitiškai, ne tik kaip jūs bendrines kalbas kaip kalbat“

I: Supratau. Aču už pokalbį.
The Student’s Statement On Plagiarism

I, Indrė Nugaraitė, have read the requirements for research papers in the MA programme Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism. I understand that plagiarism is wrong and that it can take different forms, some direct and some indirect. I also understand that plagiarism in an essay, project or thesis submitted to this programme will result in a greatly reduced mark or rejection of the paper entirely.

13th April 2017

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