

Jarmo Lainio

THE SOCIOFUNCTIONAL POSITION OF FINNISH IN SWEDEN

Finns have been moving to Sweden for almost a thousand years. As Tarkiainen (1993) puts it, many groups of immigrants have approached Sweden since its formation, but only one group has always been heading for Sweden, the Finns. The language of these migrants has often been Finnish, but in many cases also Swedish. Today, as a result of the arrival of numerous Finns from Finland since World War II, there is a fairly stable migrant minority community. These speakers of Finnish are habitually referred to as Sweden Finns.¹ In addition to this continuous flow of migrants from Finland to Sweden, there have been several autochthonous settlements of Finnish-speakers within the borders of the area that today constitutes Sweden. One group, the Värmland Finns,² faced the fate of many other linguistic minorities of this century: its last fluent speaker died at the end of the 1970's. The only group that has managed to retain its ethnolinguistic heritage fairly successfully so far is that of the Tornedalians.³ This ethnic group came into being almost overnight, as a result of the Peace Treaty of Hamina in 1809, when Sweden ceded about one third of her area, namely Finland, to the Russian emperor, and a new border had to be drawn.

In this paper I will try to give an account of the status of the two groups in Sweden that still speak Finnish as one of or their only mother tongue: the Tornedalians and the Sweden Finns. I will use a model that has been applied in the sociology of language in attempts to describe both the status of linguistic minority groups that are under heavy pressure of a majority

¹Their corresponding names are *ruotsinsuomalaiset* in Finnish and *sverigefinnar* in Swedish.

²Frequently also called Forest Finns.

³They have been referred to with various ethnonyms, but it seems that the terms preferred today are *tornedalingar* or *tornedalsfinnar* in Swedish and *tornionlaaksolaiset* in Tornedal Finnish.

language, and to reverse an approaching language shift (Fishman 1991, 1992).

The purpose of the approximation of the present-day status of Finnish in Sweden is not to define the ultimate point of a potential language shift, nor is it aiming at declaring what should be done to prevent such a shift. The paper attempts to indicate a possible position of Finnish in Sweden on a continuum, which contains factors indicating the sociofunctional language use status, recognized also in other minority language contexts. A brief sociolinguistic account of both forms of Finnish, Tornedal Finnish (=ToFi) and Sweden Finnish (SweFi) is also given.⁴

1. A descriptive and prescriptive model of minority language positions: Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Stages (GIDS)

There are several ways to approach a total description of speech communities in threatened minority positions. Hyltenstam & Stroud (1990:67-) mention three basic directions:

- language shift from a *society level perspective*: attempts are made to isolate extralinguistic factors that can explain the initiation or perpetuation of an already ongoing process. Various demographic, economic, attitudinal and power balance factors are included here.

- language shift models, that describe the interplay between *social and individual factors*: domain analyses, the importance of social networks, the identity of speakers and their factual language choice may be included here.

- models that describe language shift *effects on the linguistic structures*: the variable linguistic competences of individual speakers may be treated here.

⁴The work with this article has changed direction substantially since my talk in Groningen in May 1994. It contained a comparison between a model proposed by Hyltenstam & Stroud (1991) and Fishman (1992), applied to the situation of Finnish-speakers in Sweden. Due to practical considerations, this methodological aspect has been left out here. The H & S model is used in a comparative study by Pyöli & Lainio (forthc.), where it is applied to the situation of one migrant (Sweden Finns) and one territorial population (Karelians).

Different models discuss maintenance and shift from somewhat different angles. Hyltenstam & Stroud (1990), e.g., include three levels of approaches — society, group and individual — in their description of Sami. Fishman in some recent works (1991, 1992) discusses the potential risks of different degrees of ‘dislocation’ between generations of the minority language, in order to clarify when the transmission of a language from one generation to another is at risk. In addition, his aim is to develop a theory with prescriptive qualities to serve efforts to reverse language shift. He has developed a model, which integrates the two first directions, society level and the interplay between social and individual factors. Fishman’s model has been somewhat modified in the 1992 version, so I will use this later version for the present application of it to the situation of Finnish in Sweden.

Fishman points out two specific factors of importance, which have been crucial as well in the Swedish situation, the family and the school. Finnish in Sweden has further experienced some major changes during the last years, some of which are possible to mirror within the framework of Fishman’s model. Finnish in Sweden lacks overall descriptions and at the same time, both groups of Finnish-speakers are looking for ways to consolidate its functions and status. Fishman’s model is one feasible way to describe the minority position of Finnish in these settings.

Before I discuss this further, I will use a simple matrix developed by Srivastava (in Hyltenstam & Stroud 1990), to define the minority concept in the contexts of Finnish in Sweden (see Figure 1). I have added the other Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking groups to the figure and I have also attempted to make it more dynamic, by indicating the routes that the (present-day) minorities have taken. By definition both forms of Finnish that I will discuss here are now in a minority position: they have a low historical *prestige*, their *functions* are close to a complementary division between the languages, and, their legal and social *status* has until recently been low. They are, or have been, used by speakers with a low socioeconomic status and restricted political power, and their numbers are inferior compared to the surrounding majority society.

<i>Power</i>	
+	-

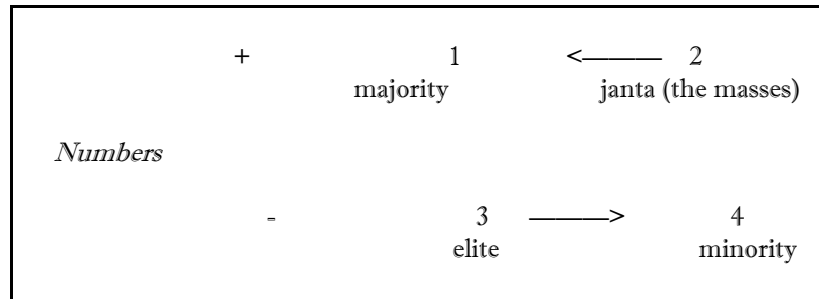


Fig. 1. Power and dominance relations between Finnish and Swedish

Field 1 = *majority*, (speakers of) Swedish in Sweden; Finnish in Finland started developing in this direction during the 19th century and has confirmed this position during the 20th century (arrow from 2 to 1).

Field 2 = *janta, the masses*, Finnish in Finland had this position for some time after 1809; Tornedal Finnish could be said to have had this position during the 19th century in Tornedalen, but has been moved in the direction of both a regional and national minority (arrow from 2 to 4).

Field 3 = *elite*, this is a case, where the staticity of the matrix is evident: Swedish in Finland may be said to have had such a position proportionally during the first decades of the 19th century, though there has always been a wide socioeconomic and educational variation within the group, as well as regional differences;⁵ in addition, within the Finnish-speaking group an inherent elite started its formation during the 19th century; the Finland Swedes have been moving from such a proportional elite position into a minority position, which has become more characteristic for them during the 20th century (arrow from 3 to 4).

Field 4 = *minority*, Finnish in Sweden (the extinct Värmland Finnish, Tornedal Finnish/Meän kiel, Sweden Finnish); Tornedal Finnish has moved from a janta position in their own region to a minority position both regionally and nationally, but being a border population, the impact of the majority Finnish situation has probably always influenced their position in a positive way, in which respect they differ from the Sweden Finnish situation; to an increasing extent, Swedish in Finland has become

⁵For example, Allardt & Miemois (1982).

a minority for the two dimensions in the figure during the 20th century, but they are still legally fully comparable with the majority Finnish population.

1.1 Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (GIDS)

By describing eight stages, which however, are not consecutive or exclusive of each other, Fishman has isolated eight clusters of factors, which indicate where on the continuum of a proceeding language shift a specific community may be considered to be at at a certain point in time (Table 1). The GIDS as summarized in Fishman (1992:286-) has been slightly adapted to fit the language contact situation under study. The table is to be read from bottom left to top right (Table 1).

These eight stages have been found to be of importance in some North-American, European and Australasian minority settings. Fishman further attempts to go a step beyond the shift threat: GIDS is intended to be a starting point for a theory of reversing language shift. Its basic idea is that the community has to attain *diglossia* first, in order to secure vital areas of minority language use. It is not quite clear, what is implied by diglossia here, but the *domain* which is of crucial importance in this respect is the family. Once this has been attained, the community may proceed to develop other areas of first language (=L1) use. The idea of stable diglossia as a safeguard for language maintenance is a recurrent theme in Fishman's works. It has been criticized and defended, both by theoreticians and practitioners. Recently, this view has recurred in the Finland Swedish public discourse, where some proponents argue that Swedish needs a *territory* of its own and a protection of monolingual speakers within this area, in order to have a chance to survive (Rosenberg 1994). In this latter case, it seems to mean both the

Table 1. Toward a theory of reversing language shift
(according to Fishman)

Stages of reversing language shift: Severity of intergenerational dislocation
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- 1) Education, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
- 2) Local/regional mass media and governmental services
- 3) Local/regional (i.e. non-neighborhood) worksphere, both among minority and majority members
- 4:II) Public schools for minority children, offering some instruction via L1, but substantially under majority/L2 curricular and staffing control
- 4:I) Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under minority curricular and staffing control

II. Level: Diglossia attained

- 5) Schools for literary acquisition, for the old and the young, and not replacing compulsory education
- 6) The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood: the basis of mother-tongue transmission
- 7) Cultural interaction in L1 primarily involving the community-based older generation
- 8) Reconstructing L1 and adult acquisition of L1

I. Level: To attain diglossia as a first step to reverse language shift

protection of the language within a geographical area, within crucial social domains (family etc.), as well as within organisational parts of society, like the school. Though this is not discussed in Fishman's article, the use of a Level II (see Table 1), 'transcending diglossia', seems to include the same organisational levels, but without territorial claims. This would also explain why the model has been applied both to historical and migrant

minority populations.

When first monitoring various minority language cases, Fishman has been able to point out levels where the present efforts of reversing language shift are concentrated. Groups that have secured level 6, usually end up higher up, i.e. with lower average points.

The stages in table 1 are to be preceded by a period of ideological clarification among the members of the community in question, before the question of maintenance and reversing an ongoing language shift can become a topic of significance with widespread support. As Fishman points out, a community may be characterized by several of the stages simultaneously. Factors at the bottom of the table "represent more fundamental stages of sociofunctional dislocation" (Fishman 1992: 286).

Stage 8 covers the phase when adults no longer are available to pass on the language from one generation to the next. The situations among Tornedalians and Sweden Finns are not characterized by this level, mainly because major changes have taken place during the last two decades. Both have experienced a shift in attitudes during the 1980's and 1990's. Both were under heavy assimilative pressure earlier from the Swedish majority society, but they have 'recovered' in the sense that they are actively and in various ways trying to consolidate their ethnolinguistic status and develop the semiofficial minority position attained. Earlier a consensus discourse model, which is the unmarked way to negotiate in Swedish political life, was tried out, but since this did not seem to further their cases, both groups have moved in a more active minority policy direction.

Neither of the groups has been forced to teach L1 as an L2 to adults. The Tornedalians have, however, been facing another problem: ToFi has not been used as written or standardized language hitherto, to any noteworthy extent. Attempts are now being made to develop a standard writing and to define its features. Corpus planning is becoming a practical and theoretical issue of importance. This has a bearing on the prestige of ToFi as compared with standard Finland Finnish.

The Tornedal Finnish speakers experienced an extensive language shift during the 1940's and 1950's. Tornedal Finnish has ever since been used in a diminishing field of functions, mainly in private domains. The earlier diglossic situation has been shifted into one in which both languages are used in the homes, but recently also one in which ToFi is increasingly being used in public formal situations.

The Sweden Finnish immigrants of the 1960's and earlier were subject to a heavier impact of the assimilationist policy than has been the case later. One reason was that e.g. school authorities (teachers, school nurses, psychologist etc.) recommended parents to use Swedish only to their children and although they did not forbid it, they at least tried to prevent parents from talking Finnish. Later the availability of Finnish language educational programmes, both transitional and maintenance, has become much better corresponding with changing attitudes and a broadened functional use of Finnish. The shift has in a way thus been from the community-based older to a functional differentiation, but Sweden Finns also experienced a period of diminishing use of Finnish.

Though the idea of transmission of the minority L1 has become a widely supported concept both among Tornedalians and Sweden Finns, the concrete behaviour of people may deviate from this: not all parents are themselves willing or capable of transmitting their L1 to their children. An increasingly bilingual family background, even trilingual background, causes hesitation about which language to give highest priority. Since quite a few families, which have a potential to grow bilingual children, is made up by Finnish and Swedish-speakers, the majority language often has a wider support (Huss 1991). In trilingual families there is tendency that the mother, usually Finnish, transmits her language.

The variety of educational programmes available for students of Finnish make it impossible to give a simple overview of minority education and the Swedish schools. Before a recent change took place (1990), Fishman's criteria for the school development (levels 4 and 3) were even partly irrelevant, since no private possibilities existed, that could compete with the compulsory state school. Nowadays five different educational aims and means exist for the Finnish-speakers (cf. Baker 1993:153-):

- submersion without any L1-teaching,
- submersion with some withdrawal hours/classes and either mother tongue Swedish instruction or sheltered Swedish,
- transitional classes of various kinds: both so-called *static*, which do not aim at developing L1 skills beyond childhood needs, and *developmental*, with instruction in L1 for at least some initial years. In addition, the so-called compound classes, with both a large group of Finnish-speaking children and majority children, have been created,

- mother tongue classes with an aim to create functional bilingualism,
- mother tongue classes in so-called free schools have been founded during the 1990's; these are aiming at active bilingualism and biliteracy. This innovation is based on state support and the schools follow the Swedish compulsory school curriculum.

About two thirds of the Finnish-speaking pupils (during the 1980's) participated in one or several of the forms of educational programmes, with some portion of Finnish. Lately, the private free schools have become quite popular, to the extent that they have replaced the mother tongue classes in some municipalities. Though this is a result not intended by the authorities, these alternative educational forms have become almost mutually exclusive: where free schools have been founded, the municipalities have taken the opportunity to close down mother tongue classes. In the free schools, both the amount and type of teaching is close to what has been referred to as bilingual education, in contrast with transitional education, aiming at both balanced bilingualism and biliteracy. All teachers are most likely to be bilingual in the free schools.

1.2 GIDS applied to Tornedal Finnish and Sweden Finnish

If we monitor the situation of the Tornedalians and the Sweden Finns according to Table 1 (from the bottom to the top), the Finnish-speaking groups can be summarized as in Table 2.

Stage 8: Since ToFi lacks an agreed-upon written tradition, it has to be partly standardized, but partly it may rely on the existing written language traditions of Finland Finnish. In that sense one may consider the *construction* of ToFi to be at hand. Regarding both groups individual adults show an increased interest at university level in improving their Finnish language abilities, also people who have never acquired Finnish literacy skills in childhood.

Stage 7: Language shift among Tornedalians accelerated during the 1940's and 1950's. Few families transmitted Finnish to their children due the effects of the strong Swedish assimilative forces, most notably in school policies, but also due to the low prestige of Finnish in every-day life. Starting school also meant starting the language shift process. There is

growing interest now among Tornedalians for their linguistic ancestry, also among younger people of child-bearing age. The willingness to retain Finnish seems to have increased during the 1980's.

Table 2. Tornedal Finnish and Sweden Finnish monitored for the application of the GIDS model:

<i>Stage</i>	<i>ToFi</i>	<i>SweFi</i>
1	(-)	+
2	+	+
3	-	(+)
4II	+	+
4I	(-)	(+)
5	+	(+)
6	(-)	(+)
7	(+)	-
8	(-)	-

Prior Ideological Clarification (+) +
(Brackets mean that a change is proceeding.).
ToFi = Tornedal Finnish, SweFi = Sweden Finnish

Stage 6. The transmission of ToFi has not been successful within the family. Various external pressures have contributed to this. The practical and economic use of Finnish has been disavowed. The status of the unwritten ToFi has not been able to compete with that of Swedish, which has become the unmarked choice in public situations, also among Tornedalians. Until the 1960's one may possibly claim that a stable diglossia existed, but the increasingly stereotypisized position of Tornedal Finnish brought Swedish even into the homes, from several directions.

Not only did children start using Swedish, but parents willingly supported its use. Teachers, school staff and community and state administration officials recommended that parents speak Swedish to their children, in order to increase the skills of and speed up the process of learning Swedish. During the 1960's the debate on semilingualism added pressure on parents: the message among school officials, some researchers and by ordinary people was that the use of two languages may disturb the mental capacity of the child.

The situation among Finnish immigrant parents was similar to the one among Tornedalians: belief in authorities and the rejection of the practical benefits of Finnish in Sweden were typical of arguments used in favour of Swedish. In addition, both Tornedal and Sweden Finnish parents believed that the children would learn spoken Finnish anyway, so there would be no need to teach it at school.⁶ The transmission of Finnish among children growing up during the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's was low, but has increased ever since, among both groups of Finnish-speakers. Simultaneously, primarily Sweden Finns, but, to some extent, also Tornedalians have been able to benefit from fresh immigration from Finland: new linguistic input remained an important factor until the early 1980's. Linguistically there is one difference: whereas Sweden Finns received input of, in principal, the same kind of Finnish as Sweden Finns themselves used, ToFi received Finland Finnish, i.e. a different kind of linguistic input, than the existing native Finnish spoken in Tornedalen. The situation of Tornedalians is complex. On the one hand, the existence of a neighbouring Finnish homeland supports the linguistic and cultural heritage of Tornedalen, on the other hand, it has become a competitor to the inherent source of ethnolinguistic identification, Tornedal Finnish. The long-term impact of the perpetual migration of especially women from northern Finland to Swedish Tornedalen is part of these cultural bonds, but its impact on the sociolinguistic development has so far not been studied in detail.

Stage 5: In Tornedalen a theoretical right to receive some supportive,

⁶This view has been put forward by majority representatives as well: since the children learn Finnish at home, they do not need any instruction in it in school. This view is of course neither commensurable with the idea of balanced bilingualism nor with the demands of biliteracy.

hour-based teaching about Finnish (and in Finland Finnish) existed already during the decades preceding the fundamental change in attitude during the mid-1970's. In practice this was not favoured by majority society school staff, and was made little use of. The first hours of compensatory teaching for children of Finnish descent among Sweden Finns were given at the beginning of the 1960's, but these are to be considered as exceptions. Summer camp courses in Finnish were arranged from the mid-1960's onwards. Compensatory, hour-based teaching started appearing more regularly when the need and frustration among *Swedish* teachers led to an increasing demand of such teaching in Finnish, from the turn of the 1970's. The purpose of these hours of Finnish teaching was not to replace the compulsory Swedish curriculum, which for legal reasons has never been allowed.⁷

Stage 4 I: The most obvious change in school politics was caused by a state committee's work on the relations between immigrants and Swedes (*SOU* 1974:69). The former assimilationist view was altered to one in which Swedes and immigrants were to function on an equal basis, in friendship and with a high degree of freedom of choice. The freedom of choice for parents to foster their mother tongue and their culture was facilitated by the possibility to choose so-called home-language teaching, from 1975/1976 onwards. Later on, the prospects were improved even further, making it possible to choose literacy training in the mother tongue and initial teaching mainly in the mother tongue, either in compound classes, or in mother tongue classes. This substantially increased the possibilities to transmit Finnish and even literacy in Finnish from one generation to another. The longterm implication of all these educational programmes has nevertheless been ultimate language shift. Active bilingualism was to be attained, but this was also supposed to lead to the functional dominance of Swedish. Most of the programmes did not, in practice, suffice to give Finnish a diverse literate input for varied language

⁷According to Swedish school legislation, which states that all schools in Sweden shall follow the same democratic and educational principles, and due to both the fact that most schools have been tax-financed and organized by the communes/towns, the possibilities of replacing the primary school curriculum have been close to nil. In addition, very few private schools have existed until the 1990's.

ability.

When these rights had first been given immigrant groups, the Tornedalians were offered exactly the same opportunities. Initially, Finland Finnish and Standard Finnish were considered the natural targets also for Tornedal Finnish children, but later this has been shifted to teaching favouring ToFi, both as a subject and as a medium of instruction. From 1985, when the rights to receive home-language teaching were restricted to those who already used the language actively in their daily lives, the rights of the historical/national minorities (Sami, Tornedalians and Romani), were not weakened to a similar extent. The status of Tornedal Finnish has thus continuously become stronger *de jure*.

Stage 4 II: When teaching in mother tongue classes was made possible, the teachers were bilingual or Finnish-speaking Finns. These classes have become a frequent choice of parents, ever since it became clear that the children would not run the risk of being transferred from their educational programme to a majority alternative from one year to another, which had been the case during the first decade of mother tongue classes. These classes were often referred to as experimental, and could be finished without prior discussion by the municipalities. Recently, independent informal observations have reported good academic results in both Finnish and Swedish, which has reinforced the support for the mother tongue classes. The amount of non-qualified teachers decreased, and the amount of teachers of Sweden Finnish descent increased. Similarly, the number of Tornedalians among those qualified as teachers, has increased. The curricula in all Swedish schools have to be accepted by the National Board of Education, which has tried to homogenize them. The National Board of Education has also been in charge of the mother tongue classes and hours, even though they have been initiated by local school boards.

Stage 3: Among Tornedalians the functional use of Finnish had been diminishing until the turn of the 1990's. Effects of the revitalization efforts have, however, led to the spread of ToFi to some areas in which it was not used earlier, e.g. teaching, radio, local small companies. The changes are, so far, not extensive. In addition to media, both professional writers and playwrights, as well as newspapers and public writers, have started using ToFi in their writings. Though ToFi may be considered to be a regional minority language, Stockholm has received thousands of Tornedal migrants. The connections between Tornedal migrants and the remainder

of the inhabitants seem to have improved and even been tightened during the 1980's. In 1982 a regional newspaper, *Met*, was founded. In 1988/1989 the Tornedal Academy (Academia Tornedaliensis/Meän Akateemi) was founded, to support and actively work for the benefit of Tornedal culture and language. According to the latest official proposals, the Academy will also be in charge of some university level teaching of Tornedal Finnish (*Finska i Sverige*, 1994 (the so-called Eiken-report)).

The use of Sweden Finnish has gained much ground in various work-spheres since the 1970's. Earlier, it was not unusual that one could work in an almost monolingual Finnish surrounding in some work plants. These have become more and more Swedecized, in addition to improving the knowledge of Swedish among Finnish-speakers. The areas in which Sweden Finns work have become increasingly more similar to those of the majority population. Some areas have shifted, e.g. for women, who have moved on from the factory floor to health care as a main field of work. One may, however, also claim that different kinds of both local and nationwide Finnish infrastructural networks have developed. There are a handful of union-like interest organizations, for teachers, translators, writers and journalists. Political parties have had Finnish branches. Locally, bakeries, electronics shops, car dealers and furniture shops etc., owned by Finns have developed. Most municipalities have had their local Finnish organizations since the 1950's or 1960's. Their nation-level central organization (Fi. Ruotsinsuomalaisten keskusliitto, RSKL, Swe. Sverigefinska riksförbundet, i.e. 'The National organization of Sweden Finns') has become an important connection between, e.g., Swedish politicians and the Sweden Finnish population.

Stage 2. According to the Inter-Nordic culture agreement and the Nordic language convention, citizens of another Nordic country may approach, at least in writing, any community or state administration in another Nordic country, and be given an answer in this language. So far, no public discussion has been initiated about individual vs. collective language rights connected to this. Most central Swedish government and municipal services are also given in Finnish, which has also been the case in many private companies. In most municipalities with a considerable number of Finnish-speakers interpretation services have been arranged. Initially, the interpreters (and translators) lacked qualifications, but this part of language services has functioned comparatively well for some 20 years. During the

last years, however, many municipalities have closed down their interpretation bureaus in order to transfer these services to the private sector.

In addition to local organizations' and Finnish clubs' newsletters, regional newspapers in municipalities with a substantial number of Finnish-speakers have published some information, advertisements etc. in Finnish. Some attempts have also been made to start national Sweden Finnish newspapers. A couple of them have survived into the 1990's, from their start in the 1960's. One of the major Sweden Finnish newspapers, however, found itself in economic difficulties and was forced to close down. A Finnish book-printing company faced the same fate. Finnish-language videos and several possibilities to follow news in Finnish (both local and national) exist: both radio and TV have longer weekly programmes and short daily ones. In the Stockholm area a regional TV station has transmitted programmes for over 10 years.

Tornedalians, being a regional minority, have had a similar development, but on a smaller scale. Radio broadcasting has been going on as well for several decades, but to a lesser extent. Some of the local newspapers publish shorter articles in Tornedal Finnish, and the only bilingual Swedish newspaper is published in Haparanda, a small town at the Finnish border. A main problem remains to be solved, however; the direction and amount of Tornedal Finnish standardization. This may be considered as work in progress. Two minor dictionaries were published in 1992, which has slightly contributed to a homogenization of writing. One topic hotly debated is, how much of Standard Finnish should be used and allowed. In those municipalities where ToFi is still actively used, most public services are available in Finnish. If the officials/clerks are locals and not Swedish-speaking migrants, Finnish may be used: at least the older have retained their ability to use ToFi for such practical purposes.

For both groups, it seems that the amount and functions of Finnish usage have increased rather than the opposite, during the late 1980's and the 1990's.

Stage 1: Though one may study Finnish as a subject at university level in all five Swedish universities, few educations are given in Finnish.⁸

⁸During a short period of time, the late 1970s and the early 1980s, courses in economy, law and statistics, were given in Finnish at several universities, since

Within the educational work spheres, however, courses and specialization in Finnish may be found. One result of the Eiken-group's report is, that Finnish is suggested to become a so-called B-language, i.e. the first language chosen for study after compulsory English in primary school. Furthermore, the proposals make it possible to demand that the local school authorities arrange bilingual education, i.e. mother tongue classes in all municipalities where certain criteria are fulfilled throughout the nine years of primary school. The possibility to choose Finnish classes at the secondary level, has been offered in some municipalities, but it is not made an obligation for municipalities even in the recommendations of the Eiken-report.

Both Tornedalians and Sweden Finns may have their church services in Finnish. In fact, the Swedish state church is the only official body where Finnish is also an officially accepted working language. In Tornedalen there is a long tradition in this respect, since Laestadianism, a religious movement unique to Northern Scandinavia and Finland, relied heavily on Finnish as the language of preaching, meetings and prayers.

Nationwide TV programmes are broadcast in Finnish, news even on a daily basis. The creation of a Finnish radio channel has been discussed for several years, and the Eiken-group has recommended it to become a reality in 1997, when the new digital technique will be introduced, and the broadcast contracts with various radio companies will be reformulated.

Government information, at least regular and essential information, is translated into (Sweden) Finnish, but not into ToFi. For the first time in more than 150 years, a government document (*Finska i Sverige*, 1994) was partly translated into Finnish. Only Swedish is used as a spoken official language throughout the nation, though it may have been used occasionally at local/regional level.

Table 3. Tornedal Finnish and Sweden Finnish according to the GIDS model

many Finnish students came to Sweden to study. At some point in time, it was even suggested that one university, Umeå, be made a bilingual one.

<i>Stage</i>	<i>ToFi</i>	<i>SweFi</i>
1		X
2	X	
3		
4II	X	X
4I	X	
5	X	
6	(-)	(+)
7		
8		

Prior Ideological Clarification (+) +
 X = level, at which major minority efforts
 are concentrated at the present
 ToFi = Tornedal Finnish, SweFi = Sweden Finnish

In Fishman's GIDS-model, Sweden Finns seem to be a bit better off than Tornedalians, but for neither of the groups is the situation close to a shift, nor close to cultural autonomy or linguistic expansion and a development clearly beyond the diglossia situation. The development towards cultural autonomy has been the aim of the minority policy of RSKL. The threat is certainly greater and the pressure more severe for Tornedal Finnish. One generation of Finnish-speakers was lost, and it is not self-evident that the ones following have been able to bridge this gap. This is also partly the situation for Sweden Finns, but contrary to Tornedalians they received fresh input from new migrants. Attitudinal changes may, however, contribute to a successful change. There is also great local variation among both groups.

Since the educational policy was shifted towards supportive maintenance, one may summarize that the number of Finnish-speakers has

become slightly higher, but *quality* in language qualifications, has definitely become better: many children take Finnish as a medium of instruction, at least for some years. Still, large groups receive no instruction in Finnish. The latest development in this chain are the so-called free schools, which have been founded to enhance bilingualism on more language equal terms than the transitional programmes of the mother tongue classes allow. The direction is promising for school enhanced support of Finnish, but other factors are involved too, like the impact of widespread bilingualism, which is not easily discussed within the framework of GIDS.

2. Some remarks on Finnish in Sweden

Both ToFi and SweFi have experienced phases of a fairly clear diglossic functional division in the use of Finnish. Both are also going through a development, which contains several common characteristics:

- the increasing bilingual use in the private sphere,
- better availability of Finnish in the educational system, and,
- the increasing use of Finnish in formal, official situations.

These processes have influenced the use and the forms of every-day Finnish in Sweden. In the following section an attempt will be made to generalize some of the results.

2.1 Tornedal Finnish

Various names have been given to the Finnish spoken in Tornedalen, indicating its internal and external sources of influence. In earlier, traditional dialectology, it was considered a mainly West Finnish dialect, with a lesser portion of East Finnish influence. Later, this view has been challenged, most recently by Winsa (1991). It seems clear, however, that the Finnish spoken in Swedish Tornedalen has more obviously than most other Finnish dialects received linguistic features from different sources. For example, the concept of a 'pure' dialect has not been attempted to be maintained for the dialects of Swedish Tornedalen as long as for other Finnish dialects. It has been suggested that three languages (mainly; Finnish, Sami and Swedish) and five dialect groups (Southwest Finnish,

Satakunta dialects, Häme dialects, Karelian and Savo dialects) have played important roles in the formation of ToFi in historical times (Wande 1982; Paunonen 1990; Winsa 1991). Impact from all these directions has been attested in ToFi grammar, lexicon and onomastic characteristics. Recently, a sixth Finnish dimension has been added, namely the influence of Standard Finnish. Despite the fact that Tornedal Finnish since its initiation by the border treaty in 1809 has developed in a different or independent direction compared with Finland Finnish, both its non-standard and standard varieties, it has recently received some input from Standard Finnish. One reason is that the recent attempts to codify and standardize ToFi have caused some minor import of Standard Finnish features. These attempts may also cause some leveling of spoken ToFi in its various regions. Since the debate on what the founding dialect area should be and what differences should be accepted as compared with Standard Finnish is continuing, the outcome of the standardization process is unforeseeable as yet.

The sociolinguistic role of the educational programmes containing Tornedal Finnish as the medium and subject of instruction, started as late as during the 1980's and 1990's, and will not be possible to describe before children attending these programmes have reached adulthood.

The most prominent feature recently, as compared with older forms of ToFi is the increasing impact of Swedish, via bilingualism at the individual level. Swedish impact is clearly noticeable at different linguistic levels: phonology, morphology, syntax, and most clearly in its lexicon, even in what may be termed the basic vocabulary.

It should also be noted that recent studies try to include the possible bias caused by, e.g., situational variation. The sociolinguistic factors shown to be of importance in other language contact situations also apply here: the use of loanwords may vary according to the topic, listeners, degree of formality (private vs. public language use) etc. Code-switching is another feature that may follow changes in other, similar external factors, but has not been studied yet. The various ways of describing spoken language in other situations than the traditional informal interview situation have only been adapted to a minor extent for ToFi so far.

The publication of dictionaries on Tornedal Finnish (Kenttä & Wande 1992) and one of its closest relatives, Jellivaara Finnish (Winsa 1992), have made way for a stabilization of ToFi orthography. Though the authors of

the first dictionary, e.g., have stated that their aim has not been to create a prescriptive model, it seems that the power of writing has simply taken over: the dictionaries are treated as expressions of authoritative opinions.

The study of ToFi according the changing views on language has only recently begun. In some respects then, it may be fair to state the characteristics of Tornedal Finnish are largely unknown. Despite this, which fate Tornedal Finnish shares with most other minority varieties and languages, attitudes towards Tornedal Finnish are strong and prescriptive in kind (e.g. Jaakkola 1973; Winsa 1993). Such negative views challenge the very use of non-standard varieties, to the extent that quite a few of the users of ToFi may be of the opinion that there is nothing worth saving or standardizing in it. The decade-long revitalization of ToFi, however, shows that others are of the opposite opinion. The foundation of an Academy and the renaming of ToFi from a 'dialect' to *Meän Kieli* 'Our language' (cf. Thomas 1991), indicates that there are proponents for it, who are willing to work for the benefit of its development and maintenance.

2.2 Sweden Finnish

It is even more difficult to briefly characterize SweFi than ToFi, since features from most Finnish dialects in Finland are to be found in SweFi. Among the few generalizations based on empirical research on language in use, some main characteristics have been possible to observe:

- contrary to, e.g. American Finnish, features common to many dialects are retained, and dialect specific features are largely abandoned. Representatives of the rural, eastern and Northern dialects, who constituted the majority during the first decades of post-war immigration, are borrowing from the urban, south Finnish dialects. The opposite direction is also possible to observe: speakers of the urban South Finnish dialects borrow from the eastern and North Finnish dialects, but to a somewhat lesser degree (Lainio 1989; 1991, forthc.c);
- common features in dialects and varieties in Finland are also seemingly diffusing in the Swedish milieu. Both variants of non-standard and standard varieties in Finland may thus be used to an increasing extent

also in Sweden. Several reasons are to be mentioned in this connection:

- contacts with Finland are good and frequent, both personal and via various media, and
- newly arrived immigrants bring continuously fresh impulses from the 'Old country'.

What is happening in the second and later generations of descendants, remains to be studied. Some large-scale projects (cf. Viberg 1988; Wande 1991; Lainio *forthc.a*) have been initiated and others are to follow. A consensus has been reached at least regarding one hotly debated topic: the concept of semilingualism does not cover the present-day realities accurately and has become obsolete, even as a political concept.

It does not seem to be too daring a hypothesis to state that the impact of Swedish is increasing with time: second and later generations of speakers use Swedish features to a higher extent than do their parents.

What has not been studied among Tornedalians, but to a minor extent among Sweden Finns, is the impact of situational variation. According to the hypothesis presented by Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter (1977; cf. Appel & Muysken 1987; Romaine 1989:44-45), there is reason to expect a development towards a lack in ability to express stylistic variation, in this case in comparison with the monolingual norm system of Finland Finnish. According to some initial studies, this hypothesis cannot be easily confirmed in studies on Sweden Finns. There is evidence that, e.g. adolescents, who to some extent have participated in Finnish school instruction in Sweden are quite capable of expressing stylistic variation in this sense (cf. Wande 1991; Lainio 1993, *forthc.a*; Röntynen 1994). The same pattern is confirmed by a study on code-switching (Sissala *forthc.*), which shows a clearly higher use of Swedish-phonology code-switches in an informal group-talk situation than in a formal radio interview.

On the other hand, some preliminary results indicate that stylistic differentiation is decreasing for some linguistic features. Among the same adolescent informants, there was almost no variation for the following features: 1 P Sg Pron and Ind verb forms, which almost categorically were *mä* + verb, i.e. the pronoun is seldom omitted and the variant is the monosyllabic variant, e.g. *mä lähen* 'I will leave', 'I am leaving'; 3 P Sg

Pron: *se* pro *hän*, e.g. *se kävi siellä* 'he went (and came back)'; 1 P Pl Pro and verb forms: *me* + passive verb form, e.g. *me oltiin* 'we were', with a passive instead of an active verb form; 3 P Pl Pro and verb form: *ne* instead of *he* + verb in 3 P Sg, e.g. *ne tuli meille* 'they came (to our house)', which, contrary to Standard Finnish, lacks agreement in number.

These changes do not, however, constitute any support for a claimed stylistic reduction due to the minority language situation, since they parallel those of their Finland Finnish peers and colloquial Finnish in general. Only one feature observed preliminarily thus far, showed any signs of what could be termed morphological confusion, which ultimately might lead to morphological simplification, namely the use of the 3 INF ILL, which for at least one adolescent informant, lacked obvious systematicity. This kind of change in a complex morphology has been observed among American Finns and the Norwegian Kvens as well (cf. Martin 1989; Lindgren 1993a, 1993b). It is generally interpreted as a sign of reduction of the functions of a language under pressure of language shift (Dorian 1978).

The work on standardizing SweFi has been organized by the Sweden Finnish Language Board (since 1976). Its lack of funding has led to a concentration on the most urgent terminological needs: three dictionaries have been compiled, within the areas of labour market, social welfare and education. Only recently have some minor attempts been made to collect and describe other parts of the vocabulary.

The often used term Sweden Finnish thus still largely lacks linguistic content. Still, obvious from studies made so far, it does not simply consist of numerous loan words and aberrations from Finland Finnish varieties, since all forms that aren't exclusively Sweden Finnish should nevertheless also be counted as part and parcel of Sweden Finnish. There is no doubt, however, that some independent linguistic developments, both lexical and grammatical, have started and new ones are to be expected.

3. Discussion

One of the major points in Fishman's argumentation is a warning of attempts to direct efforts aiming at reversing language shift too high up in hierarchy (levels 4-1) too early. This was the case for Gaelic in Ireland for example. For majority languages superimposed on minority speakers, the

school is evidently able to diffuse the language without active use and identificational support within the family, e.g. Swedish in Tornedalen. Thus, socio-historical background factors are influential. The efforts to reverse a shift from a minority to a majority language do not work, according to Fishman, when ideological support is not followed up by practical action, i.e. when the language is not transmitted from one generation to the other within the family.

The Tornedalians have been unsuccessful in this respect regarding Finnish, but the negative attitudes are changing slowly, and ToFi is now used as a language of instruction to some extent from early age onwards, even for majority children in some pre-schools and schools. For this territorial minority the situation is still alarming, but according to Fishman's model, still possible to reverse.

For Sweden Finns the first decades of immigration and the succeeding assimilationist policy during the 1950's and 1960's, resulted in a similar 'dislocation'. Later the situation has improved, but instead exogamy has become a new obstacle. When Finns marry other immigrants, Finnish is a winner, due to better availability in the educational system. When Finns marry Swedes, Finnish is frequently the loser. About half of the children who are entitled so-called home-language teaching have one Finland-born and one Sweden-born parent, many of whom are monolingual Swedes (Huss 1991). The importance of the language of the surrounding local community is most likely one of the factors influencing a decision for a bilingual family, but recently some families have tried to challenge its impact. Like in Finland, the representatives of the majority group in such families in Sweden have come to realize and appreciate the benefits of bilingualism, and occasionally they put their children into bilingual education, especially in families with high socioeconomic status.

Finnish in Sweden has recently received a push upward regarding its prestige and attitudes, which had not been favourable earlier. The free school system and the mother tongue classes have created a possibility to bridge the language transmission gap — a generation of competent Finnish-speakers is growing up and may succeed in securing Finnish for the next generation. Though Sweden Finns still receive some fresh input from Finland in the form of continuous migration — since 1956 there are no administrative prohibitions for inter-Nordic migration — its role has clearly decreased and cannot suffice to support the use of Finnish by itself

in the future. The next decade will be a crucial one — the potential for language maintenance is there, and the administrative and practical educational possibilities are there, contrary to earlier years. On the other hand, official policies and lower level administration have been able to prevent a positive development before, and the polarization of educational programmes into monolingual, more Swedish-based or more Finnish-based bilingual programmes, is probably not only advantageous. Fewer may receive teaching in Finnish, even if it is of higher quality and may have longer-lasting effects. Sweden has just had an election, after which the new ruling party, the Social Democrats, has promised to revise the support system of the free schools. If these are weakened and the municipal cutdowns that started in 1991-1992 proceed even further, what will the position of Finnish be in the school system? At any rate, the decision on whether Finnish be transmitted to next generation or not, is at the very moment largely one to be made by the Finnish-speakers themselves.

Finally, the use of a model such as Fishman's may have several advantages, but also disadvantages: it may, e.g., show quite bluntly the state of affairs for a specific minority, in comparison with some other. On the other hand, it may simultaneously reveal some weak spots in the efforts of reversing language shift, which in that case can be improved. And, though it may cause some initial shock for minority group members to see a negative evaluation of the facts concerning their group, one may ask whether it is a bad or a good thing to see things as they are. Another disadvantage is that several important factors which influence the outcome are not integrated into the discussion. For my restricted purposes, to sketch a general picture, I believe the model works. Some additional data and factors important for the situation of Finnish, which are not discussed here, will be treated elsewhere (cf. Pyöli & Lainio *forthc.*).

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