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Editorial Foreword

Silviu Miloiu
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The 13th volume of *The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies* reflects some of the research presented at the 12th International conference on Baltic and Nordic studies entitled "Rethinking multiculturalism, multilingualism, and cultural diplomacy in Scandinavia and The Baltic Sea Region," which was held on May 27-28, 2021, under the auspices of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies. RethinkMulti-Kulti2021 was called to reflect on multiculturalism, multilingualism, and cultural diplomacy in Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea Region 10 years after German Chancellor Angela Merkel predicted the end of the German multicultural society. Many politicians with Conservative leanings praised the confirmation that the half-century-cherished multi-kulti "utterly failed," and far-right gurus interpreted it as an omen. Furthermore, Merkel's track record as a committed democratic-minded politician, EU leader, and proponent of migrant integration has garnered near-universal support for this argument. Furthermore, in academia, Merkel's assertion has never been adequately questioned, but rather taken for granted. Meanwhile, policies governing multiculturalism and multilingualism in the EU and EEA have been stuck in a rut, particularly in what Fareed Zakaria properly refers to as illiberal democracies.

The purpose of the conference was not to resurrect the political objective behind multi-kulti, but rather to critically reassess the role of multiculturalism, multilinguism, and cultural diplomacy from the viewpoint of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea Region. We see Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea Region as interrelated and partially overlapping by a plethora of historical, cultural, and social channels, hence papers dealing with multiculturalism, multilinguism, and cultural diplomacy as reflected

in these regions and wider Europe were planned. Papers on connections, liaisons, affiliations, divergences, animosity, legal or de facto statuses of cultures and languages in Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea Region were also presented during the conference. How multilingualism, multiculturalism, and cultural diplomacy prospered or muddled through transitions from liberal nations to far-right or far-left governments and back were also addressed.

The volume's first issue focuses on lingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism as a path to diversity and how individuals reflected on it. Kari Alenius looks at the telling case of the Sámi minority in northern Finland and the disputes over whether or not to grant it wide autonomy, which was ultimately determined in favor of opponents of the proposal. Johanna Domokos examines the case studies of two contemporary multilingual writers, Sabira Ståhlberg from Finland and Tzveta Sofronieva from Bulgaria, to demonstrate how they aspire to address cross-culturally to readers of all languages, backgrounds, and locations, concluding that "the reader is empowered to take part in not only piecing together but creating a better 'new' world." Sabira Ståhlberg is the author and coauthor of two articles that address multiculturalism in a very solid and original manner. The first follows the partly mythical and partly tourist-tracking journey of international traveler and well-known Swedish-language author Göran Schildt, who sailed on his yacht Daphne in the Black Sea and the Danube Delta in the summer of 1963 as one of the first cracks in the curtain separating the two opposing ideological blocs. The latter, co-signed with Dorijan Hajdu, focuses on the relationships between family members, as expressed particularly in Swedish and Serbian language, allowing for a highly comprehensive knowledge of diversity from inside. Finally, Adél Furu's most recent article in our journal examines educational trends in the context of Russian and Estonian second language training in Finland, observing the shift from language loss to language maintenance.

We hope that all of these pieces will spark new thought on the subject and help our readers better comprehend multiculturalism and multilinguism as they were perceived and implemented in Europe, particularly in our and the previous century.

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Acculturation or autonomy? Controversy over the status of the Sámi in Finland during the interwar period

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Abstract

The newly independent Finland in the 1920s and 1930s was, in principle, a nation state in which ethnic Finns had an undisputed leading position. Nevertheless, there was a lively debate about the status that would be given to other nationalities in various spheres of social life. The Swedes were the country's main national minority (accounting for 10 per cent of the total population), and they were granted extensive minority rights. Another locally significant minority were the Sámi who lived in northern Lapland. This paper analyses the extent to which the majority population was willing to meet the wishes of the Sámi. Some Finns were in favour of the Sámi being acculturated as quickly as possible, but a few activists would have liked to grant the Sámi broad autonomy. Several ministries and government agencies investigated the matter thoroughly, but the result was negative for the Sámi.

Rezumat

Finlanda anilor '20 și '30, recent independentă, a fost, în principiu, un stat național în care etnicii finlandezi dețineau poziția de lider de necontestat. Cu toate acestea, a existat o dezbatere aprinsă cu privire la statutul care urma a fi acordat altor naționalități în diverse sfere ale vieții sociale. Suedezii constituiau principala minoritate națională a țării (reprezentând 10% din populația totală) și acestora li s-au acordat drepturi minoritare extinse. O altă minoritate semnificativă la nivel local a fost sami, care locuiau în nordul Laponiei. Această lucrare analizează măsura în care populația majoritară a fost dispusă să îndeplinească doleanțele populației sami. Unii finlandezi au fost în favoarea ideii ca sami să fie asimilați cât mai repede posibil, dar câțiva activiști ar fi dorit să acorde acestei populații o autonomie largă. Mai multe ministere și agenții guvernamentale au investigat problema în detaliu, dar rezultatul a fost în final negativ pentru sami.

Keywords: Ethnic relations; multiculturalism; Finland; Sámi; self-government

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This paper has been presented at the Twelve International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania: ReThinking multiculturalism, multilingualism and cultural diplomacy in Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea Region, hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, May 27–28, 2021.

Introduction

Today, issues related to multiculturalism are topical throughout Europe and North America. However, this is not a new thing, although the term 'multiculturalism' is quite recent. There is not just one generally accepted definition for it. In any case, this article applies a general delineation in the study of history and sociology which focuses only on the analysis of relations between groups of people without taking a position on future policy goals. The delimitation of the perspective is summarised in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for instance, as follows:

> '*Multiculturalism*; the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgment of their differences within a dominant political culture. That acknowledgment can take the forms of recognition of contributions to the cultural life of the political community as a whole, a demand for special protection under the law for certain cultural groups, or autonomous rights of governance for certain cultures [...] Multiculturalism seeks the inclusion of the views and contributions of diverse members of society while maintaining respect for their differences and withholding the demand for their assimilation into the dominant culture.'[1]

Finland became independent in 1917, after which a new constitution was created. In this context, a position had to be taken, inter alia, on the situation of ethnic minorities. In 1920, Finland had a population of 3.15 million, of whom about 88 per cent were ethnic Finns and 11 per cent Swedes (or Swedish speakers, which was and still is the official term). The combined share of all other minorities was less than one per cent. The number of Sámi was just over 2,000, but in Lapland – the northernmost part of Finland – they were a locally significant minority. The three northernmost municipalities in Finland proper – Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki – had a total of about 4,000 inhabitants, half of whom were Sámi and half Finns. In addition, in the 1920

[1] Jennifer L. Eagan, "Multiculturalism", in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/multiculturalism (7.7.2021).

peace treaty, Finland gained the Petsamo area, of which about 20 per cent (400) of the inhabitants (2000) were Sámi. These municipalities were large in area but very sparsely populated. Their infrastructure was weak, and connections to the rest of Finland were relatively limited.[2]

At the national level, the Swedes were the only significant minority, and they were the only minority group to be granted extensive autonomous rights in the Constitution. Other minorities were not mentioned in the legislation as groups, but members of small minorities were subject only to the general human rights defined for all citizens. It can be said that between the World Wars, Finland pursued a kind of multicultural policy in relation to the Swedish minority, although the term 'multiculturalism' was not yet used at that time. However, the debate on the rights and responsibilities of 'national minorities' was quite similar to the debate on multiculturalism in the 21st century.

This paper analyses the extent to which the majority population was willing to meet the wishes of the Sámi. Some Finns were in favour of the Sámi being acculturated as quickly as possible, but a few activists would have liked to grant the Sámi broad autonomy. What arguments were made for and against the 'multiculturalism' of the Lapland region? What kinds of solutions were finally reached and why?

The article consists of three parts. First, it analyses the types of self-government that were considered for the Sámi. This perspective is most important because if autonomy had been realised, it would have had a comprehensive impact on all walks of life. The analysis is supplemented by reviews of Sámi school life and the organisation of ecclesiastical affairs. Multiculturalism, especially from the point of view of the use of the Sámi language, was also present in these latter areas.

The study is based on the analysis of archival material and the contemporary press. The topic has been explored to some extent in the past, but there is still room for in-depth analysis. Of the previous researchers, Veli-Pekka Lehtola has done the most thorough work. His main work is *Saamelaiset suomalaiset – kohtaamisia 1896–1953* (Sámi Finns – Encounters

[2] *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1922 (*Helsinki, 1922), pp. 10–36; *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1932* (Helsinki 1932), 12–45; *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1942* (Helsinki 1943), 14–47.

1896–1953)[3], in which he has also partly utilised the same materials. In this article, however, I focus more on the goals, aspirations, and fears of the various actors that explain why certain types of solutions were ultimately decided upon.

The Utsjoki case in 1925: Local Sámi autonomy quickly rejected

Other minorities than the Swedes did not have their own parties between the World Wars, but that did not mean that they did not take a stand or try to influence their own position in Finnish society. In the history of small minorities in the 1920s and 1930s, there are a few examples which parallel what happened in the life of the Swedish-speaking minority. The Sámi were the group whose position, in principle, most closely resembled that of the Swedes. The Sámi lived in the northern border region (like the Swedes in the west), and on the other side of the state border lived people belonging to the same group. As it was an ethnic, linguistic and cultural minority whose area of residence could be defined quite precisely, like the Swedish-speaking people, even the idea of a kind of cultural autonomy came up.

In 1920, the northernmost municipality in Finland, Utsjoki, had about 550 inhabitants, of whom 490, or quite accurately 90 per cent, were Sámi. As a result of migration and high birth rates, by 1930, the municipality's population had grown to 680, of whom 610 were Sámi. Thus, the Sámi population had generally remained the same, although in all other municipalities in the Sámi region, the Finns increased in number at the same time. The situation was affected by the special features of Utsjoki. It was remote, and there was not even a road there. Utsjoki also had no business that would have attracted Finnish migrants. Its main traffic route was the Teno River, which empties into the Arctic Ocean and is the border between Finland and Norway. Utsjoki's connections to the south, to the rest of Finland, were traditionally limited. In contrast, to the north towards Norway, the connections were considerably busier.[4]

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[3] Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset – kohtaamisia 1896–1953* (Helsinki: SKS, 2012).
[4] Lehtola 2012, 26, 214–218.

Map: Northern Finland (Utsjoki municipality; Suenjel region)[5]

The general goal of the Finnish state was to ensure that it had sufficient control in all parts of the country. This was particularly the case in border regions which were important for national security and which were of interest to another state. The way to ensure adequate control was to integrate the border regions as comprehensively as possible into the rest of the country. At the same time, an essential element was to raise all residents to be loyal citizens of the Finnish nation-state. If strong social integration was

[5] Source: Wikimedia Commons (background); with substantial changes by the author (KA).

not desired at the local level and Finnish national values were not shared, it inevitably caused a clash. Utsjoki was in this situation in the mid-1920s.

In February 1925, Aukusti Neitiniemi, Member of Parliament for the Coalition Party, submitted a proposal to Parliament based on a draft prepared by the Utsjoki Municipal Council at its own meeting. Neitiniemi was ethnically Finnish, but he was from the border of the Sámi region, Kittilä, and it seems that he was very sympathetic to the wishes of the Sámi. There were no Sámi MPs in the Finnish Parliament, so they had to ask someone to act as a mediator. Neitiniemi's proposal to Parliament had two main points. First, the Utsjoki Sámi municipal council proposed that Utsjoki be "preserved as an actual Sámi area". Secondly, the concrete way of achieving this was that without the consent of the Utsjoki Municipal Council, only Finns acting as state officials would be allowed to move to the municipality.[6]

The proposal recalled the arrangements established in the Åland Autonomy Laws. Those who came from other parts of Finland did not automatically have the right to remain living in Åland, and although the law did not explicitly state this, Åland was also guaranteed the right to "remain an actual Swedish territory" in practice. The ideas of the Sámi leadership of Utsjoki were received by the Finns in three ways. A few Finnish public figures warmly supported the idea, a few others opposed the idea just as strongly, and some fell between the two extremes. The discussion took place mainly in the newspaper sections of Northern Finland and in Parliament's Economic Committee.

Supporters relied on two arguments. According to them, farther south, Inari had already seen what difficulties the municipalities of the Sámi area faced when "adventurers and criminals" moved from elsewhere in Finland. Any kind of "bad life" and unrest had since increased. In addition, migrants had remained a burden on the poor relief in municipalities. Secondly, supporters argued that farming in the Sámi area was difficult due

[6] A. Neitiniemi, Yhtenäisen suunnitelman valmistamisesta valtakunnan lapinkielisen väestön taloudellisen ja sivistyksellisen tilan kohottamista varten (18.2.1925). *Valtiopäiväasiakirjat* (1925), Liitteet IV,2, 295–296; "Huomattawa esitys lappalaisasutuksen turwaamiseksi Pohjois-Lapissa". *Rovaniemi* 7.2.1925.

to the rugged soil and cold climate. It was useless for Finnish settlers to move north because they would not be able to get along there.[7]

In the practical reasoning mentioned above, the issue was not directly linked to ethnic considerations, although it was clearly underlying. However, a few people brought just that to the centre and broadened the perspective to cover the entire Sámi area. In addition to MP Neitiniemi, the Finnish colonel and war historian Eero Heickell (Kuussaari) raised the matter most clearly in public. He had taken part in wars around Finland to liberate Finns or peoples ethnically close to them from Russia and Bolshevism, and he actively worked to promote the national and cultural well-being of these peoples.[8] Heickell clearly also felt the same about the Sámi according to the same principle: for him, the Sámi were a kindred people of the Finns, and the Finns had to help preserve their national characteristics.

In March 1925, Heickell wrote an article for one of Northern Finland's leading newspapers, in which he presented his ideas. He demanded that the northernmost part of Finland, roughly the current Sámi homeland, be separated into a kind of "protected area" where Finnish settlers could not settle. The final statement of Heickell's article was "Let the Lapps be given their own land!"[9] Heickell did not define the legal status of "Lappish land", but in practice, it would have been a matter of national autonomy, as in the case of Åland. Heickell was the greatest representative of Finns who were concerned about the preservation of the Sámi language and culture and who were ready to restrict the rights of Finns and the Finnish state in the traditional Sámi area.

In contrast, the Finnish police chief in Utsjoki, Eero Manninen, was the clearest representative of the other party in the public eye. A few weeks later, he wrote an article in the same newspaper in which he completely rejected Heickell's proposal. Manninen considered the Sámi to be cunning and calculating Norwegian admirers who despised the Finns. According to

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[7] Lehtola 2012, 26, 219–221.

[8] Mikko Uola, "Kuussaari, Eero". *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu*. Studia Biographica 4. https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/7749 (29.12.2020).

[9] A. Heickell "Lappalaisemme kansallisesti turwattawa". *Rovaniemi* 3.3.1925.

Manninen, the goal of the Sámi was to isolate or even to separate Utsjoki from Finland and connect it to Norway. Such separatism had to be prevented and, on the contrary, the integration of Utsjoki into Finland was enhanced. Manninen also claimed that the Sámi themselves were not interested in preserving their own language and culture but were willing to merge with the Norwegians. Therefore, there was no need for any kind of Sámi autonomy; rather, these ideas were directly harmful or downright treacherous to Finland.[10]

The views of those who were critical were confirmed by the fact that in May 1925, the Utsjoki Municipal Council decided on new measures that seemed separatist. The Council addressed the governor of Oulu County, proposing that no road or telephone connections be built to Utsjoki that would connect the municipality to the rest of Finland; it also recommended that a Finnish Border Guard station not be established in Utsjoki. A month later, the Inari Municipal Council – clearly encouraged by the example of Utsjoki – also proposed an amendment to the Finnish Migration Act, which could prevent unwanted immigrants from settling in the municipality. Inari only referred to economic and social factors, i.e. the fact that in previous years, a large amount of "harmful substances" had moved to the municipality from Southern Finland.[11] However, in the background, there were probably the same, broader motives as in Utsjoki.

In June 1926, the chairman of the Utsjoki Municipal Council, O. J. Guttorm, revealed these motives in more detail in his article for the *Rovaniemi* newspaper. First, Guttorm reiterated the claims and arguments made earlier. In addition, he stated quite openly that the Finnish Border Guard was not wanted in Utsjoki because, in possible times of crisis, it would be important that the border with Norway remain open. At the end of World War I, great difficulties had been experienced when Russian measures prevented cross-border trade, even though Utsjoki suffered from food

[10] E.N.M. [Eero Manninen]. "Lappalaisalueen muodostamisesta". *Rovaniemi* 2.4.1925.

[11] Terho Itkonen, "Lapin suojeleminen – Suomen suojelemista". *Rovaniemi* 12.3.1925; "Utsjoen eristäytymispyrkimykset". *Rovaniemi* 11.5.1926. See also Lehtola 2012, 220–224.

shortages. Guttorm also summarised the view of the local Sámi elite that "Utsjoki residents would like to develop alongside Finns as Sámi".[12]

What seemed natural from the point of view of Guttorm and perhaps many other locals did not receive much understanding from the Finns. In practice, the Municipal Council suggested that the Finnish border authorities would not have competence in the Utsjoki area. Keeping "unwanted elements" outside the municipality, preventing free movement, building roads and establishing telephone connections also proved to be a radical attempt at isolation. It is likely that the rise of the Sámi as full-fledged actors alongside the Finns also provoked a backlash. When the Sámi were traditionally seen as primitive and inferior among Finns, it was undoubtedly difficult for many to accept the idea of equality. The reaction is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that *Rovaniemi* magazine, which had previously taken a positive view of the Utsjoki Municipal Council's proposals,[13] now changed its position and criticised Guttorm's views.[14]

In any case, the initiative taken by the Member of Parliament Neitiniemi was discussed in the Parliament's Committee on Education and the Committee on Economic Affairs in the autumn of 1925. Both committees reacted negatively to the proposal. They reasoned that the municipality of Utsjoki should not be treated as a special case, but things had to be organised there as in other border regions of Finland. The Committee on Economic Affairs also did not consider it necessary to establish a separate "Lappish area protected from other settlements" because the natural conditions of Utsjoki were unsuitable for Finnish farmers anyway. When the position of both committees was negative, Neitiniemi's proposal was rejected in Parliament without debate. No member of Parliament considered it necessary to comment on or defend the views of the Sámi.[15]

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[12] O.J.G. [O. J. Guttorm]. "'Utsjoen eristäytymispyrkimykset' y.m. kirjoitusten johdosta". *Rovaniemi* 19.6.1926.

[13] "Huomattawa esitys lappalaisasutuksen turwaamiseksi Pohjois-Lapissa". *Rovaniemi* 7.2.1925.

[14] Toimitus. *Rovaniemi* 19.6.1926.

[15] Anomusmietintö N:o 17, Talousvaliokunnan mietintö lapinkielisen väestön taloudellisen ja sivistyksellisen tilan kohottamista koskevan anomusehdotuksen johdosta 25.11.1925. Asiakirjat II V. *Valtiopäiväasiakirjat* 1925; "Lapinkielisen wäestön taloudellisen ja siwistyksellisen tilan kohottaminen". *Rovaniemi* 18.2.1926.

However, giving some autonomy to the Sámi or to some of them came up again in the early 1930s. This time, it was about the Skolt Sámi in the Petsamo area, and the proposal that arose from among them was more positively received by the Finns. There were several reasons behind the fact that attitudes were different.

The Skolt Sámi case in 1930–1938: A reservation for ´Finnish Indians´ under serious consideration

As a result of the Tartu Peace Treaty in 1920, Finland acquired the Petsamo area and a new ethnic group at the same time, the Skolt Sámi, whose residential area covers the western part of the Kola Peninsula. Petsamo was formed into a municipality with an area of about 10,500 square kilometres. In the early 1920s, however, there were only about 2,000 inhabitants, so the area was very sparsely populated. Fewer than 400 of the inhabitants were Skolt Sámi, and they lived mainly in the southern part of Petsamo. The largest group of the multi-ethnic population, about 600 people, were Finns, and Karelians, other Sámi and Russians also lived in the area. The settlement was concentrated in the northern parts of Petsamo, especially along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Between the World Wars, Petsamo was subject to strong Finnish migration. In 1939, Petsamo had a population of about 5,100, of which nearly 4,000 were ethnically Finnish.[16]

The main occupation of the Skolt Sámi was reindeer herding, and their way of life was nomadic. The Suonikylä (Suenjel) region, located in the forest area in the southern part of Petsamo, was the core area of Skolt Sámi culture in the sense that most of the Skolt lived there, and there were few Finns or other inhabitants in that area. The winter village of Suenjel and some of the reindeer pastures became part of the Soviet Union according to the peace treaty, but the inhabitants of Suenjel were allowed to build a new winter village in the 1920s with Finnish state funds. The rapid change in society in the 1920s raised similar concerns among the Skolt population as with the Sámi in the Utsjoki and Inari areas. In the western and northern parts of Petsamo, the traditional Skolt communities were facing great

[16] *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1932*, pp. 36–45; *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1942*, 40–48. See also Lehtola 2012, 24, 255–256.

difficulty, but the changes had little effect on the Suenjel area. However, there were also emerging threats in Suenjel from the perspective of the Skolt Sámi. Finnish professional fishermen had come to compete for the fishing waters that the Skolt population had considered their own property for generations. In addition, there were conflicts of interest between Finnish and Skolt Sámi reindeer herders. After the Skolt Sámi had to give up some of the pastures in the peace treaty, they had to find new ones in the Petsamo area, which caused controversy. There were no completely unused new pastures available, and a rising number of reindeer herders and reindeer were forced to share shrinking pastures.[17]

In December 1930, the inhabitants of Suenjel held a village meeting, in which they decided to turn to the Finnish government and ask for protection. Imperial Russia had granted certain special trade privileges, which the Skolt wanted to preserve. However, it was not just about reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing. The Skolt of Suenjel wanted the Finnish government to ensure the continuation of the "self-sufficient, nature-based life of the Skolt people" without disruption.[18]

Supported by a few Finnish officials in Petsamo, the matter progressed to the Ministry of the Interior, which in 1932 made an official initiative to exclude Suenjel from the scope of the Petsamo Settlement Act. The Ministry of the Interior was of the opinion that a separate Skolt territory should be formed in the southern part of Petsamo so that "the ethnologically very interesting Skolt population could continue in peace their natural life as before and thus survive extinction". However, the matter still required a round of consultations asking for the views of other authorities. Petsamo belonged to the province of Oulu, the governor of which took a positive stance, as did the Ministry of Agriculture.[19]

In the summer of 1933, a study was carried out with the aim of finding an agreement between the Skolt and the Finns in the Petsamo area

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[17] Lehtola 2012, 257–261, 267–270.

[18] Suonikylän uuden talvikylän kolttain kokous 12.12.1930. Petsamon kihlakunnan kruununvoudin arkisto [hereafter PKKA] BI:45.

[19] Sisäasiainministeriö Petsamon kihlakunnan kruununvoudille 19.6.1931. PKKA BI:45; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (I)". *Lapin Kansa* 2.7.1936; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (II)". *Lapin Kansa* 4.7.1936.

about which part of Petsamo could be separated into a "Skolt territory". In particular, there was disagreement over hunting and fishing rights and how other natural resources in the region would be used. In any case, based on the study, a proposal was made that the area would be approximately 4,200 square kilometres, or more than 40 per cent of the area of the municipality of Petsamo. Admittedly, there were only about 200 inhabitants, all of them Skolt Sámi. The following year, the National Board of Settlements and the National Land Survey of Finland supported the plan. In addition to defining the boundaries of the area, professional fishing and hunting for non-Skolt peoples would be prohibited, and Finnish settlers would not be allowed to move into the territory.[20]

However, progress stalled, although the proposal was welcomed by some ministries and central government departments. The strongest opposition to the project came from Petsamo's local level. The Petsamo Municipal Council, which consisted mainly of Finns who had just moved to the area, strongly opposed the establishment of a special territory. In its opinion, the project would have been against the interests of other Petsamo residents, and it was also expected to cause administrative problems and financial costs. The National Board of Forestry also came to a negative conclusion. In its opinion, increasing the interaction between the Skolt and the Finns and integrating the Skolt into the rest of society was only a positive development. The National Board of Forestry also did not accept the restrictions on the utilisation of natural resources around the special territory, for instance logging or the establishment of possible mines.[21]

A number of Finns who were sympathetic towards the Skolt and the Sámi in general still tried to take the project forward by actively influencing people's opinions. These "Lappofiles" had founded an association in 1932 called the Lapland Educational Society, whose main purpose was to support

[20] Sisäasiainministeriö Maatalousministeriölle 3.10.1932. PKKA BI:45; L. Itkonen," Suonikylän territoriokysymys (II)". *Lapin Kansa* 4.7.1936; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (III)". *Lapin Kansa* 7.7.1936.

[21] Petsamon kunnanvaltuuston kokous 30.3.1931. Petsamon kunnan arkisto Ca:1-3; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (I)". *Lapin Kansa* 2.7.1936; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (II)". *Lapin Kansa* 4.7.1936; L. Itkonen, "Suonikylän territoriokysymys (III)". *Lapin Kansa* 7.7.1936.

Sámi culture. In 1936–1937, the Lapland Educational Society contacted several domestic and foreign scientific associations and influential politicians and officials and asked them for statements, which were used to support the plan for the special territory. Such bodies included, among others, the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs and some indigenous (Native American) organisations.[22]

The project to establish a Skolt Sámi Special Territory was conceptually very close to what was done in North America in the establishment and management of Indian reservations. In 1934, a new Indian Law had come into force in the United States; its main purpose was to keep Native American settlements in the possession of Native Americans. So, fresh examples were available from there. In the spring of 1937, K. Nickul, a member of the Lapland Educational Society, wrote an extensive article in Finland's largest magazine, *Suomen Kuvalehti*, entitled "How are the 'Indians' in Finland?" Nickul thus openly equated the Skolt with Native Americans, and the Lapland Educational Society extended its goals to cover all Finnish Sámi. The aim was therefore to establish Sámi "reservations", the first of which should be created for the Petsamo Skolt Sámi.[23]

It should come as no surprise that the campaigning of the Lapland Educational Society also provoked reactions from members of the public, who opposed the granting of any special rights to the Sámi. In the late 1930s, the government continued to compile various reports, even though the matter had been pending for nearly a decade. A special Lapland Committee set up for this purpose issued a negative final report in the autumn of 1937. The top management of the new Lapland County, founded in 1938, reached the same conclusion.[24] The end point came with World War II. It was clear in principle that during the war (1939–1945), it was not possible to implement

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[22] "Lappalaisen kulttuurin suojelualueen muodostamisen puolesta puhuvat monet painavat näkökohdat". *Rovaniemi* 3.3.1936; Karl Nickul, "Suonikylän lappalaiskulttuurin vaaliminen". *Helsingin Sanomat* 1.11.1937. See also Lehtola 2012, 338–339.

[23] Karl Nickul, "Miten käy Suomen 'intiaanien'?" *Suomen Kuvalehti* 17/1937.

[24] Lapin läänin maaherra Maatalousministeriölle 11.5.1938. Kaarlo Hillilän arkisto D:7; "Maamme väkiluku on niin pieni, ettei sillä ole varaa perustaa 'kansatieteellisiä ihmistarhoja'". *Rovaniemi* 3.5.1938.

any reforms such as the "Sámi reservations". As a result of the war, Finland also lost the Petsamo area.

In practice, the project had been rejected anyway by both the local Finns and the Finnish government by 1938 at the latest. The decisive factor seems to have been that the government did not want to act against the will strongly expressed by the Finnish residents of the Petsamo area. The government also hesitated to grant autonomy or other special rights to the residents of the northern border areas, whose loyalty to Finland was uncertain. There were also very few Sámi, and therefore, they had little opportunity to put pressure on those in power – and the first Sámi national organisation, the Sámi Union, was not founded until 1945. Creating special arrangements for a few hundred people seemed disproportionately cumbersome and expensive. Ultimately, it was undoubtedly also the case that recognising the Sámi as an equal nation, whose culture and identity should have been supported, was against Finnish nationalist ideals. The general goal was to strengthen Finnishness and reduce all kinds of internal differences in the Finnish nation-state.

Finnish-language school for the Sámi

Between the World Wars, the level of education of the Sámi was clearly lower than the average for the Finnish population. The situation was influenced by several cultural and social factors. One factor was the predominantly nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Sámi, which was tied to reindeer husbandry. Schooling was difficult because the place of residence could change according to the annual cycle. Reindeer husbandry also did not require a formal education, but the necessary skills were acquired by working with the rest of the family from childhood. When the construction of schools and the provision of general education for all were discussed in the Sámi area in the 1920s and 1930s, several Sámi expressed the view that they did not find any need for schooling.[25]

[25] Lehtola 2012, p. 281; Jukka Nyyssönen, "Saamelaisten kouluolot 1900-luvulla", in Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola, Merja Paksuniemi (eds.), *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa* (Turku: Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, 2014), 66.

Another factor relating to the Sámi's low level of education was that the Sámi lived in remote areas of Northern Finland, where transport connections were weak and the school network was sparse. In Finland, a law on general compulsory education was passed in 1921. However, it only applied to children who lived no more than five kilometres from the school. In the Sámi settlement area, the population density was remarkably low, and the distances from one village to another were long.[26] In addition, the above-mentioned mobile lifestyle made applying the law quite open to interpretation: if, for instance, a summer village was less than five kilometres from school but a winter village was farther away, were children subject to compulsory education?

For the Sámi, education was organised until the end of the 1940s, mainly as rotating schools. In practice, this meant that itinerant teachers (catechists) moved from place to place and taught children in sparsely populated remote areas for a short time before moving on to a new place. Teaching periods lasted a few weeks or months, followed by a long pause. Learning outcomes were understandably lower in rotating schools than in regularly operating schools with a normal semester rhythm. The rotating school system covered all residents of sparsely populated areas, regardless of ethnic background, like many Finnish children in small villages in Northern Finland.[27]

In the 1920s and 1930s, more schools were established in all municipalities in the Sámi region. The Compulsory Education Act of 1921 required the construction of a "sufficient number" of schools in all Finnish municipalities so that all children could attend school in the normal way. As the construction of schools was a major financial burden for the sparsely populated and poor municipalities in the outermost regions, the law set a transition period of 16 years. Thus, it was the duty of the municipalities to create a comprehensive school network by 1937.[28] It was possible for municipalities to apply for state support for the construction of schools, and municipalities in the Sámi area also took advantage of this opportunity. At

[26] Laki oppivelvollisuudesta. *Suomen Asetuskokoelma* N:o 101/1921.
[27] Lehtola 2012, pp. 281–283; Nyyssönen 2014, 65.
[28] Laki oppivelvollisuudesta. *Suomen Asetuskokoelma* N:o 101/1921.

the end of the transition period, however, it became clear that, despite significant progress, the school network was still not completely seamless. The last rotating teachers did not stop working until the 1950s.[29]

The third background factor related to the Sámi's low level of education was that they had to attend their school in a foreign language, Finnish. In fact, the situation in this regard deteriorated between the World Wars. Even before Finland's independence, most of the teachers in the Sámi region were proficient in the Sámi language, and for them, the situation remained more or less the same. Although teaching was still largely in Finnish, Sámi could be used as an auxiliary language. Since most Sámi children who started school were completely unfamiliar with the Finnish language, learning was naturally promoted if the teacher was able to use Sámi in addition to Finnish. Rotating teachers who taught in the Sámi area were therefore required to have at least the ability to understand the Sámi language.[30]

The situation was exacerbated, above all, by the fact that using Sámi as an auxiliary language was less frequent in the actual schools than in the traditional rotating schools. In the actual schools, the spirit of the time seems to have prevailed, according to which Finland was to become a unified Finnish national state. From that perspective, it was not desirable that schoolchildren such as the Sámi, who belonged to small and "undeveloped" ethnic groups, would receive schooling in their own language. Finnish nationalists were also concerned that it was not possible to control teaching in other languages as closely as in Finnish. In Utsjoki, for instance, there were speculations that the Sámi might be raised in an anti-Finnish spirit and encouraged to isolate themselves from the rest of Finland or even to sympathise with Norway, which had expansive goals in the north.[31]

On the other hand, the lack of Sámi-language schooling was not just a project of nationalist Finns. When the Sámi themselves took a stand on the matter, they almost always wanted their children to attend school in Finnish.

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[29] Nyyssönen 2014, p. 64.

[30] Terho Itkonen, "Lappalaisuuden ei ole tarvis sortua". *Rovaniemi* 11.5.1929. See also Lehtola 2012, 281–284.

[31] E.N.M. [Eero Manninen]. "Lappalaisalueen muodostamisesta". *Rovaniemi* 2.4.1925. See also Lehtola 2012, 283, 288–289.

They did not see the Finnish-language school as a linguistic or cultural threat because "everyone, of course, learns the Sámi language at home". The parents of the schoolchildren looked at the matter from a purely practical point of view. If schooling was required, it was good that the children learned the official language as fully as possible. Excellent Finnish skills then opened up equal opportunities for better jobs, influential positions and social advancement in general.[32]

The Sámi languages alongside the Finnish language in the teaching of religion

The majority of Sámi (about 80%) belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The exceptions were the Skolt Sámi of the Petsamo area, whose traditional residential area was first connected to Finland in 1920. Before that, they had been subject to the Russian state and had adopted its Orthodox faith. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland did not have fully Sámi-speaking congregations between the World Wars, but in the northernmost municipalities of Finland where many of the parishioners were Sámi, the Sámi language was widely used in all ecclesiastical ordinances. The Bible was translated into Northern Sámi in Norway in 1895 and was also used in Finland. In the vicinity of Lake Inarinjärvi, however, Inari Sámi was spoken, which differed from Northern Sámi so much that the speakers did not understand each other. Literature published in Northern Sámi could not be used for the same reason. The same was true of the Skolt Sámi, who had little native Christian literature.[33]

The bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and most of the priests who worked in the Sámi area knew the Sámi language and considered its use very important. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland also paid the priests more if they were able to serve their parishioners in the Sámi language. However, not all priests were sufficiently proficient in the Sámi language, as this was not an absolute requirement, and

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[32] Lehtola 2012, pp. 135, 284, 297; Nyyssönen 2014, p. 66; Laila Nikunlassi, "Utsjoen kirkonkylänkansakoulu vuosina 1929–1939", in Pigga Keskitalo, Veli-Pekka Lehtola, Merja Paksuniemi (eds.), *Saamelaisten kansanopetuksen ja koulunkäynnin historia Suomessa*, 179–180.
[33] *Suomenmaa 9:2* (WSOY: Porvoo, 1931), 51–57. See also Lehtola 2012, 34, 82–95.

in the harsh conditions of the north, it was also otherwise difficult at times to obtain priests. The Church did not have any official Sámi policy, but the attitude was fundamentally dependent on individuals. In general, however, the Finnish priests of the Sámi area sympathised with the Sámi almost without exception and considered it important to maintain the Sámi language and culture.[34]

The situation of the Skolt Sámi was clearly worse in this sense. The Petsamo Orthodox Congregation included all the Orthodox in the area, the largest group of whom were Russians. In addition to them and the Skolt Sámi, there were also many Karelians in the congregation. The language used in the Orthodox Church, including religious texts, had traditionally been Russian. In Petsamo, this situation did not change between the World Wars, as Russian was the only language understood by members of all three ethnic groups. With regard to religious texts, there was no help from works published in Northern Sámi and later in Inari Sámi. The Skolt Sámi differed from the two so much that the texts were not comprehensible.[35] They were clearly separate languages, which made the situation of the Sámi people in Finland more difficult when they tried to make their voices heard and promote their interests. As the total number of Sámi was small, their fragmentation into three separate groups made them seem even more insignificant.

Conclusions

In a society where the majority population constitutes a sizable fraction of the overall population and where their dominance is undeniable, the question of implementing multiculturalism is primarily addressed by how the majority population wishes to organize it. Cultural minorities have the opportunity to make proposals or even demand that their interests be

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[34] Ibid.; Esko Kähkönen, *Katekeetat Suomen Lapissa 200 vuotta* (Lapin korkeakoulu: Rovaniemi, 1988), 274–292.

[35] *Suomenmaa 9:2*, 407–408. See also Metropoliitta Leo, "Petsamon ortodoksinen luostari ja seurakunta", in Jouko Vahtola, Samuli Onnela (eds.). *Turjanmeren maa. Petsamon historia 1920–1944* (Petsamo-Seura ry: Rovaniemi, 1999), 434–435, 449–450, 453–460.

taken into account, but small minorities are not able to go against the will of the majority. In Finland, ethnic Finns were in absolute dominance over the Sámi. Although the Sámi were a significant local minority in northern Lapland, legal decisions concerning multiculturalism were made at the national level.

The situation of the Sámi was aggravated by their small number, which was further divided into three distinct ethnic groups whose languages differed significantly. The Sámi did not speak as a unified interest group, nor did they have their own political or cultural organisations. However, there seems to have been a fairly unanimous desire among the Sámi elite that the migration of Finns to the Sámi 'home region' should be severely restricted. Similarly, the Sámi should be guaranteed the opportunity to continue their 'traditional way of life' without fear of spreading 'modern age' side effects to the area. Finnish culture was considered a threat, and acculturation was considered undesirable.

However, there was one notable exception to acculturation. Many of the Sámi people seem to have supported bilingualism. Learning the Sámi language at home was considered important, but at the same time, the aim was to ensure that Sámi young people had a sufficiently good command of the official language, i.e. Finnish. It would open equal opportunities for the Sámi in all walks of life. This was also the opinion of the Finnish authorities in charge of the school system. Sámi children and young people therefore attended a Finnish-language school. The exception was mainly the teaching of religion, as it was generally believed that everyone should receive the word of God in their own mother tongue. For that reason, church life in the Sámi area was also organised in both Sámi and Finnish.

The Finns held two sharply different attitudes towards the extent to which multiculturalism could be allowed in Lapland. In northern Finland in particular, there were a relatively large number of highly educated Finns who were in favour of preserving the Sámi language and culture. For them, the Sámi were a minority group that had to be supported in every way in their national goals. These Finns took an active part in the public debate and worked to create an autonomous region for the Sámi. Their ideas also

received some support in ministries and elsewhere in the state administration.

In the end, however, there were more opponents of multiculturalism than supporters among Finns. Ethnic Finns, especially those living in the Sámi area, were vocally opposed to Sámi autonomy and the granting of any kind of 'privileges' to the Sámi. These Finns felt that supporting the Sámi violated the rights of local Finns.

The Finnish government, parliament and most government agencies also took the view that the Sámi were not given self-government or other support to preserve the Sámi language and culture. It seems that most Finns considered the Sámi to be primitive and inferior, and therefore, they did not consider the Sámi culture worthy of support. They probably did not appreciate any kind of multiculturalism but wanted to develop Finland towards a united, monocultural and monolingual society. In their view, such homogeneity and consensus would have made Finland stronger. In this respect, Finland followed nationalist trends between the World Wars, although Finland's attitude towards the Swedish minority was quite positive when comparing the position of minorities in different European countries in the 1920s and 1930s.

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On semantic and semiotic multilingualism in earlier and latest works of Sabira Ståhlberg and Tzveta Sofronieva

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Abstract

The present study describes the poetics of two contemporary multilingual writers, one born in Finland (Sabira Ståhlberg) and one in Bulgaria (Tzveta Sofronieva). Besides being prolific writers in literary genres such as poetry, prose, drama, both also translate and edit world literature. Early in their career each of them achieved a PhD. Sofronieva and Ståhlberg carry out academic activities through their research studies. After visiting a multitude of places, they have become not only literary figures of both their birth countries' literature and the literatures of several other countries, but real literary citizens of the 'new' world literature (McDougall, 2014). Their philosophical and ecological aestheticism voices the most urgent problems of humanity by incorporating the latest insights of brain studies, quantum physics, psychology, migration and cultural studies. Their oeuvre addresses any reader irrespective of language(s), background(s), and location(s).

After looking into the monolingually multilingual (using hidden code-switching) as well as multigraphic and multilingual (using overt code switching) artistic production of Sofronieva and Ståhlberg, this study compares two poems, one by each of them, sharing the common metaphor of the sea horse. The aim of this comparative study is to point out how their highly topical poetries activate the

Rezumat

Studiul de față descrie poetica a două scriitoare contemporane multilingve, una născută în Finlanda (Sabira Ståhlberg) și cealaltă în Bulgaria (Tzveta Sofronieva). Pe lângă faptul că sunt scriitoare prolifice care se exprimă în genuri literare precum poezia, proza, drama, ambele traduc și editează literatură universală. La începutul carierei, fiecare dintre ele a obținut un doctorat. Sofronieva și Ståhlberg desfășoară activități academice materializate în studiile publicate ca rezultat al cercetărilor pe care le întreprind. După ce au vizitat o multitudine de locuri, au devenit nu numai figuri literare cunoscute ale creației din țările lor natale și ale literaturii altor țări, ci adevărați cetățeni literari ai „noii" literaturi universale (McDougall, 2014). Estetismul lor filozofic și ecologic exprimă cele mai stringente probleme ale umanității prin încorporarea celor mai recente perspective ale cercetărilor asupra creierului, fizicii cuantice, psihologiei, migrației și studiilor culturale. Opera lor se adresează fiecărui cititor, indiferent de limbă(i), background(uri) și locație(ii) geografică(e).

După ce analizează producția artistică multilingvă monolingvistică (folosind comutarea codului ascuns), precum și pe cea multigrafică și multilingvă (folosind comutarea codului deschis) a celor două scriitoare, acest studiu compară două poezii, câte una din creația fiecăreia, împărtășind metafora comună a calului de mare. Scopul acestui studiu comparativ este de a scoate în evidență modul în care poeziile lor de mare actualitate activează multilingvismul cititorilor, precum și

multilinguality of any reader, as well as how the linguistic, alphabetic code-switching and shifts of interpretation paradigms loosen formal and conceptual borders. By their act, the reader is empowered to take part in not only piecing together but creating a better 'new' world.

maniera în care schimbarea codurilor lingvistice, alfabetice și schimbările paradigmelor de interpretare slăbesc granițele formale și conceptuale. Prin actul lor, cititorul este împuternicit să ia parte nu numai la reunirea, ci și la crearea unei „noi" lumi mai bune.

Keywords: multilingualism, code-switching, multiverse, zero code-switching (ZCS), 1st -5th degree code-switching (CS1-CS5), ecological literature, Anthropocene

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Introduction

The deconstructionists of the 20th century have proven that concentrating on the level of the static linguistic meaning in our hermeneutic processes is an underlying ideal of Western culture. However, language is a much more multimodal undertaking, incorporating most of all the risk of continuous semantic and semiotic dissemination. The shift in meaning from context to context, the so-called **'difference and deferral of meaning'** (Derrida, 1982, 5)**,** also gives a pleasure to puzzle things together in a new way. In this respect, writing and reading literature is a process of opening all the intuitive, cognitive and sensual sensors so that something otherwise not yet experienced may arise on the basis of something constantly merging. This study explores how reception of two visionary multilingual poetries can set the reader on a fascinating semiotic journey also because, as the thesis of this paper says: by this act the reader becomes empowered to envisage a better new world. Showing this, the present study departs from the sociological and positivist/biographical contextualization of multilingual literature, and via code-switching it offers an ecocritical linguistic approach.

Literary path of Tzveta Sofronieva

Since her childhood Tzveta Sofronieva has experimented with many languages such as Macedonian, Greek, English, Swedish, Finnish, Latin, or French besides her native Bulgarian. Nevertheless, she applied to study physics at the University of Sofia, from where she graduated in 1986. Her interest in the sociology and history of science became evident in her

dissertation, which she wrote about the creation of quantum mechanics as a discipline. She has published poetry, drama, essays in Bulgarian, English since the beginning of her twenties, and later in German, too. So far she has published nineteen volumes of poetry and prose. In these books there are various strategies of working with multilingualism. There are bilingual books, like the very first one in Bulgarian and English (*Chicago Blues*, 1992), and there are monolingually published volumes in Bulgarian, English and German, all working with hidden multilingualism. In the last decades, her multilanguaging has radically diversified itself. Let us just recall the 2017 volume, *Anthroposcene*[1] using German and English as matrix languages for the poems including a dozen of other languages. These codes include Arabic, Bulgarian, Catalan, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Romanian, Spanish, or guitar chords, and musical notation. Besides being an innovative multilingual writer, Sofronieva --just as Ståhlberg -- paves the way for the literary reflection of such poetry. Her recently published selected volume entitled *Multiverse* (including poems written between 1981- 2020) introduces further poetic categories, like *clone poems* and *alterverses*[2]. Her works have so far been translated into more than twenty languages, including English, German, Finnish, Hungarian, French, Spanish, Japanese, Uzbek and Ukrainian. Beside her many edited and translated anthologies, Sofronieva is an excellent networker, bringing together poets from all around the world.

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[1] The book's title is the author's invention combining 'Anthropocene' and 'scene' referring to "a psychological state in which one is obsessed with fears and in order to escape from them, again believes to be the center of the universe and the purpose of the world's creation; this does not prevent from destroying more than creating. Provoked by anthropocentrism, an unscientific, religion and idealism related doctrine"—as the 8. poetic definition describes it (2020, 145).

[2]In the *Author's note* Sofronieva writes: "In this volume I include self-translations and other forms of my poetic. New versions are edited and slightly modified poems with the same original. Clones refer to the cell concept of the word as coming from the same gene but being fully different beings, as well as to the multiple existence of the same matter as a wave and particle in the manifestations of the same electron. Alterverse emerges when a strong diversion in the poetic theme occurs, together with a change in the observation and time dimension. The latter two forms can occur also in the monolingual work but in the multilinguality manifest more clearly. Creating them is not a self-translation: it is a process of giving birth to a different poetic world." (2020, 238)

For example, the *Verbotene Worte* (Forbidden Words) online literary platform, initiated by Sofronieva in the mid-1990s and built over several years, allowed nearly a hundred European and American authors to hear their thoughts on the subject. From the writings of this website, she selected pieces for the anthology of the same name, which was published in 2005. In 2010 she published with Manja Ristić the anthology entitled *119 Web Streaming Poetry* including works from the material of literary evenings and events broadcast on the web interface from 119 authors. However, Sofronieva carries out not only significant intercultural work among writers, publishers, literary intermediaries and audiences, but through her interdisciplinary work combines the insight of humanities and sciences (esp. multilingualism, ecology and physics). Her visual works (poetic installations) also demonstrate this productive intermingling. As the title of her latest volume suggests, Sofronieva's poetry offers a *multiverse* corresponding both to the aesthetic search in a multilingual poetry and to the advanced contemporary knowledge in the natural sciences seeing multiverse as a way of explaining the nature of existence. As George Ellis, quoted in the book, says: "the contemplation of the multiverse is an excellent opportunity to reflect on the nature of science and on the ultimate nature of existence: why we are here...." (2020, 201). This is the *ars poetica* of Sofronieva, and as we will see, of Ståhlberg as well.

Literary path of Sabira Ståhlberg

In her recent handbook written to increase language awareness of multilingualism, and entitled *Multicolored language* (2020), Sabira Ståhlberg reflects on multilingualism in general and on her personal life in the following way:

> Language is one of the main working tools for an author and a researcher. In both capacities and over many years I have followed the scientific development of such widely separate fields as languages and cultures, pedagogy, ophthalmology and brain research. Multiple languages have always existed in my world. I teach and study about several *multi*-topics, including *multilingualism*,

> *multiculturalism*, *creativity*, *integration* and *adaptation*, in various countries, in several languages and for all age groups. (2020, 4)

Sabira Ståhlberg is an independent researcher, academic, international traveler and creative writing teacher, but especially the most polyglot author of contemporary literature worldwide. Growing up in a multilingual surrounding that suppressed multilingualism and encouraged bullying, she became aware early of the missing dialogue between the two poles. Beside this never ceasing motivation of uncovering subaltern worlds, her literary works are strongly influenced by her academic interests in the sustainability of nature, endangered languages and world cultures. Her PhD dissertation analyzes the history of cultural, linguistic, social and economic exchange between China and Central Asia. The wide-ranging travels and periods spent living in different regions in Europe and Asia made her develop a special multilingual and stylistic aestheticism. Ståhlberg has written more than twenty Easy to Read books in several languages (such as her *Filip* series), and multilingual children's literature (*Hundväder på Svarta havet, Dog Weather on the Black Sea*, *Hundewetter auf dem Schwarzmeer*, *Koiran elämää Mustallamerellä*, 2014). Her 2015 poetry volume *Polyglotta Sabirica* (a volume published with German translations as *Polyglorica*, 2017) translanguages with more than 30 languages and several alphabets. These include English, German, Finnish, Swedish, Romanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Tatar, Mongolian and other languages. Her works have so far been translated into a dozen languages, including English, German, Finnish, Hungarian, Serbian and Bulgarian.

Ståhlberg is a shaping figure for creating a democratic multicultural discourse in Scandinavia and the Balkans. Her work however has reached out to further areas, like Germany and Hungary. The debut novel written both in Swedish and Finnish (*Molnvandraren*, *Pilvivaeltaja*, 2006) reflects on intercultural relationships among Mishar Tatar, Finnish, Swedish, Russian, Chinese and several minorities, as well as interreligious relationships between Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, atheists and others, and manifests

a narrative based on zero-degree code-switching[3]. Put in other words: using only stylistic devices of the language of the novel the author manages to give the impression of language challenges of the figures in the fiction. Through stylistic heteroglossing, the multilingual soundscapes of the fictional reality with its variety of linguistic encounters are given back isolingually. Both Ståhlberg and Sofronieva were largely using this technique of multilingualism coded into a monolingual narration in their earlier works, while their later works manifest more radical experimentation. Below we will give an example from each of the discussed authors.

An example of zero code-switching by Ståhlberg

As mentioned above, Ståhlberg's youth novel *Molnvandraren* / *Pilvivaeltaja* (Cloud Wanderer) was written both in Swedish and Finnish (2006). In 2014 it was translated into German and Bulgarian, and a year before partly into Hungarian (2013). The novel has been recently turned into English by the author herself (in print). The major character, Altan, wanders through the world like clouds in the sky. Altan is considered to be different by the bullying Finnish children surrounding her. Therefore, she decides to look for a place where she can be peacefully herself. Along her path only the Burtas (in fact Tatar) grandfather supports her. When Altan follows in the footsteps of his eventful life, the adventurous journey takes her far east to the great Idel (Volga) River, where the grandfather originally came from. Without switching back and forth between the codes of the obviously matrix and embedded languages, the polyglot narrator by continuous hidden translation enables the reader to follow the multilingual reality of Altan without any linguistic challenge.

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[3] Sociolinguists and linguists of multiple language acquisition have proposed several concepts for multilingual linguistic production, such as "integration" (Haugen 1953), "language interlanding" (Agheyisi 1977), "code mixing" (Bokamba 1988), or more recently "translanguaging" (Garcia & Wei 2014) and "polylanguaging" (Jørgensen et al. 2011), multilingualism (Doris Summer, 2004) or postmonolingual condition (Yasemin Yildiz, 2012). However, code-switching, coined by the linguists Myers-Scotton and Ury in 1977, is presently still the most frequently used term when everyday and literary text production is analyzed. Since this study looks to its material through the linguistic lens, code-switching proves to be a suitable theoretical framework.

This narratorial technique supports the reception process of the addressed audience (that of the Finnish or Swedish reader), and at the same time it gives back the communicatory attitude of the multilingual major character, who relates easily to all those languages. The writer indeed marvelously manages to manifest the linguistic biographies of the minoritarian and majoritarian characters. Altan is multilingual since her early age. She is not at all aware of the code-switching she does, just only after she gets older, when she realizes that in order to resolve her traumatic experiences, she has to tell her story. In their everyday study, grandfather Balban Oras uses the Finnish or Swedish words and grammar with the accent of a foreigner. However, when he speaks to his Burtas family in his mother tongue, the omniscient monolingual narrator does not show his linguistic strangeness. In this way the impression of a native speaker is created. The Burtas all speak a more flowery language, but at the same time they address the person more directly without, however, insulting her. Furthermore, when Balban Oras relates stories of the oral tradition from his childhood, the narrator switches to archaic idioms and specific metaphors of a traditional life not known by the Finnish or Swedish characters of the story, nor by the Finnish or Swedish readers of the book.

An example of zero code-switching by Sofronieva

In her poem *Journey to the West* published first in her English-Bulgarian debut volume *Chicago blues* (1992) and most recently in *Multiverse* (2020), Sofronieva starts with describing how it feels entering a new language, hearing a foreign word. In the opening line *A word in an unknown language*, the specific word is, however, not mentioned; the word is presented through a zero code-switching only as a form, which must make sense, must have meaning, however we do not know what. In the second unit of the poem starting with the line *Learning all languages*, the lyrical "I" goes to the wellspring of language, to its most basic unit, the phoneme. This is the mostly shared component between all languages, while morphemes, lexica and syntax become more and more specific. This investigation goes so far that the lyrical "I" declares: *I am a word.* Twenty years later, in the German publication of this poem in *Landschaft, Ufer* the poem is cut here, symbolizing

that the author has reached the shore, and now she is safe and can rest (2013, 47). The English original goes on with the next line: *I am already acquainted with it. It is foreign*. Not only are the perspectives changed, but the reality of physical communication itself turns into a total linguistic universe, again reporting the experience in zero code-switching. This CS modality remains throughout the closing line of the poem, where, at last, meaning suddenly starts to come back to its alienated form.

Journey to the West

for Margaret Atwood

A word in an unknown language.
I know there must be sense,
must be a meaning.
It's probably marginal.
Maybe a preposition
or a noun.
Either used often or
too strange for the ear.
Learning all languages
I listen attentively
to the springs of their speech.
I follow the air in the circles
of the vowels coming to me
from the mouths of people
close to me and far away;
search for a language in which
I am a word.
I am already acquainted with it. It's foreign.
I have no idea about its syntax and morphology.
Even after studying the grammar for a long time,
I do not appear in the right place in the sentence.
Foreign in my own language, too,
in the Bulgarian spoken on the streets of Sofia and used in my mom's letters.
What a funny accident--right now,

history sits at my parents' tea table.
In Bulgaria words slowly acquire
their old meanings.

Explicit multilingualism

After exemplifying zero code-switching in the youth novel by Ståhlberg and in an early poem of Sofronieva, this study engages in exemplifying other types of overt code-switching in their literary works. Using the sociolinguistic concepts of intra- and inter-sentential code-switching (proposed by Myers-Scotton and Ury in 1977) as well as the terms of the matrix and embedded languages (proposed by Myers-Scotton in 1993), several other types of literary code-switching can be defined. The degree of thematic, stylistic, and formal code-switching allows us to scale the multilingual methodologies of literary texts from covert/hidden (ZCS) to overt/open manifestations (CS1-CS5). In the latter case of overt literary multilingualism, the following types can be distinguished[4]:

- the use of a few foreign words in the sentences of the text (intra-sententional CS, i.e. *1st degree CS* / *CS1*)

- the use of sentences in another language in the text (inter-sententional CS, i.e. *2nd degree CS* / *CS2*)

- the use of a high number of embedded syntactic units in a text (blurring the border of matrix and embedded languages, i.e. *3rd degree CS* / *CS3*)

- the use of a high number of diverse lexical and morphological units in a sentence (lexico-morphologic translingualism, i.e. *4th degree CS* / *CS4*), and finally,

- the complete disappearance not only of the matrix language, but also of understandable words (homophonic translingualism, i.e. *5th degree CS* / *CS5*).

Below we will shortly analyze a poetic work using manifest CS techniques from each of the authors.

[4] See the classification with examples in Domokos 2020, 47.

Sea horses in CS2 and CS4

In their multilingual poetries Sofronieva and Ståhlberg use all of these CS techniques; however, our next examples, the poem *The beginning and end of a metaphor* by Sofronieva and *Sea horse* by Ståhlberg, incorporate mainly CS2 and CS4, namely intersentential code-switching in the first case and lexico-morphologic translingualism in the second. However, the abundance of reflexive thoughts, the multifaceted perspectivation of actions, the developed, clear, courageous, poetic moments of these works show the effect of these apparently simple techniques. Including multilingual elements in the literary work is not as easy as it may seem. Both authors have had several disputes with their editors. About Ståhlberg's challenges in publishing her novel using a much more heteroglossing style and 1st and 2nd degree CS, I have written in an earlier study (Domokos, 2018).

Regarding Sofronieva's case, the publishing history of the poem below gives us on opportunity to reflect on multilingualism edited out from the original manuscript. In the table below I place two versions side by side. On the left side the recently published version can be seen (from *Multiverse*, p. 90), on the right side the longer version from the manuscript including further linguistic triplets and duplets. During the editing processes, the multilingualism of the poem was radically reduced by cutting out the two French triplets (*Hue, hue, hippocampe! /Précipiter. /Souffle.*[5] *and Ah, vous dirai-je…/ Le début et la fin. / La confiance dans la journée*[6]) as well as the Japanese triplet (using the logographic Chinese characters, *kanji*, along with the syllabic writing system, *kana*). The multilingual triplet with mythological reference to the Nereids, the female spirits of the sea waters, as well as the atmospheric references to polar light, solar wind, and the ozone along the reference to the special horse breed (*Precipitation bred, fake horses, /nereids, electron precipitation, / aurorae, Ozon im Meer*) were also cut out. By this reduction, the poem loses a big part of its field of associations and underestimates the reader's ability to cope with more complex challenges. Indeed, the book publication culture of modernism has long conditioned the reader to monolingual texts. However, the poem included in the trilingual

[5] Hue, hue, sea horse! /Precipitate. /Breath.

[6] Ah, I will tell you ... / The beginning and the end. / Confidence during the day.

version, of Bulgarian, English and German, also offers a beautiful ride to the source of the language, a ride that is propelled by the idiomatic English reference. The ancient English proverb that has been in use since the 12th century, says "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink". In this idiom the horse is used as a metaphor for a creature that is strong and obstinate, as humans can be, and water as a metaphor for something that is necessary for survival (just as language is for the poet).

The Beginning and the End of the Metaphor

Дий, водно конче! Вдишай доверие в деня.	*Дий, водно конче!* Вдишай доверие в деня. [Bg]
Giddy up, dragonfly! Breathe confidence from the day.	Giddy up, dragonfly! Breathe confidence from the day. [Eng]
Giddy up, my horse! I can take you to the water to drink myself.	Giddy up, my horse! I can take you to the water to drink myself. [Eng]
Giddy up, water horse! Breathe! All my words I take from the horse's mouth.	Giddy up, water horse! Breathe! All my words I take straight from the horse's mouth. [Eng]
Giddy up, hippocampus! Breathe, brain!	Hue, hue, hippocampe! Précipiter. Souffle. [Fr]
Hüh, Seepferdchen! Atme	Precipitation bred, fake horses, nereids, electron precipitation,

Vertrauen in den Tag.	aurorae, Ozon im Meer. [Mix]
Giddy up, sea horse! Breathe confidence into the day.	Giddy up, hippocampi! Geh, Hirn! Breathe, brain! [Eng, Germ]
(Multiverse, p. 90)	Ah, vous dirai-je… Le début et la fin. La confiance dans la journée. [Fr]
	[…Japanese…]
	Hüh, Seepferdchen! Atme Vertrauen in den Tag. [Germ]
	Giddy up, sea horse! Breathe confidence into the day. [Eng]

In the *Author's Note* of her latest book, *Multiverse, new and selected poems*, Sofronieva writes about this poem:

> 'The Beginning and the End of the Metaphor' is the third poem I wrote with this title. In the other-verses in German I use the word *Seepferdchen* (English: sea horse) and in Bulgarian *водно конче* (in English: "water horse" if we take the two separate words but as a whole meaning the translation is "dragon fly"). In my first language the poem comes from the joy of breathing from the crisp air while riding a dragon fly over the water, but if you ride a sea horse you need to learn a new way of breathing, don't you? Going back to the space time of my English, a second learned language in my early childhood, the new poem is referring to the source and to the place of memory acquirement in the brain.' (2020, 246)

The same challenge is required when Sofronieva meets, as she often calls it: *my adoptive and fifth learned language, German*. Going back to the hippocampus (a word coming via Latin from Greek ἱππόκαμπος, 'sea horse' to English), to that major component of the brain that is responsible for turning short term memory into long term memory, the lyrical "I" needs to master new ways of existence, like breathing in a completely new way. And by working poetically with languages the lyrical "I" manages this, for the poem itself proves this at the end.

By picking up a theme in one language and altering it a little bit by each further linguistic step, Sofronieva's multilingual poem uses the compositional technique of minimalism. In contrast, the poem *Sea horse* by Ståhlberg uses a more dynamic code-switching. Incorporating multigraphic and multilingual word elements from 17 languages in an English matrix language, the visual poem takes us to Southeast Asian waters.

Ståhlberg's most recent poetry book entitled *Wan Sun* (2021) uses a Chinese-English composite word pun, which is explained throughout several poems, and translanguages with far more than 30 languages and more than a dozen alphabets, playing also with fonts and graphic text. This volume of Ståhlberg's offers itself the most to be compared with Sofronieva's 2017 volume of *Anthroposzene* published in Germany and included as a further enlarged cycle named *Anthroposcene* in her 2020 volume published in the US. In their volumes, both authors heavily criticize the exploitive attitude of man towards nature and human resources.

Sea horse

Syngnathidae
sea monster ἱππόκαμπος crustaceans
shrimp இறால் larval fish iwak
invertebrates
no stomach
eat 吃constantly
seaweed coral anchor
สาหร่ายทะเล batu karang
hô mở neo

camouflage
overfishing overfiske
habitat destruction Ødeleggelse
traditional Chinese medicine中药
plastico fantastico catastrophico
Endangered Terancam punah
インポテンシー impotence
食物 food
pain 고통
Nature? aquarium
Alam sold in kg
is there the end of
終わり

The volume *Wan Sun* has five cycles, those of *Earth*, *Air*, *Water*, *Fire and Void*, and includes an author's note of interpretive key words at the end. The visual poem *Sea Horse* is part of the third cycle, *Water*, a cycle reflecting ecological challenges of water life. All languages except Latin, Greek and macaronic are spoken in countries where sea horses are fished, consumed as food, or used for medicine. In this respect, the matrix language of English, referring to English-speaking areas, is no different from the others. As a reader knowing some English can figure it out already, the poem tells about the biology and behavior of sea horses, ecological threats and the human use of them. As we know, several sea horse species are already extinct, and the rest are seriously endangered. Inserting the identifiers of language, the poem can be given back in the following way:

Syngnathidae [Latin]
sea monster ἱππόκαμπος [Greek] crustaceans
shrimp இறால் [Tamil] larval fish iwak [Javanese]
invertebrates
no stomach

eat 吃 [Chinese] constantly
seaweed coral anchor
สาหร่ายทะเล [Thai] batu karang [Malay]
hô mỏ neo [Vietnamese]
camouflage
overfishing overfiske [Norwegian]
habitat destruction Ødeleggelse [Norwegian]
traditional Chinese medicine中药 [Chinese]
plastico fantastico catastrophico [macaronic]
Endangered Terancam punah [Indonesian]
インポテンシー [Japanese] impotence
食物 [Chinese] food
pain 고통 [Korean]
Nature? aquarium
Alam [Filipino] sold in kg
is there the end of
終わり [Japanese]

The inserted square brackets uncover the linguistic background of the word, which – as we mentioned before – localizes the endangerment by overfishing of sea horse species. Let us hope, that research and breeding aquaria established to assist repopulation of the oceans with many sea horse species will succeed in some way. The last four lines of the poem verbalize not only the endangerment of the sea horses, but an end on a much larger scale, that of the nature. The form of the tail, turned backwards instead of curling to the front as it is natural with live sea horses, also conveys a message about the exploitation of sea horses.

Bringing the two poems together, we come to the conclusion that the beginning and the end of a simple metaphor can lead not only to human suffering but to natural disasters. As we see, it is the human that plays a major role in the present apocalypse. Mapping the biological, geographical, social and literary context of this circumstance, these poems reveal that code-switching reveals linguistic, cultural and biological barriers, de-automates

semantic production, addresses the appropriation of linguistic, aesthetic, cultural and ecological diversity. All these manage to stage alterity efficiently.

Conclusions

This study employed concepts from linguistics and literary theories (code-switching, deconstruction) in order to contribute to the reception of multilingualism in contemporary literature, as well as to enhance the methodology of literary code-switching. Crucially, however, the degrees of code-switching outlined above are not only applicable to the analyzed authors. By employing this analytical framework in many other cases, we can gain further proof of how strongly literary code-switching underlines the materiality of language, alphabets, and grammar, thus gaining new insights into the connections between the verbal, the poetic, and the world around us.

The so-called 'new' world literature is distinguished not only by its preponderance of code-switching material, but also by the fact that code-switching and translingualism are used deliberately and programmatically, and are systematically accompanied by poetic reflections. The recent increasing number of instances of multilingualism/code-switching in literature urges linguistics, literature, and cultural studies to develop new analytic tools to better understand this versatile phenomenon in all its structural, aesthetic, and functional complexity.

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Window to a world beyond: Göran Schildt's journey to Bulgaria and Romania in 1963 and some multilingual and multicultural strategies

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Abstract

International traveller and acclaimed Swedish-language author Göran Schildt sailed in the Black Sea in the summer of 1963. He was a well-read scholar with a deep interest in the Antiquity and a seasoned traveller with a vast experience of multilingual and multicultural situations. This was the first and last visit of his yacht Daphne to the Black Sea and the Eastern Bloc. Through the eyes of this keen observer, a small aperture can be detected among the bricks in the walls dividing Europe.

A window had been opened by world politicians in the Iron Curtain at the end of the 1950s. Although there were periods of high global tension, new possibilities for travel and tourism were created in some Eastern Bloc countries, among them Bulgaria and Romania. Visits by dozens of journalists, writers and artists and thousands of charter tourists from the Western Bloc over the next few decades opened up new windows to the world beyond the Iron Curtain.

Göran Schildt stands out among the Nordic cultural visitors to Bulgaria and Romania in the post-war period. His desire to get acquainted with everyday life and ordinary people, capability to see behind facades and analysing experiences could be defined as journalistic, but his travel writing went deeper. In comparison with some other writers from Finland, who visited Bulgaria or Romania during the Cold War, such as the poet Lassi Nummi or comic fiction writer Arto Paasilinna, and the Bulgarian author Yordan Radichkov who visited

Rezumat

Călătorul internațional și apreciatul autor de limba suedeză Göran Schildt a navigat către Marea Neagră în vara anului 1963. Era un savant cu lecturi bogate, cu un interes profund pentru Antichitate și un călător experimentat, cu o vastă experiență a situațiilor multilingve și multiculturale. Aceasta a fost prima și ultima vizită a iahtului său „Daphne" la Marea Neagră și în Blocul Răsăritean. Prin ochii acestui observator pasionat poate fi detectată o mică deschidere printre cărămizile din zidurile care despărțeau Europa.

O fereastră fusese deschisă de politicienii lumii în Cortina de Fier la sfârșitul anilor 1950. Deși au existat perioade de mare tensiune globală, s-au creat noi posibilități pentru călătorie și turism în unele țări din Blocul Răsăritean, printre care Bulgaria și România. Vizitele a zeci de jurnalişti, scriitori şi artişti şi a mii de turişti care călătoreau cu curse charter din Blocul de Vest în următoarele câteva decenii au deschis noi ferestre către lumea de dincolo de Cortina de Fier.

Göran Schildt se remarcă printre vizitatorii culturali nordici din Bulgaria și România în perioada postbelică. Dorința lui de a se familiariza cu viața de zi cu zi și cu oamenii obișnuiți, capacitatea de a vedea în spatele fațadelor și de a analiza experiențele ar putea fi definite ca fiind jurnalistice, dar scrisul său de călătorie a fost mult mai profund. În comparație cu alți scriitori din Finlanda, care au vizitat Bulgaria sau România în timpul Războiului Rece, cum ar fi poetul Lassi Nummi sau scriitorul de benzi desenate Arto Paasilinna, și cu autorul bulgar Yordan Radichkov care a vizitat Suedia, mediul de formare, interesele,

Sweden, Schildt's background, interests and multilingual and multicultural strategies supported the discovery and collection of extensive information and the processing of it into a multidimensional travel book. This article discusses the journey and travel narrative of Göran Schildt from the perspective of multilingual and multicultural strategies for encountering other languages, societies and cultures, and the processing of experiences as recorded in his diary and his popular travel narrative.

și strategiile multilingvistice și multiculturale ale lui Schildt au susținut descoperirea și colectarea de informații extinse și prelucrarea acestora într-o carte de călătorie multidimensională. Acest articol abordează călătoria și narațiunea de călătorie a lui Göran Schildt din perspectiva strategiilor multilingve și multiculturale de întâlnire cu alte limbi, societăți și culturi, precum și procesarea experiențelor, așa cum au fost consemnate în jurnalul său și în consemnările sale populare de călătorie.

Keywords: Black Sea, Bulgaria, citizen diplomacy, Cold War, intercultural encounters, Iron Curtain, multicultural strategies, multilingualism, Nordic writers, post-war period, Romania, travel narratives, tourism

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Introduction

High tension and political crises – Cold War in full force, Berlin Wall and Cuba: the Iron Curtain fell between East and West Europe and the world stood at the brink of a nuclear war. At the beginning of the 1960s, the global situation certainly did not look cheerful, but although many doors were closed, some windows were opened. In the Soviet Union, the Stalinist period had ended and a thaw in the ice appeared. Not much, but just about enough to reduce the high tension in the Eastern Bloc. Many communist regimes, who came to power at the end of the 1940s, perceived that they had finally gained control over society, and they could start relaxing their grip at least a little.

One of the windows opening at the beginning of the 1960s was mass tourism. Countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain developed tourist resorts and services. Among the Eastern Bloc countries opening up to charter travel were also Bulgaria and Romania. The European economy after World War II was recovering and even ordinary people could now afford a holiday abroad. Flights brought them to destinations they had never heard about before, but which soon would become hugely popular. Many of these destinations are still frequented by thousands of charter tourists each year.

For the Eastern Bloc states, Western visitors meant hard currency, a highly coveted foreign "product" among many others. Eastern Bloc tourists brought some income, too, but they often spent their holidays on the beaches as part of an exchange agreement, and thus did not contribute much to the local economy.

In the summer of 1963, the first charter flights from Finland arrived at the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. In a newly built exclusive summer resort, Sunny Beach near Burgas, Finnish tourists could enjoy sea and sunshine together with tourists from the other Nordic countries, West and East Germany and the United Kingdom. The Black Sea resorts in Bulgaria and Romania are still major European tourist destinations, but before the 1960s they were largely unknown in the North. In addition to journalists and TV teams reporting on the new beach destinations,[1] also one private traveller, Göran Schildt, visited the area with his yacht, and wrote a travel narrative about his Black Sea journey.

Göran Schildt and the Black Sea

The Swedish-language travel and history writer, art historian, journalist, essayist and novelist from Finland, Göran Schildt (1917–2009), sailed with his yacht *Daphne* in the Black Sea during three weeks in August 1963.[2] After World War II, Schildt had been exploring extensively the rivers and seas in Europe. He especially focused on the Mediterranean region and wrote hugely popular articles and books about his experiences, which were distributed widely also outside the Nordic countries. Göran Schildt is today

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1 See for example a Finnish-language TV report with two famous moderators, produced by the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE in 1963: "Bulgarian aurinkorannikolle" [To the Bulgarian sunny coast]: https://areena.yle.fi/1-50197468 and related article "Bulgarian aurinkorannalla 1963" [On the Bulgarian sunny beach 1963]: https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2007/03/12/bulgarian-aurinkorannalla-1963

2 The journey has been discussed in detail by Sabira Ståhlberg, *Resan till Kolkis – Matka Kolkhiiseen – Journey to Colchis. Göran och Christine Schildts färd på Svarta havet – Göran ja Christine Schildtin Mustanmeren matka – Göran and Christine Schildt's travels in the Black Sea 1963* (Ekenäs: Villa Schildt, 2014).

considered one of the most important European travel writers of the post-war period.

During the Black Sea journey, Schildt and his crew visited Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. He also made an excursion by plane to Odessa in the Soviet Union (now in Ukraine). After the journey Göran Schildt wrote a travel narrative, *Det gyllene skinnet* 'The Golden Fleece', which appeared in 1964.[3] The book tells an engaging story with dramatic moments, humorous observations, interesting encounters and discussions with local people, political comments and an abundance of background information about the countries and towns he visited, including culture, history, economy, society and other aspects. The legendary adventures and locations visited by Jason and the Argonauts is the *leitmotif*, but the main part of the book does not deal with the Black Sea. Instead, it tells about travels in the Mediterranean Sea: Italy and Sicily, Greece, Malta and North Africa. Out of 235 pages only around 75 are about the Black Sea journey, and dozens of these pages are dedicated to Istanbul and the Turkish Black Sea coast. This book did not become a bestseller and in contrast to several other books by Schildt, which were translated into many languages and had several print runs, it was soon forgotten.[4]

At the time of the journey, Göran Schildt lived in Sweden and was making his living mainly as a travel writer. He had already sailed down the rivers in Western Europe and the Nile, explored the Mediterranean coasts and gained international acclaim for his writings. This was his first and only visit with the yacht *Daphne* behind the Iron Curtain and to the unknown and little documented Black Sea. The *Daphne* was probably the first private vessel after World War II to visit Bulgaria and Romania, a supposition which Schildt also liked to point out in his travel narrative. The Golden Fleece he searched for was not golden, he noted, but it contained the cold glimmer of

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[3] Göran Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand / Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1964).

[4] The book was translated into German, *Das goldene Vlies* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1965); and *Das goldene Vlies. Auf den Spuren der Argonauten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Nr. 1022, 1969). In Swedish it was republished as an e-book only in 2014, when Villa Schildt in Ekenäs/Tammisaari in Finland hosted an exhibition prepared by Sabira Ståhlberg about Göran Schildt's Black Sea journey.

the Iron Curtain. His goal was to force this barrier and be the first to bring a private Western yacht to the other side.[5]

The Black Sea was far more unknown to post-war sailors than the Mediterranean: only a handful of foreign yachts had been there before, and they mainly kept to the Turkish coast. Nobody could tell Schildt what to expect. The Bulgarian, Romanian and Soviet coasts were uncharted territory and scantily covered by maps. Other sailors warned him about the capricious Black Sea, its sudden storms and strange currents. He was not surprised, because he had read the classics: ancient mariners found this sea inhospitable (ἄξενος, aksenos). The name of the sea called Pontos was changed into hospitable (*Εὔξεινος Πόντος*, Efxinos Pontos) only when Greeks colonised its coasts more than 2,600 years ago. Despite the fact that officers and soldiers from Finland had visited Romania and Bulgaria as part of the Russian army during the Russian-Ottoman wars 1828–1829 and 1877–1878, historical knowledge about the Black Sea coast appears to have been almost non-existent in Finland and Sweden at the time of Göran Schildt's journey. In 1829, some officers from Finland, among them Gustaf Ramsay and Otto von Essen (1805–1860), had travelled in the same regions as Schildt did in 1963.[6]

Windows to a world beyond

At the beginning of the 1960s, Schildt discovered a crack in the Iron Curtain and decided to take this unique opportunity to visit the Black Sea. The budding Bulgarian and Romanian tourist industries attracted (and probably organised tours for) both journalists and others, who could be expected to write positive reviews about the beaches and the hotels. There were also advertisements for charter trips, tempting tourists to try out the new destinations. Schildt could not have missed them when reading newspapers. He had visited Istanbul on an earlier occasion, but never sailed

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5 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 90.

6 Gustaf Ramsay's letters were found in the National Archive, Finland, and published by Sabira Ståhlberg only in 2017, but Otto von Essen's diary was published some twenty years before Schildt's journey. It seems, however, that Schildt had not read it, as there is no mention anywhere about von Essen. See Sabira Ståhlberg, *Färden till Bulgarien. Svenska och finländska resenärer från medeltiden till våra dagar* (Varna: Lecti Book Studio, 2017), 30–45.

further than the Bosporus. This was the point between the known and unknown worlds: both the *Daphne* and Jason's mythical *Argo* reached here the point of something "threatening and untested". The Symplegades, or clashing rocks, were the legendary ancient gates to the Black Sea. For Schildt they became symbols of the Cold War fluctuations in tensions between the East and West.[7]

Göran Schildt was a curious and interested person, well prepared for the journey and experienced in dealing with all kinds of situations. His standard of morals and ethics can probably be found in the Antiquity more than in the contemporary world, but he was far from living in a dream of the past, which also his actions and observations during the Black Sea trip reveal. Still, the voyage proved to be a challenging adventure, which he did not repeat; the *Daphne* remained afterwards firmly in the Mediterranean. The Soviet Union refused to accept any private vessel in its ports, so Schildt had to give up his dream destination Colchis, then in the Soviet republic of Georgia. A further complication was the crew. Schildt was a hospitable man, who invited in addition to his fiancée Christine (a few years later his wife) also an Italian friend and artist, Roberto Sambonet. Roberto in turn invited his new girlfriend Annuska, whose presence caused much tension among the crew. During the trip Schildt also invited guests for shorter distances, including two young Bulgarian students and a Romanian guide.

In spite of several setbacks, Göran Schildt caught a favourable wind and managed to sail through the Iron Curtain. At the Black Sea coast there was a freedom Schildt had not expected, and especially Bulgaria turned his expectations upside down. The situation in Romania answered more to Schildt's preconceived ideas about the Eastern Bloc, but also here a thaw in the ice was palpable. Only during his visit to Odessa did Göran Schildt find the poverty, misery and bleakness of communism he had expected. This specific temporal and spatial crack in the Iron Curtain, a small aperture among the bricks in the walls dividing Europe into East and West, was closed again, when politics turned from wine to vinegar and clouds gathered over the sunny beaches.

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7 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 76–77.

Other windows opened, however, and some remained open. Mass tourism continued throughout the Cold War on the Black Sea coast, but private visitors or vessels were not greeted with smiles until a few decades ago when the communist regimes had been removed. The fact that Göran Schildt could break through the walls and anchor at the harbours in Bulgaria and Romania reflects the relaxed local political situation in the summer of 1963 and the existence of small pockets of freedom in the Eastern Bloc, where people from both sides of the Iron Curtain could meet. The cracks were a prerequisite for successful encounters; another condition enabling a direct dialogue was the personality and multilingual and multicultural strategies of the traveller.

Argonautic quest

Göran Schildt's aim, according to his own words, was to follow in the wake of the most famous Black Sea sailor in history: Jason. A legendary and literary figure, possibly with some real models, the earliest dating back to the Bronze Age, Jason and his Argonauts sailed to find the Golden Fleece in Colchis at the eastern end of the Black Sea. Few other ancient figures have managed to keep the attention and ignited the imagination of the European public to such a high degree as Jason. The topic of his quest has inspired literature for centuries and more recently also films and travellers; after Schildt, several other sailors have tried to trace the supposed route of the *Argo*. The character of Jason, who appears in several versions in ancient Greek mythology and drama, is an audacious but simultaneously hesitant adventurer. He sails into a strange sea without knowing where he will end up and if he will come out alive. Probably Jason's association with the princess of Colchis and cruel sorceress Medea contributes to the dramatic appeal of these legends.

Göran Schildt's chief interest was the Antiquity and he had already travelled in the wake of Odysseus in the Mediterranean. Schildt found, however, that he felt increasingly like Jason. The journeys were initiations and the Black Sea visit was one of his "argonautic" sailing trips. The journeys with the *Daphne*, he wrote in his travel book, broadened his knowledge of and initiated him into many essential issues, "such as how days become

night and nights become day", physical phenomena like winds, clouds and sea water, but also into human relations, history, local life and traditions: "[…] but what I first and foremost have searched and found is a form of rapture, a belief in life as a great adventure". For the overall "argonautic purpose" he felt compelled when travelling to ignore or refuse many encountered aspects and problems of lesser significance: "Let others in their journeys look for the material their lives are built of: I have my Golden Fleece, which I have found and bring home."[8]

What exactly the Golden Fleece means here he did not clarify; several interpretations are possible, but the adventures, knowledge and experiences gathered during the journeys is a probable explanation. A few years after the Black Sea journey, he and his wife Christine bought a house on the Greek island of Leros and called it Villa Colchis, in line with his self-identification with Jason. Whether Schildt received the idea about Jason from books or newspaper articles he had read, or came up with the idea only after the Black Sea journey while processing his impressions into the travel book we cannot verify, but he most certainly was acquainted with the mythology concerning Jason from his Antiquity readings. In the book he says that the idea of sailing to the Black Sea appeared while he was planning the following journey. Not he chose this adventure, but the adventure chose him. In the ship's diary from the journey the name Jason is not mentioned even once.[9]

Purposes

This article has a few purposes and parallel discussions about the journey of Göran Schildt to the Black Sea. Through the eyes of this well-informed and clear-sighted traveller we can observe how ordinary people experienced and tried to deal with the divisions of Europe.

Another topic is the multilingual and multicultural experiences and encounters of Göran Schildt with local inhabitants and tourists. A short comparison with two writers from Finland, who visited Bulgaria or

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8 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 71.

9 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 11–12; Göran Schildt. Unpublished diary. The Christine and Göran Schildt Foundation / Svenska Litteratursällskapet (SLS, The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland), SLSA 1150: Göran Schildt's archive.

Romania, and a Bulgarian writer who spent time in Sweden, can support the clarification of the multilingual and multicultural strategies of Schildt. The comparisons also highlight the differences between a multilingual and multicultural writer such as Schildt and those who are basically monolingual and deeply anchored in a single culture.

The topic of how multilingual and multicultural persons speak, act and behave in different situations, and especially how they write travel narratives or process their multilingual and multicultural experiences into literature or art is hardly researched at all. Most of the research on travel books and multilingual and multicultural literature is limited to literary studies on published texts, which have been processed and rendered into partly fictional forms of literature. An important aim here is therefore to contribute to a cross-disciplinary discussion of how multicultural encounters reflect the attitudes, cultural and linguistic outlook, previous experiences and world views of a multilingual and multicultural author.

Another goal is to observe how the original impressions are transformed when being prepared for publication. This article is based on my previous research about Göran Schildt and his journey to the Black Sea, historical travel narratives about Bulgaria and Romania, and discussions over several years with persons who were young in the East or the West during the 1960s. For this article both the published work of Göran Schildt, *The Golden Fleece*, and his unpublished travel diary have been used.[10] The diary was written when the events were fresh in his mind, while the book appeared a year later after he had reflected, read up on the region and processed his experiences into a format he could present before readers. There are several discrepancies between the two works and they will be discussed further on.

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10 Göran Schildt. Unpublished diary. See also Sabira Ståhlberg, *Resan till Colchis* 2014; *Finländska fotspår i Bulgarien och Rumänien* (Varna: Lecti Book Studio, 2016), 257–266; and *Färden till Bulgarien*, 192–199.

The Black Sea journey

On 4 August 1963 the *Daphne* arrived at the Bulgarian port of Burgas.[11] The authorities had at first little idea of what to do with her and the crew, but soon solved the question. Tourists from the West were packed like sardines alongside East European tourists in the nearby resort Sunny Beach, and here was apparently a new form of tourist. Göran Schildt found the Bulgarians "charmingly careless". He and his friends talked and joked with the port officials, and the crew enjoyed great freedom while sightseeing and getting to know local people. Keeping an eye on the foreigners was probably one of the goals for setting a guard before the yacht, but the guard also kept a curious crowd at bay. The only person, who had the right to approach the foreigners was an archaeologist who spoke good English, and then appeared the vice-president of the International Seamen's Club, who spoke Italian.

In the archaeological museum in Burgas, the Greek and Roman heritage of Bulgaria caught the attention of Schildt, but the museum contained also a history about the "Marxist revolution since all the Turkish wars". He noted especially that there was no propaganda with "horror illustrations", only groups of "grim mountain warriors". The shops were almost empty and before any food store there were enormous queues; hardly any cars were to be seen in the streets. Still, Schildt found that the Bulgarians looked free and confident in comparison with the inhabitants of Istanbul, who did not live in a communist country.

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[11] The journey is described here according to Schildt's notes in the unpublished ship diary. The arrival in Burgas is described dramatically in Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 91.

Figure 1. Customs office, Burgas, Bulgaria. The text on the rocket being launched by the Western capitalist says "war" (война, voyna). Photo: Göran Schildt, 1963. SLS.

On 6 August, friendly officials in the Port of Burgas called the next town, Sozopol, located south of Burgas. When the *Daphne* came to anchor in Sozopol, nobody appeared to check on the yacht and the crew simply walked into town. The next day the crew took on board two Bulgarian students, Anton and Violeta, who sailed with the *Daphne* to Nesebar. The newly built tourist resort Sunny Beach, north of Burgas, provided some unexpected insights into the East-West division of Europe and the efforts of people from both sides to connect despite political difficulties.

A Swedish-Western German couple told Göran Schildt that most hotel guests were West and East Germans from separated families. They

could meet only in Bulgaria, where both travelled freely. Observing the *Daphne*, the husband asked many questions and started making plans for bringing his wife's East German family to Bulgaria and then by a Swedish yacht to the West. New acquaintances on the beach were also a few young lifeguards, with whom the Daphnenauts (crew) visited the town. Nesebar, since 1983 a UNESCO World Heritage site, captivated the visitors especially through this personal contact. The Greek-speaking mother of one of the lifeguards invited them home.[12] In the evening the young men in turn joined in a fish dinner on the *Daphne*.

On 8 August, the *Daphne* continued north to Varna. In the port, the crew met a friendly policeman who spoke French, and Schildt encountered a group of important American visitors. One of the Americans had read his books and enthusiastically wanted to present him to the other visitors. Schildt and his crew were invited to a film festival in the Golden Sands resort just north of Varna, where they watched films about the Archaeological and Marine Museums and how churches were being restored. Very pleasant, Schildt noted in his diary, but "hardly realistic" in the communist system. The system indeed showed its teeth the next morning: it took almost half a day to clear the yacht for departure.

After leaving Varna, the *Daphne* passed the small town of Balchik and observed the Romanian Queen Maria's white villa at the waterfront; today the villa is one of the most popular destinations for Romanian tourists to Bulgaria. At Cape Kaliakra the coastal guard signalled with flags, but the crew did not understand the messages. Then the guard started firing rockets, but the *Daphne* simply continued towards Romania without stopping.

Table 1

Göran Schildt's journey on the Black Sea, August 1963

4 Bosporus; Burgas (Bulgaria)
6 Sozopol, Nesebar (Bulgaria)
8 Varna (Bulgaria)

[12] In the book, some events noted in the diary are not mentioned, as they were too private, while others are exaggerated, such as the number of guests for the fish dinner. Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 97–98.

10 Balchik, Kaliakra, Shabla (Bulgaria), Mangalia (Romania)
11 Constanţa (Romania)
14 Sulina (Romania)
15 Danube Delta (Romania)
20 Constanţa (Romania)
23 Odessa by plane (Soviet Union)
24 Constanţa (Romania)
26 Istanbul (Turkey)

The weather and attitudes changed in Romanian waters. A thunderstorm and a Romanian patrol boat forced the *Daphne* to continue north from Mangalia to Constanţa. The port formalities required a lot of paperwork, haggling and shouting. The yacht was the first private vessel since the war, according to the officials, and they were deeply suspicious. To Schildt they appeared afraid to break any rule and even unwritten regulations. Every time the crew left the yacht, they had to show their passports to the policeman on guard. A Finnish ship was also in harbour, but the Daphnenauts were at first not permitted to visit it. "At the end he [the chief of police] was softened by our description of the Finnish food we had not enjoyed for two months", Schildt mused in his diary. He also visited a cultural evening organised by the Americans he had met earlier in Varna.

The next day the Daphnenauts visited the town and the tourist resort of Mamaia. Schildt tried to arrange a visit to the Danube Delta through the local tourist agency Carpati. He was finally successful, after being interrogated several times, but the German-speaking guide Nina Constantina had to travel overland to the Delta. She was not allowed into the open sea onboard the yacht, probably because the authorities feared that she could be spirited away. Nina had read some of Schildt's books and admired *Valse triste* by the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957). On 14 August the *Daphne* set out for the Danube.[13]

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13 The tribulations with Carpati and Romanian officials are engagingly told in Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 104–105. In the diary there are only short notes. During the journey Schildt and the crew got to know Nina better and he noted in the book

The Danube Delta became for Schildt the highlight of the journey. After the "Nordic cold" and rain on the way to Constanţa, the air in the river landscape was "wonderfully mild, just like at home in the North". The lightweight yacht could enter also into the smaller channels, and the Daphnenauts spent several days exploring. "A feeling of the Amazonas, but not unkind to humans", Schildt commented in his diary. In the encounters with local people there was little official control, yet in the towns and larger villages people were afraid to talk openly with the foreigners. They still spoke in secret, wanting to tell about their lives and situations to the visitors. An elderly gentleman in Sulina told Schildt in French that he was a fisherman, and he chatted happily with the crew on the beach. In the published book Schildt noted: "There are lots of surprising things in the Eastern countries."[14]

In the Danube Delta Schildt noticed more details of the landscape and people than anywhere else during the journey. He saw fishing villages and Lipovan houses with reed roofs and fences, and talked with river skippers and local villagers. Fishermen asked for help and their boats were towed by the *Daphne*, sometimes for several hours. In the delta reigned a calm and silence, which gave Schildt time to think and enjoy. A passing Soviet ship playing music, but without even one human being in sight, left a strong impression on the Daphnenauts.

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that it was refreshing to talk with a person who had so very different views and experiences of life (p. 110).

14 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 107.

Figure 2. House with reed fence, Danube Delta, Romania. Photo: Göran Schildt 1963. SLS.

The *Daphne* approached also the Soviet side of the river, but without visiting villages. Nobody disturbed the return journey to the sea; only the mosquitoes were plentiful and aggressive. Only at the last stop officials entered the yacht and turned everything inside out. A group of grim Romanian officers and soldiers stayed on board until the yacht had left the delta, but then said a cordial goodbye to the crew. Back in Constanţa, the *Daphne* remained in harbour, while Schildt and his friend Roberto took a one-day tourist trip to Odessa. Schildt was also interviewed for a Romanian newspaper. On 26 August the *Daphne* was back in Istanbul. The Italian friends Roberto and Annuska left the yacht, while Schildt and his fiancée

Christine sailed for the Turkish Black Sea coast before returning to Greece and the Mediterranean.

Other and othering

Travelling seems easy when everything goes smoothly. During the trip, the travellers can immerse themselves in the new world around them – if they wish. After their return the process of explaining about observations, events and emotions to others, who do not share the same experiences, is a more complex process. Encounters, impressions and situations must be analysed, recreated and structured into a story, so that people who did not participate in the voyage can understand. Or, if they do not understand, they should at least be able to catch a glimpse of the different environment and the feelings the traveller-storyteller experienced at a given moment.

What happens when travellers encounter a different world, languages and cultures they do not understand? One of the first human reactions is to discover what is different. This highlights also the question "who am I?" and which characteristics make up one's self. The *Other* is a philosophical concept originating in phenomenology, meaning someone who is not like the "Self"; someone different, who possesses distinct traits which are not "mine" or "ours", and dissimilar to the self-image. The concept is nowadays used widely in philosophy, psychology, ethics, human geography and many other scientific fields, in a great variety of contexts, and it is also used to highlight racial, cultural and other differences.[15] In this article the concept is used in its broadest sense to signify all and everything different from what is perceived to be or belong to "us", including people, languages, cultures, economic and political systems, societies etc.

Othering is a term which means making someone the Other. When othering occurs, differences are emphasised, without the balancing effect of allowing for any similarities or even sameness. Othering is often condescending, the othering part seeing the Other as less valuable and important. In travel narratives the question is how the author perceives the

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[15] Aarhus University, for instance, has a Centre for Studies in Otherness and a journal, where a multitude of aspects of Otherness are discussed, showing that the concept has an extremely broad definition and usage. See https://otherness.dk

Other, and how far the Other or aspects of the Other through the creative process becomes part of the Self. Do writers pick up for instance linguistic or cultural patterns from their journeys, or add something from the culture they meet into their lives and writings?

If writers took up something from beyond the Iron Curtain during the Cold War, it often happened despite the attitudes of their contemporaries. Sympathies directed to the Other – those on the other side of the Iron Curtain – were not much accepted by general audiences anywhere, who were being fed with daily propaganda against the Enemy. Writers were not expected to really understand the Other in a period when national and political identities were usually limited to one per person. Which factors influenced the freedom of writers and what did freedom actually mean to them? Göran Schildt for instance was so famous, multicultural in his thinking and experienced both with East and West, that he could ignore much of the political propaganda. His personal experiences also helped him make holes in the political mythology, and let his readers see through these apertures.

Many people in this world accept the Other and othering as normal, and never gain much insight into other cultures or societies. Some even refuse to acknowledge or respect dissimilar people, even when they meet them. Yet when travellers set out on a journey, they take up the challenge of engaging with other people and environments. The engagement occurs to different degrees, depending on the way of travel, personal attitudes such as curiousness, previous knowledge and experiences of the travellers. The travellers explain after the voyage about their experiences to family and friends, and maybe also to the general public; telling a good story gives additional value to the trip, and for example also to the landscape and the food tasted during the journey.[16] By default the travellers also explain about

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16 Hanne Pico Larsen shows the added value of stories and storytelling after an experience in an interesting article about Nordic food. Hanne Pico Larsen, "På jakt efter sniglar och berättelser: vildplockat som motiv och praktik i det nya nordiska köket" [Chasing snails and stories: food from the wild as motif and practice in the new Nordic cuisine], in *Etnologiska reflektioner över ny nordisk mat* [Ethnological reflections about new Nordic food] (Y. Lindqvist & S. Österlund-Pötzsch, eds. SLS: Helsingfors, 2018), 113–129.

themselves and their self-image in contrast to the Other: their stories reflect their backgrounds, views and attitudes, and their capacity of observation and analysis.

Linguistic and cultural competence

Writers and artists are often presumed to move through life with their eyes and ears wide open and to be inspired by everything they see, sense and experience. This is partly true: their brains are trained in observation and gathering impulses, asking questions, communicating with the surroundings and processing experiences and information into something more than just some entertaining stories told around the dinner table. When travelling, writers and artists gather knowledge, observations, reactions, insights and emotions just like everybody else. In contrast to ordinary travellers, however, they more often transform their impressions into texts, paintings, music, films or other artistic formats. A legitimate question is therefore: do writers and artists possess or gain more linguistic and cultural competence, only because they are supposed to be creative, that is they produce something new out of their experiences? If yes, how? What strategies do they use? What is the impact of their work on their audiences, and maybe even on the cultural sphere and the societies they are active in?

As public figures, writers, and to some extent artists, have more influence than ordinary tourists on other people's attitudes. Before the twentieth century many authors did mostly armchair travel, however, writing about areas they had no idea about in real life. Their sources were travel descriptions by people who actually had visited the locations, or writings by other authors. Among such internationally acclaimed writers, who never visited the places they wrote about, are for example William Shakespeare, Jules Verne, Karl May, Franz Kafka and Italo Calvino.

In the nineteenth century, European scholars and writers were increasingly travelling around the world, but they carried with them a baggage of various attitudes and strategies about encountering the Other, and therefore also came up with widely dissimilar results. Some adapted and learned languages and cultures, for instance the Orientalist Georg August Wallin (1811–1852) from Finland, who travelled in the Levant in the disguise

of a Central Asian medical doctor.[17] Many others, who visited the Mediterranean or Balkan regions around the same time as Wallin, did what foreign visitors would be expected to do: they kept to their hotels and to fellow travellers from their home country or international travellers from Europe or North America. They followed the guidebooks and paid to be transported and taken care of by local people, who spoke the tourists' languages at least tolerably. Several writers were fascinated by what they saw in the "Orient", such as the French poet Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855), who toured in 1842, or Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), who travelled in 1832–1833. They observed the regions they visited through the prism of romanticism and often also esotericism.[18] Others encountered local conditions literally with their gloves on, like the Danish author H. C. Andersen, who wrote a glorious travel account about his journey to the Ottoman Empire around the same time as Nerval. This fabled author did his best to avoid too close or engaging relations with local people.[19]

Much of early travel literature is in fact an effort to tame the Unknown, the strange, the Other in the sense of different cultures and languages, and to "domesticate" everything that is perceived as "foreign". One of the methods is to explain the cultural differences in a way, which makes them "comprehensible" for the audience at home. Naturally this means making compromises, distorting facts, adding adventures or mythology, and dealing out judgement on the "natives" and their lack of (Western European) "civilisation". Many writers turned into authorities on other cultures without knowing a word of the local languages or understanding more than superficially the social, economic or political

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17 Svenska Litteratursällskapet (SLS, The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland) has published several works by and about G. A. Wallin. For a full list, see https://www.sls.fi/sv/utgivning/person/georg-august-wallin (in Swedish)

18 See for instance Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient* [Journey in the Orient] (Paris: Charpentier, 1851); and Alphonse de Lamartine, *Impressions, souvenirs, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient, 1832–1833, ou Notes d'un voyageur* [Impressions, memories, thoughts and landscapes during a journey in the Orient 1832–1833, or Notes by a traveller] (Bruxelles: Louis Hamuman et Co., 1835).

19 See H. C. Andersen, *En digters bazar* (Kjøbenhavn: C.U. Reizel, 1842; English *A poet's bazaar*, transl. Charles Beckwith. London: Richard Bentley, 1846).

situations. Reflecting the contemporary attitudes of superior civilisation, these writers could become highly influential in their home countries and even internationally. They produced a lot of misunderstandings, myths and stereotypes which unfortunately are still in circulation today, although the Internet, increasing individual travel and mass media could correct them very easily. Armchair travel has changed now into real travel. But has it really? Do modern writers understand more than their predecessors?

Linguistic and cultural competences are now considered important, but just fifty or sixty years ago during the Cold War they were not much appreciated. In some countries, especially in the Eastern Bloc, multilingual and multicultural skills could even be dangerous for an individual. Also in the West, knowledge of Eastern Bloc languages or frequent travels behind the Iron Curtain could bring a person into the interest sphere of those concerned with state security. A writer had to conform to at least some of the national stereotypes as well, in order to be taken seriously and not to be labelled as a friend of the Enemy beyond the Iron Curtain. For several visitors between the Nordic countries and the Balkans this epithet had no significance, because they were socialists, communists or had in general more leftist sympathies, and they were not seldom proud of their political "understanding".

This deeper vision into life east of the Iron Curtain was an illusion, however, because their political convictions caused them to be short-sighted. They othered the Eastern Bloc just the same and filtered out everything, which did not fit into their ideology. For the others, non-leftists such as Göran Schildt, there were conflicts between their own view and the audiences' attitudes of the Other. They had to compromise between their own observations (maybe positive; not all behind the Iron Curtain were agents or enemies) and the political and public attitudes (mostly negative).

Multilingual and multicultural strategies

Without training or experience, visitors abroad may find it difficult to function outside their personal comfort zone. In Europe, the travellers without linguistic and cultural preparation make up the majority since the 1960s. Mass tourism is the expression of a desire to travel without needing

to encounter many cultural challenges. A charter tourist often chooses a ready-made trip because there is no need to learn another language or culture, or to meet more exotic people than guides or restaurant and hotel staff, who are trained in understanding even the strangest of languages.

Scientific and other specialised education, such as military or journalistic, can help an interested visitor to see behind the facade and surface of a society, political system or landscape. A person who is multilingual and multicultural, or who has received training in working with different realities, can usually adapt more quickly to a new situation and analyse the local situation more efficiently. These prepared and informed visitors quickly adopt and create new behavioural models for themselves and find different ways to observe and interact with the local people and systems.[20]

There is a broad range of strategies and instruments, which can be learned for multilingual and multicultural situations and to increase the linguistic and cultural competences. Some strategies found in the travel narratives of Göran Schildt are below discussed in comparison with the works of Lassi Nummi, Arto Paasilinna and Yordan Radichkov. These three authors have been chosen chiefly because of the time and destinations of their journeys. Their works represent different literary genres; none of them wrote a travel narrative directly comparable with Schildt's, but the different genres can shed light on the possibilities and choices an author can pick up when processing impressions from a journey.

All authors mentioned in this article wrote about their travels in some form, but none of them except Schildt wrote a travel book. He could have chosen to write poetry like Nummi, a comic novel like Paasilinna or about an imagined reality like Radichkov, but he selected to write a travel narrative with history and legends. All these authors had a certain influence on the attitudes of the audiences in their home countries, but none reached the international readership and impact that Schildt did. At least a few of these

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20 For strategies and a discussion of multiculturalism and communication, see for instance Alexander Thomas, Eva-Ulrike Kinast; Sylvia Schroll-Machl (eds). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication and Cooperation. Volume 1: Basics and Areas of Application* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

writers could if not change, then at least modify public opinion about the unknown and foreign regions they travelled in. To understand why they wrote as they did it is important to look into their strategies for gaining and processing insights.

Each traveller creates their own strategies to deal with the Other, but Göran Schildt stands out among these writers mainly due to his broad palette of strategies. His background, attitudes, experience, multilingual and multicultural outlook and competences differed clearly from the other authors. Schildt preferred a non-standard way of encountering the unknown and the Other. His home was always with him – the yacht *Daphne* – in opposition to most other tourists or travellers, but he also emphasised that an open mind was important: "To be open to everything, and foremost to the unexpected, is usually praised as the virtue of the true traveller, the condition that he can learn something, broaden his domains, be renewed", wrote Schildt in his travel narrative. However, he had "the feeling that we reacted only on the surface […] instead of going deeper […] – this is a thorn I have often felt during my life full of journeys, the suspicion that I have just passed by, where a more attentive traveller could have picked up gold nuggets I have unconsciously tread on." He was aware that theory and practice do not always go together: "The person who opens his full sensitivity, his complete attention in every encounter, risks never to get out of them […]. It is impossible to really penetrate to the bottom with even one of our present moments."

Instead, Schildt suggested another kind of openness, one which has a direction and "only accepts that which can be used constructively for certain goals". He played with the idea of creating a fauna of travellers, depending on their nutrition and environment, including the Business Traveller, classical Discoverer, International Sportsman, ship Captain, and the strangest of all, the Tourist, "who only wants to see, to be an invisible witness", and who goes back to the Romantic Traveller of the nineteenth century. The modern Charter Tourist, however, was a close relative of the locust: the mass invasion of sun-thirsty tourists was as destructive as a natural disaster. The condescending Socially Aware Tourist, usually a journalist, received even less sympathy from Schildt. Although he himself

was a kind of journalist, reporting for newspapers on his journeys, he found ordinary journalists too limited.[21] Newspaper reports are important for the understanding of the period and there are several articles and reports from the Black Sea coast in Nordic media, which started appearing around the same time as Schildt journeyed in the region, but a discussion about them are outside the scope of this article.

Describing the Other (and the journey): source criticism

The one-day trip with a combined Danish, Swedish and English tourist group to Odessa merits special mentioning, because Göran Schildt's description of it diverges drastically in the diary and the published book. The ship diary tells that the city of Odessa made a mixed impression on Schildt. Communist propaganda was visible everywhere, from the loudspeakers to signs and writings on walls. Queues, bad food and beggars were irritating elements. There were also many reminders of the heroic Great Patriotic War, which Schildt had experienced personally from the other side, and which he had been wounded. The only positive elements in Odessa were the architecture and the personal encounters.

Schildt and Roberto talked with a teacher from Leningrad, who spoke French. She openly criticised the government's empty promises during the past forty years about attractive holiday trips for everybody. A group of students speaking Italian wanted to practise with the foreigners, but an hour later at an appointed time and place nobody turned up; probably they had lost courage or had been warned not to fraternise with foreigners.

The shops had little to sell and Schildt only bought a souvenir. "The final impression was deplorable", he commented in the diary. The mixture of communist monuments and baroque buildings, rotten grapes in the shops for which people were queuing, the still visible Stalinist heritage and the eternal checks at the airport contributed to the negative feelings. Returning to Romania in the evening was "like coming home": there was less control and the shops were filled with goods. Schildt wrote in his diary: "Romania

21 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, p. 69–70.

is for us totally Western. […] We are happy that the Odessa episode is behind us and we do not need to sail there."

The diary, written in the evenings immediately after the events, clearly explains that the two men flew to the Soviet Union with an international tourist group and returned on the same day. Yet in his book Schildt embroidered a tall and dramatic tale: how the yacht reached Odessa and the crew spent a few days there.[22] Then they wanted to continue to the Crimea, but were forced back into the open sea by an aggressive Soviet patrol boat during a thunderstorm. The crew prayed to be saved, and the captain himself promised the *Daphne* that this would be her last visit behind the Iron Curtain. The story is practically the same as the experience outside Mangalia, but transported from Romania to the Soviet shores.

Schildt mentioned in the published book that he had earlier visited the "western provinces" of the Soviet Union, and he recognised the atmosphere and the "Soviet" environment also in Odessa. In the book he freely discussed the communist system. He wondered at the "Russian" focus on the revolution: "It is sympathetic that they strive for social justice and raising the living standards for the people." All this was also the goal in the West, Schildt noted, but the difference was observable in the fact that in the West people were free to do it, while the communist countries were tied to an old anti-capitalist system based on "opposition to the negative aspects of capitalism, which already have been overcome". The people in the East paid for this error "through the lack of even the simplest goods and services". He saw clearly that the rulers had to remind the people constantly about the old injustices, otherwise the people would not accept the "craziness" of the system. Schildt finally asked how long this could go on, because "eternally strangling private initiatives is hardly possible". Already when talking about the Golden Sands tourist resort near Varna, a "Riviera-like" international environment, he wrote in the published book: "One wonders […] how long the wall between the two systems will stand against the pressure of the enormous economic differences."[23]

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22 This fabricated visit to the Soviet Union is told in Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 130–136.

23 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 100.

Schildt did not discuss, among others, the aspect of fear in the communist countries; instead, he talked at length in the book about the Russian "inclination" for patricide and of not forgetting, and the incapacity of moving on from the past. His feelings ran strongly on the side of the West with anti-Russian and anti-communist attitudes. There were some apparent reasons for awakening such sentiments during the Black Sea trip, in addition to Schildt's own history of fighting against the Soviet Union in World War II. At the last stop in the Danube Delta before leaving for the Black Sea, a soldier fired bullets over the heads of the crew on the *Daphne* to make her stop. "Today at least tyranny is efficient", Schildt noted ironically after two hours of waiting for a confirmation that the crew were "legitimate travellers". Finally Schildt and the crew could go into the village, but the officials were not happy about it. Earlier in Tulcea, when Schildt wanted to fill up the tank of the yacht with fuel, "one had the feeling that things were conflicting and squeaking even up to the ministries". Fortunately the other boat owners were friendly and helpful, which softened the stressful encounters with the officials.[24]

There are some other discrepancies in the book and the diary, too, but they are minor compared to this completely rewritten story about the visit to the Soviet Union, which stands out in its degree of intensity also in comparison with Romania or Bulgaria.[25] Göran Schildt's vivid and dramatic description of the efforts to reach the northern Black Sea shore sounds very real in the book, and without the diary it would be easy to believe the *Daphne* really was chased away from the waters around the Crimea.

Why did Schildt create this imaginative story? To make the book more interesting to readers, or because he wanted to give readers a political message? The book is full of adventurous scenes and encounters also without it. How trustworthy is the rest of the story he told in the book, if this

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[24] The story about the shooting is dramatically told in Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 115, than in the diary. The quotation about bureaucracy in Tulcea is on p. 111.

[25] Another event is also related to the Soviet Union: the Daphne and how it journeyed close to the Soviet border in the Danube Delta is more dramatic in the book than in the diary. Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet,* 112–113.

episode is not real? There was no political reason, except maybe his aversion to the Soviet Union, to create a story with a totalitarian villain.

Writers describing another society or culture are often accused of being interested only in high culture and official politics. Many visitors on either side of the Iron Curtain belong to this category, taking up a position for or against the political system. According to his own words, Schildt was mainly interested in ordinary people and how they lived, but he tried to push holes in the dividing walls in his writings, often managing to make the bricks crumble. He also had a political bias and a strong interest in politics, despite efforts to appear objective. Possibly the self-proclaimed neutrality was a way to protect himself from accusations that he belonged to the political right or left, or it was an intended or unintended result of his main focus on history and especially Antiquity.

A comparison between the diary and the book, and readings into earlier works by Göran Schildt show that he was not shy of improving a story if it could become more appealing to the reader. The diary functions as a corrective, as it was written during the journey, before the processing of impressions and decisions for improvement had begun. Certainly Schildt processed his experiences also during the journey, but the notes are fresher in the diary. The book, on the other hand, is the product of several months of work on different materials, his own and other authors', and it can give some clues to how the writer's mind worked. The question if we can believe in Schildt's writings should be answered with in principle yes, but source criticism should be applied throughout.

Collecting knowledge and impressions

How does a creative person process impressions about the Other and from a foreign environment? Several skills are needed for processing: a good memory and the capability to observe not only with the eyes, but with all the senses.

A usual strategy to gain insight into another culture is to gather information before, during and after the voyage, and to use previous knowledge to understand and analyse the new situation and environment. Göran Schildt gathered information about the Black Sea from classical and

modern books, maps and guidebooks both before and after the trip. He was deeply interested and well-read in mythology and Mediterranean history. His travel narrative in the published book tells, together with his own adventures in the Black Sea, also the story of Jason and the Argonauts, borrowed from the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes (third century bce).[26] At the end of the book there is a literature list showing that Schildt had studied also other writers from Antiquity, Herodotus, Arrian, Pindar, Xenophon, Ovid and others, and also modern writers' works. He also commented on several of the books throughout the book.

Figure 3. Byzantine church in Nesebar, Bulgaria. Photo: Göran Schildt 1963. SLS.

[26] Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*. Several translations exist of this work; Schildt used the ones by R. C. Seaton (London: Loeb, 1912) and E. V. Rieu (London: Penguin, 1959).

During the trip Schildt used the strategy of asking questions and talking with people as a daily strategy, and he also tried to find all kinds of complementary information on location. Combining the information he acquired through talking and the rare written accounts available on Bulgaria and Romania with his previous knowledge, he could assess the situation fairly accurately on several points and less exactly for others, although he was an outsider who did not know the local languages and who spent just a few weeks in the region. A contributing factor to the capacity to gather much information in a short time was probably that Göran Schildt had more experience as a traveller than most of his contemporaries; few people in the post-war period had spent as much time visiting and exploring abroad as he had.

In totalitarian regimes, gathering information could become a challenge, and some knowledge was given to the foreigners only in fragments or in a roundabout way, when nobody else was looking or listening. The case of the roasted duck reflects this, and the habit of the interested traveller not to give up easily. It also shows that the curious traveller is capable of entering into the world of the person he speaks with, even if only for some moments.

In the Danube Delta, Romania, the Daphnenauts went ashore in a village. They found some women who were carrying water, and chatted ant joked with them. The women understood quite a lot of Italian and Roberto asked if they would sell a roasted duck to the foreigners. Two passing ladies interpreted the business deal. One lady was "very aristocratic" and spoke French and English. She told the foreigners about her life, while they walked in the main street. Her husband had previously owned a factory, but now he was a simple worker in an office, and the family lived in a little room in their previous house. The couple could not change jobs or house without permission and lived under constant surveillance.

Schildt was not so much astonished about the conditions told to him, but the fact that the lady did not complain about the situation was strange. He felt sympathy for her and wrote in detail in his diary what she had told them. The lady explained that fear made people disciplined. The feeling of

fear was confirmed in the evening, when the Daphnenauts received their roasted duck as promised from a peasant woman, but only under cover of darkness.[27]

Linguistic and communicative competences open up a wealth of possibilities for a curious traveller, but also the person himself and his background are important for receiving or giving information and the degree of openness. Göran Schildt belonged to the Swedish minority in Finland and his minority identity influenced his relations with other minorities. An elderly man in Sozopol, Bulgaria, told Schildt that the inhabitants actually were Greeks and talked in Greek at home. "Yet to the outside world we are Bulgarians", the man explained. Schildt was not surprised; many minorities were in the same situation. Also other local inhabitants both in Sozopol and a few days later in Nesebar north of Burgas talked with the crew in Greek, when they discovered that Schildt spoke their language.[28] In Sozopol the crew visited a food bar, where they could go into the kitchen, thanks to a "nice Greek who served wine and beer". In Nesebar Schildt even noted Greek signs in shop windows. The Greek-speaking inhabitants told him that their children went to a monolingual Bulgarian school and many young people had already changed their language to Bulgarian. At the beginning of the 1960s, the Communist Party crusade for creating a consolidated Bulgarian nation was only starting and smaller minorities such as the Greek were targeted. The crusade culminated two decades later and reached also international media during the campaign for the change of the Turkish and Arabic names of the Turks in 1984–1985. Although Schildt does not directly comment on the minority situation in Bulgaria, the way he noted the negative facts indicates that he mentally compared them with the situation in Finland.

Being a foreigner among other foreigners can be an advantage for communication, too. At Sunny Beach near Burgas, all kinds of tourists would

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[27] The story is told in a slightly different way in Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 116–119.

[28] See Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 93. In the diary there are more notes about the minority situation; in the book it appears they were not considered that important.

swim out to the *Daphne* to talk with the crew. In the tourist resorts Schildt and his crew met other foreigners every day. They were all just tourists, not visitors from the East or West. In Sozopol he noted many "kind tourists", who chatted happily with the Daphnenauts. Among them especially a Hungarian artist couple made an impression; the wife had recently managed to get permission to visit Italy on a group tour, but the husband had to remain in Budapest. Common memories of Italy animated the discussion.

Relying chiefly on literature and talks with local people contain some risks, however. In his book, Schildt mentioned for instance that the Ottoman period (1396–1878) had cut short the history of Bulgaria.[29] This opinion was during the communist period commonly used for propaganda purposes (Turkey belonged to the West). It is still shared by many Bulgarians, who have been educated in the nationalist mythology of the country's history. History does not stop because the regime changes, a fact which also modern Bulgarian historians acknowledge. Schildt probably read or heard this opinion, and had no possibility to check or did not think of doing a fact check.

Communication

One of the most important factors contributing to the capability of gaining deeper insights into another culture and the world of the Other is the traveller's language skills. None of the travellers from the Nordic countries to Bulgaria and Romania discussed here spoke or read any local languages. Göran Schildt had probably the broadest language skills: he had studied among others the classical languages (Latin, Greek) and spoke at least Italian, modern Greek, English, French and German. Arriving in Bulgaria, he found out quickly that he could talk with the Greek fishermen living along the Black Sea coast. All these languages are mentioned in the diary and the book, and they helped him communicate with local inhabitants, officials and administrators, and also with beach tourists from different countries.

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29 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 100.

When language fails because neither part speaks the language of the other, communication skills are needed. Schildt had gained a lot of experience in breaking the ice and talking without a common language elsewhere: his travels along the rivers in Europe, the Nile and throughout the Mediterranean had given him enough triggers to develop different strategies and tools for communication with people who spoke nothing else than their local language or dialect, or languages he did not know. Schildt's communicative competence is illustrated by the first meeting with the young Bulgarian students Anton and Violeta and their friends at a bar in Sozopol.

The whole student group from the Bulgarian capital Sofia was "young, clean, nice", but they spoke just a few words of French, Schildt wrote in his diary. At first they were shy, but Schildt invited them to drink wine with the foreigners. The artist Roberto quickly drew portraits of the students and donated the pictures to them. The foreigners also said the magical word "capitalist" several times, pointing at themselves. This broke the ice and the students started to laugh and ask questions. They wanted to know about almost everything. "A humorous and pleasant mixed discussion ensued", Schildt noted. The students wanted to know for instance how many languages the foreigners spoke. They were then invited to visit the *Daphne*: "Everything interested them hugely, they wanted to taste all drinks on board and see every detail, deeply impressed that anything like this vessel existed." Only at midnight the students returned to their tents.

Schildt and his crew managed also the next day, when only Anton and Violeta appeared, to communicate over the language barriers. Neither spoke any language the crew understood. The foreigners used what they thought was internationally recognisable words and showed what they meant through face expressions, movements and gestures. Schildt's ear was quick to detect new words, which he imitated and tested in the communication without feeling self-conscious, a typical strategy of a multilingual. He also pointed at objects and asked for the word, and he made

the other party laugh, which caused them to relax and try similar techniques as he used to communicate.[30]

Throughout the journey, Schildt gathered linguistic information from every encounter and used it in the next encounter. He also played with language, transforming for instance the names of lighthouses with saints' names in Bulgarian into Swedish forms. Sveti Ivan (Saint Ivan) became "Svettiga Ivan" (sweaty Ivan). Both strategies are common among multilingual persons: they quickly pick up not only words and expressions, but also mimic facial expressions, gestures and tones, and test them with interlocutors in other situations; and they play with language. This makes them appear to "communicate without a language", although they use different language resources and skills to communicate. These phenomena and especially the playfulness of multilingual persons should be researched to a fuller extent, not only in the case of Schildt, but also for other authors.

In the Danube Delta in Romania, Schildt and his crew successfully used their knowledge of Latin, French and Italian in contact with the local inhabitants. Romanian is close enough to these languages to make simple interaction possible, but for more complicated issues Schildt needed the guide Nina, or had to rely on the language skills of his interlocutors, who often could speak French. Code-switching, the multilingual strategy of using words from several languages in one sentence, are not found among the other travellers discussed in this article. The other authors from Finland and Bulgaria were basically monolingual, although they had studied other languages, too. They had apparently not encountered many situations where they had to communicate without a language, or they felt no need to develop more flexible ways of communication with the Other.

Reference points

Using historical references in travel literature is a fashion since at least a few centuries. Most intellectuals in Europe had previously a classical education (and some still do), which opened up the world for them. At the

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30 See Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 94. For multilingual strategies and a comprehensive discussion of multilingualism, see Sabira Ståhlberg, *Multicoloured language* (Helsingfors: Bokpil, 2020).

same time this education limited their views, as the focus tended to shift to classical sources instead of the present time. A common strategy for "taming" an Other, strange geography is to use toponyms from Antiquity, as if they make it easier to create a relation to the surroundings; probably they do for some people. Although connecting the ancient Haemus with the Balkan Mountains might be thrilling, both the mountain chain and its inhabitants have changed in the past few thousand years. There are no Thracians anymore in the Balkan Mountains, only traces of them found by archaeologists. A few thousand years is a short period in the age of mountains, but weather, waterways, plants and forests have changed their outlook.

The same is true for the Black Sea and the Danube: Jason and the Argonauts would probably not recognise the shores if they had travelled with Schildt, three thousand years after the first tales of the ancient adventurer were in circulation in the Mediterranean world. Schildt was always looking for Antiquity, however, and noted in his diary a little disappointedly about Sozopol in Bulgaria: "The cape [of the town] looked like a perfect acropolis in an antique town, but we found no antique fragments, only modern." He commented on historical changes in the published book with reference to H. C. Andersen and the Danish author's complaints about a multicultural and dilapidated town in the 1840s: Andersen should be sent to Mamaia by bus and also see the modern and expansive city of Constanţa![31]

Modern reference points for Schildt were found in specific experiences, for instance a Yugoslavian circus visiting Burgas in Bulgaria. Schildt wrote in his diary:

> The guest performers from Yugoslavia were brilliant with their songs and dancers. […] It was like a Western dream for the sluggish Bulgarian audience. […] Apparently the whole of the Western world, with its glamorous New York, Rome and Paris, found a roundabout way and a gate opening to the audience beyond the dull communist

31 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 102–103.

> border. Vitality and freedom opened up thanks to the unrestrained and Europeanized Yugoslavian cheekiness. […][32]

Afterwards the Daphnenauts were invited to the International Seamen's Club in Burgas. It was clean and well-organised with a bar, ping-pong and billiard tables, magazines and comfortable chairs. East German beer was served. "Instead of drinking in town and making contact with the local people, or even spying on our conditions, it is better to gather the foreign sailors in this comfortable environment", the vice-president explained to Schildt. The Yugoslavian circus with its "Western" influences and the international setting were something Schildt and his friends could relate to, recognise and understand. Their distance to the "sluggish" Bulgarian audience was much bigger.

Home versus exotic

Another common strategy for travellers to feel safe and "at home" in Other surroundings is to recognise something reminding of home. In unfamiliar environments, human beings tend to look for reference points, elements or things they recognise. It can be anything that helps the brain to connect and start sorting out the billions of impressions it receives: a tree, a car brand, a person who looks like someone at home, or any other element. A person who has training in observation can perceive more than a person who has not trained or is abroad for the first time. Yet practice or multicultural experience are not enough: to be able to observe we also need curiosity, interest in the place and people, and a desire to know more about the Other.

Schildt noted in his book that the thunderstorm and the cold night spent at sea after leaving Bulgaria were the first Nordic weather the Daphne had experienced since 1948. He wrote in his diary from the Danube Delta: "Note: I found a real Finnish smoke sauna, with the bench, stones on the stove and heating from outside with reed." He thought the village was Russian, and observed several such "saunas" on the way. Other things also

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[32] See Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 92. The diary entry is quite detailed, and also the book scene is told with much local colour.

reminded of the North in the Danube Delta: "Good speed, a pleasure to sail, almost like in a Nordic archipelago", Schildt noted. Seeing a specific small hut, he thought it "could have stood anywhere in the Finnish archipelago". In the travel book he wrote that the Danube Delta had become one of his three sailing paradises, together with the Nordic archipelago and the Aegean Sea.[33]

Figure 4. Göran Schildt and his fiancée Christine in the sailing paradise of the Danube Delta, Romania, exploring with the small boat. Photo: Göran Schildt, 1963. SLS.

33 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 102, 108.

These comments reflect some aspects of the framework, which Schildt employed when observing a foreign culture or landscape: Finland and the Nordic countries were at least some of the personal reference points he used for defining or describing an Other landscape. The fact that he used the descriptions in his diary shows that they were active in his mind, and not merely instruments he employed for making the Danube Delta more comprehensible for Nordic readers. Other identifiable frameworks, against which Schildt analysed his impressions, are his interest in Antiquity and Mediterranean history, architecture, art and also the sea and the international sailor community, who offered a well-known setting like home for Schildt.

In the diary, Schildt kept exoticism to a minimum, but in the published book the environment comes alive. Making a setting more colourful and exotic than it is in reality is a common trick used by writers. The Finnish comic novelist and leftist journalist Arto Paasilinna (1942–2018) found a monastery in the Rhodope Mountains in Bulgaria worth using as the background in his 1989 novel, *Auta armias* 'Heaven help us'.[34] Paasilinna wrote entertaining novels mostly from one perspective: the prototype of a male from the North, who is not only a social but also an economic and political loser. In this book about how God goes on a holiday, the forests and landscapes in the Rhodope Mountains in southern Bulgaria provide the background. A Finnish man is brought to rule the world while God is resting. Forest was something Paasilinna could relate to: Finland is a country of forests and lakes, and the stereotypical Finnish man is a creature of the forest.

An important question here should be: how far is the author and his fictional characters capable of functioning outside their own world? Are they at all interested or curious about other natural settings, cultures and people than those they can recognise, relate and speak to? Paasilinna's Rhodope Mountains are just a backdrop to an entertaining story, where a Finnish man and his well-known (in Finland) habits, way of thinking and attitudes play the main role. In Arto Paasilinna's case one could argue that using the forest as a reference point for a Finnish audience is normal; the literature in Finland is full of references to nature, and especially forests are very much present in

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34 Arto Paasilinna, *Auta armias* [Heaven help us] (Helsinki: WSOY, 1989).

nature, books and films. Why then put the divine headquarters by a lake far away in Bulgaria?

Using exotic settings and adding a personal touch to them is common especially in fictional works, and this is probably also one reason why Paasilinna chose Bulgaria. Through the choice of a background, the writer can transmit certain messages to the readers. The writer knows and often shares public stereotypes, generalisations and common notions, and expects the readers to react in a specific way. In contrast to Göran Schildt's travel narratives, which are mainly based on reality and try to educate the reader about history, culture, politics and society, Arto Paasilinna's books are full of surprises and contrasts, but they all follow the same line. The north is the best place to be, and every place else is simply exotic and therefore absurd, including Bulgaria.

Göran Schildt's and Arto Paasilinna's landscapes diverge also in another aspect: Schildt's landscapes are full of life, people and movement, while Paasilinna's landscape does not change. Personal preferences and genre differences seem to play a more important role than time and political situation: Paasilinna's novel was written when the political changes starting in the mid-1980s were already in progress, ultimately ending in the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. He could have, if he wanted to, observed much more than Schildt had the opportunity to do in 1963. Paasilinna apparently had no use or interest for that kind of information.

Processing reality

The Finnish poet, novelist and translator Lassi Nummi (1928–2012) visited the Danube Delta in Romania in the 1960s. Training and processing capacity are crucial for the outcome of a literary work after a journey. Nummi published a poetry collection, *Keskipäivä, delta* 'Midday, delta' in 1967.[35] For many years he was a literature activist working for and representing the Union of Finnish Writers and the Finnish PEN. Similarly to Göran Schildt, Nummi used Greek mythology and history to try to understand the environment he was exploring, although there are few

35 Lassi Nummi, *Keskipäivä, delta* [Midday, delta] (Helsinki: Otava, 1967).

references in Greek sources to this region. Nummi's poetry book is floating through the impressions of this visit to the Danube Delta. The poems are full of nature, sounds, smells and feelings, in addition to the extra layer of Mediterranean history transported to the Black Sea. The surface reason was poetical, but Nummi tried to grasp the experiences and explain them through these added references.

Lassi Nummi wrote in another genre than Schildt, but when Schildt wrote about the Danube Delta, also he became almost lyrical: "Imagine the sky over this landscape, full with strange birds […], imagine the water under this landscape, full of fish, crabs, frogs, imagine a wonderful summer and a mild but steady breeze, which willingly fills the sails and lets the yacht silently glide in the meandering fairways."[36] The poetical choice of impressive surroundings and especially birds to transmit specific meanings is not new in literature. Both Schildt and Nummi tried to recreate their experience of an untouched and free nature, but Nummi contrasted it with the towns, tourists and fishermen, who in his view were intruders in the paradise-like, quiet and slow-moving river world. The environment was for him not only the background, but it interacted with humans in the poems and provided more depth to Nummi's musings about symbolic meanings in ancient Greek mythology and history. Göran Schildt used the classical sources in another way. He was looking for landmarks and signs in the real world. Using the *Argonautica* as the chief inspiration for his own quest, he tried to identify the world of Jason, although being fully aware that it was impossible.

Lassi Nummi apparently collected both consciously and subconsciously many kinds of impressions from the Danube Delta. In the next phase of processing these impressions, he reflected on pelicans, happiness, himself and others, life and death, art and music – mostly topics which had no connection at all with the surroundings, but awoke in the encounter with the foreign environment and also during the work for the book. He mentioned in the book that he thought even during the trip itself about what he would remember in the future about it. Göran Schildt did this more extensively by keeping a ship diary. Like Schildt, Lassi Nummi was a

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36 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 108.

seasoned traveller, but in poetry images, symbols and references to literature and art are in general more important than in travel narratives. Nummi's poetry book reflects how his brain seemingly jumped back and forth between already existing information and fresh ideas.

Every creative process is unique, and the resulting literary product is different for every individual, genre and situation. In this case the creative process brought Nummi to paint a world upon the real world he saw, an abstract world full of elements which did not exist in the Danube Delta; they appeared in his own head during and after the journey. Not being able to understand the strange environment, Nummi preferred to fill it with things he knew and had thought about, and which probably also at least some Finnish readers would understand.

Göran Schildt had a much larger audience in the Nordic countries and throughout Western Europe, and he was less confined to one single reader community. His travel book is also full of elements he knew, but they require much more insight into European history and literature. His goal was also to write about the present situation; this required that he anchored the text more firmly in reality. Schildt also processed the unknown aspects of the Other in a different way, through reading, analysis and discussions about them with his friends during the journey, and later in writing with himself, when he was preparing the book.

Imagination

Processing reality into acceptable literature for readers and regimes could be a challenge for writers from the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War period. A window to the North was provided to the Bulgarian audiences by the writer and journalist Yordan Radichkov (1929–2004), who journeyed several times to Sweden for writer meetings and remained for a longer period in the north of the country. Radichkov was active in several state structures and the Union of Bulgarian Writers. After 1989 he joined the Socialist Party (earlier Communist Party). In his book *Malka severna saga* 'A

small northern saga' from 1980 he told about his adventures (or lack of them) in the far north of Europe.[37]

Yordan Radichkov was deeply fascinated by Sweden, but although he visited the country several times, he could – or would – not capture and tell about his encounters in a way which reflected his real experiences. Already on page one of his travel book he wrote that his many different impressions of Sweden did not fit into any ordinary text form. Instead he opted to tell about his own life, views and events which happened to him both in Bulgaria and Sweden. His own life, imagination and memories were superimposed over his experiences in the foreign country.

Imagination is a strategy authors often use, when they for some reason do not wish or cannot express facts. Either Radichkov had problems understanding the other reality, due to the short time or other limitations, or he wanted to, or had to keep his impressions from Sweden within certain limits acceptable for the regime in Bulgaria. Radichkov already had developed a preference for magic reality and Bulgarian traditions, folklore and history. He also picked up some Swedish traditions and mythology from books and talking to people. He abundantly used all elements in his book, blurring some and making others bigger than they are in reality.

Göran Schildt used imagination too, but for another purpose: adding drama to the adventures, such as how *Daphne* almost reached the Crimea. The description is dramatic: there is a thunderstorm and the Soviet patrol boats force the little, helpless yacht into the open, terrifying sea.

Comparing traditions and folklore can be a useful strategy for writers, who prefer not to dive too deeply into another culture or language. This is very common in nineteenth-century travel narratives, but Radichkov used in addition his own memories, ethnographic information and superstitions, turning them into a dreamlike reality, and thus did not need to touch upon difficult topics. Göran Schildt did not use this kind of strategy, but by adding excerpts from the *Argonautica*, he created another layer of mythology to his personal experiences.

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[37] Jordan Raditjkov, *Träskorna. En liten nordisk saga* [The wooden clogs. A small Nordic saga] (Stockholm: Raben & Sjögren, 1981; original *Malka severna saga* [A small northern saga], Sofia 1980).

Comparison

A comparison between the real situations in the West and East was not a productive strategy during the Cold War, especially if an author wanted to continue living in the Eastern Bloc. Yordan Radichkov showed not Sweden in his book, but a romantic picture of a country where snow is falling all the time. Actually he confirmed and recreated the Bulgarian stereotypes of the northern Other, mainly climate and life in a harsh environment. These stereotypes are still prevalent with the addition of Santa Claus, who was introduced in the 1990s. Christmas was forbidden during the communist period.

Also in the use of stereotypes Göran Schildt and Yordan Radichkov differ. Schildt introduced some stereotypes in his book, which were not present in his diary, especially when illustrating his views on the Soviet Union. Radichkov made free use of any stereotypes he could find and added some of his own, apparently without much thought about the effects on the readers. A crucial factor influencing this difference was certainly the authors' background, situation and self-image: Göran Schildt saw himself as a free spirit, unrestrained by political convictions or systems, and heeding only to his own internal ideas and thought processes. He looked outward, to the world, and his world was large. Yordan Radichkov was limited by an oppressive system and a party, whose ideology he supported and which had contributed to form his inward-looking world view.

Radichkov's distance from reality was not unique. On the sunny beaches of Bulgaria and Romania, politics seemed far away in August 1963, despite the fact that only a year earlier the world had been threatened by a nuclear war. Tourists were officially encouraged to come to the beach resorts and spend as much (Western) money as possible. These peaceful holiday resorts were far removed from reality, which also Schildt understood was a exceptional situation. He observed and discussed in his book about the "international" beaches where Westerners could get anything for a cheap price in hard currency. The local workers had their own holiday "stations", but the ordinary people received nothing at all of this.[38] Meetings between

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38 Schildt, *Det gyllene skinnet*, 96.

people from both sides of the visible and invisible political walls between East and West were watched by agents, sipping drinks in sunglasses and bathing suits. They did not interfere, just observed, and probably had the bright idea to combine holiday with work.

Figure 5. Mamaia beach, Romania. Photo: Göran Schildt, 1963. SLS.

Criticism against this dream world was not lacking inside Bulgaria, however. In 1968, a Bulgarian film showed how the tourist resorts had become an empty facade. Thousands of hard currency Western tourists visited the beaches every year. Bulgarians also had the possibility to stay at the resort by then. In the popular film *Shvedskite krale*, 'The Swedish kings',[39]

[39] *The Swedish Kings* (Шведските крале, Shvedskite krale), directed by Lyudmil Kirkov, 1968.

one of the main characters in the film goes to a beach resort for a holiday. He has saved money for this trip and tells everybody he will live "like the Swedish king" in luxury. Then he discovers that the beach world is a gilded surface with a hollow content. This could be interpreted as a criticism against the capitalist way of life, represented by the luxury in the resorts, or a critical view toward the system, which spoke about equality but supported the creation of different classes. In 1968 it was already possible to say that there was a discrimination between Western and Bulgarian tourists, and that the tourist resorts were actually not as wonderful as the state propaganda stated. The politics and the borders of what was considered acceptable – freedom if one prefers – had shifted only within five years.

Conclusions

Göran Schildt had visited the Soviet Union earlier and he was openly suspicious of communist regimes, which is reflected in his travel book and less in his ship diary. When the *Daphne* arrived in Bulgaria, Schildt expected to confront strict officials and have the yacht searched. Instead the port officials just stamped the documents and chatted with the crew. In contrast to many other writers, who chose sides and contributed to ignite and support the ideological battle between East and West, he had a clear vision of the limitations of the communist system and also of the illusions and propaganda in the West, but he also had little positive to say about the Soviet Union. The situation in Bulgaria should not have surprised such a keen observer as Schildt. His descriptions of the major beach resorts and the towns along the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria and Romania show that at the beginning of the 1960s there were small pockets of freedom in the Eastern Bloc and especially in holiday resorts. Here people from both sides of the Iron Curtain could meet and socialise.

The question if the *Daphne* had a fairly free passage in Bulgaria and Romania because Schildt was a famous travel writer is certainly justified. Probably it contributed to the attitudes of at least some officials he met. Those in charge would think that a friendly encounter would instigate him to write nicely about their country. Only the Soviet Union refused to permit the yacht to visit its ports. The Iron Curtain with its dichotomies of

friend/enemy, East/West etc. has been removed and today an increasing number of people and also authors express multiple identities openly. Also previously there were not only one Self and one Other, but lots of selves and others; the main difference is now the permission and possibilities to express them. Yet the challenge remains the same: how do we encounter and write about each other?

Göran Schildt's multilingual and multicultural strategies in meeting the Other in comparison with some other writers from this period show that his curiousness, attitudes, experiences, skills and lifestyle of travelling had created a person who was capable of not only gathering information, but also to put down reference points, recognise similarities in the Other and adapt to changing conditions. In his travel narrative there is less othering and distance to the Other than in the writings of Lassi Nummi, Arto Paasilinna and Yordan Radichkov. This can be attributed to his multilingual and multicultural strategies: he could not have written either his diary or his book in another way, or treat the people he met differently; his multilingualism and multiculturalism were present in everything he thought or did and permeated also his thinking, processing of information and writing. But also the genre defined the form and contents, and influenced the final result: Nummi wrote poetry, Paasilinna fiction and Radichkov a travel narrative, which was more fiction than reality, while Schildt wrote a travel book with mythological overtones.

This article is a tentative case study about observations, processing of impressions and information, and publishing books about the Other gathered during journeys in Bulgaria and Romania in the Cold War period. Differences between Göran Schildt's ship diary, written during the journey, and the published book have been highlighted and discussed, and also his work has been compared with a few other writers' literary expressions. This study opens up for more research and new aspects both for literary studies and brain research, especially in the aspects of how creative persons like writers encounter the Other and what aspects influence them, and what kind of strategies they use and develop.

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Photographs

Original photographs by Göran Schildt, 1963. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (SLS, The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland). Göran Schildt's archive, SLSA 1150.

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The family tree – a challenge for multicultural learning: some aspects of Swedish, Serbian and Bulgarian kinship terminology

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Abstract

To discover the essential differences in cultural and linguistic patterns of a certain society, we need to look no further than to the most common relations of all – those between family members. When studying, working and living in, or for instance marrying into another culture, we must not only learn, but also acquire and utilise a whole new set of relationships and terms in order to be able to function and communicate. Without this knowledge we will quickly encounter a multitude of social difficulties in the other environment. On a deeper level, if we follow the assumption that a language is the mirror of its culture, and that language also influences culture, the linguistic terms designating family relations present a number of interesting phenomena, such as: which relations occupy the centre of importance in the society; the concept and understanding of a core family; which family relations are considered "worth" having a term for, and thus meaningful to keep up; the relations after a crisis, for instance a divorce; and several more, including the transfer of family relations to friendship and business contacts.

This qualitative pilot study discusses some important aspects of family relations from the perspectives of Swedish-language (Sweden and Swedish-speakers in Finland) family terminology, in comparison with Serbian and

Rezumat

Pentru a identifica diferențele esențiale dintre modelele culturale și lingvistice ale unei anumite societăți, nu trebuie să ne uităm mai departe decât la cele mai obișnuite relații – cele dintre membrii familiei. Când studiem, lucrăm și trăim, sau de exemplu ne căsătorim într-o altă cultură, nu trebuie doar să învățăm, ci și să dobândim și să folosim un set complet nou de relații și termeni pentru a putea funcționa și comunica. Fără aceste cunoștințe ne vom confrunta rapid cu o multitudine de dificultăți sociale în mediul de inserție. La un nivel mai profund, dacă pornim de la premisa că o limbă este oglinda culturii sale, iar limba influențează și cultura, termenii lingvistici care desemnează relațiile de familie prezintă o serie de fenomene interesante, precum: ce relații ocupă poziția centrală în societate; conceptul și înțelegerea familiei de bază; care relații de familie sunt considerate a avea „meritul" pentru a le fi alocat un termen specific și care sunt, prin urmare, important de întreținut; relațiile după o criză, de exemplu un divorț; și multe altele, inclusiv transferul relațiilor de familie la prietenie și contacte de afaceri.

Acest studiu pilot calitativ abordează câteva aspecte importante ale relațiilor de familie din perspectiva terminologiei familiei în limba suedeză (Suedia și vorbitorii de suedeză în Finlanda), în comparație cu limbile sârbă și

Bulgarian. The study also includes a Serbian-language survey about kinship terms, and it raises questions about further research into cultural and social patterns and connotations reflected in kinship terminology. Social and cultural differences specifically between the Serbian and Swedish spheres are highlighted; the Bulgarian and Swedish-speaking terminologies in Finland are used here mainly as references and for comparative purposes. The study combines different scientific fields in mapping out some aspects of cognitive, social and cultural patterns. It emphasises the importance and necessity of multilingual and multicultural learning instead of foreign language and culture learning, and shows some of the pitfalls and possibilities students of languages and cultures encounter when learning new kinship concepts and terms.

bulgară. Studiul include, de asemenea, un sondaj în limba sârbă despre termenii de rudenie și ridică o serie de întrebări pentru cercetări ulterioare privind modelele și conotațiile culturale și sociale reflectate în terminologia de rudenie. Sunt evidențiate diferențele sociale și culturale, în special între limba sârbă și cea suedeză; terminologiile de limbă bulgară și suedeză din Finlanda sunt folosite aici în principal ca referințe și în scopuri comparative. Studiul combină diferite domenii științifice pentru cartografierea unor aspecte ale modelelor cognitive, sociale și culturale. Acesta subliniază importanța și necesitatea învățării multilingve și multiculturale în locul învățării limbilor și culturii străine, și arată unele dintre capcanele și posibilitățile pe care le întâmpină cei care studiază limbile și culturile atunci când învață concepte și termeni noi de rudenie.

Keywords: Bulgarian, cultural comparison, cultural patterns, family structures, Finland-Swedish, kinship terminology, language learning, multicultural learning, multilingual learning, Serbian, Swedish

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Introduction

To discover essential similarities or differences in cultural and linguistic patterns present in a certain society, it is sufficient to look into the most common relations of all human connections – those of family and kinship. For more than a century, anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, historians and scholars from several other fields have studied extensively family structures and relationships between its members, relatives, and persons who are not related by blood, but for social reasons are considered part of the family. Researchers have so far shown a keen interest in how intrinsic social relations are created, constructed, maintained and developed, and they also observe the consequences of kinship connections, for instance on marriage. The selection of partners and the question who could be an eligible spouse is of crucial importance for all human societies.

A large part of the existing kinship literature[1] is concerned with regions and peoples outside the Western European and North American contexts. *WEIRD* (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic) theories, terms, concepts and definitions have however been applied impartially to many non-WEIRD societies (in fact, the majority of all societies in the world), where they have little significance or are simply misplaced.[2] Further, academic publications discussing kinship mainly present case studies focusing on singular groups, who are overtly and consciously, or less perceptively and covertly compared with Western European or North American societies, and commonly viewed through the lens of Western science.

Only in the second half of the twentieth century, criticism followed upon the earlier studies concerning descent, lineages, marriages, alliances, clans and other aspects of kinship, calling for a more adequate terminology and a less biased view. Still, scientific efforts to categorise and map out kinship terms and relations are seriously challenged by the reality and a great variety of understandings, views and flexibility of kinship relations even within one region, cultural sphere or society. This is visible even in intra-European studies such as "Balkan kinship models".[3] There is no such thing as a common Balkan model; it is an academic construction and over-generalisation. Indeed, the fairly close Serbian and Bulgarian kinship terms and concepts presented in this article contain several important differences.

The topic of learning kinship systems and terminology is naturally crucial for students of languages and cultures, but it is also essential for translators and researchers. Multilingual and multicultural learning is in fact an important key to other cultures and societies for all who travel, move from

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[1] A theoretical discussion on kinship is outside the scope of this article, and the statements here refer to the existing literature in general.

[2] See Joseph Henrichs, *The WEIRDest people of the world* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020); and the earlier article by Joseph Henrichs, Steven J. Heine and Ara Norenzayan, "The weirdest people in the world?" *Behavioral And Brain Sciences* 33 (2010): 61–135.

[3] For history on traditional family structures in the Balkans, see for instance Maria N. Todorova, *Balkan family structure and the European pattern. Demographic developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006. Original 1993); Ulf Brunnbauer, "Unity in Diversity? Historic Family Forms in Southeastern Europe", *Historijski Zbornik* god. LXV, br. 1 (2012): 95–148.

one country to another, work outside their childhood language and cultural context, or in general relate with people from different backgrounds. To avoid the biggest pitfalls – and in our experience they are numerous – it is important to know not only one's own kinship system and terminology, but also to understand, gain more knowledge of and be able to adapt to, utilise and in general navigate within other kinship systems in an increasingly globalised world.

Especially when marrying or having a partner from another culture, the need to learn how the other kinship system functions becomes not only urgent, but critical. The individual[4] must acquire a whole new set of relationships and terms, and simultaneously balance between the two (or more) cultures: the spouse's family and cultural patterns, habits, principles and inclinations on one side, and the individual's own traditions, values and personal preferences on the other. This first phase, before the individual and the family have found or created a joint working or co-existence mode, can be extremely stressful, and ultimately contribute to make the marriage or partnership stronger – or destroy it. The capacity of identifying correctly the positions and roles of the partner's or spouse's family members and kin, using the kinship terminology in their way, and adapting at least to a certain extent to their behavioural patterns, facilitates and supports the creation of a functioning relationship with the family. The individual has also to find, create, or be assigned to a position within the new family. Some members might accept the newcomer, while others remain aloof or even hostile for several reasons. Some families have more expectations, while others are more relaxed in their relations and attitudes. In every case, it is the individual's extent of knowledge and learning capacity that will make or break the family connection.

Intercultural and interlingual encounters, where knowledge and understanding are missing, can lead to controversial situations and even conflicts among migrants, minorities and majorities, or between whole

[4] We prefer to use "the individual" instead of "the foreigner", because not necessarily the person marrying into another culture comes from another country. The individual can also be a member of a minority, or a majority member who marries into a minority with other kinship concepts within the same state.

societies. Politicians with other backgrounds might see relations such as nepotism in a different way than the majority, for instance. Family reunions of migrants are regulated in the Nordic countries by laws reflecting local traditions, but they often create misunderstandings for persons from other cultures and continents, and may even augment existing gender discrimination, when the underlying power and social structures remain unrecognised. On the other hand, for people in Serbia and Bulgaria, the new Swedish family constellations, names like "plastic family", and the distanced way people relate (as they are perceived from the outside) to each other within a family in the Nordic countries can be utterly baffling.

Multilingual and multicultural approach

The choice of a multilingual and multicultural comparative approach for this pilot study between Swedish kinship terminology used in Sweden and Finland, and two Balkan Slavic languages, Serbian and Bulgarian, can be a possible way to break down the illusory barriers of nations, and focus instead on the larger picture of shared cultural and linguistic spheres, the complex factors that influence them, and their convergence or divergence. In addition, we emphasise the importance of *multilingual and multicultural learning* as opposite to the more common term foreign language learning, and discuss some of the challenges a student encounters when trying to discover and map out a new language and culture.

The multilingual[5] and multicultural[6] learning aspects of kinship structures and terminologies is an important dimension that should be covered on a broader scale. Students who are involved in multilingual and multicultural education, for instance when studying another language or culture at university, are popular study objects for educational experiments, but most research on multilingual and multicultural education still deals

[5] For a general discussion and global examples about multilingualism, see for example Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2012).

[6] A general overview about multicultural learning and education is provided for instance in James A. Banks (ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

with schoolchildren, foreign students and migrants.[7] There is even no clear and common definition yet, only several often conflicting theories and hypotheses, for the concept of multilingual and multicultural education. The baseline is, however, that it includes at least two languages and two cultures.

Here we use the concepts of multilingual and multicultural in their literal sense – multiple languages and cultures – to emphasise the fact that all students of another language and culture deepen their knowledge of their home and school language(s) and culture(s), too, in order to have a reference and a mirror, in which to reflect the new world(s) they are studying. Most Europeans, for example, have learned at least one other language at school, if not already at home.[8] This means that when they are learning a new language, they are actually studying several languages and cultures at the same time, using and expanding their previous knowledges as well. Often also extra languages and cultures come into play in the language learning process, for instance when learners are looking for information on the internet, reading literature or trying to understand new concepts.

Further, the fact that the majority of humanity is multilingual and multicultural must always be taken into account. Opposite to public opinion and the belief of many scholars, monolingualism and a monolithic culture is not the global norm, but a nationalist myth dating back to the nineteenth century. Using outdated terms like "foreign language education" or "learning foreign cultures" is not productive; in addition to the fact that the term "foreign" creates both distancing and exclusion as well as emotional blocks, many learners do not perceive the new languages or cultures as "foreign" anymore, as learners would do still some thirty years ago. Today most people in the world are acquainted with several languages, cultures and societies through among others TV, radio, newspapers and the internet,

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[7] For an overview of multilingual education, see for instance Ofelia García, Angel M. Y. Lin and Stephen May (eds.), *Bilingual and Multilingual Education* (Third edition; Cham: Springer, 2017); and Wayne E. Wright, Sovicheth Boun and Ofelia García (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015). Wright et al. discuss different definitions for multilingual education in the Introduction on p. 1–2.

[8] Eurostat (European Union) 2019: Foreign language skills statistics https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Foreign_language_skills_statistics

and also through travels and literature, migration, and narratives of relatives or friends who have migrated or travelled.

An increasing number of the global population is mobile today, and intercultural connections and mixed marriages are becoming more frequent. The need for information and understanding the other end of Europe is getting acute, not only for students of languages and cultures, but for all Europeans, and the same is true also outside Europe. Migration has for several decades been an important aspect in the contacts between Sweden and Serbia (and previously Yugoslavia), but in the modern European context other kinds of connections are created on several levels. Not only citizen diplomacy, but all kinds of relations and contacts are growing with a fast pace since the 1990s.[9]

This article is neither a purely anthropological nor a linguistic study, but cross-disciplinary comparative research moving on the south-north axis of Europe. Urbanisation processes have changed the societies profoundly during the past century, but presenting the change from a rural to an urban system, or going back to earlier periods in language and culture would remove the focus from multilingual and multicultural issues and the analysis of learning processes. Historical research could shed some light on the development up to the present, but it figures here chiefly in the background.

This study can therefore be categorised as a modern intra-European analysis on the kinship complexity and terminology, viewed through the magnifying glass of the learning process. The article is an introduction to the topic and by no means exhaustive. We use different viewpoints, looking at each other from both sides of the mirror. This is made possible due to the fact that the authors of this article have a long history of Balkan-Nordic and Nordic-Balkan connections; both have done multicultural and multilingual journeys many times, and participate in multiple societies with multiple identities; the authors also have extensive personal and academic experience

[9] See Dorijan Hajdu and Sabira Ståhlberg. "A Fly in Amber? Nordic-Balkan Citizen Diplomacy and Cultural Connections Then and Now." *Journal of Baltic and Nordic Studies*, Vol. 12, issue 2 (2020): 7–48.

in multilingual and multicultural issues, as well as in crossing, stretching and bending cultural and linguistic borders.[10]

Mapping out kinship terminology

The purpose of this study is to map out some of the current terminology and concepts of family relations in Swedish, Serbian and Bulgarian, and to discuss challenges and ways to acquire knowledge about them. Through a small-scale survey we explored the importance and understanding of a group of Serbian students of foreign languages and cultures, all in their twenties, about their social connections and perceptions of kin. A further dimension in this article is the analysis of the changes or shifts in the kinship understanding when studying another culture and language.

If we follow the assumption that a language is the mirror of its culture, and that language influences culture and society, on a deeper level the linguistic terms designating family relations can reveal a number of interesting phenomena and questions, among others:

- Which relations occupy the centre of importance in the society?
- What are the concepts, definitions and understandings of what is a core family versus an extended family?
- Which family relations are considered "worth" having a term for, and thus valuable to keep up?
- What are the family relations after a crisis, for instance a divorce?

[10] See among others Sabira Stahlberg 2020a, *Multicoloured book* (Helsingfors/Helsinki: Bokpil, 2020); 2020b, *Multicoloured language* (Helsingfors/Helsinki: Bokpil, 2020); Dorijan Hajdu, *Pragmatična ekvivalencija izraza sa konotativnim značenjem u švedskom i srpskom jeziku* [Pragmatical equivalence between expressions with connotative meaning in the Swedish and Serbian languages] (Universitet Beograd: Filološki fakultet [University of Belgrade: Philological Faculty], 2018); Dorijan Hajdu and Jelena Drljević, "Uticaj vladajućih kognitivnih kulturnih modela i vrednosti na uvredljive izraze vezane za figuru majke u švedskom i italijanskom jeziku" [Influence of ruling cognitive cultural models and values on expletives connected to the figure of mother in Swedish and Italian], *Komunikacija i kultura online* [Communication and Culture Online], god. 9, br. 9 (2018): 59–75.

- How are family relations transferred to friendship and business contacts?

In this study we discuss linguistic and cultural questions concerning kinship and its terminology, by exploring these relations from perspectives including cognitive anthropology and sociolinguistics, but mainly through the prism of multicultural and multilingual learning and accumulation of competence and understanding. We ask what kind of conclusions can be reached by analysing the language used to depict Swedish-language family trees in comparison with Serbian and Bulgarian, and how they connect to culture and society.

The Nordic countries are usually seen as individualistic with focus on personal independence and freedom. The people from the North trust each other and the state structures much more than people do in the South. The Balkans, on the other hand, is seen as a family-dependent, gender-biased region, where people trust family and friends more than the state or any official institution. Being invited home means that the guest is considered a close friend. In the Nordic countries, inviting new acquaintances or even strangers to a home is completely acceptable.[11]

But is it really like this? This article can be seen as a Nordic-Balkan comparative study, which does not have as its goal to universalise or to create another theory or model, but to highlight through a few linguistic examples the cultural patterns we grow up with and continue implementing as adults; and how the learning of another pattern poses a challenge to our basic concepts, how we can deal with it and simultaneously be aware of both our own and other peoples' concepts. Concretely, this study contains a discussion about the following three questions:

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[11] See Hajdu and Drljević, "Uticaj vladajućih kognitivnih kulturnih modela", for more on cognitive cultural patterns in Swedish and Serbian societies, individualism and family relations; Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh, "Pippi Longstocking: The Autonomous Child and the Moral Logic of Swedish Welfare State", in *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State*, eds. H. Mattsson and S-O. Wallenstein (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 50–65; Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh, "Social Trust and Radical Individualism. The Paradox at the Heart of Nordic Capitalism", in *The Nordic Way: Equality, Individuality and Social Trust*, eds. A. Rembe and K. Persson. (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 2012), 13–29.

1. When we start learning about other kinship systems, the first challenge is *terminology*. Who is a relative? How does language reflect family relationships? Which relations occupy the centre of attention in society, and are considered important enough to have a word for?

2. The second question is about *change*. We live in an incessantly changing and flexible world. Marriage does not necessarily form the basis for kinship any longer; there are new, diverse forms of family nowadays. How does language reflect these new forms and transformations? (Globally, Swedish is probably the language with the largest collection of new family words.)

3. Our third topic is the *extension* of kinship outside the family with common ancestors, for instance to godmothers and godfathers or marriage witnesses, but also to business partners and friends. This way of extending the family relations is especially important in Serbia and Bulgaria.

Learning kinship patterns

The first task, however, is to examine the way humans learn kinship patterns and terminology. We use the term "pattern" instead of model, because a pattern is more flexible and allows for changes, while "model" implies that there is a fixed social model applied to the whole society, which is neither true nor realistic. Western scholars prefer traditionally to speak of cultural models,[12] but that is to limit and generalise too far. Most families and kins have their own characteristics which might or might not be shared with society. Although there often are shared attitudes and values with society, to speak of social models would be to ignore the dynamics and changes occurring both inside and outside families and kinship structures, and within societies, too. We are well aware of general opinions reflecting the myth that there are fixed national models, so our term choice signalises a

[12] Cognitive cultural models in general are discussed by for example Roy D'Andrade, "A folk model of the mind", in *Cultural models in language and thought*, ed. N. Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 112–150; and Penelope Brown, "Cognitive Anthropology", in *Language, Culture, and Society*, eds. C. Jourdan and Kevin Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 96–115.

deviation from the national mythologisation, and also a desire to look into ongoing social processes instead of static concepts or theoretical constructions.

"Whose (child) are you?" This is a question children encounter very often in the Balkans, but also in the Nordic countries adults ask whose kids we are from the moment we learn to speak. The question develops into "Where do you come from?" for adults, who happen to be present somewhere, where they are seen as foreigners. The place does not necessarily have to be another country, but can even be the country, town or even street where they grew up. Both questions are about identity and the characteristics identifying a person, and they show the intent of the interlocutors to define where the stranger belongs.

The concept of "belonging" is not only the family or kin, but also the town and country where an individual "comes from", and fundamentally, the nation. A category is required by the interlocutors, so that the individual can be treated in the way the interlocutors believe this person should be dealt with. Their behaviour is based on their personal experiences, ideas about the world, and of course their misconceptions.[13] This automated categorisation can go very wrong and be both exasperating and infuriating to all involved. Every person whose fluent language skills, appearance or other elements, which do not fit into national stereotypes or are combined in the "wrong" way, has experience of this. Multilingual and multicultural persons often fall outside these generalised and illusory categorisations. Still, the majority of the world's population appears to be happily holding on to national stereotypes, although nobody is a "typical" Swede or Serb.

The clichés are seen as something natural, but this categorisation is in fact learned in childhood from adults. The family has been the foundation for human relationships since prehistory and we see it as something extremely normal. We learn as children that we belong to a specific family unit, and we learn the basic concepts and behavioural patterns at home. As

[13] Questions like "Where do you come from" or inquiring about someone's background, language etc. are today considered to be microaggression, as they convey the idea of exclusion, alienation and degradation, among others. For more information on microaggression, see for example Derald Wing Sue and Lisa Spanierman (eds.), *Microaggressions in everyday life* (Second Edition, Hoboken: Wiley, 2020).

adults, we continue to reinforce them in our own lives, both in the way we speak, act and make decisions. Our identities depend very much on the family background. Slowly, while growing up, we expand our kinship patterns and apply them to social and ethnic groups, networks and nations. Kinship structures and terminology are extremely resilient and might continue for centuries, and also the extensions or refusal of kinship to other groups and nations can be persistent. The patterns of course differ in every society and even within societies between different groups.

Parents transfer their patterns to the next generation – this is an integrated part of the upbringing. The cognitive cultural patterns we learn as children also shape the way we perceive the world. That is why it is so hard to change cultural patterns. Many things we simply do not see, because we perceive them as normal. Most of us are not aware of and never question our family patterns and behaviour or that of others within the same culture. We have learned that there is a "model" for the things we do, think and believe in life, and not many reasons to deviate from it. As far as we can see (and most people do not look very far), millions of other people with the same national self-definition around us act, think and believe in the same way, so we are confirmed in the belief that there must be a common model. Only if someone disrupts the socially accepted code we start paying attention. We expect everybody to follow the dominant cultural and behavioural patterns in our society, and in fact most of us adhere to them for most of our lives.

If we behave in the way we are expected to, we get a reward. Rewarding begins as praise when children do the correct thing or behave as they are expected. The adults, who are the authorities for a child, show and express in words and behaviour their acceptance or disapproval. As adults we continue to try to fit into society, at least into our immediate surroundings. We are not foreign or strange when we do the "right" thing. Roy D'Andrade summarises the socialisation process in the following way:

> *...through the process of socialization individuals come to find achieving culturally prescribed goals and following cultural directives to be motivationally satisfying, and to find not achieving culturally prescribed goals and not following cultural directives to be anxiety producing.*

(D'Andrade 1984: 98, see also Hajdu 2018: 68–72)

When we study another culture, we often receive compliments for our linguistic and cultural competence, especially if we speak the language fluently. We get the classical question less often: "Where do you come from?" This means that we have been accepted, and we have at least some right to "belong" to this specific group. The most important thing for humans as social beings is to feel that they are accepted. If they are or remain outsiders, their survival is at stake. This primary response prompts adults to repeat the same behavioural patterns they learned as children. They want to fit in and be part of a group or society.

When we encounter other kinship systems, we need to move out of our existing, comfortable world of concepts. Yet learning new family terminologies, values, names and customs is not very different from any other cultural, linguistic or social patterns we learn. They require some time and effort, but the learning process is highly rewarding both socially and emotionally, when we find that we can function in another system as well. While learning, we start seeing our own culture and background, and also other people from a different point of view.

Balkan and Nordic kinship terms

In the following we discuss through the example of family words a common first encounter with another culture. Language teaching often offers at least some family terminology in textbooks, but also a meeting with the family or relatives of friends, a future spouse or a colleague can trigger a need for new kinship concepts and terminology. Family meetings are usually a first cause for confusion for an individual from another culture.

Serbian or Bulgarian family terminology seems to be very complex and complicated for a Swedish-speaker, who has grown up in a core family and possesses a simple kinship system. There is a vast variation of terms and they appear to cover all imaginable relations a person can have. In Table 1 is shown only a part of a long list of different kinship terms in Serbian and Bulgarian. Many of the terms overlap, pointing at a shared heritage and also at an existing regional cultural pattern, but there are also some differences.

Pronunciation in Latin script (italics) is added to the Bulgarian terms in Cyrillic script.

Table 1. Serbian and Bulgarian kinship terms

Serbian	Bulgarian	English translation
Majka, mama	Майка, мама *Mayka, mama*	Mother, Mum
Otac, tata	Баща, тате *Bashta, tate*	Father, Dad
Dete	*Дете Dete*	Child
Ćerka	*Дъщеря*, щерка *Dăshterya, shterka*	Daughter
Sin	Син *Sin*	Son
Brat	Брат *Brat*	Brother
	Батко *Batko*	Elder brother
Sestra	Сестра *Sestra*	Sister
	Кака *Kaka*	Elder sister
Deda	*Дядо Dyado*	Grandfather
Baba	Баба *Baba*	Grandmother
Unuče	Внук *Vnuk*	Grandchild
Unuk	Внук *Vnuk*	Grandchild (boy)
Unuka	Внучка *Vnuchka*	Grandchild (girl)
Tetka	Тетка *Tetka*	Mother's sister
Tetka	*Леля Lelya*	Father's sister
Teča	Свако, калеко *Svako, kaleko*	Parent's sister's husband
Ujak	Вуйчо *Vuycho*	Mother's brother
Ujna	Вуйна *Vyuna*	Mother's brother's wife
Stric	Чичо *Chicho*	Father's brother
Strina	Стринка *Strinka*	Father's brother's wife
Rođak	Братовчед *Bratovched*	Cousin
Dalji rođak	Роднина *Rodnina*	Relative

In both languages there are additional dialectal, regional and diminutive variations and forms, which have not been added here; it would be an interesting topic for a separate study. Family differences also exist: forms derived from the Bulgarian word for 'mother' майка *mayka*, such as маменка *mamenka,* is used for 'grandmother' in several families. Traditionally, when a couple marries in Bulgaria, the young couple starts calling each other's parents Mother and Father. There are also words for the brother of the wife (шурей *shurey*); his wife is шуренайка *shurenayka*, while two sisters' husbands are called баджанак *badzhanak*. The wife's sister is балдъза *baldăza,* and зълва *zălva* is the sister of the husband; the sister's husband is зълвеник *zălvenik*. The list goes on with different words for the in-laws, father of the wife (тъст *tăst*), mother of the wife (тъща *tăshta*), father of the husband (свекър *svekăr*), mother of the husband (свекърва *svekărva*), son-in-law (зет *zet*), daughter-in-law (снаха *snaha*), etc.

At the other end of the family terminology spectrum in Europe, Swedish family terminology is pretty straightforward (Table 2) – that is, for a Swedish-speaker. For a language learner coming from Serbian or Bulgarian, Swedish kinship constellations can be a mystery. The terms for grandparents are derived from core family members and the parents' brothers and sisters follow the same pattern. The terminology looks very simple, but it can be confusing, as it might be difficult to remember if the prefix or the suffix tells to which side of the family a person belongs. In Swedish the prefix defines the side. Also the in-laws just receive an additional prefix, *svär-* (*svärmor, svärfar, svärdotter, svärson; svåger* is the husband of a sister and *svägerska* is the wife of a brother).

Table 2. Swedish kinship terms

Swedish	English translation
Mor, mamma	Mother, Mum
Far, pappa	Father, Dad
Barn	Child
Dotter	Daughter
Son	Son

Bror	Brother
Syster	Sister
Morfar	Mother's father
Mormor	Mother's mother
Farfar	Father's father
Farmor	Father's mother
Barnbarn	Grandchild
Sonson	Son's son
Dotterson	Daughter's son
Sondotter	Son's daughter
Dotterdotter	Daughter's daughter
Moster	Mother's sister
Morbror	Mother's brother
Faster	Father's sister
Farbror	Father's brother
Kusin	Cousin
Släkting	Relative

Among Swedish-speakers there are also some regional differences in the kinship terminology, both in Sweden and between Sweden and Swedish-speakers in Finland, but they are not very significant. Cousins are just named *kusin* in Swedish, which is a loanword from French. The cousin terminology in Sweden and Finland are somewhat different: a third-generation cousin is *syssling* in Sweden, and in Finland *småkusin*, Finnish *pikkuserkku* 'little cousin', while the fourth generation cousin is *brylling* in Sweden and *syssling* in Finland. In no case a connection is made to the side a cousin belongs to. Other relatives farther apart are mostly called *släkting* 'relative'. Yet none of these cousins and relatives would ever be called or even considered "brothers" or "sisters" in Swedish, in contrast to Serbian. Serbian children make a closer connection between their own brother or sister and cousins than their Swedish counterparts.

The difference in complexity, and attitudes defining who is important and worth having a word for among the multitude of relatives, between Serbian and Bulgarian on one hand and Swedish on the other, is visible from

the above lists. A more complex terminology is needed and employed in a culture where kinship is of utmost importance. The close-knit family pattern is still strong in Serbian society. This is also shown by a microsurvey we carried out at the University of Belgrade with students who study foreign languages and cultures.

Serbian kinship terminology survey

Asking the question how much traditional kinship terminology is still in use, we designed a short survey to anchor our analysis of family relations. Given the simple pattern which the Swedish family terms follow, it was considered unnecessary to conduct an equivalent study with Swedish students, as we could expect the answers to be around the hundred-percent mark for familiarity with the terms. Also, several of the more complicated terms in use in Serbian do not exist in Swedish, so a comparison would not even be possible. The Serbian survey was a first test and it will hopefully in the future be followed up with other surveys adapted to different cultural conditions.

The survey was carried out in April 2021 at the University of Belgrade and the form was a questionnaire. We surveyed 19 informants in total, all of which were second- and third-year students of foreign languages and cultures at the university, aged 20 to 23 years. The Serbian-language survey was designed to give as much useful information as possible, without being too long or taking a lot of time to complete. The questionnaire contained ten questions and took about ten minutes to fill in. The informants were asked to write anonymously the answers to some questions or pick one of two offered answers in other questions. The choice answers in those questions were always in the form of "True/False" and "I agree/I disagree". Furthermore, if they chose "I disagree", the informants were asked in the following question to explain why they chose that answer, and to motivate the answer in their own words. The ten questions in the survey were as follows:

1. Write all the terms for family relations you know.
2. Which family members fall into the category of a "core family"?

3. Which relations are represented in following terms: *svastika, jetrva, pašenog, dever, svekar, zaova*?

4. In Serbian culture *kum* (godfather) is considered a part of the family. Answer "True/False".

5. The terms *maćeha* (step-mother) and *očuh* (step-father) are neutral connotations. Answer "I agree/I disagree".

6. If you chose the answer "I disagree" in the previous question, explain why.

7. Several generations of the same family living under the same roof is beneficial for all members of the family. Answer "I agree/I disagree".

8. The term *vanbračna zajednica* (civil partnership) is a neutral connotation. Answer "I agree/I disagree".

9. If you chose the answer "I disagree" in the previous question, explain why.

10. I use the term *brat/sestra od tetke* (brother/sister of the aunt) even for relatives that are not children of my aunt (my mother's or father's sister). Answer "I agree/I disagree".

The in-depth analysis of the answers from this survey are easier to read and understand, when we separate them into four subcategories, based on the characteristics which the questions were designed to reveal. In the end we will offer a summary of the results.

1. *Basic knowledge of the terms:* The fact that the Serbian language has a wide variety of terms for all kinds of different family relations is well known. But the fact that the terms exist does not prove that they are used or even known by the speakers of that language. Our main idea with these questions was to see what these terms convey to young people today. Are the words only used by elderly people, still remembering life in large and strongly connected families where a term for every possible relation was needed? Based on the relation between language and culture, this group of questions should show if the terms are abandoned, never learned or forgotten by young people today, or if they still are in active use in the society as a whole, including the younger generations.

The answers clearly show that the wide range of kinship terms is actively present in the informants' vocabulary, with 95% of the answers listing most of the available names for family relations, including the more "obscure" ones (that is, not only the closest or core family). Even if some of the informants could not define exactly the relation the term is tied to, it is safe to say that all of them were absolutely aware of all the terms.

The third question further confirms this, with four of six words getting the correct definition. The correct answers range from 53% for *zaova* (husband's sister), 63% for *svastika* (wife's sister), 79% for *dever* (husband's brother), to 89% for *svekar* (husband's father). Of the two terms which received under 50% of correct definitions, it is worth mentioning that *jetrva* (husband's brother's wife) is on the border with 47%, leaving in truth only one term – *pašenog* (wife's sister's husband) – which could be classified as "difficult" with 21% of correct definitions or no definition at all. It is also important to note that in the incorrect definitions, the answers given were not that far off the mark.

2. *Categories are clear, even when there is uncertainty about the term itself.* There was for example an uncertainty regarding *zaova* (with 47% of incorrect answers – all of which were actually offered and no blank spaces were left by the informants) as to whether it is brother's wife or husband's sister. None of the incorrect answers mistook the sex of a relation the term is "derived" from: it was either a husband (correct) or a brother (incorrect), but in any case, a male relative.

Furthermore, there was never a mistake regarding the generation of a female relative to the male relative the term is derived from: a wife or a sister were never mistaken for a mother or a daughter. None of the informants wrote for instance that *zaova* is the husband's mother or brother's daughter. We would argue that these two questions show that the family relation terms in Serbian culture are still actively used among the younger generation, who is familiar with most of them. It is probably safe to suppose that the results would be even higher with older generations and rural informants.

3. *Family members, brothers and sisters extend outside the core family.* The definition of *uža porodica* (core family, nuclear family), which can be found

on most websites and in online dictionaries, is a family of two parents and their children, corresponding with other languages such as Swedish with its definition of *kärnfamilj*. Our hypothesis was that in the Serbian culture this term would at least to some extent cover more than just the parents and their children.

The second question was therefore aimed at the definition of a core family and which members are considered to belong to the nucleus. Almost half of the informants (47%) listed at least grandparents, with half of the students writing that also the parents' sisters and brothers and their children also belong to the core family, that means basically the grandparents' children and all of their offspring. Again, this is the view of the young generation, clearly showing that the cultural influence has an equally strong input as the dictionary definition.

The same wave continued into the seventh question, where 26% of the informants agreed with the statement that "more generations of the same family living under the same roof is beneficial for all its members". Bearing in mind that these are young, university-educated, globalised and multilingual adults, the cultural influence is again clearly visible; we would assume that the percentages based on the entire society would be much higher.

4. *A large family is seen as the basis, but society is changing.* How far the notion of a 'brother' or a 'sister' goes is a crucial question: we can use it to draw a line and connect the language back to the cultural patterns and further to the mind of a language user. While in most other Indo-European languages the term 'brother' and 'sister' is used solely for the relatives who share the same parents, in Serbian culture and consequently in the language this term is widely used for other relatives as well. The children (cousins) of the parents' brothers and sisters (aunts and uncles) are by definition considered brothers and sisters.

This notion goes even farther than that, which the tenth question in our survey was supposed to show. A complete 95% of the informants answered affirmatively to the statement "I use the term brother and sister (of the aunt) even for relatives that are not children of my aunt (my mother's or father's sister)". It means that the notion of a sister or a brother in Serbian

culture spans much wider than even the broadest definition of a core family, "instructing" the individual to connect even the more distant relatives with the same term used with the closest ones. We can therefore conclude that the extended family relations were and still are of the greatest importance in this culture.

Social changes and globalisation

When learning a new kinship terminology and culture, it is very important to know one's own system and terminology. Knowing the concepts and being able to name also distant relatives supports the learning of new terms, which can be matched against the already existing ones. This gives an advantage to a Serbian or Bulgarian learner of Swedish over a Swedish learner, who is acquiring Serbian or Bulgarian family structures: using more complex terms, the Serbian or Bulgarian learner can more easily catch the much simpler Swedish system, despite some confusion at the beginning and especially with the new family terms. In both cases, the learners must map out the relations and understand the connections simultaneously together with the learning of the terminology.

In Swedish, kinship terminology has never been very rich even in historical times. Earlier, some older terms such as *onkel* 'uncle' existed, but they have disappeared. Words no longer required in a society tend to disappear from its language. On the other hand, new terminology is created when the need arises. Swedish offers today a wide range of vocabulary solutions for alternative family forms. Flexibility is a second remarkable difference between the Swedish and Serbian languages and cultures, after the first difference which is the quantity of family terms. Swedish-speakers are for historical and social reasons more inclined than Serbians or Bulgarians to create new, fanciful words for family. In Sweden, new family forms have emerged in the past few decades, and consequently a vast field of different terms for the family forms has appeared.

Table 3. New Swedish family terms[14]

Swedish	English translation
Sambo	Partner, living together
Särbo	Partner, living separately
Mambo	Person living with mother / parents
Exbo	Partner, previous co-habitant
Partner	Partner
Family forms (add -family, -mother,	**-father, -brother, -sister, etc)**
Bland-	Mixed
Flex-	Flexible
Bonus-	Bonus
Styv-	Step-
Extra-	Extra
Umgänges-	Socialising
Frånvarande	Absent
Deltids-	Part-time
Söndags-	Sunday
Helg-	Holiday
Varannanveckas-	Every second week
Distans-	Distance
Ombildad	Transformed
Lapptäcks-	Quilt
Plast-	Plastic

None of these Swedish terms exist as yet in Serbian or Bulgarian. The only expressions used in Serbian for relations between people who are not officially married are *vanbračna zajednica* 'extramarital unity' and *nevenčani suprug*, *nevenčana supruga*, 'unmarried husband' and 'unmarried wife'. A

[14] These new Swedish family terms have been compiled for the article through searches on the internet in dictionaries, legislation, newspapers and blogs. Only the most popular have been included here. A Finland-Swedish viewpoint by Monica Äikäs (*Språkbruk*, 2006) can be read here: https://www.sprakbruk.fi/-/plastfamiljer-umgangesforaldrar-och-mambor

term such as *bonus porodica* 'bonus family' could be imagined, but there have been no attempts to replace the existing and to a certain degree negative terms of non-married couples with any neutral ones.

In Bulgarian the options are a little more elaborated: the unmarried couple can be referred to as "partners" or legally as a couple "living together as family" (на семейни начила, *na semeyni nachila*). However, usually the unmarried couple refer to each other as "husband" and "wife", "friend" (male or female form) or "partner", and often also the in-laws are called with the traditional terminology. Although in Bulgaria marriage is still seen by many as the norm, the numbers appear to be diminishing especially among the younger generations. The non-married couples comprise more than half of all couples living together today, and around 60% of the children were born out of wedlock in 2020.[15]

This indicates to the learner that when learning about another culture, it is important to follow the processes and the development of the society. The learner also needs to pay attention to and understand how different groups and the families the learner encounters in society perceive kinship relations. Individual or family attitudes might differ widely from mass media reports or opinions, statistics or views expressed in chat forums. Respect for traditions might for instance be talked about, but not practised, or practised only to some degree. To detect the variations require often deeper language skills and more social and cultural experiences, but the variations are visible under the surface of simplified and standardised views, if the learner wants to look at them.

New family terms: challenges

While the existing terms for traditional family members are as broad as they can be in Serbian, there is a notable contrast when it comes to the names for other types of families, such as new family the parents for instance form after a divorce, the civil partnership (two people living together without being officially married) and others. The questions 5–6 and 8–9 in

[15] National Statistical Institute, Bulgaria, marital and extramarital births in 2020: https://www.nsi.bg/en/content/2963/marital-and-extra-marital-live-births-districts-municipalities-and-place-residence

our survey with students in Belgrade were designed to give an insight into how these types of families are viewed in the Serbian culture by the young generation, given the lack of alternative terms in Serbian language.

The terms we find in this context are *maćeha* (stepmother) and *očuh* (stepfather). These terms, as is the case in Swedish with *styvmor* and *styvfar*, are coloured by traditions and folklore, folk tales, sayings and expressions, all with different degrees of negative connotations.[16] The figure of the evil stepmother abounds especially in folk tales and is enforced by internationally known fairy tales (Cinderella, Snow White, Hansel and Gretel and many others). In the survey we wanted to check if the informants would define these terms in Serbian as neutral, given the fact that no other terms are offered as a possible replacement for the existing ones.

As many as 74% of the informants defined them as having a negative association, citing a traditional saying – "Life is a mother to some, and a stepmother to others" (meaning life is good to some and bad or hard for others) – as one of the main reasons. Other explanations offered were that in Serbian culture the idea of family is highly valued, and that a "new" family after a divorce (in Swedish it would be called a "bonus family") is still regarded as something unconventional and even wrong. This corresponds with the idea that the patterns present in a culture are mirrored in its language: the lack of other terms – neutral, if not positive – would lead us to believe that there is no need for such terms in a culture, which still widely views the "other" family as something out of the ordinary.

The same thing can be said about the term *vanbračna zajednica* (civil partnership). A simple etymology analysis shows that such partnership, instituted also by law, is derived from the word *brak* (marriage) and it means literally a "union outside marriage", showing that marriage is the core institution and other forms of partnerships are judged and defined by it. This term in itself has no connection to folk tales, and it is very neutral and official. Even so, almost half of our informants thought that this term also has negative connotations (42%), explaining the same "unusualness" of it as

[16] A search for "styvmor" in Svenska Akademiens Ordböcker (Swedish Academy Dictionaries https://svenska.se/) yields several Swedish quotations and sayings, most of them showing the lack of love and cruel behaviour of stepmothers.

opposed to regular marriage. Although these relationships (both the "new" families and the civil partnerships) have become much more common in the last decades, there are no other terms in Serbian that would function as a neutral or positive term for this type of relationship or the "new" family members.

On the other hand, there is a large number of terms in Swedish to describe different forms of non-marital relations, depending on whether the partners are living together or not. The main term that would correspond to Serbian term *vanbračna zajednica* would be the very usual Swedish word *sambo*, short for *sammanboende* 'living together', a word which describes the relationship in the simplest way as two people sharing an accommodation and relationship, without comparing it to or deriving it from marriage. Other terms present in Swedish and missing in Serbian are *särbo*, meaning a relationship where people are together but do not share an accommodation, and also *delsbo,* where people in a relationship occasionally live together. This reflects the social need to define different kinds of relationships, which exist in a society, without tying them in any way to a traditional marriage.

Today globalisation is a strong driving force for changing family relationships. In Serbia and Bulgaria kinship structures are moving towards core family due to social, economic and other factors such as urbanisation and migration. Migrants with other ideas of kinship are slowly changing also the Nordic concepts of family relations. How much these current trends will change the societies remains to be seen in the future. Yet at least concerning *trust* the Nordic countries and the Balkans have not changed much in the past decades.

Extending the family

Do you trust a person at first sight? Who do you call, when you need something? Do you dial a relative, a friend or an institution? What are you ready to do for other people? These are not only questions about faith in others, but also how individuals perceive their relatives, and further, how they define who is a relative. When learning about another culture and language, we also learn about trust and how to deal with different kinds of situations, which involve believing or not trusting other people.

Research shows that people in the Nordic countries are more likely to rely on strangers compared with Balkan countries. They also expect the state and official institutions to take responsibility to a much higher degree than in the Balkans; the power distance is shorter. People from Serbia and Bulgaria trust family and their extended family, but they have little trust in the state. Whatever happens, the family is there to support, provide safety and take care of any situations.[17]

The Serbian and Bulgarian kinship patterns are, as we have seen, not limited just to the core family. Support networks are built up also with an extended family. A godfather or godmother becomes a kind of relative both in the Nordic cultural sphere and the Balkans, but in Serbia and Bulgaria the relationship is closer, and marriage witnesses become relatives, too. The "title" of *kum* (godfather and best man) is well-known and widely documented in Serbian culture and literature. In Bulgaria this person is important, but has today less social significance than before and there are fewer consequences for the person after the wedding. In Serbia being *kum* is considered an institution in the same way that a marriage is. Becoming *kum* is an honour, the evidence of strong friendship ties and proof of the overall good qualities a person possesses. It can easily be classified as a title of honour given to someone by their (best) friend. While the best man present at a wedding is merely a *vittne* (witness) in Sweden, it is a bond of huge proportions in Serbia.

Even with the broad spectrum of terms for family relations present in Serbian, the family becomes even bigger when a person marries and asks a friend to be godfather or -mother. He/she is after that for all intents and purposes part of the family. Many people use the term *kum* to address the witness after the wedding instead of the *kum*'s name, with the word functioning basically as a given name. It is also usual that the children view the parents' godfather as their own godfather and call them *kum*. A deeper discussion around the person of *kum* goes beyond this article, but we should note that 95% of the informants in our survey chose "true" as the answer to

[17] See Berggren & Trägårdh, "Social Trust and Radical Individualism". Compare also the scores of Sweden, Finland, Serbia and Bulgaria with Geert Hofstede's six criteria at Hofstede Insights: https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/

the statement given in the fourth question of the survey: "In Serbian culture, *kum* is considered to be a part of the family".

Other categories of people to whom kinship might be extended are friends, fellow students, business partners and colleagues, and others with whom an individual builds up trust over a longer period. Often the relationship starts in childhood, youth or during student years. The kinship is not necessarily acknowledged openly and family terms might not be used. Still, the behavioural patterns with the extended family, who are no blood relations, are very much the same as with family and kin.

The extended kinship behaviour applies also to others who speak the same language and/or share the same or a similar culture, especially in the global diaspora of migrants. For Serbians and Bulgarians abroad, a friend of a friend becomes a relative. The kinship behaviour pattern can be spread even further: anybody else from the Balkans can become part of the extended family. Mutual understanding is present and the social codes are clear to all. When talking about other Serbs, the pronoun "ours" or "our own" is commonly used instead of the adjective "Serbian" or the noun "Serbs". For instance: "Are those people over there foreigners? No, they are ours." *Jesu li ono stranci? Ne, naši su.*

Conclusions

The biggest differences between Serbian and Bulgarian on one hand, and Swedish language, society and culture on the other, can be summarised thus: the discrepancy in the number of terms for certain family relations, the degree of adaptation and the differences in inclusion. This goes both ways, namely, the number of terms depicting traditional family relations is incomparably larger in Serbian, while the terms for "alternative" types of families are more present in Swedish. If we view a language as a mirror of its culture, these differences would lead to findings showing that there is a difference in how the family is perceived and thought about in these cultures, or more concretely: there is a disparity in cognitive cultural patterns regarding family in these Nordic and Balkan cultures.

The first big difference between Swedish (Sweden and Finland) on one side and Serbian and Bulgarian on the other, and indeed between the

two larger cultural spheres is the *number of terms* covering all imaginable family relations in Serbian and Bulgarian. Apart from the core family names, none of those terms are present in the Swedish language. The fact that such a big percentage of the young informants in our survey at the University of Belgrade is familiar with so many of the traditional kinship terms shows that the traditional cultural pattern is still prevalent in the Serbian society. The fact that some older kinship terms in Swedish are no longer in use can be viewed as a piece of evidence that words, which are no longer useful in a culture, disappear from its language.

This leads to the second difference: the willingness to *adapt* a language to changing social relations. In Sweden, the terminology for professions and family has been in a process of change for several decades. New forms of partnerships, very common in Sweden, are becoming more present also in the Balkans. Bulgarian and especially Serbian are still far from any neutral terms, which could replace the ones carrying a negative connotation, because of folklore, proverbs and other everyday expressions based on traditional terminology, and also because of social attitudes towards new forms of families. The overall view of non-standard families in especially Serbian society is still something out of the ordinary and as such undesirable. The fact that the wedding witness, *kum*, is considered a part of the family further underlines the importance of the institution of marriage. In comparison, the social changes in Bulgaria have brought on a slight change also in the terminology, but still the marriage-based terms are used in everyday language.

The third difference is the *inclusion* of persons who are not blood relatives into the family. In Serbia and Bulgaria, friendships are seen as close as family relations, although not necessarily family terminology is used. In Sweden and among Swedish-speakers in Finland there is a clearer distinction between family and friends and a greater social distance. Moving into a Serbian or Bulgarian family can be a challenge for an outsider, until the right term for the newcomer has been found and through the term the newcomer's position is defined. When the individual has joined the family and received a suitable designation, there may be expectations about behaviour and attitudes which are "appropriate" to the position in the

family. Expectations can be found in the Nordic countries, too, but in our experience to a lesser degree, because there is often a greater social distance between the several core families which make up the kin.

This pilot study is limited in scope and size, but there are several questions which require further research. The globalisation of the culture- and language-specific environment and social attitudes, through media and other channels such as the internet, movies and social media influencers, who increasingly define how especially young people see their families and relatives, should be included in any future analyses on family patterns and terminology. Migrants and other persons living in multilingual and multicultural families and situations should be part of this discussion, too, but they remained outside the scope of this article due to length limitations.

The *linguistic* aspect of kinship has received much less attention than family structures. Definitions, terms and the naming of different categories of relatives are frequently mentioned in academic studies, especially in anthropology. Yet the question what they actually represent and reflect outside the concrete definition of a specific relative or the kinship structures has been little explored. Why certain terms exist in some but not in other societies, and how they mirror the cultural and social contexts is an important topic, which remains open to research. A comparative perspective could provide much interesting information on cultural connotations, among others.

Studying another language and culture is always a great challenge, and kinship systems are an important part of the learning process. We have to not only change ourselves, our behaviour and concepts while learning, but also our way of thinking and understanding human relationships. This is a fundamental aspect of the *multilingual and multicultural learning*. If we look at learning only from the point of view of foreign language or culture, we do not question our own language(s) or culture(s), behaviour or values. If we are working with the languages and cultures we already know, using the previous knowledge we possess when learning a new language and culture, and mirroring back and forth the different concepts and word meanings, we can not only speed up the learning process, but also acquire a deeper understanding of the new language, culture and society.

Kinship systems and terminologies reflect society, culture and language use. We need to understand them in order to be able to communicate and function in intercultural situations. Understanding other kinship structures and how they function is part of the learning challenge, which includes acquisition of linguistic and cultural competences. An increasing number of children in this globalised world learn several cultures and languages simultaneously, and they switch codes without much effort. But many more have to learn through literature and studies and gradually become aware of their own and other people's cultural patterns. This is no easy process, especially if they have had scarcely any experience of other languages and cultures in their childhood. Tools and instruments are needed. Studying kinship terminology and the linguistic, cultural, social and cognitive processes and connotations connected to the terminology can be a way to facilitate and support the multilingual and multicultural learning. This can have a serious impact on the new relationships we build in a different culture and how well we function as interpreters and cultural ambassadors.

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Knowledge of Russian and Estonian – an aisle of Finnish–Russian–Estonian relations

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Abstract

This article seeks to identify the educational tendencies in the case of Russian and Estonian second language instruction in Finland observing the shift from language erosion to maintenance. We examine the reasons why the promotion of Russian and Estonian in Finland is opportune and how acquainted immigrant children's parents are with their rights to Russian or Estonian language instruction. The aim of this study is to examine the level of ethnic and linguistic intolerance sensed by the Russian and Estonian immigrants and the degree of integration into the Finnish culture and society. The study addresses the following research questions: How does Finland try to attenuate the social exclusion of the Russian and Estonian immigrants? Do immigrant students receive enough support to achieve bilingual proficiency? In what cases does the child not agree to speak Russian or Estonian at all? Is knowledge of the two analyzed languages a prerequisite for economic and cultural perspectives in Finland? The topic will be focused from sociolinguistic, linguistic, cognitive, cultural perspectives and the article will adopt a comparative approach.

Rezumat

Acest articol urmărește să identifice tendințele educaționale în cazul predării limbilor ruse și estone ca limbi secunde în Finlanda, observând trecerea de la eroziune lingvistică la menținerea limbii. Examinăm motivele pentru care promovarea limbilor ruse și estone în Finlanda este oportună și cât de familiarizați sunt părinții copiilor imigranți cu drepturile lor la instruirea în limbile rusă sau estonă. Scopul acestui studiu este de a analiza nivelul de intoleranță etnică și lingvistică resimțită de imigranții ruși și estonieni și gradul de integrare în cultura și societatea finlandeză.

Studiul abordează următoarele întrebări: Cum încearcă Finlanda să atenueze excluderea socială a imigranților ruși și estonieni? Studenții imigranți primesc suficient sprijin pentru a atinge competența bilingvă? În ce fel de cazuri copilul nu este de acord să vorbească deloc limba rusă sau cea estonă? Cunoașterea celor două limbi analizate este o condiție prealabilă pentru perspectivele economice și culturale din Finlanda?

Subiectul va fi abordat din perspective sociolingvistice, lingvistice, cognitive, culturale, iar articolul va adopta o abordare comparativă.

Keywords: Russian, Estonian, second languages, Finland, social and cultural perspectives

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Definitions and study of border languages

The language skills of the population in the neighboring countries around the Gulf of Finland, the similarities of the adjacent languages and the cultural aspects have been researched and compared since the beginning of the 19th century. During the 20th century the study of the neighbors' languages has been articulated even more until it became a compulsory subject both in Finland and Estonia. Kaivapalu (2019)[1] observes that language courses and the media in the border language constitute a "window to the outside world", nevertheless the speakers' proficiency in the adjacent language varies depending on the age group and other factors.

When analyzing the languages taught in the Scandinavian countries, there has been made a division of the languages according to which Russian is defined as a *small language*. The term is used to name such languages which are taught in the form of short courses or lessons at a beginner level.[2] However, some educational institutions may experience the decline in the number of students, so that even the main European languages could be considered as small, while in other years many students inquire about these languages, so that they are not regarded as small ones anymore. While the Russian language can be considered a marginal case, Estonian is defined as a small language since many schools cannot even bear the costs of a teaching position.

In Finland instead, Russian-speaking young people are the largest group with an immigrant background and as Iskanius (2004)[3] notes not much is known about their primary educational needs. In line with the research data, it appears that these young people embrace the Russian ethnic and linguistic identity, as long as they show a more volatile, weaker and inconstant position towards the majority language. This does not mean that they reject the Finnish language studies or ignore to interact with Finnish

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[1] Annekatrin Kaivapalu, "Eesti ja soome keele sarnasusest ja omandamisest ning nende mõjust eesti-soome suhtlusele", in *Eesti-Soome suhted 100. Viro-Suomi suhteet 100.,* ed. A. Rolle, K. Kumer-Haukanõmm (Migration Institute of Finland, 2019), 1.

[2] Högskoleverket. Att vara eller inte vara? Frågan om småspråkens framtid i den svenska högskolan – ett regeringsuppdrag. Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2002, 19.

[3] Sanna Iskanius, "Venäjänkieliset toisen asteen opiskelijat Suomessa. Pohdintoja identiteetistä ja kielestä", in *Äidinkieli ja toiset kielet: Pohjoismainen kaksikielisyystyöpaja Tampereella 18.–20.10.2002*, ed. S. Latomaa (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2004), 28–42.

speakers. Still, there exist certain groups of young people who do not establish contacts with any Finns at all and feel proud to be born in Russia and are not keen on being granted the Finnish citizenship.

Study has also been undertaken on distinctive Estonian and Russian communities living in Finland, who generally showed diverseness and dissimilarities in descent, heritage, prestige and level of integration into the Finnish society. Tiido (2019)[4] identifies two types of Russian and Estonian newcomers in Finland and the Baltic nations: those speakers who are offspring of the population residing in the lately founded republics after the downfall of the Soviet Russia, and the other vaster group consisting of more recent immigrants.

By cause of the Finnish history and the war memories with Russia, Finland does not bring the Russian minority to the public attention and it even adopts a circumspect manner in relation to Russia, even though during the recent years of peaceful cohabitation they have built valuable connections.

Is the future of the Estonian language in Finland uncontrollable?

Since Estonians study Finnish because it seems an easy language to them, in Finland the interest in the language of the neighboring country could be increased as well. Finnish speakers consider Estonian an enjoyable and easy language, though it must also be useful in order to learn it. Estonians benefit from knowing the Finnish language: one of the reasons is the EU-membership and the opportunity to apply for jobs in Finland, other reasons are studying, training, becoming an exchange student, shopping at the weekends or even visiting friends.

Finns could perhaps be attracted to exchange study or training places in Estonia. Lipasti (2007)[5] argues that Estonian could be offered as an optional subject in Finnish high schools, but also in vocational schools. Several organizations and other entities organize exhibitions, lecture series,

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[4] Anna Tiido, 'Russians in Europe: Nobody's tool. The examples of Finland, Germany and Estonia', *Estonian Foreign Policy Institute* (2019): 10.

[5] Järvi Lipasti, 'Virossa opiskellaan suomea', *Kielikello* 3/2007, 14.

language courses or cultural trips. Consequently, it is beneficial to know the language of the neighboring country. Nonetheless, even if the children were born in Estonia, very often their parents declare Finnish as the children's mother tongue. Praakli (2004)[6] considers that this is due to the fact that Estonian speakers work in a Finnish environment, albeit they have lots of opportunities to maintain their mother tongue with the help of language clubs, festivals and associations focusing on education and language teaching. In practice, indeed, Estonian children benefit just from two hours of mother tongue instruction a week and otherwise the language of instruction and communication at schools is Finnish.

The future of the Estonian language in Finland seems to be unsure but not beyond control. It turns out that Estonian children living in Finland do not learn much Estonian as a mother tongue. Finland has to be able to teach immigrants' children the Estonian language not only because they have to be able to return to Estonia without a language problem but also because the number of Estonian speakers worldwide should not decrease. There are few Estonian language teachers in Finland who teach in several schools. Estonian is taught to adults as a second language and in the case of young people the groups are formed of children from several schools. These children have often different Estonian language skills, which causes difficulties to the teachers. Children born in Finland may learn Estonian as a foreign language, while others learn it as a mother tongue or a second language.

For these situations the necessary teaching skills are acquired by collaboration and exchanging experiences with colleagues. Lipasti and Pajusalu (2013)[7] note that teachers in neighboring cities work together and participate in trainings where they get acquainted with active learning methods.

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[6] Kristiina Praakli, "Koodinvaihdosta Tampereen virolaisten kielenkäytössä", in *Äidinkieli ja toiset kielet: Pohjoismainen kaksikielisyystyöpaja Tampereella 18.–20.10.2002*, ed. S. Latomaa (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2004), 106–116.

[7] Järvi Lipasti, Renate Pajusalu, *Emakeel on oma keel. Kuidas hoida emakeelt võõrsil* (Helsingi: Tuglase Selts, 2013), 3-13.

Lipasti (2007)[8] states that many Estonian children refuse to learn Estonian as a mother tongue or a second language since those lessons of two hours a week often take place after the teaching hours and perhaps in a different building, so they need additional travelling to the sight. Though learning Estonian is made easier since schools have managed to order the necessary textbooks.

Knowing Estonian will probably determine future career choices and will enhance relations with Estonia. If children do not want to learn Estonian as a mother tongue and attend a bilingual class, they can learn it as a second or foreign language. English also infiltrates schools and students use it in breaks but they do not have difficulties in switching from Finnish or English to Estonian. According to Lipasti and Pajusalu (2013) these children make language mistakes and the Finnish language influences their sentence structure. The Estonian teachers' language skills do not disappear since they follow both Finnish and Estonian news through the media. Lipasti and Pajusalu (2013)[9] admit that children who learn their mother tongue besides Finnish make grammar mistakes and are influenced by the structure of the majority language, but the specialists also consider that grammar mistakes should not be noticed, and yet adults should use the language correctly.

With regard to the educational level of the Estonian speakers living in Finland, Praakli (2017)[10] states that they are less knowledgeable than the Russians with a migrant background. While half of the Russians are in possession of a university degree, only one fifth of the Estonians own such a degree, while others have only a basic, vocational education.

Enterprise development through Russian second language learning

In Finland Russian is the most common unofficial language, since it is the third most widely spoken language after Finnish and Swedish. Today more than 77.000 people in Finland consider Russian to be their mother

[8] Lipasti 2007.
[9] Lipasti 2013.
[10] Kristiina Praakli, 'Viron kieli Suomessa. ELDIA-projektin tuloksia: lyhennelmä tutkimusraportista', *Studies in European Language Diversity* 29.2 (2017): 13–15.

tongue and more than 100.000 people, including immigrants from Russia, speak Russian at some level. Russian is also the most common foreign language in most parts of Eastern, Northern and Central Finland. Today, it is possible to study Russian at different stages of education, starting from early childhood education. There are a few schools in Finland that teach both Finnish and Russian. In an ordinary primary school, Russian can be taught both as a mother tongue and as a second language. It is also possible to study Russian at Finnish universities within the framework of the higher education program.

As Finland can successfully solve the modernization and migration problems and has the potential for economic growth and competitiveness, Balchyunene (2014)[11] finds that Finland is a country of interest for Russian and Estonian speakers. Therefore Finland has proposed to attract qualified immigrants who could contribute to the enterprise development and labor productivity. The economic relations and tourism between Finland and Russia are constantly developing and new forms of cooperation are also built particularly between Karelia and border Finland.

As stated by Balchyunene (2014)[12], one of the identified paths is the promotion of the Russian language in Finland, considering that the number of Russian-speaking inhabitants has reached over 77.000 in Finland.

Research conducted by the Confederation of Finnish Industries finds that the Russian language plays a significant role in the Finnish business life and there is a growing need for its knowledge. Being ranked third among the most demanded languages in Finland, almost one third of the employers claim proficiency in Russian. Thus every seventh child in Eastern Finland is interested in learning Russian. Moreover, trade and economic relations prove that fluency in English is not enough nowadays.

Though Vanhalakka (2012)[13] acknowledges that not everything has been done in the municipalities of Eastern Finland to raise the level of

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[11] Наталья Ильинична Бальчюнене, 'Русский язык в Финляндии: проблемы и перспективы' [Russian language in Finland: problems and perspectives], *Инженерный вестник Дона* 28/1 (2014): 17.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Суви Ванхалакка, *языковая политика Финляндии в области образования с точки зрения русского и шведского языков. «Case-study» в городе Коувола* [Finnish language education policy

Russian language teaching. Nowadays Eastern Finland needs more Russian speakers to the extent that Finland even considers some reforms in its language policy by replacing Swedish and starting teaching Russian at schools as a second or foreign language.

In Renvik's (2018)[14] view Russian immigrants are remarkably skilled but due to governmental reasons they are socially underprivileged and their recruitment for the labor market is less favorable than in the case of Estonian speakers. Further inquiry pursued indicates that the more disfavored Estonian or Russian immigrants are, the less the assimilation level in the Finnish community is.

Tiido (2019)[15] finds that although Russian speakers want to integrate into the Finnish culture, they are occasionally disfavored in the work environment. They accept that Finnish language proficiency is essential to be able to mingle with the majority population. Experience also shows that Finns who have Russian colleagues or acquaintances are more unprejudiced than others.

Admitting that the Estonian and Russian mother tongue or second language instruction is not available everywhere, reality shows that not all parents are informed about their rights to such education. The main goal for their children is to be well integrated into the dominant community and to master Finnish well enough along with English. They usually choose a Finnish school for their children where they can also learn Russian or Estonian, while others opt for a bilingual school. Nevertheless, few of the parents consider that school assistance in their children's mother tongue is not necessary.

Conclusions

As stated by population migration experts, in 30 years the Russian minority may become the largest immigrant group in the country and their language could become the third official language in Finland.

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from the point of view of the Russian and Swedish languages. A case-study in the city of Kouvola] (University of Jyväskylä, 2012).

[14] TA. Renvik, et al, 'Perceived status and national belonging: The case of Russian speakers in Finland and Estonia', *International Review of Social Psychology* 31(1) (2018): 1–10.

[15] Tiido 2019

It is certain, that integration into the Finnish society can only be achieved if Russian and Estonian speakers adapt themselves to the new culture and learn the Finnish language with the condition to preserve their own language and culture. Iskanius (2004)[16] reveals that Estonian and Russian immigrant children are afraid of losing their identity and forgetting their mother tongue under the pressure of acquiring Finnish mainly due to its social significance.

The existing educational circumstances may boost bilingual children's language skills and self-respect, and if Estonian and Russian children also master the state language, then integration into the society will be a favorable outcome. Just as Protassova (2008)[17] demonstrates, parents are frequently the ones that do not embrace the benefits offered by the various educational institutions existing in Finland.

The Finnish administration reinforces the rights of the Russian and Estonian speakers to their integrity but simultaneously it calls for integration into the Finnish society. Yet, it is undeniable that these communities do not fully accommodate with their new social environment, they feel more exposed and are more active in business life than politically. Some of these minority groups have articulated voices of nonfulfillment, resentment or unconcern about integration.

Praakli (2017)[18] makes a few recommendations which could be implemented in the case of both studied minority languages in Finland. Language policymakers should pay attention to the constant development of the Russian and Estonian mother tongue and second language education in Finland, since language maintenance depends on the attitudes of the young generations towards these languages. Informing the children's parents about their rights to language teaching is also essential. A notable resemblance between the two discussed minorities is that Russians and Estonians living in Finland do not form close communities but smaller groups which are spread all over the country. Thus, they lack clear goals and a firm identity. Therefore, researchers and experts taking part in the project

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16 Iskanius 2004.

17 Ekaterina Protassova, 'Teaching Russian as a heritage language in Finland', *Heritage Language Journal* 6(1) (2008): 127-152.

18 Praakli 2017

called *European Language Diversity for All* point out that language teaching and cultural activities need careful planning, and Russian and Estonian speakers have to be more involved in the Finnish social life. Parents are advised not to make language choices for their children, even if the Finnish language is considered to have a higher market value and hence the significance of Russian or Estonian is questioned.

Seeing that English language skills are not enough for the working life, Lempinen and Ågren (2017)[19] emphasize that Estonian or Russian language skills improve the speakers' employability. In vocational training, for instance, a language-oriented individual study path is recommended where learning is integrated into the employees' professional degrees and students benefit from updated language teaching methods, practical language learning, hands-on studies and communication technologies.

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[19] Petri Lempinen, Satu Ågren, "Kielitaito on ammattitaitoa: Katsaus kielten opetukseen ja vieraskielisiin opiskelijoihin ammatillisessa koulutuksessa", Ammattiosaamisen kehittämisyhdistys AMKE ry. 2017, https://www.amke.fi/media/julkaisuja/kielitaito_on_ammattitaitoa_2017.pdf, accessed at 14.06.2021.

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