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Vorwort

In ihrer Satzung und anderen Grundsatzerklärungen hat EFNIL sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, sich in erster Linie mit den nationalen Standardsprachen der Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union zu befassen und sich für deren gedeihliche Weiterentwicklung wie auch für die Mehrsprachigkeit in Europa insgesamt einzusetzen.[1] Die sprachliche Vielfalt Europas erschöpft sich jedoch nicht in den derzeit 23 offiziellen Sprachen der 27 Mitgliedsländer der EU. In jedem einzelnen Land werden neben der oder den offiziellen Sprachen der Mehrheitsbevölkerung mehrere andere Sprachen von größeren und kleineren Sprechergruppen gebraucht: autochthone Sprachen, die schon seit langer Zeit in dem jeweiligen Land gesprochen werden und allochthone Sprachen von verschiedenen Migrantengruppen und deren Nachkommen. Dies ist gehört zur sprachlichen Realität in Europa, mit der sich EFNIL unausweichlich auseinandersetzen muss und dies gerade auch im Interesse der offiziellen Standardsprachen, die im regionalen und sozialen Kontext von Regional- und Minderheitssprachen gebraucht werden.

Um einen deutlicheren Eindruck von der multilingualen Realität in einzelnen europäischen Ländern zu gewinnen, wählte deshalb die Mitgliederversammlung von EFNIL für die Jahrestagung 2009 das Generalthema "Das Verhältnis von offiziellen Sprachen und Regional- und Minderheitssprachen in den Staaten der Europäischen Union". Für dieses Thema zeigte sich auch das gastgebende Institut in Dublin, Foras na Gaeilge, besonders interessiert. Bei der Vorbereitung der Tagung wurde rasch klar, dass eine umfassende Erörterung aller Regional- und Minderheitssprachen in allen europäischen Ländern während einer nun zweitätigen Konferenz nicht zu bewältigen war. Deshalb wurden neben den allgemeinen und prinzipiellen Beiträgen zum Thema die speziellen Situationsbeschreibungen auf eine Auswahl von Ländern beschränkt. Außerdem konnte die wichtige Frage nach dem Verhältnis der Nationalsprachen zu den Migrantensprachen nur knapp angesprochen werden. Dieses vielfältige Erscheinungs- und Problemfeld bedarf zweifellos einer gesonderten ausführlichen Behandlung.

Die Beiträge zu diesem Band sind in vier Gruppen eingeteilt. Auf die Texte der Reden zur Eröffnung und Einführung folgen generelle Erörterungen und Analysen der psycho- und soziolinguistischen sowie der juristischen Aspekte des Tagungsthemas von eingeladenen drei Experten. Es schließen sich Berichte von Delegierten mehrerer Mitgliedsinstitute von EFNIL an über die Situation in ihren Heimatländern. Sie werden hier in der Abfolge wiedergegeben, in der sie in Dublin vorgetragen wurden. Es folgt in 24 offiziellen Sprachen europäischer Staaten die "Erklärung von Dublin zum Verhältnis zwischen offiziellen Sprachen und Regional- und Minderheitssprachen in Europa". Ein erster Entwurf hierzu wurde in Dublin diskutiert. Die hier veröffentlichte Erklärung in den vielen Sprachfassungen ist Ergebnis einer ausführlichen, gelegentlich auch kontroversen Korrespondenz zwischen den beteiligten Mitgliedern von EFNIL. Eine Liste aller Mitgliedsinstitute von EFNIL findet sich im Anhang.

[1] Siehe diese Dokumente unter www.efnil.org.

Mit diesem Buch wird zum dritten Mal der Ertrag einer Jahrestagung von EFNIL vorgelegt. Die Beiträge zu den Tagungen in Riga (2007) und Lissabon (2008) sind in derselben Reihe erschienen. Für die Aufnahme auch dieses neuen Bandes danke ich den Herausgebern der Reihe, besonders Ulrich Ammon. Bei der Einholung der Texte half mir meine EFNIL-Kollegin Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen. Die Einrichtung der Typoskripte für den Druck besorgte wiederum Joachim Hohwieler. Auch ihnen danke ich für ihre Mitarbeit.

Gerhard Stickel

Preface

In its constitution and various other principle documents, EFNIL committed itself first of all to care for the national standard languages of the member states of the European Union and their flourishing further development and to engage itself also for the multilingualism of Europe as a whole.[2] The European linguistic diversity, however, goes far beyond the 23 official languages of the present 27 member states of the Union. In every single country, several other languages of smaller or larger groups of speakers are being used besides the official language or languages of the majority population: autochthonous languages that have been used for a long time in the individual country and allochthonous languages of different groups of migrants and their descendants. This is part of the linguistic reality of Europe that EFNIL has to give serious thought, and this is also in the special interest of the official standard languages that are used within the regional and social context of regional and minority languages.

In order to gain a clearer view of the linguistic reality of various European countries, the General Assembly of EFNIL chose for its Annual Conference 2009 the general theme "The Relationship between Official Languages and Regional and Minority Languages in Europe". The hosting institute of the conference in Dublin, Foras na Gaeilge, also showed special interest in this theme. During the preparation of the conference, it soon became obvious that a comprising discussion of all regional and minority languages in all European countries would be too much for a conference of only two days. Therefore, the special reports on the linguistic situation were limited to a selection of countries in addition to the more general and principle contribution to the conference theme. Besides, the important question concerning the relation of national languages with the languages of migrants could only be insufficiently dealt with. This complex field of phenomena and problems needs without doubt separate and extensive treatment.

The contributions to this volume are arranged in four parts. The texts of the speeches at the opening and introduction are followed by general discussions and analyses of the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic as well as the juridical aspects of the general theme of the conference presented by three invited experts. Then, the delegates of several member institutions of EFNIL report on the situation in their countries. These

[2] See these documents at www.efnil.org.

reports are arranged in the sequence they were presented in Dublin. They are followed by the "Declaration of Dublin" in 24 official languages of European states. A first draft of this declaration was discussed in Dublin. The multilingual version presented here is the result of a lengthy, sometimes controversial correspondence of the members of EFNIL who intensively participated in this discussion. The appendix gives a list of all member institutions of EFNIL.

With this book, the contributions to Annual Conferences of EFNIL are presented for the third time. The publications on the conferences in Riga (2007) and Lisbon (2008) appeared in the same series. I thank the editors of the series, especially Ulrich Ammon, for accepting this volume. My EFNIL colleague Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen helped with the acquisition of the texts. Joachim Hohwieler cared again for preparing the typescript for the printers. I thank both for their collaboration.

Gerhard Stickel

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Ferdie Mac an Fhailigh

Welcome address

A Aire, a ionadaí an Choimisiúin, a Uachtaráin EFNIL, a ionadaithe agus a aíonna,

Fearaim fáilte romhaibh go Baile Átha Cliath.

Is mór an onóir dúinn a bheith ag óstáil na Comhdhála seo, go háirithe agus an téama áirithe seo faoi chaibidil, mar tá seasamh na Gaeilge ar an oileán seo bainteach leis na trí aicmí éagsúla atá luaite sa téama; is teanga oifigiúil í an Ghaeilge, is teanga réigiúnach í agus is teanga mhionlaigh í fosta ar shlite éagsúla agus is léiriú é sin ar eisceachtúlacht Fhoras na Gaeilge mar bhall de EFNIL sa mhéid is go mbímid ag feidhmiú in dhá dhlínse.

Is mór againn an deis a bheith againn foghlaim ón taithí atá ag bailleagrais EFNIL agus ár dtaithí féin a roinnt leo. Sampla an-mhaith den roinnt eolais seo is ea an tionscadal atá idir lámha ag EFNIL a dtugtar ELM air. Seo tionscadal a dhéanann monatóireacht ar bhonn leanúnach ar stádas na dteangacha atá faoi chúram na mballeagras – agus níl ansin ach sampla amháin d'obair EFNIL faoi stiúr chalma an Ollaimh Stickel.

Guím gach rath orainn sa Chomhdháil seo agus iarraim anois ar an Aire Ó Cuív an 7ú Comhdháil Bhliantúil de EFNIL a oscailt go hoifigiúil.

Minister, Representative of the (European) Commission, President of EFNIL,
delegates and guests,

I welcome you to Dublin.

It is a great honour to host this Conference, particularly given the theme under discussion as the status of Irish on the island of Ireland relates to all three of the different terms used in the theme (of the Conference): Irish is an official language; it is a regional language; and it is also a minority language in various ways and this illustrates the unique position of Foras na Gaeilge as a member of EFNIL in that we operate in two jurisdictions.

We value the opportunity to learn from the experiences of the other member organizations of EFNIL agus value the opportunity to share our experience with them. A superb example of this sharing of knowledge is the project undertaken by EFNIL called ELM, the European Language Monitor. This project monitors on an ongoing basis the status of the languages which are in the care of the member organizations – and this is just one example of EFNIL's work under the steady stewardship of Prof. Stickel.

I wish us all the best for our Conference and now call on Minister Ó Cuív to officially open EFNIL's 7th Annual Conference.

Éamon Ó Cuív TD

Aire Gnóthaí Pobail, Tuaithe agus Gaeltachta

Is cúis áthais dom a bheith in bhur láthair inniu ag Comhdháil Bhliantúil Aontas Institiúidí Náisiúnta Teangacha na hEorpa nó EFNIL. Mo bhuíochas le lucht eagraithe na hócáide seo agus go mór le **Foras na Gaeilge** as ucht an cuireadh labhairt leis an gcomhdháil inniu. Is é téama na comhdhála i mbliana ná an caidreamh idir theangacha oifigiúla náisiúnta agus teangacha mionlaigh agus réigiúnacha, ábhar atá thar a bheith spéisiúil, leathan agus tábhachtach dar liom.[1]

It gives me great pleasure to be with you this morning at this the seventh annual conference of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL). I would like to extend an especially warm welcome to those who have travelled to Ireland from overseas. The theme for this year's conference is "The Relationship between Official National Languages and Regional and Minority Languages". This is a broad and very relevant theme which should allow plenty of scope for discussion and sharing of experiences during the course of the conference. I am delighted that Foras na Gaeilge plays an active part in this federation. While each language situation is different, there is much that we can learn from each other to improve the measures we take to support our own language.

1. Twenty Year Strategy for Irish Language

As some of you present today may be aware the Irish Government are currently finalising a 20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language. The strategy stems from the Government's 2006 policy statement on the Irish language which contained 13 policy objectives. In drafting the strategy, my department undertook an extensive consultation process which included seeking feedback from the public and the employment of international consultants with expertise in language issues. Key action areas identified from this process include, amongst others, education, the Gaeltacht, and language transmission within the family and community. The main objective of the strategy, which is already in the public domain, is to increase over the next twenty years the number of people using Irish on a daily basis to 250,000 from the current figure of 85,000 and to increase the total number of people with Irish to 2 million from the current figure of 1.6 million. It is hoped that the strategy paper will be finalised and published before the end of this year

2. British-Irish Council

I am very much in favour of international collaboration in the area of language planning and development. My own department – the Department of Community, Rural

[1] I am very pleased to join you today at EFNIL's Annual Conference and wish to express my thanks to EFNIL and the hosts, Foras na Gaeilge, for the invitation to speak. The theme of the conference, "The Relationship between Official National Languages and Regional and Minority Languages in Europe" is one that is broad, interesting, and, in my opinion, of considerable significance.

and Gaeltacht Affairs – plays an important and significant role in this regard. The department represents Ireland at the Indigenous, Minority and Lesser-Used Languages strand of the British-Irish Council (BIC) and also at the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) which is a European-wide organisation.

The British-Irish Council was established under the terms of the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement in 1998. The Council is made up of the various governments and administrations of Britain and Ireland, namely the Irish and British governments, the devolved assemblies of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey. It has a number of areas of work including minority languages. The members of the Council are committed to collaborating, sharing best practices and learning from each other's experiences in a number of different areas with respect to language preservation and development. These areas include language transmission in the family, adult education, ICT, legislation and language promotion among young people.

3. Official Languages Act 2003

I have already referred to cooperation and sharing of best practice as being one of the primary aims of the British-Irish Council. This cooperation and sharing is taking place in many policy areas, but, of particular interest to me and my department, is most notable in the area of language legislation. I know this from personal experience as the Minister responsible for the enactment of the Official Languages Act by the Irish Oireachtas in 2003. That Act is the first piece of legislation in Ireland that provides for an enhancement in the range and quality of services provided in the Irish language by public bodies. In preparing the Act back in the late 1990s and in the early years of the present decade, much was learnt from the provisions of the Welsh Language Act 1993. In particular, the model of the language schemes as a core element of the legislation was taken from the Welsh Act. A scheme is essentially a three year plan of action for the improvement of Irish language services provided by individual bodies to be agreed between me as Minister and the chief executive of the body concerned. I might add that lessons were also learned from further afield, in particular from Canada. The post of Irish language commissioner which was established under the Official Languages Act 2003 was modelled on the Canadian Languages Commissioner which was originally provided for in the Canadian Official Languages Act of 1969.

Scotland has followed in the footsteps of Wales and Ireland in enacting language legislation, namely the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. Indeed, Scotland chairs the sub-Group on legislation which forms part of the work of the British-Irish Council Group on Indigenous, Minority and Lesser-Used Languages. On a practical level a practitioner's workshop on language transmission in the family was held in Galway in 2006 and a further workshop on adult education took place in Wales in 2008. Both of these conferences proved very successful. By coincidence the next **BIC summit meeting**, which is being held in Jersey next week will have the area of Minority languages as its main theme.

4. Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD)

My department is also a **full and very active** member of the **Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity** (NPLD) which has a wider geographical representation than the British-Irish Council. The Network was established at the end of 2007 with the aim of facilitating the sharing of best practice and the development of new and innovative ideas in the field of language planning amongst Europe's constitutional, regional and smaller-state languages. It is an interesting fact that some 50 million EU citizens, 10% of the EU population, speak a regional or minority language.

The NPLD comprises two levels of membership – full and associate members. Full members include Government Departments and Agencies from countries and regions such as Wales, Scotland, Galicia, Catalonia, Finland, Estonia, and Brittany. Ireland is represented on the Network by both my department and Foras na Gaeilge. The work of the NPLD has many similarities with that of the British-Irish Council. The NPLD is currently engaged in areas such as the media, youth and pre-school education and is planning to extend its range of work to cover ICT and Research.

5. Críoch

Mar fhocal scoir guím gach ráth ar obair na Comhdhála seo. Tá súil agam go mbainfidh sibh tairbhe as an bplé agus go deimhin go mbeidh deis agaibh chomh maith blaiseadh a fháil ar Éireann i bpríomhchathair na tíre. Níl le déanamh agam anois ach a fhógairt go bhfuil An Chomhdháil oscailte go hoifigiúil.[2]

[2] In closing, I wish the Conference every success. I hope you benefit from the discussion and that you also get some sense of Ireland from visiting our capital city. I hereby declare the Conference officially open.

Konrad Fuhrmann

Opening speech

A language is a dialect with an army and a navy. Or to say this in the minority language the quotation was initially formulated, in Yiddish: “A shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot”.

This expression brilliantly demonstrates the close link between official language and repression: to begin with, all our languages were regional or minority languages, until a nation state chose one of them to become the official language across its territory or at least part of it. Since the rise of the modern nation state, this evolution has usually been accompanied by violence against all other languages spoken in the country. In this way, the relationship between official national languages and all the other regional or minority languages remains tense, even though this attitude is now in the process of changing in most countries. Nevertheless, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages clearly highlights that “the protection and encouragement of regional or minority languages should not be to the detriment of the official languages and the need to learn them”. I am therefore extremely curious to find out what the experts will say about this persisting uneasy relationship between official and regional and minority languages in Europe.

When the European Community was founded, its very first law – Regulation 1 – addressed the concept of languages, but uniquely the official ones: “Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the official languages.” It was up to the Member States to decide which language they wanted to be recognised as an official language at European level. Therefore, when Ireland joined the Community in 1973, Ireland did not yet require full status for Irish, though the language naturally remained official language in Ireland. In 2007, Irish was then initially adopted as a further EU treaty language and since this date, it has been an official language of the EU, but with limited status.

Subsequently, the European Commission established a clear policy of multilingualism based on the motto “unity in diversity”. This policy supports every language and culture present in Europe, including those of regional, minority and migrant communities. Naturally, the individual Member States are still primarily responsible for drafting their own linguistic policy, with the Commission merely delivering guidance. The Commission contributes to: “the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity” (Article 149 of the Treaty of Rome). Under its reduced remit, however, the Commission does all it can to protect and promote linguistic diversity, including supporting minority and migrant languages. In the Communication on Multilingualism published in September 2008, the Commission concedes: “Member States are the key decision-makers on language policy, including on regional and minority

languages, for which the Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority languages* provides a comprehensive framework". The Communication nevertheless emphasises: "Each of the many national, regional, minority and migrant languages spoken in Europe adds a facet to our common cultural background." For this reason, grants can also be awarded to projects promoting minority languages under the EU Lifelong Learning Programme. In fact, this programme provides support for all modern languages.

In this sense, the Commission continues to support regional and minority languages, together with the official languages of the European Union. Since 23 October 2009, the *Commission Civil Society Platform* has also addressed the concepts of linguistic diversity, language learning and intercultural dialogue and given minority languages a voice, where they are represented by EFNIL, EBLUL, FUEN and the Mercator network. Thus, we wholeheartedly promote regional and minority languages, leaving the tricky issue of their national counterparts to the individual Member States.

Gerhard Stickel

Oscailt / Opening

Minister,
Excellencies,
Mr. Fuhrmann,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear colleagues,

Tá an-áthas orm fáilte a chur romhaibh chuig an 7ú Comhdháil Bhliantúil de EFNIL (European Federation of National Institutions for Language). Ní mór a rá nach eagraíocht pholaitiúil í EFNIL ach bíonn na bailleagraíochtaí bainteach ar bhealaí éagsúla leis na polasaithe teanga ina dtíortha féin agus ar ndóigh tá EFNIL ina iomláine sainmhínithe ag an Aontas Eorpach. Dá bhrí sin, sílimid gur tráthúil agus gur dearfach an rud é an toradh a bhí ar an reifreann anseo ar Chonradh Liospóin faoin Aontas Eorpach agus gur deachomhartha í dár gComhdháil anseo i mBaile Átha Cliath.[1]

We are honoured by the presence of Minister Éamon Ó Cuív as member of the Irish government and of Mr. Konrad Fuhrmann as representative of the European Commission. I thank both of you for your kind and inspiring words. We are glad that a representative of a European language organisation with similar aims as ours has come. I welcome Ms. Neasa Ni Chineide, the president of EBLUL, the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages. I hope we can find an opportunity today or tomorrow to at least informally explore ways for a future cooperation and division of labour in the interest of multilingual Europe. I am glad to welcome the representatives of several diplomatic missions. Your presence underlines the importance your governments give to language politics and policies on both the national and European level. I also welcome our other guests, among them the three expert speakers who accepted our invitation to contribute with keynote lectures to the thematic part of the conference.

Before I come to the topic of this conference, I would like to extend the thanks of the Executive Committee and all members of EFNIL to our host, Foras na Gaeilge, represented by its Chief Executive Officer Ferdie Mac an Fhailigh. Actually, it is the second time some of us enjoy your hospitality. It was only four months ago that the members of our executive committee were your guests. Today, your kind words of welcome, Ferdie, made an excellent start for this session. I hope for your understanding when I save our special thanks to Seán O Carneigh for the concluding session tomorrow. He was and still is the main organizer of this conference. As yet, let me only assure you, Seán, that your cooperation with the EFNIL Secretariat in preparing the conference was obviously successful because we all are here.

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[1] With great pleasure I salute and welcome you all to the 7th Annual Conference of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL). Although EFNIL is not a political organization, its member institutions are in various ways related to language policies of their countries, and EFNIL as a whole defines itself in relation to Europe. We, therefore, consider the outcome of the latest Irish referendum concerning the Lisbon Treaty of the European Union as an auspicious omen for our meeting here at Dublin.

The general theme of this year's conference is *The relationship between the official national languages and regional and minority languages in Europe*. With this topic, we continue the series of themes and discussions concerning language use and language policies in Europe that we began six years ago at our founding conference in Stockholm. Let me just recall the general themes of our previous annual conferences: They were:

Stockholm 2003: *Linguistic Functional Domains* and *Language Legislation* (2 themes);

Paris 2004: *European Cooperation in Terminology: Domains and Networks*;

Brussels 2005: *Plurilingual Europeans – Foreign Language Learning and Language Politics*;

Madrid 2006: *Pluricentric Languages in Europe*;

Riga 2007: *National and European Language Policies*;

Lisbon 2008: *Language Use in Business and Commerce*.

And now it is: *The Relationship between the Official National Languages and Regional and Minority Languages*. Without trying to anticipate what our invited experts will say, let me, please, explain in brief our background for this topic. Nine years ago, delegates from central language institutions of several European countries met in Mannheim for the first preparatory conference that finally led to the foundation of EFNIL. Those who met there were not specialists for multilingualism or foreign language learning but experts for the official national languages of their countries. They came together with the aim to explore means and ways to preserve and further the development of their own languages within the context of multilingual Europe. From the very beginning **they**, that is, **we** focussed our discussion, our plans, and our activities on the national standard languages of our countries, although we had some difficulties to find an appropriate term and definition for the objects of our concern. The founding members of EFNIL will certainly remember the discussion we had in connection with the Mannheim-Florence Recommendations,[2] when we encountered the problem of translating between terms such as Spanish *lengua culta*, German *Hochsprache*, French *langue nationale*, Italian *lingua ufficiale*, Dutch *standardtaal,* and English *national* or *standard language*. In the meantime, we have made clear that EFNIL's primary concern is the standard varieties of the languages that are used in the various countries as official languages and are also recognized as official by the authorities of the European Union. Concerning the many other languages that are used in certain regions of our countries or by smaller groups of our populations, we realized that there were already groups and organisations that in various ways were concerned with these so called lesser used languages. We are glad to have representatives of two of these organisations with us today. For us, these languages, apparently, do not to cause specific problems for the linguistic togetherness of Europe as a whole. The problems they have are, as far as I can see, first of all to be recognized and respected within their national contexts in relation to the official standard languages. Concerning,

[2] See www.efnil.org/documents/recommendations-of-mannheim-florence or Stickel, Gerhard (Hg.) (2002): Europäische Hochsprachen und mehrsprachiges Europa. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache, 225-256.

however, the aspect of international language contacts, it is highly improbable that, for example, Spanish Basks meet with French Bretons, German Sorbs, or British Welshmen and start a discussion about which of these languages should be used for their communication.

More frequent than encounters between speakers of different minority languages are those between speakers of languages such as Italian, English, French, German, Polish, and others as first languages: encounters in the realms of international business, politics, science, and tourism. There and then, the question of what language can or should be used becomes acute and urgent. As we all know, this question is nowadays being solved in most cases by using English as an auxiliary language (as I do right now, for instance). I conciously avoid here the term 'lingua franca' because the historical *lingua franca* was never used in politics, science, or art: it was only a primitive pidgin used by sailors and merchants on the Mediterranean coasts. The problem that the present European national languages have, are not caused by the use of an English pidgin for simple purposes such as finding a hotel or getting an taxi in another country but by the use of an elaborate English for the communication in the domains of science, politics, and higher education even within national contexts where traditionally the standard language of the country in question would have been used. This development is frequently being charaterized as an increasing loss of linguistic domains that the European languages other than English are in danger of.

As we know, the governments of the individual continental countries make efforts in various ways and to a various extent to support and protect their official languages. Some of the member institutions of EFNIL are engaged in these efforts. In EFNIL, we are convinced that it is, however, in the very interest of our own languages that we do not only care for these languages but for other languages as well. We learned to consider each of our own languages as parts of the rich linguistic diversity that is constitutive for the cultural and social diversity and wealth of our continent. When I, for instance, support the use of my native tongue, German in science and higher education of my country, I have to accept and approve similar activities of my French, Swedish, Polish, Hungarian colleagues and friends from other countries to also support the use of their languages in these domains.

Although EFNIL and its members concentrate their interest and activities on the official national languages in Europe, we are, of course, aware of the fact that these languages are only part of the linguistic landscape of our countries and of Europe as a whole. I already mentioned regional and minority languages. These languages have already come into the focus of European institutions, especially the Council of Europe that agreed in 1992 on a European Charter for regional or minority languages. As we know, this charter has been accepted and ratified by most European states. It is fortunate and sensible that the regional and minority languages now enjoy official protection and support because they form an important part of the linguistic and cultural diversity and wealth of our continent. However, we are also aware that there is no corresponding European charter for the official standard languages of our countries. I doubt if there will ever be such a charter, although it is these languages that tend to get into conflicts because of their function for national identities.

The relations between the national languages and the regional or minority languages within our countries are complicated and vary from one country to the other. There is one aspect that must not be ignored and, therefore, should be mentioned here: the competition between national languages and regional and minority languages. Within the various national borders, the use of the official standard languages competes with the use of dialects and minority languages, especially in the domains of informal communication at the workbench, in the family, with friends, and at folkloristisc occasions. In these domains, many people prefer their dialect or a regional or minority language in which they have grown up because of the specific emotional value of these linguistic varieties and languages. On the other hand, as mentioned before, the national languages compete with the use of global English in various domains of science, business, commerce, and international politics. Thus, the national standard languages might get into a fix between global English on one side and vital dialects, regional, and minority languages on the other side because the domains left for the use of the official languages tend to decrease. I hope that this aspect besides others will be covered in the reports on the present situations in different European countries that we will hear these two days. As a result of this conference, I hope that the members of EFNIL will learn that the respect and mutual support we agreed to give to each other's national languages should be extended to the regional and minority languages within our countries. I also hope for the understanding of our colleagues who are engaged for regional and minority languages that national languages have valuable functions for their countries, their history, and present culture that should be respected. However, let us cooperate not only in the interest of our individual countries and their languages but also for the maintenance and a flourishing development of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe.

Thank you,

Merci beaucoup,

Vielen Dank, ... and last but not least:

Buíochas!

Miquel Strubell

When sticking out your tongue is even ruder!

Abstract

It is hard to talk about particular languages from diverse, even conflicting, points of view. Speakers of demographically large and politically powerful languages have their own views, and many are insensitive to the view and experience of demographically smaller and politically weaker languages. In particular, in the traditions of the nation-state building process and of national romanticism, nationalist discourse has become internally invisible and regarded as the natural way of the world. I intend to delve into these issues, with special reference to language policies in Spain. I will end with an appeal for a reconsideration of the criteria for EFNIL membership, which I believe would add value to the Federation's work and scope, and make it more inclusive.[1]

Surely we all agree that it is rude to stick your tongue out at somebody. Today I hope to convey to you that there are cases when showing your tongue in public is even ruder than in others.

As you all know, the Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich gave us an insightful definition of a language: "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy".[2] A 15th century Latin specialist in Castile, Antonio de Nebrija, came to a similar conclusion, just as Christopher Columbus was sailing to the west across the Atlantic, a feat that was to pave the way to Castile's building its own empire. In the prologue to the first *Gramática Castellana* to be published Nebrija wrote: "siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio" (language has always accompanied empires).

Another well-known Jewish academic, Joshua Fishman, was responsible for the edition of an interesting book on the "first congresses" – including Hebrew, as you may well imagine – of a wide range of languages. And some of these congresses led to the establishment of the academy for the relevant language (as was the case for Catalan, incidentally).

In my contribution to this Conference I should like to discuss with you some of the attempts to create hierarchies of languages, and some of their usually perverse effects.

In France, and since at least the mid-17th century, French has been identified as the language of **reason**. We may ask ourselves: French, as opposed to what language(s)? My suspicion is that this discourse was and is addressed inwards, not outwards: that is, instead of making the claim that French was (and is) "superior" to German, English or Italian (for instance), it was aimed at the majority of the inhabitants of France who at that time knew no French, but spoke instead what are contemptuously termed "les patois": Catalan, Basque, Breton, German (whenever Alsace and Lorraine have formed part of the country), Occitan and, from the end of the 18th century, Corsican.

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[1] I also recommend the following to those who understand Spanish:
- Lecture by Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera: "Lingüística y el nacionalismo lingüístico español" (39:31): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d4B6Hu3z-4A.
- Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera: Entrevista (36:00): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z57J88m0_MU.

[2] "A shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un a flot".

Speaking differently from the dominant majority has always given rise to reactions. Barbarians[3] were identified as such by the Greeks, who regarded their language(s) as what in English we call "babble".[4] This, incidentally, is why the Berbers now prefer their language to be referred to by a more neutral word, *Tamazight*. A similar process occurred to the people in the north of Scandinavia, who prefer Saami to the term "Lapps", a word which came to be scornfully used by their immediate neighbours. A first conclusion here is obvious: it is not the language itself which is under attack, the attack is social, against the people that speak it. Ironically, prejudice can continue even if a people abandon their language completely: it is sufficient for someone to be identified as belonging to such and such a group for that person to continue to be the object of prejudice.

Recent events in the Balkans remind us that the **name** given to a language is of course a political issue. Why else would the split between what for academics still refer to as Serbo-Croat have taken place? Why else would "Macedonian" have appeared, when Bulgarians see it as not significantly different from their own language? Why else would the first "Bosnian" grammar books be published, also not long after independence? These developments lead to differentiation, a search for "genuine" words and expressions that the "other language" does not have, or to scripts that write the same words differently. Such attempts may at times seem laughable, but they are closely interwoven with issues of group (that is, political) identity. They help to create or reinforce political and group borders. They help the difference(s) between "us" and "them" to become more visible.

In any growing territory in which integration is taking place there is more and more movement of, and contact between, people who speak differently. This nearly always takes place in the larger cities (which become larger mainly because of the arrival of new inhabitants). The way people speak in such circumstances obeys the law of linguistic convergence, which is again social rather than linguistic. However, elites tend not to converge with other social classes: even without having to formally propose it, the way the elite speaks comes to be seen, and then to be more or less formally chosen, as the "correct" way of speaking, and others are expected to conform to it. This is Weinreich's army and navy effect.

1. Linguistic fragmentation

In many integrating states linguistic continua are found, and most of the population speaks what in modern terms we would call "varieties" of the same "language". This seems to be declining: in Denmark I am told that the 20th century saw the end of geo-

[3] "Such words as βάρβαρος, βαρβαρίζειν, βαρβαρισμός, βαρβαριστί, βαρβαρόγλωσσος, βαρβαροστομία, βαρβαροφωνεῖν, and βαρβαρόφωνος are indeed often used for indiscriminate gibberish or broken Greek, generally referring to non-Greek speakers, βάρβαροι, but this does not mean that the Greeks thought all non-Greeks spoke the same language. It is true that Strabo suggests that the word βάρβαρος may have originated in onomatopoeia, but he says this in a context in which he refers to the characteristics of various different (non-Greek) languages." (Wasserstein/Wasserstein 2006, 2).

[4] One internet source defines *babble* as "inarticulate speech, such as was used at the building the tower of Babel" (http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/babble). The same source gives Dutch *babbelen*; German *bappeln*, *bappern*; French *babiller*; Italian *babbolare*.

graphical differences, and all Danes now speak like the Copenhageners. But for others the "standard" language means learning a very different language: German-speakers in south Tyrol or Alsace, Basque-speakers in France and Spain, Welsh-speakers in the UK. When a particular speech form is not the basis for wider communication (in modern parlance, when it is not an "official" language), over time it tends to fragment into local forms, and any contact with speakers of other forms will more and more be in the standard language, not in their own, which therefore ceases to have a unified form. It ceases, in effect, to **need** a unified form for a function which it no longer serves, because the function has been usurped by another language. This has happened to Catalan and Occitan, for instance, both being spoken over very wide areas and in several countries. Over time speakers have come to refer to the way they speak by naming it after the local place name: Provençal, Languedocien, Béarnais, Gascon (indeed, the very term "Occitan" is relatively new, as you know); or *rossellonès*, *mallorquí*, *valencià*, *tortosí*, *empordanès*, for Catalan. This is not a banal process, and has political and social consequences. If in the Valencian region the academic word for their language ("Catalan") is used outside educational circles, we may find people hotly denying they speak Catalan, and claiming that "Valencian" is quite different. And as recently as 1986, the language census in southern Catalonia (the district of Tortosa) revealed a fair number of generally aging inhabitants who acknowledged they could understand Catalan but claimed they couldn't speak it (Strubell 1989). For them, their own language was "tortosí", while "Catalan" was what Catalan television presenters and news readers spoke!

Unlike the Balkan phenomenon, in cases such as Catalan and Occitan this name-giving is a result of the **lack** of power. The impact of the standard (official) language leads to language shift, and also to a growing influence on the structure and vocabulary of these language forms. Only in very isolated linguistic islands (such as the Walzer German-speakers in northern Italy, or Occitan-, Greek- or Albanian-speaking villages in central and southern Italy) does that form survive, protected in a relatively "pure", that is archaic, state.

Note that many speakers of these marginalised languages object to the process of developing a shared standard, whereas they are quite happy about the existence of such a standard in the language that is threatening or displacing their own!

The positive side of the processes of standardisation undertaken by many of these languages in the past century or so, is that they are responses to a social need: their introduction into domains such as the media, education or officialdom from which they had been previously excluded.

Physical distance can, of course, lead to fragmentation. So it is odd that North Americans have never claimed they speak "American", the word "English" never being put in doubt. Indeed, Sir Winston Churchill is widely quoted as having described Britain and America as "two great nations divided by the same language" (though I have failed to find the exact citation. It is also attributed to Oscar Wilde, though it seems he actually wrote, in *The Canterville Ghost*, that "We have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, language".

At the same time, it is curious how many South Americans reject the use of the term "Spanish" to designate the language they speak; they prefer the word "Castilian" instead. This is, again, "simply" a matter of the name of the language – yet it is closely related to identity issues.

2. Languages and European integration

Europe has for fifty years been undergoing a process of integration, both through the Council of Europe and, increasingly, through membership of the European Union. This is forcing member States to rethink the role of language, and languages, in their own countries and in national discourse. Only members of the European Parliament and of the Council of Ministers are adamant in protecting what they see as their personal right to be monolingual. They argue (and they have a good point!) that in order not to give anyone else an unfair advantage when it comes to effective communication, such as negotiation and persuasion, everyone has to be able to put their case in the language they speak best. This makes it essential to ensure that translation and interpretation into and out of every single "official and working language of the institutions of the European Union" is freely available to them. But even they pay lip service to what everyone else in Europe sees as essential for a competitive future: the need for each citizen to acquire a good command of several languages, other than their own language. This is the 1+2 objective first formulated, I believe, when madame Cresson was Commissioner for Education and Culture. It was logical that the French (with the support of the Germans) would do their best to ensure that English would not become the only foreign language learned in schools across Europe: only thus could their languages have a good chance of keeping a strong foothold in schools, competing with each other – and not with English, an impossible task and a lost cause almost everywhere – for a fair portion of the **second** foreign language "cake".

Returning to the institutions of the European Union, may I first get on my hobby-horse and criticise the misuse of terms used to refer to the languages included under Regulation No. 1 (1957) of the Council (Strubell 2007). They are not "official European Union languages" or "official Community languages",[5] far less "official European languages". Such terms can be found in Union documents in which the official status of these languages has been the basis of listing languages to be included in programmes. Exceptions to this norm (such as the inclusion of Irish and Luxemburgish in the former Lingua programme) had to be individually justified, with reasons that would not open the floodgates to other languages, some of which have many, many more speakers – and learners across Europe - than others on the list). I shall return to the Lingua programme shortly.

Over a period of time, the number of "official and working languages of the institutions of the European Union" (the correct term, though I admit that the expression is unwieldy!) grew from the highly manageable initial four to the current 23 (am I right?). Well, coping with 23 languages is probably "unwieldy" too! But right from the start, the internal working of the Commission and the Council, largely involving

[5] E.g. http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/static/en/overview/lingua_overview.htm.

the drafting of documents, was not equally in all four languages (French, German, Italian and Dutch). I know of no early studies, but several (e.g. Quell 1997; Lenaerts 2001) found that an overwhelmingly high proportion of EU internal documents were in English or French, and a small minority in German. Virtually no other language was used, even at that time. The imbalance is not only in internal work of the two institutions. Other EU agencies (such as the Research and Patents offices) unblushingly use a limited number of languages, and have won several European court of justice cases in order to continue being able to do so. Unless I'm mistaken (and correct me if I am wrong) the Commission's press office uses five languages in its events, having backed down on a proposal to drop Spanish from this already short list.

The conclusion is this: despite a series of European Parliament resolutions and Council and Commission statements to the effect that all languages are equal (or at least, the 23 languages!), in practice the Union itself has been developing a hierarchy of languages. Even in regard to the official and working languages of the institutions of the European Union - that is, leaving aside the so-called "regional and minority languages" - in the words of Lenaerts (2001):

> the current situation shows no marked improvement over the language problems perceived from the very start. With every accession of new Member states, it again becomes painfully clear that the democratic principle of Regulation No. 1 is a far cry from the undemocratic reality apparent from a consistent stream of complaints and a string of reports re-investigating the problem.

Calls have been made, from Catalonia at least, for the privileged languages (whose industries are powerful generators of wealth and employment) to economically compensate those that are "disenfranchised" by this hierarchy, and whose speakers have to invest time and energy to learn the privileged languages.

3. The "minoritisation" of majority languages?

The speakers of some languages (quite a few, in fact) are beginning to experience a phenomenon that speakers of what many call "minority" languages are all too familiar with. Is "minority" a feature of the language itself (as in "Romance languages"), or of the speakers of the language (as in "immigrant languages")? There is probably no simple answer. What is clear is that it is not a reference (or at least, a direct one) to the size of a language's dictionary! We can probably get closer to the meaning of the word if we paraphrase Weinreich's definition thus:

> A "minority" language is spoken by a people without an army and a navy.

Returning to Weinreich's text, if a language has an army and a navy, it has – almost by definition - a right to be regarded as a "majority" language… where the army and the navy are.

Thus a political frontier can radically change the status of a language in a particular area and, as a result, of its speakers there. Hungarian is the official language of Hungary, to be sure: but what about the several million speakers of the same language that

live across the present borders of Hungary, in neighbouring countries such as Slovakia, Romania, Austria or Serbia and Herzogovina? In these other countries they are speakers of a language which is **not** the official language of the country. Is their national loyalty suspect, for that reason? Some may feel it is, and this is a first step towards xenophobia. I shall come back to this later. Here, my point is that it may be impossible to convey what belonging to a minority actually means, to someone who belongs to the hegemonic, or dominant, culture of their country. I am absolutely certain that belonging to a minority has psychological (or more exactly, socio-psychological) correlates. It is very unlikely that a majority member can appreciate this on the basis merely of a perception of a threat to the status, within an integrated Europe, of many "national" languages.

Nevertheless, the progressive breaking down of linguistic monopolies in a number of domains (such as research, telecommunications, etc.) is raising the alarm in several countries, and this issue may be raised by other speakers at the Conference.

4. Banal nationalism

This inability to perceive the nature of the relationship between a hegemonic language (and culture) and a subordinated language (variously referred to as "lesser-used language", "regional language", "minority language", etc.) is closely related to what Michael Billig (1997) has called "banal nationalism". The member of a hegemonic culture is generally quite unaware of her (or his) nationalistic perspective. It seems quite "natural" to display behaviour, and to hold values and beliefs, with regard to her (or his) own nation, that are exactly equivalent to those held by members of a neighbouring, even hostile, country. Into how many wars have opposing armies marched, invoking the help of the same God: a divine quandary indeed! In the same vein, any member of a "minority" or marginalised group within the same state is likely to be perceived, and therefore portrayed, as a deviant. Using a language other than Spanish (like Catalan), in some parts of Spain, is perceived as a deliberate affront, an aggressive act going against "common sense" and the rules of courtesy… like sticking out your tongue!

For now, let us bear in mind Kymlicka's valuable contribution to the topic, in which he rejects the neoliberal argument that minority groups (such as the constituent nations of America, or national minorities in Europe) need no special legislation to protect them in a liberal democracy. He argues convincingly (to my mind) that such groups (but not, perhaps, immigrants) have a perfect right to ensure that they are protected from the mainstream culture of the majority, and this may include – quite legitimately - legislation and other positive discriminatory measures. In Spain Catalonia's language legislation is often attacked by right wing Spaniards, who would never describe themselves as nationalists, and who may be blissfully unaware of the existence of several hundred laws and norms, many very recent, that make the use of Spanish compulsory. They may be unaware of this, or even be quite happy with it.

Whenever I come to this point, I quote a beautiful graphic, and neat, statement by a Frenchman whose identity escapes me. The fact that it has been attributed to at least eight authors probably attests to its popularity. Though not originally devised to take into account language legislation, it is still appropriate:

> Entre le riche et le pauvre, entre le fort et le faible, c'est la liberté qui opprime, et la loi qui affranchi (or libère).

It is quite legitimate, in short, for positive measures to promote a threatened language. Not to do so is to expose it to erosion from the dominant language and culture. In metaphorical terms: maybe a sheep and a lion **can** live together in the same cage - but you can be sure that the sheep won't sleep at night!

It is in the European context that affirmations about the purported superiority of any given language are most easily shot down. Would anyone accept that "English is the language *par excellence* of freedom, of culture and of creation", or that "El español es la llengua por antonomasia de la libertad, de la cultura, y de la creación"? Well, in fact these are adaptations of a statement by a Frenchman, written not in the throes of the Enlightenment but in 2004, by the French Ministre de la Culture et de la Communication: "Le français est par excellence la langue de la liberté, de la culture et de la création" (Donnedieu de Vabres 2004).

The clash between linguistic ideologies, which is so very, very visible to students of the relationship between majority and minority languages, is now very clear in the attempts to develop a new, much more collaborative view of languages in the European Union.

As I said before, the issue is one of power and status. Languages sometimes fall between the two, however. Why has Ireland not ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages? Nominally, for the same reason as Greece: "no minority languages are spoken here". But in effect, because the status of Irish as the national language and the first official language is incompatible with its public recognition as a minority language. Again, please correct me if I'm mistaken.

The criterion that was applied to Irish for it to become a "Lingua" programme language, despite not being official at EU institutional level, was purely bureaucratic:

> Whereas there is a specific need to encourage the teaching as foreign languages of all official languages of the Communities, together with Irish, *one of the languages in which the Treaties establishing the European Communities are drafted*, and Letzeburgesch, a language spoken throughout the territory of Luxembourg […]. (Lingua Programme Council Decision 1989)[6]

Note that the criterion for including Letzeburgesch was carefully chosen to ensure no other (that is, no "minority") language could claim the same status; it is perhaps significant that it did not say that Letzeburgesch was official throughout the member state (Strubell 2007).

[6] 89/489/EEC: Council Decision of 28 July 1989 establishing an action programme to promote foreign language competence in the European Community (Lingua). Official Journal L 239, 16/08/1989, 24-32. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31989D0489:EN:HTML.

Basically, then, every member of the European Union sitting round the table wanted their own language included in the list of Lingua languages. This was (perhaps part of) the cost of obtaining their vote in favour of the programme.

5. Invisible ideologies

But power has another perverse consequence that I should like to discuss with you today. Being the sole language of the administration of a country leads to choosing to use it becoming automatic, or taken for granted. The very discourse behind it becomes invisible, in fact. Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera, who holds a Chair in General Linguistics at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, is the author of a book which has been very successful, at least in non-Spanish-speaking parts of Spain: *El nacionalismo lingüístico. Una ideología destructiva*. His book claims that from a linguist's point of view, only one language is politically driven by what he describes as "linguistic nationalism", and that is Spanish. Given that the language policies of Catalonia and, to a lesser extent, Galicia and the Basque country, are periodically subjected to onslaughts through the press, the radio and other media, it was timely to hear the considered opinion of a Spaniard who is not regarded as being an active partner in these sterile but bitter controversies.

In a nutshell, two ideologies can be evoked to defend or promote a language in contact with another. This has been studied by Susan Gal and Kathryn Woolard (2001) through two concepts: **Authenticity** and **Anonymity**.

> The ideology *of Authenticity* locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self. Within the logic of authenticity, a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value. [In some circumstances "the significance of the authentic voice is taken to be what it signals about who you are, more than what you say"] (Woolard 2005, 2)

> In contrast to minoritized languages, hegemonic languages in modern society often rest their authority on a conception of *anonymity*. The disembodied, disinterested public, freed through rational discourse from the constraints of a socially specific perspective, supposedly achieves a superior "aperspectival objectivity" that has been called "a view from nowhere" [quote from Nagel (1986), M.S.] […] Anonymity is attributed not just to publics but also to public languages. We have seen that a minority language like Corsican gets no authority from sounding like it is from "nowhere". But dominant languages do. (Woolard 2005, 3-4)

Woolard concludes that

> Sociolinguistic case studies have shown how an ideology of anonymity allows institutionally or demographically dominant languages to consolidate their position into one of hegemony […] which allows their superordinate position to be naturalized, taken for granted, and placed beyond question. (Woolard 2005, 4)

For Gal and Woolard, this is a highly political issue, going well beyond linguistics.

> The standard language, usually best instantiated in print, defines (and legitimates) a political territory, sometimes precisely because it is not spoken by any actual group [...] and [...] is "devoid of ethnic inflection" (Gal/Woolard 2001, 8, quoted by Frekko 2009, 71-72)

Once a language gets into this "anonymous" position, its hegemonic status becomes invisible, unquestionable, taken for granted. And attempts to provide a framework (social, economic, political…) in which a so-called minority language can survive are doomed to be attacked. The very use of a particular language may be seen as **rude as sticking out your tongue.** All the more so when, as often occurs, the language of the minority is the hegemonic language, across the border, of a neighbouring state. Members of such a language community, rather than being regarded as an opportunity for international cooperation and trade, may be seen, instead, as potential traitors. An uncomfortable situation, which Alsatians, for instance, have avoided by insisting that their language (which is virtually identical to the language spoken just across the river in Germany) is most certainly NOT German.

6. EFNIL and the other languages of Europe

I come to my final question: why should EFNIL close its doors to the official academies of other European languages, merely on the grounds that they are not "official and working language of the institutions of the European Union"? I shall state the case for Catalan (natively spoken in four European countries, by over eight million people, with a literary tradition dating back at least eight centuries, widely used as an official language, and also in the media, the education system at all levels, etc. and with a unique top level domain on the Internet, .CAT[7]). Other languages can also put in a strong case. But allow me to choose Catalan to illustrate my point.

Our own Academy is the ***Institut d'Estudis Catalans***, a member of the **International Union of Academies** (IUA),[8] an organisation founded in 1919 with the following objective:

"To encourage cooperation in the advancement of studies through collaborative research and publications in those branches of learning promoted by the Academies and institutions represented in the IUA: philology, archaeology, history, the moral, political and social sciences."

"Le but [...] est la coopération au progrès des études par des recherches et des publications collectives, dans l'ordre des sciences cultivées par les académies et institutions scientifiques participantes: sciences philologiques, archéologiques et historiques, sciences morales, politiques et sociales."

Since then Catalan delegates in the IUA have included (among others) Pere Bosch i Gimpera, Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, Ramon Aramon, Josep Ainaud de Lasarte and, currently, Josep Guitart. Even when the Institute had to survive in a semi-clandestine state under the Franco regime, it still remained a member of the IUA.

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[7] The domain got the green light on September 16th, 2005. According to a recent report (personal communication from Joan Soler i Martí, of WICCAC, 27/9/2009), 38,000 websites now use this TLD.

[8] http://www.uai-iua.org/english/delegates/delegates_s_en.asp.

It is not irrelevant, I think, to point out that the following European organisations belong to both the International Union of Academies and to EFNIL:

– Bulgarian Academy of Sciences,
– Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
– Accademia della Crusca (Italy),
– Institut Grand Ducal (Luxembourg),
– Polska Akademii Nauk (Poland),
– Academia Româna,
– Slovenská Akadémia Vied (Slovakia).

It is also to my mind significant that a number of countries are represented in EFNIL by several organisations: Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and the UK.

Article 1 of your Constitution states that

> The European Federation of National Institutions for Language is a body consisting of the central or national institutions for research, documentation and policy relating to the officially recognised standard languages within the states of the European Union ("EU"), called Federation Members. (EFNIL Constitution Article 1)

Inasmuch as Catalan, Basque and Galician are "officially recognised standard languages" which are not the object of study of Spain's "central or national institution" devoted to language, but have their own institutions spanning international borders, in two of the three cases, an invitation to them would, I'm sure, be in the mutual interest of all concerned.

7. Conclusion

Catalans feel that we share many of the challenges facing other medium-sized languages, that we can learn from their experience… and perhaps share with them some of our own experience. As a graphic example of this: on this very day, November 5th, the second of three sessions is being held in Barcelona on the subject "The challenges facing medium-sized language communities in the 21st Century". It is the turn of Latvian, Estonian and Hebrew linguists to explain their experience.

Thankfully, the days of outright repression of languages and their use seem to be over. Children are no longer scolded in the classroom for speaking their own language, nor are teachers threatened with unemployment or sanctions if they use theirs even in the playground. But this does not mean to say that all of Europe's languages are now politically or socially equal: and there are still parts of Europe where conflict on account of language is present. There are still parts of Europe where using a particular language is perceived as being as rude as sticking out your tongue.

All this should help to break down the conceptual barriers that have created hierarchical divisions between languages... and in the case of subordinated languages, their speakers as well. These conceptual barriers are in themselves big obstacles to be over-

come. I am sure that the European Federation of National Institutions of Language can play an important role in achieving this goal. I am confident that the whole of Europe will benefit as a result.

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Robert Dunbar

Successful cohabitation: What contribution can the law really make?

The subject matter of EFNIL's 2009 annual conference, the relationship between official languages on the one hand and regional or minority languages on the other, is an important one, and as a speaker of Scottish Gaelic, a regional or minority language, and a threatened one at that, it is a reason for optimism that the organisation which represents organisations concerned with national or official languages has chosen this topic. This is because the "cohabitation" to which my paper, refers, that between official languages on the one hand and regional or minority languages on the other, has generally been an uneasy one, and often speakers of regional or minority languages will place blame on official languages, or at least on the state behind the decision to promote an official language, for this at-times troubled relationship. It is, however, difficult to deny that the selection and implementation of an official language (or languages) inevitably has consequences for the other languages of the state, and that frequently these consequences have been negative.

Until the nineteenth century, these consequences tended, however, to be less dramatic than they have been since. Prior to the nineteenth century, the rather limited role of the state in the day-to-day life of the population, combined with the relatively limited integration of local economies into national and trans-national ones, meant that the great majority of the population of the state which spoke regional or minority languages − or, indeed, non-standard forms of the official language − were relatively unaffected by the state's linguistic choices. As a result, great heterogeneity prevailed. As Graham Robb has pointed out in his fine 2007 book *The Discovery of France*, Abbé Henri Grégoire's linguistic survey of France in the early 1790s revealed that only about a tenth of the population of France spoke standard modern French, while over twenty percent could barely hold a conversation in it and a further twenty percent or more were completely ignorant of it (Robb 2007, 50-55). Such public administration as there was before the nineteenth century tended to be carried on by a local officialdom which was generally conversant with the local regional or minority language or non-standard dialect. Nationalist ideologies, which have generally had profoundly negative consequences for regional or minority languages, were only gaining currency at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, the state had relatively few practical or ideological reasons for insisting upon linguistic uniformity, and even if the state did have such an agenda, it had relatively limited tools for putting it into effect. Most attempts at promoting linguistic uniformity through the cultivation of a "national language" were limited in scope, and in the impact that they had on speakers of minority languages (Wright 2007, 19-41).

Take, for example, a couple of examples from the United Kingdom. Henry VIII keenly promoted English within his kingdom, with a view to creating a uniform, English language-based legal and administrative system. Thus, section 17 of the Act of Union of 1536, the legislation which formally incorporated the Principality of Wales into Eng-

land, provided that the language of the courts in Wales would be English, that oaths, affidavits and verdicts would be given in English, that court records would be kept in English, and that no person should hold public office unless he spoke English. It is generally agreed that this legislation *did* have the effect of increasingly anglicising the Welsh aristocracy, such that they ceased, over time, to be patrons of Welsh-speaking society. However, Henry's legislation generally had relatively little impact beyond the aristocracy; the so-called 'lower orders' of Welsh society continued to be strongly monolingually Welsh-speaking (Davies 1993, 25; Davies 2000, 80).

A similar story could be told in Scotland. James the VI of Scotland and I of Britain viewed the Gaelic language of the Scottish Highlands with suspicion, and saw it as a barrier to the full integration of the Highlands into his kingdom. Much like Henry's Act of Union of 1536, the James' Statutes of Iona of 1609 sought to anglicize the Highland aristocracy, through, for example, requiring prominent West Highland clan chiefs to educate their sons in English in Lowland schools. An Act of the Privy Council in 1616 to ratify the Statutes of Iona announced as a general goal that "the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language [i.e. Scots Gaelic] […] be abolisheit and removit". Gaelic language activists to this day point to these statutes as an important watershed in the decline of the language; however, their actual effects in terms of producing language shift seem to have been very limited, even amongst the class against which they were directed (MacKinnon 1991, 45-49).

Things changed dramatically over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however. In the UK, census data on two of its minority languages, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic, have only been collected since 1881, and it is difficult to be certain of the demographic position of these languages before then. However, in 1891 both languages were in relatively good shape. In that year, 910,289 respondents, or 54.4% of the Welsh population, reported themselves as Welsh-speaking, and 508,036 were monoglots (Davies 2000, 89). In that year there were 254,415 Gaelic speakers − almost seven percent of the population, and about a fifth of them, or 43,738, were monoglotsm (MacKinnon 2000, 44; Robertson 2001, 84). Over the succeeding 110 years, numbers of speakers of both languages have declined markedly − in the 2001 Census, 582,368 people identified themselves as being able to speak Welsh, or 20.8% of the population aged three and over (Office for National Statistics 2004, 39, 7), and 58,652 people reported themselves as being able to speak Gaelic, or about 1.2% of the population (General Register Office for Scotland 2005, Table 1); aside perhaps for some very young children, there are no longer Welsh- or Gaelic-speaking monoglots.

So, what happened? A number of different factors were at work on minority languages such as Welsh and Gaelic over the last two centuries, but state language policy has played a significant role. The nineteenth century saw more concerted attempts to standardize language use throughout the UK, notably through the school system, and these efforts continued to act to the detriment of Welsh and Gaelic. The Education Act, 1870 for England and Wales and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 for Scotland introduced universal state-supported education, but only through the medium of English; there is general agreement that such legislation contributed significantly to the shift from the Celtic languages to English, a shift which is apparent in census returns from 1891

onwards (Davies 2000, 87; MacKinnon 1991, 74-80). The ethos which underlay such legislation continued to prevail into the twentieth century, and has been described by Viv Edwards in these terms:

> Inasmuch as a language policy existed in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, it focussed on the unacceptability of Celtic languages and non-standard dialects of English in education, and the importance of teaching the standard. British schools were monolingual, monocultural institutions, one of whose functions was to enlighten those who departed from received linguistic and cultural norms. (Edwards 1984, 49)

At roughly the same time that these changes were being introduced into the education system, new transportation technology, particularly the railroad, promoted greater contact between speakers of Celtic languages and English-speakers, and created greater economic opportunities for those who mastered the dominant language. The introduction of local government in the late nineteenth century, and in the twentieth the development of modern communications technology, such as radio, then television, and of a greatly enhanced state apparatus through, for example, the health care system, has all been accomplished, in the main, through the *de facto* official language, which in the UK is English. Even in the absence of nationalist ideologies − and such ideologies also tended to inform language policy − the assumption was the use of a single, common language was more efficient and should be encouraged (Wright 2004, 42-68; May 2001, 61-68).

The combination of education policies and these other developments produced a minority language-speaking population that generally became bilingual, and created patterns of diglossia which were distinctly disadvantageous for the minority language, in that higher domains (H domains) tended to be reserved for the official language and lower domains (L domains) for the minority language. These patterns of diglossia tended also to be unstable, in that the greater prestige and social and economic opportunities associated with the official language, together with the greater presence of non-speakers of the minority language in most domains, tended to encourage speakers of the minority languages to abandon them even in L domains. So far, so typical, and this story will be a familiar one in most European states.

This process did not always happen peacefully. The privileging of one language or one form of a language created advantages for speakers of that variety, and disadvantages for speakers of other varieties, for example in respect of economic and sometimes social opportunities (see, generally, Tollefson 1991). Nationalist ideologies, always present during this period, often had a highly chauvinist tenor, thereby sharpening popular awareness of linguistic differences, and heightening grievances and resentments of members of minority linguistic communities, particularly where the attitudes engendered in majorities by such ideologies resulted in explicit acts of discrimination and other forms of exclusion based on language or on association with a linguistic minority (Wolff 2006, 58-88, esp. 68-70).

I shall not concentrate on international law in this presentation, as relevant principles may be considered by other contributions (see, however, Dunbar 2007, for an account). However, I thought that I might start with a few words on it, because it does offer a

useful point of reference, or at least a useful point of *departure*, particularly with respect to the goals of managing linguistic diversity in a state and managing the relationship between official languages and regional or minority languages. In this, international law does form a loose framework for state policy, practice and legislation.

So, what does international law tell us? First, it has taken a relatively *laisser-faire* approach to the management of linguistic diversity within states. Generally, states are free to select whichever official language or languages they please, and where they have done so, they are generally entitled to implement such choices in the education system, public administration, legal system, broadcasting system and so forth.[1]

Second, international law has tended to become engaged only where state language policies have contributed to conflict which has threatened peace and stability. The first major attempt at standard-setting with regard to managing linguistic (and wider) diversity came after the First World War, with the so-called League of Nations Minorities System, and was motivated by the perceived instability in parts of central and eastern Europe. The second major attempt came with the burst of standard-setting in the 1990s, primarily within the OSCE and the Council of Europe, culminating in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities[2] of 1995, but also at the global level in the UN, where in 1992 the General Assembly passed its Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.[3] As with the post-World War One burst of standard setting, this contemporary one came in response to the threat of ethnic violence and instability, this time attendant on the fall of Communism (see, generally, Dunbar 2006).

However, even in the absence of any immediate threat to peace and security caused by domestic language policies, the so-called 'human rights era' ushered in by the major post-Second World War multilateral human rights treaties[4] has placed restrictions on the most forcefully assimilationist language regimes, through, for example, the protec-

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1 See, for example, the case of *Podkolzina v. Latvia*, No. 46726/99, Judgment of 9 April, 2002, in which the European Court of Human Rights observed, in the context of the designation of a language as an official language, that the choice of the working language of a national parliament "is determined by historical and political considerations specific to each country" and „is in principle one which the State alone has power to make." (para. 34). In an EU context, the European Court of Justice found in the case of *Groener v. Ireland*, Case C-379/87, [1989] ECR 3987, that the requirement under Irish law that all teachers must demonstrate proficiency in Irish, even where the teacher was not going to be teaching through the medium of Irish, was not in violation of EU law (in particular, the right to free movement of persons). The Court stated: "The EEC Treaty does not prohibit the adoption of a policy for the protection and promotion of a language of a Member State which is both the national language and the first official language", which Irish is under the Irish constitution (para. 19).

2 CETS No. 157, 1 February 1995, available at this website: http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/157.htm.

3 General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992, available at this website: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/minorities.htm.

4 For example, the United Nation's *International Covenant on Civil and Political* Rights, 16 December 1966 (available at this website: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm), and the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (the 'European Convention on Human Rights'), 4 November 1950, CETS No. 5 (available at this website: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/005.htm).

tion of the right to freedom of expression, as well as through the application of the principle of non-discrimination. Furthermore, there are signs that paradigms other than merely a 'peace and security' paradigm are now beginning to guide the development of international law in relation to the management of linguistic diversity, or, to put it slightly differently, the 'cohabitation' of official languages and regional or minority languages.

In the most recent round of standard setting, which began, as noted, in the early 1990s, a wider approach in the law can be detected, most notably in treaties such as the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages[5] and in some of the recent standard-setting within UNESCO, including the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001,[6] the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003,[7] and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of 2005.[8] Increasingly, emphasis is being placed on the positive value attached to cultural diversity, implying a greater duty to protect cultural and linguistic minorities and to preserve and promote the survival of their cultures and languages.[9] At the same time, there is developing in international law a broader conception of human rights in which respect for cultural and linguistic identities is increasingly understood and accepted as an important aspect of the protection of the integrity of the person.[10] Finally, there are also developments in the law relating to indigenous peoples, most notably the 2007 UN General Assembly Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,[11] which may well have significant implications over time for the terms of cohabitation between official languages and the languages of such peoples.

I would like now to turn to some general propositions with regard to the role of the law in promoting successful cohabitation that seem to me to flow from these more recent developments in international law. The first is that successful cohabitation requires forms of integration of linguistic minorities that will tend to reduce or eliminate conflict or potential conflict. The second is that successful cohabitation requires the protection and, indeed, the promotion of regional or minority languages. I take it as a given that the achievement of some form of stable diglossia, together with a stabilising of

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5 CETS No. 148, 5 November 1993, available at this website: http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/148.htm.

6 Available at this website: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf.

7 17 October 2003, available at this website: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

8 20 October 2005, available at this website: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf.

9 In the preamble to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, for example, reference is made to the contribution to "the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions" that is made by the "protection of the historical regional or minority languages of Europe", and to the contribution that the protection and promotion of such languages can make to the building of a "Europe based on the principles of democracy and *cultural diversity*" (emphasis added).

10 See, for example, Henrard 2008, 343-345, in the context of the European Convention on Human Rights jurisprudence.

11 UN General Assembly Resolution 61/295 of 13 September 2007, available at this website: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/drip.html. See also the very important International Labour Organization Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, 27 June 1989, available at this website: http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C169.

demographic patterns which, I think, stable diglossia generally implies, is a necessary minimum condition for the achievement of this second proposition.[12] My final proposition is that achieving the first, the reduction of conflict or potential conflict, is more easily accomplished than the second, the achievement of some form of stable diglossia.

With regard to the second of these propositions, I would also suggest that it is most understandable that we should look to the law to assist us. There is a certain logic to this. After all, as we have seen earlier in this contribution, the law generally played an important role in destabilising regional or minority languages. As we have seen, by introducing universal public education through the majority language alone, the state created a powerful dynamic working against the maintenance of the regional or minority languages. Thus, logic would seem to dictate that if we wish to preserve and promote those languages, we should, for example, legislate to ensure the provision of minority-language education rights. The appearance of state-regulated or, often, state-controlled mass media such as radio and television generally brought the official language into the most intimate of language domains, the homes of speakers of regional or minority languages. A Gaelic-speaking informant in rural Newfoundland once captured perfectly the effects of this on the Gaelic oral tradition, and by implication the language that supported it, in speaking to the Scottish Folklorist Margaret Bennett: "When the television came in the front door[,] the old stories went out the back" (Bennett 1993, 80). Again, the seemingly logical response is to legislate to place obligations on states with respect to minority language broadcasting. And, as discussed earlier, the greater the presence of the state in the daily lives of speakers of regional or minority languages, through, for example, the public administration and the provision of public services, has naturally led to calls for the creation of "language rights" for speakers of the regional or minority languages or, sometimes, calls for "official status" for those minority language, in order to allow them to use their language more widely in dealing with the state.

Though there is an understandable logic to these responses, that logic is not a failsafe. For example, while it is undeniable that the historic exclusion of regional or minority languages from the education system has weakened those languages, it does not necessarily follow that their reintroduction into the school system will, by itself, reverse the effects. In his fundamentally important 1991 book *Reversing Language Shift*, Joshua Fishman has emphasised that what happens in the home is the single most crucial factor in efforts to preserve and promote regional or minority languages. All efforts should be directed at encouraging intergenerational transmission of the language in the home, literally, the passing of the language from parents to their children (Stage 6 in Fishman's analytical framework) (Fishman 1991, 92-95, 111-114). He notes that the school has an important role to play in reinforcing the acquisition of the language that has begun in the home, but he has cautioned that the school cannot be expected to

[12] In this regard, in 2007, the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages developed a methodology for assessing language vitality and endangerment, entitled "Language Vitality and Endangerment", submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Paris, 10–12 March 2003, available at this website: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf.

replace intergenerational transmission in the home or make up for weaknesses in intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991, 368-380). While more research remains to be done, there is at least some evidence to support Fishman's assertions. In Canada, for example, where immersion education for children from non-French-speaking homes is now well-established, there have been impressive increases in the numbers of English-speaking Canadians who now claim to be bilingual. However, because learning in the schools tends not to get reinforced outside of the schools, once students graduate, their linguistic ability almost immediately begins to decline. Even at the end of their immersion experience, their actual linguistic abilities in spoken and written French tend to vary wildly. Most significantly, for the purposes of preserving and promoting French, the actual use made by most graduates of immersion programmes tends to be minimal (Fraser 2006, 183-210). Minority language education − both the teaching of the language as a subject and teaching through the medium of the language − can produce 'census effects', a phenomenon with which our Irish hosts will be familiar: impressive numbers of people who claim bilingual abilities, but whose true abilities in the minoritised language are limited, and whose use of it is also extremely minimal, thereby creating the illusion that all is well with the minoritised language.[13] I am not suggesting for a moment that minority language education is unimportant in the preservation and promotion of regional or minority languages; I am merely emphasising that it is no panacea.

One of the other contributors to this collection, Miquel Strubell, has developed a very useful model, the 'Catherine Wheel' model, to guide the promotion of minoritised languages (see, for example, Strubell 1998, 2001). This model suggests how various legislative initiatives of the sort with which we are concerned here − legislation to guarantee minority language education, minority language broadcasting, minority language public services, and so forth − can create a virtuous and self-reinforcing cycle of language acquisition and use. Let us start with the provision of enhanced levels of minority language medium education. Strubell posits that greater numbers of people with competence in the language will create a greater demand for public services through the medium of the language. This, in turn, will require the employment of greater numbers of people in the public sector with the minority language competences necessary to deliver such services. This will enhance the perceived utility of the language, leading to greater demand to acquire it, and so forth. As Strubell himself has noted, though, the linkages between acquisition, use, demand for services, supply of services, and enhanced desire for acquisition are complex and far from automatic. For example, increased acquisition may not, as we have just seen in respect of the Canadian experience of French immersion education, necessarily lead to greater use or, with it, greater demand for minority language services. Increased employment opportunities for those

[13] The 2002 Irish census indicated that some 1.57 million people, or 42.85% of the population of Ireland, reported some competence in Irish; however, only 339,541 used the language on a daily basis, and over three quarters of those, 76.78%, were in the school-going population (where they would be receiving instruction in the language); 78.38% of the 1.57 million who claimed some competence in Irish also claimed either never to have used Irish, or used in infrequently, or did not make any claims about their use of Irish (Ó Murchú 2008, 41). So, universal exposure to some Irish through the education system has produced a large number of people claiming some competence, but this is not matched by actual levels of use.

with the minority language may not lead to significantly higher levels of acquisition: for most speakers of regional or minority languages, there are still far more jobs in which the language is irrelevant than those in which it is necessary, and therefore some expansion in the number of jobs requiring the regional or minority language may not have a dramatic effect on the desire to learn the language. As we shall see, the broader context is enormously important here. Strubell recognises that these sorts of problems will exist, and has observed that the role of the language planner is to intervene to address problems in stregthening the linkages that the model anticipates.

To summarise, I do not mean to suggest that the law is irrelevant to our efforts to preserve and promote regional or minority languages, to achieve at a minimum some form of stable diglossia. I do mean to suggest, however, that the precise effects of the law on sociolinguistic realities, the actual impact on things like the perceived status and perceived utility of the language, and the impact of such perceptions on actual language behaviour, such as the decision to acquire or to use the language, are not yet well understood, and require much more research. In the last part of this paper, I will suggest that both the form of the legislative intervention and the broader context within which such intervention operates will have a profound effect on the actual contribution that the law can make, and that this should be considered carefully by activists who make a priority of engaging in some campaign for some form of legislative recognition, or some form of 'official' status for one's language. I also make a plea for much more research on these complex, difficult, but ultimately very important issues.

In the final part of this contribution, I would like to turn to a consideration of how we might group different types of language legislation, with a view to outlining a typology of such legislation. The aim of this exercise is to better address the ways in which the law can contribute, first to the reduction or elimination of conflict in societies in which an official language (or languages) and regional or minority languages cohabit, and second to the protection and promotion of those regional or minority languages.

The first type of legal regime for language which I would like to consider is what could be called a regime of linguistic tolerance. What does a **tolerance regime** involve? Essentially, such a regime is based on certain core civil and political rights which are now generally accepted in international and domestic human rights standards. I am thinking here of freedoms such as the freedom of expression and the freedom of association: these are freedoms which allow members of linguistic minorities to deal with each other in their own language, to communicate with their customers through the medium of their own language in advertisements and signage, to form their own cultural organisations, their own schools, even their own representative organisations such as political parties, and to develop their own media such as radio stations and newspapers and journals. I am also thinking of the prohibition on discrimination based on language or the association with or membership in a linguistic minority, which helps to ensure against various forms of social exclusion. In a sense, a tolerance regime, understood in these terms, does not need to involve language-specific legislation at all; certain general human rights standards of relevance to language but not explicitly directed at language will suffice.

A tolerance regime is a particularly useful defence against coercive or strongly assimilationist language policies, and such policies are still followed in some places or have been employed to at least some extent in some European states fairly recently. A tolerance regime will guarantee for speakers of regional or minority languages the possibility of creating social spaces − essentially, linguistic domains − in which their languages can be freely used.

Tolerance regimes usually contribute significantly to reductions in conflict or threats of conflict, as they minimise acts of direct interference with language use, something that tends to provoke the greatest resentment and resistance on the part of the linguistic minority. However, tolerance regimes tend to do little to address the various forces which contribute to the unstable diglossia which were described earlier in this presentation, as they do not address the majority-language dominant educational policies which affect, the limited social and economic opportunities that are available through the medium of, and the generally lower levels of prestige associated with regional or minority languages. As a result, linguistic minorities often aspire to a language policy and associated legislative regime that will assist in preserving and promoting their languages by addressing these issues, and that goes well beyond simply ensuring the ability to get on in their private relationships free from interference, as is typical of a tolerance regime.

A second type of legal regime is what could be described as an **accommodation regime**. Under such a regime, the state will provide a service to users of minority languages where language is a barrier because such users have an insufficient command of the official language, thereby effectively limiting their access to the public service being provided. There is a legal argument that provision of minority language services in these circumstances may be implicit in the non-discrimination principle common to most human rights regimes of the equal protection of the law. Under this principle, if a class of citizens are disadvantaged in access to a service, the state is obliged to take steps to address this. Thusfar, however, this principle has not been widely applied in a linguistic context, although in a 1974 American Supreme Court decision in the case of *Lau v. Nichols* ((1974) 414 US 563), the court applied this principle in deciding that the city of San Francisco was under an obligation to make some accommodation for a large number of schoolchildren from Chinese speaking households who had insufficient English to benefit from the English-medium education which they had been forced to receive. The failure of the city to provide some special educational programming − at very least, transitional bilingual education − meant that the Chinese-speaking students were in a disadvantageous position as compared with schoolchildren coming from English-speaking homes.

While it is increasingly common for some public authorities, such as local councils, transport, and health care providers, in linguistically mixed urban environments to provide at least some services through the medium of at least some of the more commonly-spoken non-official languages of the community, this is generally not done in response to or as part of a legislative framework, but as a matter of administrative practice. These accommodation regimes can, of course, be extremely important to many

users of many languages associated with immigrant communities; however, they tend to be less important to users of autochthonous regional or minority languages, as these users tend to be bilingual (at least in a European context they do), due to the historical forces described earlier, and are therefore not seriously disadvantaged by any failure to provide service through the medium of their language. Thus, in practice, accommodation regimes have relatively little impact on the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages; they can, however, promote the reduction of conflict to the extent that they can reduce the social exclusion of non-speakers of the official language or languages, and to the extent that they constitute, and are perceived to be, a recognition and acceptance of linguistic diversity within the society.

One of the most important types of legal regime for the management of linguistic diversity is one which involves constitutional or quasi-constitutional recognition and validation of the minority linguistic community and its claims. This accommodation can take a number of forms. At one extreme is the option of full independence, which is an option that was exercised by most of the republics of the former Soviet Union, and is one that is regularly considered by Quebec nationalists in Canada. Obviously, this provides the opportunity to the linguistic community to select its own language as the official language of the new state, and to promote its generalised use through many of the same techniques that were described above and that have been employed on behalf of official languages in most states. Other constitutional options fall short of independent statehood, but range from significant regional autonomy regimes of the sort that we find, for example, in the Åland Islands, to various forms of federalism, such as exist in Canada, Switzerland and Belgium, to devolution arrangements of the sort we see in the UK and, arguably, Spain (although its regime also has elements of a federal arrangement), to more limited forms such as local self-government regimes. In all these cases, however, there is a recognition that the linguistic minority tends to be associated with a particular region within the state, and some measure of legislative, administrative and sometimes judicial authority is turned over to the relevant regional institutions. The relevance for language policy is that these institutions can choose to promote the use of the regional or minority language in those policy areas for which they have competence under the constitutional settlement, and I shall return to the types of promotional regimes that have been employed by such regional institutions.

Where there are regionally concentrated linguistic minorities, these forms of constitutional accommodation can go a considerable way towards reducing potential conflict, although it must also be recognised that there is disagreement in the now-extensive literature on autonomy regimes as to whether they do indeed promote stable integration (see, for example, McGarry/O'Leary/Simeon 2008, 41-88). With respect to protecting and promoting regional or minority languages, the precise linguistic impact of the constitutional arrangements will depend on a number of factors, including the strength of the promotional regime which, as mentioned, I shall return to shortly. It must be remembered, though, that competence with respect to certain policy areas will be retained by the central or national authorities, and the language policy that those authorities pursue can have a considerable sociolinguistc impact on the regional or minority languages. Where, for example, the central or national authorities have shown

little or no inclination to mirror the linguistic policy followed by the regional authorities, the potentially supportive linguistic impact of constitutional accommodation can be blunted. Indeed, where the range of legislative, administrative and judicial powers allocated to the regional authorities under the constitutional arrangements are limited, existing linguistic hierarchies will not be overturned, meaning that existing diglossic patterns may not be significantly altered, in spite of the supportive policy and legislative approach taken at the regional level.

The next type of legal regime is one in which explicit **language rights** are created. These can, as in the Canadian case, supplement the form of constitutional accommodation chosen, by effectively guaranteeing certain key language rights against both the national/central government and against sub-national (e.g. regional/provincial/state/territorial) governments, or they can, as in the Finnish case, apply in a unitary state in which (outside of the special status of the Åland Islands), no sub-national strata of government exists (except municipal or local governments, which are found in virtually all states). Language rights regimes typically provide to users of the regional or minority language the right to obtain services in their language in a variety of contexts, which often include the right to education in or through the medium of their language, the right to obtain at least some public services through the language, and the right to use the language in the courts and before administrative tribunals.[14] In some cases, such as the Canadian federal regime, the language rights regime can include the right for employees of public institutions to use their language as the language of work.[15] Finally, these sorts of rights regimes often provide for the right to use the regional or minority language within deliberative bodies, such as national, regional or local legislatures.[16]

Advocates of regional or minority languages often place great emphasis on language rights, and seek the establishment of a language rights regime. This is unsurprising. We now live in a 'rights culture' and rights claims are easy to understand. A right generally promises a remedy; where a government is reluctant to recognise a claim, the existence of a right usually allows for a legal recourse in the courts against the state. A right generally creates an unavoidable obligation for the state.

The existence of a language right can certainly contribute to peace and security by giving the minority a mechanism for redressing perceived failures of the state to address seriously their linguistic needs. However, it must also be remembered that language rights regimes are not a panacea, and in particular with regard to the protection and promotion of the regional or minority language, they have their limitations. First, a rights regime is a useful weapon in addressing a failure in policy, but it is probably an imperfect substitute for good policy: most users of regional or minority languages

[14] See, for example, sections 19, 20 and 23, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Part I of the Constitution Act 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, and Parts III and IV, the Official Languages Act 1988, R.S. 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.).

[15] Part V, the Official Languages Act 1988, R.S. 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.).

[16] In Canada, this right applies within the federal Parliament, as well as those of two provinces, New Brunswick and Quebec: sections 17 and 18, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Part I of the Constitution Act 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, and Parts I and II, the Official Languages Act 1988, R.S. 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.), as well as section 133, The Constitution Act 1867 (U.K.), 30 & 31 Victoria, c. 3.

would rather have the state simply provide the services they desire without having to go to the trouble and expense of resorting to the courts. Second, at best, rights create the possibility of linguistic choice: where people are bilingual − the usual situation, as noted, for most users of regional or minority languages in Europe − a language right allows them to use their own language, or the official one. However, speakers of minority languages do not always take advantage of this right to choose to use their own language, something which has been noted in Canada, Wales and many other jurisdictions with some form of rights regime. Often, users of minority languages simply do not know that they have language rights, or what those rights imply, and public institutions may do little to bring the option of using the regional or minority language to the attention of its users. In Canada and elsewhere, the concept of 'active offer' has been developed to address this issue;[17] under this concept, the public institution which is under the obligation created by the right to serve the public bilingually must inform the public of their language rights, and must take positive steps to encourage rights holders to make use of their rights. Other reasons for the failure to take full advantage of a language right can be complex. Users of the language are accustomed, through long practice, to using the official language in dealing with the public sector, and may simply feel more comfortable to continue to do so. Because of the historical exclusion of the minority language from the education system, many users of regional or minority languages may simply feel uncomfortable or unable to use their language in more formal settings or in respect of more formal types of subject matter. Sometimes users of such languages actually doubt the quality of the service that they might receive through their language. And, finally, many users of regional or minority languages are reluctant to use their language rights because they fear being perceived as 'trouble makers', a theme that comes up frequently in the reports of international treaty monitoring bodies such as the Committee of Experts under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Another problem with language rights regimes is that they generally apply only to the state sector; this is problematic because most of our daily communication is with the non-State sector, and outside of the school system, the individual has relatively little daily engagement with the public sector. Thus, a rights regime tends not to have any direct effect on language patterns in a large number of domains, thereby limiting its ability to alter broader patterns of language use.

I shall conclude this contribution by turning back to the types of legal regimes that can be introduced to promote the regional or minority language, particularly by subnational levels of government created under one of the forms of constitutional accommodation referred to above. The most important of these, in my view, in terms of their

[17] Section 28, in Part IV, the Official Languages Act 1988, R.S. 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.), which provides as follows: "Every federal institution that is required under this Part to ensure that any member of the public can communicate with and obtain available services from an office or facility of that institution, or of another person or organization on behalf of that institution, in either official language shall ensure that appropriate measures are taken, including the provision of signs, notices and other information on services and the initiation of communication with the public, to make it known to members of the public that those services are available in either official language at the choice of any member of the public. "

ability to effect significant change in language use, are legal regimes which could be described as **strong promotional regimes**. The best examples of these are from Quebec (specifically, the 1977 Law 101, the Charter of the French Language[18]), from Catalonia (specifically, the 1998 Act on Linguistic Policy[19] and the 2006 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia[20]), and from many of the newly-independent republics of the former Soviet Union. These various regimes share a certain similarity in terms of content. First, in addition to providing significant guarantees for the use of the minority language in public institutions,[21] in the receipt of public services,[22] and in the court system,[23] they also contain an element of compulsion with regard to education, by making education through the regional or minority language the norm for all students, even those for whom that language is not the language of the home.[24] Second, and crucially, such regimes often seek to create obligations in respect of the use of the language in the private and voluntary sector, the very sectors that are usually overlooked in a language rights regime and, as we shall see, in less strong promotional models. For example, these regimes contain a right to receive services from private and voluntary sector enterprises (as well as from the state sector) in the relevant language[25] and, in some cases, a right to work in that language. They require all signage and advertising to be in the relevant language, although other languages, including (in the case of Quebec and Catalonia) the official language of the state, can also appear.[26] A special feature of the Quebec model are the so-called 'francisation' plans which all organisations which employ more than 100 staff must prepare; such plans must describe how French will become the normal operating language in all aspects and at all levels of the organisation.[27] Furthermore, these regimes tend to create fairly powerful enforcement mechanisms, including significant sanctions for non-compliance, and, as in Quebec, a special body which can engage in investigations of compliance failures.

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[18] R.S.Q. c. C-11.

[19] Act No. 1, of 7th January 1998, on linguistic policy (DOGC Nº. 2553, of 9th January 1998).

[20] Organic Act 6/2006, (of 19 July 2006).

[21] Art. 1 of Law 101 makes French the sole official language of Quebec and Article 7 provides that French is the language of the legislature of Quebec, although section 133 of the Constitution Act 1867, Canada's fundamental constitutional document, creates a right to use English as well; under Article 6(2) of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy, Catalan, together with Castilian Spanish, is the official language of Catalonia.

[22] Article 2 of Law 101 provides that every person has the right to have the civil administration and the health and social services, among others, communicate with him or her in French; Article 33 of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy provides that each individual has the right to be served orally or in writing in the official language, Catalan or Castilian Spanish, of his or her choice.

[23] Article 7 of Law 101 makes French the language of the courts of Quebec, although section 133 of the Constitution Act of 1867, provides a right to use English in the Quebec courts.

[24] In Quebec, however, English-speakers and others who were themselves educated in Canada in English are entitled, as a result of section 23 of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, to have their children educated in English.

[25] Article 2 of Law 101; Article 5 also provides that consumers of goods and services have a right to be informed and served in French. In Catalonia, Article 34 of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy provides that each individual, as a user of consumer of goods, products and services, has the right to be served orally or in writing in the official language of his or her choice, Catalan or Castilian Spanish.

[26] See, for example, Title I, Chapter VII of Law 101, particularly Article 58; see Articles 35 and 36 of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy.

[27] Title II, Chapter V, Law 101.

There is no doubt that the Quebec model, arguably the strongest of these strong promotional models, has had a significant sociolinguistic impact, and has observably reversed long-standing patterns of English dominance in certain crucial sociolinguistic domains (see, for example, Levine 1990, and Fraser 2006, 133-160). Command of French has become an essential skill for virtually all employments, and an increasing social necessity for any Quebec citizen interested in integrating socially. The recognition of the importance of effecting change in linguistic practices outside of the state sector is a lesson that is being grasped in other jurisdictions whose regimes formerly were not as strong as those of Quebec, and I would refer you to recent proposals in Wales which will allow the imposition of some limited obligations with respect to the use of Welsh on at least some private sector organisations such as utilities.[28] Reference could also be made to recent legislation in the Canadian territory of Nunavut, a region of the Canadian Arctic that is almost half the size of the European Union but with a population of only about 32,000, about seventy percent of whom speak indigenous Inuit languages; the legislation is in many respects very similar to Quebec's language laws.[29]

It is important to note, though, that there are a number of contextual similarities between most of the jurisdictions which have enacted strong legislative regimes for the promotion of regional or minority languages. The language in question is usually spoken by a majority of the population, although it is vulnerable in certain respects.[30] It is also considered by many to be more than a 'minority' language; it is considered to be the language of a 'nation' centred on the particular territory. Furthermore, languages which benefit from significant promotional measures, including the imposition of duties beyond the state sector, are official languages of the region in question, and are the sole or preferred language of the sub-national unit public institutions. Also, there tends to be broad political consensus on language issues, including the desirability of promoting the use of the language of the sub-state unit in the non-state sector. Additionally, as a result of the form of constitutional accommodation that has been arrived at, all these jurisdictions have at very least strong sub-national governmental structures with very significant legislative power over a wide range of policy areas. Also important is that there is a high level of preparedness for an extension of the linguistic regime into the private and voluntary sector, in the sense that use of the language has already been heavily institutionalised in the State sector, usually by virtue of some form of official status, is present in the education system at all levels, and enjoys a well-developed linguistic corpus, often supported by a powerful corpus planning body.

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[28] The Proposed Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2010, available on the internet at this website: www.assemblywales.org/bus-home/bus-legislation/bus-leg-measures/business-legislation-measures-wl.htm.

[29] Inuit Language Protection Act 2008, S. Nu. 2008, c. 17.

[30] In Quebec, while about 83 percent of the population is French-speaking, French-speakers are a minority in Canada as a whole; until the enactment of The Charter of the French Language in 1977, English was the dominant language in some important linguistic domains, including amongst the managerial classes of major enterprises, and immigrants tended to have their children educated in English. In Catalonia, over three-quarters of the population now speaks Catalan, but under the Franco dictatorship, it was largely excluded from all aspects of public life, and most Catalan speakers are also fully fluent in Spanish. In most of the former Soviet Republics, the national language of the newly-independent state is spoken by a majority of the population, but owing to Soviet-era policies, most of the population is also fluent in Russian, which historically had a privileged position.

Where all or a significant number of these conditions does not hold, the creation of a strong promotional regime is less likely, and outside of the cases I have mentioned, these strong promotional regimes are rare. Many regional or minority languages are in a minoritised position even within the territories with which they are historically associated and to which significant autonomy has been given. This means that there is often less consensus on the extension of the language regime beyond the public sector. While the language is often still considered the language of a 'nation' centred on the particular territory, its sociolinguistic and demographic position tends to be weaker than in the cases just mentioned. In these circumstances, we tend to find a more limited or moderate model of linguistic promotion. Good examples are Wales with its Welsh Language Act 1993,[31] the Basque Autonomous Community with its Basic Law on the Normalization of the use of Basque of 1982,[32] and, arguably Ireland, with its Constitution[33] and its Official Languages Act 2003.[34] Unlike the other two examples, Ireland is, of course, an independent state, but one whose historical indigenous national language, Irish, has been significantly minoritised, in a similar way to Basque and Welsh. In all these jurisdictions, legislation generally makes the relevant regional or minority language at least a de facto official language, by providing for its use within deliberative bodies, in the provision of at least some public services, and within the courts, although it should be noted that both the Welsh and Irish legislative frameworks rely quite heavily on language schemes developed by public bodies in conjunction with a language planning body, rather than on explicit language rights. In practice, there is usually a lack of substantive equality between the language in question and the official language of the state in many public bodies. The language regime in these moderate legislative models often requires the relevant language to be taught at least as a subject throughout the school curriculum; however they tend not to require students to enrol in minority-language medium education, nor do they even create a right for parents to access such education. Finally, these regimes tend to say little or nothing about the non-state sector. This, in particular, is a major gap, and raises serious questions about the long-term potential of these moderate regimes to effect profound change in existing linguistic hierarchies and therefore in existing generally unstable diglossic patterns.

Beyond these cases, a number of additional examples could be offered of language legislation which represents an even more modest and therefore weaker model of minority language promotion. Recently-passed legislation in support of Gaelic in Scotland is one example;[35] legislation making Maori an official language of New Zealand is another example.[36] Space does not permit me to say much about these various models, of which there are many. However, the scope of such legislation is generally fairly limited: neither the Gaelic or the Maori legislation says very much, for example, about minority language education, and although it makes some reference to the 'official'

[31] 1993, c. 38.
[32] Basic Law 10/1982.
[33] The Constitution of Ireland, enacted by the People 1st July 1937.
[34] Act No. 32 of 2003.
[35] Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, 2005 asp 7.
[36] Maori Language Act 1987.

status of the language, it contains little detail on what such status actually means, suggesting that such recognition is more symbolic or rhetorical than substantive. In this context, it is difficult to see how the legislative regime can challenge existing linguistic hierarchies or dramatically affect established diglossic patterns.

So, what conclusions can be drawn from all of this? In some respects, it is too early to tell, because, as I have suggested earlier, we do not yet have a sufficient understanding of the behavioural and other impacts of different legislative regimes. How, and to what extent, do they alter ideologies and attitudes about the value and utility of languages? How do they create greater opportunities to use regional or minority languages? How do they develop the aptitude and the willingness of users of such languages to take advantage of such opportunities? In spite of our knowledge gap, I would still be prepared to argue that language law does matter, and can affect at least some change in patterns of language use. If the goal is to preserve and promote a regional or minority language, a supportive legal regime is a necessary though not necessarily sufficient requirement. The presence of even a weak promotional regime clearly matters to speakers of the regional or minority languages, even if such a regime does not fundamentally or even significantly alter linguistic hierarchies, and with them, beliefs and practices. And, as noted above, even the relatively limited protection offered by a regime of toleration or of accommodation can be of great practical importance to speakers of regional or minority languages which are subject to assimilationist state language policies. There is also increasing recognition that an appropriate legal regime can reduce social tensions and promote peace and stability. However, outside the cases of strong promotional regimes, such as those found in Quebec, Catalonia and many of the former Soviet Republics, even under a regime that is clearly supportive of the regional or minority language, the actual impact of that regime on the preservation and promotion of the minority language is unclear. More research is needed, and a better understanding of the interaction with and impact of other, non-legal factors at play must be developed. This, I fear, is a rather unsatisfactory ending to my story; the only redeeming feature is that it is a story that is still being written.

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Peter Hilpold

Das Sprachenregime der Europäischen Union[1]

Abstract

The language regime of the European Union is unique. The EU has 23 official languages which are both authentic languages for the interpretation of the treaties and working languages any EU citizen has the right to use when entering into contact with the main EU bodies.

Internally, however, the situation differs with a clear dominance of English, a diminishing role of French (even if its role is still important, in particular as a working language for the ECJ) and a rather negligible position of German (even if this language is the most-spoken by EU citizens).

Plurilingualism is a defining trait of the EU. In the past, repeatedly the demise of this system has been forecasted, in particular in view of the ever-growing number of official languages. However, this threat has not yet materialized as the EU has always been able to adapt to these new challenges, even though the respective language service drains a considerable amount of resources.

In the last years, further challenges in this field have come up. In particular, there are regions within the EU which are politically very strong and which try to assert themselves also on the linguistic level. Further challenges result from the fact that the plurality of languages spoken within the EU constitutes a barrier for the completion of the internal market. It is up both to the political institutions within the EU as to the ECJ to find a balanced solution to this problem which should both guarantee the functioning of the internal market as well as defending the identity of the Member States (and their regions and minorities).

1. Mehrsprachigkeit als Strukturprinzip der EU

Das Sprachenregime der Europäischen Union (EU) ist einzigartig für eine Internationale Organisation (IO). Schon der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG) war der Grundsatz der "offenen", "dynamischen" und "vollständigen" Mehrsprachigkeit grundgelegt, d.h.:

- die von den Mitgliedstaaten zu bezeichnenden mitgliedstaatlichen Amtssprachen sind auch Amtssprachen der EU und authentische Sprachen, in welchen die Verträge auszulegen sind;[2]
- mit der kontinuierlichen Erweiterung wächst auch die Zahl der Amtssprachen (und authentischen Sprachen).

Die Regelung der Sprachenfrage für die Organe der EU erfolgt einstimmig durch den Rat (Art. 290 EGV). Dies geschah mit VO 1/1958 (der ersten EWG-Verordnung überhaupt). Danach

- verfügt die EU gegenwärtig über 23 Amtssprachen;
- können Schriftstücke in einer der Amtssprachen an Organe der Union gerichtet werden; die Antwort hat in derselben Sprache zu erfolgen;

[1] Der vorliegende Beitrag ist ein Ausschnitt eines Lehrbuchs zum Europarecht, das demnächst erscheinen soll.

[2] Authentische Sprache des Vertrags zur Gründung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft für Kohle und Stahl (EGKSV) war dagegen allein das Französische.

– sind Schriftstücke von allgemeiner Geltung in allen Amtssprachen abzufassen;
– sind Schriftstücke der EU an einen Mitgliedsstaat (MS) in der Sprache dieses Staates abzufassen.

Sonderregeln gelten

a) sprachenbezogen für:

– das Irische (Gälische):

  Das Irische ist erste Amtssprache Irlands und war auch seit dem Beitritt Irlands authentische Sprache. Das Irische konnte auch als Verfahrenssprache vor dem Europäischen Gerichtshof (EuGH) gewählt werden (was aber tatsächlich nie geschehen ist). Amtssprache der EU ist das Irische aber erst seit 2007. Jeder Unionsbürger kann sich in dieser Sprache an die EU-Organe wenden. In dieser Sprache veröffentlichungspflichtig sind aber nur die im Mitentscheidungsverfahren angenommenen Verordnungen.

– das Maltesische:

  Das Maltesische ist mit dem Englischen Amtssprache Maltas (mit Präferenz des Maltesischen im Konfliktfall) und Amtssprache der EU. Allein die im Mitentscheidungsverfahren verabschiedeten EU-Verordnungen sind veröffentlichungspflichtig.

– das Letzeburgische:

  Gesetzgebungssprache ist in Luxemburg das Französische. Amtssprache sind Französisch, Deutsch und Letzeburgisch. Luxemburg hat für das Letzeburgische nie Amtssprachenstatus innerhalb der EU begehrt.

b) organbezogen für

– den Europäischen Gerichtshof (EuGH) und das Gericht der Europäischen Union (EuG):

  Danach sind alle Amtssprachen auch Verfahrenssprachen. Ist die EU die Beklagte, so kann der Kläger die Verfahrenssprache wählen. Klagt dagegen die EU die Mitgliedstaaten oder eine natürliche oder juristische Person, die einem Mitgliedstaat angehört, so ist die Amtssprache dieses Staates Verfahrenssprache. Bei Vorabentscheidungsverfahren ist die Sprache des vorlegenden Gerichts Verfahrenssprache.

Von den Amtssprachen sind die **internen Arbeitssprachen** zu unterscheiden. Dabei ist nach den einzelnen Organen zu differenzieren.

Am weitreichendsten ist die Mehrsprachigkeit im **Europäischen Parlament** (EP), das auch als "Hüter der Mehrsprachigkeit" bezeichnet wird. Alle Amtssprachen sind gleichberechtigt. Ein aufwändiger Dolmetsch- und Übersetzerdienst sichert die Effektivität dieser Regelung.

Der **Rat** ist als Vertretungsorgan der Mitgliedstaaten zwar grundsätzlich ein Vertreter der Mehrsprachigkeit, doch gebieten Kosten- und Effizienzüberlegungen Einschränkungen bei Verdolmetschung und Übersetzung (insbesondere für Arbeitsgruppen und informelle Ratssitzungen).

Die **Kommission** nimmt in Sprachenfragen eine Doppelrolle ein: Als "Hüterin des Vertrages" hat sie für die grundsätzliche Beachtung der Mehrsprachigkeitsverpflichtung Sorge zu tragen. Andererseits hat sie – als primäres Verwaltungsorgan – auch die Funktionalität der Verwaltung zu garantieren. Der interne Sprachgebrauch in den einzelnen Generaldirektionen orientiert sich häufig an der Sprache des jeweiligen Kommissars. Insgesamt sind aber das Englische, das Französische und – weit abgeschlagen – das Deutsche dominant.

Die Beratungen im **EuGH** erfolgen grundsätzlich nur auf Französisch. In dieser Sprache wird auch das Urteil abgefasst. Authentisch ist das Urteil aber in der Verfahrenssprache. Im **EuG** wird – insbesondere im Wettbewerbsbereich – z.T. bereits in Englisch beraten.

In der **Europäischen Zentralbank** (EZB) ist das Englische Arbeitssprache, im **Europäischen Markenamt** Englisch, Deutsch, Französisch, Italienisch und Spanisch.[3]

Diese einzigartige Vielsprachigkeit wurde durch die Einrichtung des größten Sprachmittlungsdienstes (Übersetzungs- und Dolmetschdienste) der Welt ermöglicht. Über 10% der EU-Bediensteten sind im Bereich der Sprachmittlung tätig.

2. Regional- und Minderheitensprachen

Das von der EU (bzw. der EWG) verfolgte Konzept der Mehrsprachigkeit war 1958 revolutionär, hat aber nicht in allem Schritt gehalten mit modernen Entwicklungen zu diesem Konzept. Mehrsprachigkeit hat nämlich auch eine mitgliedstaatsinterne Dimension und dieser trägt die EU – die primär an den von den Mitgliedsstaaten deklarierten Amtssprachen angeknüpft – nur zögerlich Rechnung.

Im Zuge des Föderalisierungsprozesses in verschiedenen Mitgliedsstaaten haben einzelne auch eine Anerkennung von zusätzlichen Amtssprachen bzw. der Regionalsprachen auf EU-Ebene angestrebt. Diese erfolgte – in sehr bescheidenem Maße – im Jahr 2005.[4] Im Wesentlichen kann – auf Kosten des betreffenden Mitgliedsstaates – die Bereitstellung und/oder Verlautbarung zusätzlicher Übersetzungen verlangt werden. Auch können der Rat (oder eventuell andere Organe und Einrichtungen) ersucht werden, den Gebrauch weiterer Sprachen zuzulassen.

Immer wieder zu Diskussionen Anlass gibt die Frage, in wie weit die EU Minderheitensprachen achtet oder gar schützt. Von einer Minderheitenpolitik der EU – wie sie im auswärtigen Bereich, insbesondere im Beitrittsprozess betrieben wird – kann

[3] Zwar kann sich jeder Bürger in jeder Amtssprache an das Markenamt wenden. Gleichzeitig muss aber eine der Arbeitssprachen als Verfahrenssprache für den Fall von Widerspruchs-, Verfalls- oder Nichtigkeitsverfahren gewählt werden. Diese Regelung wurde wegen ihrer möglichen Vorbildwirkung vielfach kritisiert, vom EuGH aber im Kik-Verfahren (Rs. C-381, Slg. 2003, I-8283) bestätigt, da es keinen Grundsatz der Gleichheit der Sprachen im Gemeinschaftsrecht gebe.

[4] Vgl. die Schlussfolgerungen des Rates über den amtlichen Gebrauch zusätzlicher Sprachen im Rat und gegebenenfalls in anderen Organen und Einrichtungen der Europäischen Union (ABl. Nr. C 148 v. 18.6.2005, 1).

EU-intern nicht gesprochen werden. Wohl aber gibt es einzelne Regelungsansätze, die Minderheitenfragen berühren und die einen Beitrag zur Lösung von Minderheitenproblemen beinhalten, zumindest aber dieses Problem zur Kenntnis nehmen.

Gemäß Art. 21 GRch ist jegliche Diskriminierung – u.a. aufgrund der Rasse, der Hautfarbe, der ethnischen oder sozialen Herkunft, der Sprache und der Religion - untersagt. All diese Elemente sind unmittelbarer Relevanz für den Minderheitenschutz.

Entsprechend Art. 22 GRch achtet die Union die Vielfalt der Kulturen, Religionen und Sprachen. Die Wahrung der Sprachenvielfalt entspricht somit einem grundrechtlichen Schutzanliegen.

Im Bereich der "Beitragskompetenzen" gemäß Art. 149 EGV (allgemeine Bildung) und Art. 151 EGV (Kultur) hatte die EU bislang verschiedenste Möglichkeiten gefunden, Sprachen allgemein und Minderheitensprachen im Besonderen zu fördern.

In zwei Fällen – beide mit Südtirolbezug – hat der EuGH bislang auf Minderheitensprachen Bezug genommen.

In "Bickel und Franz" (C-274/96, Slg. 1998, I-7637) hat der EuGH festgestellt, dass die besonderen sprachenrechtlichen Schutzbestimmungen, die in Südtirol zum Zwecke des Minderheitenschutzes eingeführt worden sind, auf alle Unionsbürger anwendbar sind. Gleichzeitig hat er zum ersten Mal festgehalten, dass Minderheitenschutz ein "legitimes Ziel" sei, das vom Gemeinschaftsrecht zu berücksichtigen sei (ebd., Rz 44).

In "Angonese" (C-281/98, Slg. 2000, I-4139) hat der EuGH festgestellt, dass es legitim sein kann, von einem Stellenbewerber den Nachweis von Sprachkenntnissen zu verlangen, wobei aber nicht allein Zeugnisse aus der betreffenden Provinz Berücksichtigung finden dürfen.

3. Sprachenrechte und Grundfreiheiten

Sprachenrechtliche Bestimmungen können in Konflikt treten mit Grundfreiheiten. Dies hat sich bislang sowohl im Bereich der Warenverkehrsfreiheit als auch im Bereich der Freizügigkeitsrechte gezeigt. Was die Warenverkehrsfreiheit anbelangt, stellte sich die Frage, ob die Etikettierung in der Landessprache vorgeschrieben werden darf (was unter Umständen zu erheblichen Zusatzkosten im Falle der Notwendigkeit zur Umetikettierung führt).

Art. 14 der RL 79/112/EWG (Etikettierungs-Richtlinie) schrieb grundsätzlich die Verwendung einer "leicht verständlichen Sprache" vor. Laut EuGH (sog. Piageme-Rsp.) dürfen die Mitgliedsstaaten aber nicht den Gebrauch einer bestimmten Sprache verpflichtend vorgeben. Art. 16 der neugefassten Richtlinie (RL 2000/13/EG) erlaubt nun aber den Mitgliedsstaaten, die Verwendung einer oder mehrerer Amtssprachen der Union vorzuschreiben. Für Tabakprodukte und Humanarzneimittel besteht sogar die Verpflichtung, die Angaben auf den Etiketten "in [jener] Amtssprache bzw. den Amtssprachen des Mitgliedstaats" auszuzeichnen, "in dem das Arzneimittel in den Verkehr gebracht wird."

In Bezug auf die Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit ist der Fall "Groener" (Rs. C-379/87, Slg. 1989, I-3967) zu erwähnen. Eine Holländerin wollte in Dublin "Zeichnen" unterrichten. Der EuGH segnete – unter Hinweis auf die sprachliche Sonderstellung dieses Landes - die irische Vorschrift ab, die für Lehrtätigkeiten den Nachweis von Irischkenntnissen verlangt – auch wenn die Lehre selbst ausschließlich in Englisch zu erfolgen hat.

Um Sprachkenntnisse und Niederlassungsfreiheit ging es im Fall "Haim II" (Rs. C-424/97, Slg. 2000, I-5123). Dabei bestätigte der EuGH die deutsche Vorschrift, wonach für die Zulassung als Kassenzahnarzt in Deutschland eine Sprachprüfung abzulegen ist.

Im Fall "Wilson" (Rs. C-506/04, Slg. 2006, I-8613) erachtetet es der EuGH dagegen für unangemessen zu verlangen, dass ein in Luxemburg tätiger britischer Anwalt den Nachweis der Beherrschung von Französisch, Deutsch und Letzeburgisch erbringen sollte.

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Michel Alessio

Les relations entre les langues nationales officielles et les langues régionales ou minoritaires

Le Gouvernement français a signé la Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires en 1999, mais le texte n'a pas pu être ratifié par le Parlement. Il a été jugé, en effet, contraire à la Constitution de la République par le Conseil constitutionnel, institution appelée à contrôler la conformité de cet engagement international à la loi fondamentale du pays. La France n'est donc pas adhérente à la Charte.

Cela n'empêche pas notre pays de mener une politique de mise en valeur de ses langues régionales ou minoritaires, dans le cadre des lois existantes. Les langues concernées par cette politique sont appelées “langues de France”.

Une liste des langues de France avait été dressée à l'époque, comme le demande l'article 3 de la Charte. Elle ne recense pas moins de 75 langues. Dans un pays marqué par des siècles de centralisme linguistique et d'exaltation du monolinguisme, ce nombre a pu paraitre surprenant… En fait, pour arriver à ce résultat, il suffit d'énumérer les langues parlées par des citoyens français sur le territoire national. Et le territoire français, c'est un morceau d'Europe mais c'est aussi des territoires d'outre-mer, un peu partout dans le monde.

Ainsi, les 75 langues de France, c'est 55 langues outre-mer: 28 langues canaques en Nouvelle Calédonie, 9 langues en Polynésie, 2 à Mayotte, les créoles à base française de Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion et Guyane; toujours en Guyane, des créoles à base anglaise ou portugaise, le hmong, langue asiatique arrivée là en 1977 par suite d'un déplacement de population, et six langues amérindiennes arrivées il y a 10 000 ans: en tout, 12 langues régionales en Guyane.

En France métropolitaine, du nord au sud: flamand, alsacien et francique de Moselle, breton, francoprovençal, occitan, basque, catalan, corse, et les langues d'oïl (franc-comtois, picard, normand, etc.)

A ces langues indigènes, dites langues régionales, s'ajoutent six langues issues de l'immigration, et transmises en France depuis assez longtemps pour être considérées comme faisant partie du patrimoine national: arabe dialectal, arménien occidental, berbère, judéo-espagnol, romani, et yiddish. Ces langues minoritaires sont dites “non-territoriales”.

Pour être reconnue langue de France, une langue non-territoriale ne doit avoir le statut de langue officielle d'État dans aucun pays.

Pour ce qui est du nombre de locuteurs, il a largement décru au cours du XX^{e} siècle. Le taux de transmission des langues dites régionales est faible: parmi les adultes à qui leurs parents parlaient breton, flamand ou occitan dans leur enfance, à peine 10% déclarent l'avoir à leur tour transmis à leurs enfants (ces chiffres proviennent d'une enquête dé-

clarative). Pour le catalan (en France), le taux de transmission à la génération suivante monte à 30%, pour le corse à 34%, pour le basque, à 40%. Il faut noter que lorsque une langue régionale est transmise à la génération suivante, c'est dans tous les cas en même temps que le français: le locuteur d'une langue régionale est toujours un bilingue.

Pour les langues non-territoriales, le taux de transmission à la génération suivante est de 50 à 60% pour l'arabe et le berbère, plus élevé que pour les langues régionales: ceux qui transmettent sont le plus souvent des immigrés récents dont c'est la langue première, et parfois exclusive à leur arrivée. Pour les langues d'immigration plus ancienne et désormais tarie, comme le yiddish ou l'arménien, le taux de transmission s'apparente à celui des langues régionales. Il est permis de parler d'une forte "érosion linguistique".

En chiffres absolus, cela donne aujourd'hui environ un million et demi de personnes qui parlent l'occitan, d'ailleurs de manière occasionnelle plutôt qu'habituelle, 660 000 locuteurs de l'alsacien (de manière habituelle), 580 000 pour les langues d'oïl, 290 000 pour le breton. Le corse, le francoprovençal, sont pratiqués par près de 200 000 personnes chacun, le francique de Moselle par quelque 100 000, le basque et le flamand par quelques dizaines de milliers. Les locuteurs naturels sont surtout des personnes âgées.

Il doit y avoir environ deux millions de locuteurs des différents créoles, largement pratiqués par les habitants des espaces d'outre-mer, y compris les jeunes, mais assez peu transmis en métropole.

La langue la plus parlée en France après le français est l'arabe, dont le nombre d'usagers est de quatre ou cinq millions. Le berbère compte plus de 200 000 locuteurs.

Ainsi, la France est le pays de l'Union européenne dont le patrimoine linguistique est le plus riche et bigarré, notamment, il est vrai, grâce à son outre-mer. Il faut dire que cette banale observation est une découverte et un choc pour beaucoup de Français, tant notre ignorance est grande dans ce domaine. Par tradition culturelle, on n'a pas l'habitude, en France, de réfléchir à la fonction des langues dans les processus politiques et sociaux, ou à leur rôle dans l'Histoire. Au déni de la réalité, une idéologie officielle a longtemps entrainé les Français à ne pas voir leurs langues comme une richesse mais comme un fatras inutile et archaïque, ou bien à ne pas les voir du tout, et à sacraliser le principe délétère de la langue unique pour un peuple uni.

La situation se transforme progressivement. En 2008, un article a été ajouté à la Constitution française, qui pose que "les langues régionales font partie du patrimoine de la France". Cela n'entraine aucune contrainte pour les pouvoirs publics, mais représente une reconnaissance symbolique qui est une avancée positive. Dans le service public d'éducation, la plupart des langues régionales font aujourd'hui l'objet d'un enseignement de langues vivantes, souvent en partenariat avec les institutions régionales concernées. Cet enseignement va de l'option facultative à l'enseignement bilingue à parité horaire avec le français. En réalité, il n'est pas considéré comme une priorité, et la demande sociale n'est pas toujours satisfaite… Il existe aussi une filière d'enseignement privé, qui pratique l'enseignement par immersion.

La législation linguistique française concerne essentiellement le français, qui a été déclaré “langue de la République” dans l'article 2 de la Constitution en 1992, au moment où était promulguée la Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires…

Une loi de 1994 garantit l'usage du français dans tous les aspects de la vie sociale (travail, enseignement, administration, etc.). Cette loi a introduit un véritable “droit au français”. Les autres langues de France n'ont pas de statut juridique, mais rien ne s'oppose en principe à leur usage, du moment que l'emploi du français est assuré. Par exemple, les collectivités locales peuvent publier leurs actes officiels en langue régionale, dès lors que le texte français, qui seul a valeur juridique, existe: il s'agit alors d'une traduction du français.

L'organisme officiel chargé de la politique linguistique s'appelait naguère délégation générale à la langue française, tout court. Depuis 2001, ses compétences ont été étendues aux langues régionales et minoritaires, et c'est désormais une délégation générale à la langue française *et aux langues de France,* qui dépend du ministère de la culture. Cette administration a pour mission de veiller à la mise en valeur et au développement de ces langues, en dehors des questions d'enseignement, qui relèvent du ministère de l'éducation nationale.

Toutes les données techniques et chiffrées qui viennent d'être fournies en réponse au questionnaire que la FEILIN nous avait adressé ont certes leur importance pour appréhender la situation des langues, en France comme dans les autres pays. Mais elles traduisent une approche quantitative, juridique et technique des langues, qui ne suffit pas à rendre compte de ce que sont véritablement les relations entre la langue nationale officielle et les langues régionales ou minoritaires en France. Ces données permettent d'entrevoir des rapports de force sur le “marché aux langues” en termes de communication, mais elles nous parlent des langues en-dehors de l'histoire et de la culture.

Or, ce qui nous intéresse, c'est que chaque langue matérialise une manière différente de percevoir et de penser le monde, on le sait, une vision originale de la réalité. Les besoins de l'esprit excèdent toujours les capacités de quelque langue que ce soit à ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives à l'imagination et à la pensée. Chaque langue ne peut dire qu'une petite partie de ce qui est dicible, mais c'est un aspect du monde dont elle est seule dépositaire: elle dit ce qu'elle est la seule à pouvoir dire.

Elle le fait d'abord de manière implicite, du simple fait de son organisation propre. C'est par exemple le palikur, langue de France qui organise linguistiquement l'univers de la forêt guyanaise en mettant au masculin les noms d'animaux plutôt gros, inutiles et nuisibles, et au féminin les animaux petits, plutôt utiles et sympathiques!

Mais la valeur d'une langue, c'est surtout ce qui s'invente en elle, la contribution explicite de ses locuteurs, les productions culturelles qui lui donnent son identité de langue et son importance pour l'humanité. Qu'il s'agisse des œuvres littéraires ou des œuvres de pensée, de littérature écrite, de tradition orale ou de combat pour l'émancipation humaine.

C'est pourquoi l'action de la Délégation est conforme au discours européen sur le plurilinguisme, qui recommande la pratique d'au moins deux langues vivantes en plus de la langue maternelle.

Mais notre interprétation de cette recommandation est double: d'abord, une langue vivante, ce n'est pas forcément une langue étrangère. Et d'autre part, le maintien d'une pluralité de langues ne saurait avoir pour seule fin la communication, le simple échange d'informations. Pour assurer une bonne communication entre les hommes, on peut considérer qu'une seule langue suffirait, l'anglais globalisé par exemple, qui remplit bien ce rôle de nos jours. D'où notre insistance à ne pas réduire la langue à de la communication, à ne pas la séparer de la culture qui s'invente en elle. Ce discours n'est pas universellement reçu en France, il ne fait pas consensus. Mais plus que toutes autres, les langues de France, dont la valeur n'est pas leur intérêt marchand ou leur importance géopolitique ou stratégique, semblent mettre à l'épreuve – ou illustrer – la validité de cette représentation.

István Kenesei

Minority languages in Hungary

1. The scene

As far as indigenous (autochthonous) minority languages are concerned, Hungarian legislation acknowledges the languages in the following list, in which, for ease of overview, the names of languages with 'more' speakers are bolded, while those with 'less' speakers are left in normal type (for approximate numbers, see further below): *Armenian*, *Boyash*, *Bulgarian*, ***Croatian***, ***German***, *Greek*, *Polish*, ***Romani***, ***Romanian***, *Ruthenian*, ***Serbian***, ***Slovak***, *Slovene*, *Ukrainian*, *and Hungarian Sign Language* (*HSL*). Some of these are supported by obvious historical reasons, to which we will return, some are a result of relatively more recent immigration, and one, HSL, has just been elevated to this status.[1]

2. Historical overview

The former Kingdom of Hungary, which existed for almost a millenium, was all through its history a multilingual, multiethnic, and (as the term caught on from the 19th century on) multinational entity occupying the entire region of the Carpathian Basin. At its very inception various territories under its rule had large numbers of non-Hungarian speakers, including Slavs in the East, South and the North, German settlers in Transylvania (South-East), as well as speakers of a Neo-Latin language of Vlach or Wallachian, which was subsequently called Ro(u)manian. Since the idea of national identity as a function of the vernacular was a development that reached Hungary in the late 18th century, there had been no objection to all non-Hungarians assimilated into the Hungarian nobility; the rest of the population didn't matter anyway. In the late Middle Ages ethnic groups of Turkic and Iranian origins, respectively, sought refuge from invaders and had slowly integrated into the indigenous population. The Turkish invasion drove quite a few Serbs, i.e., speakers of a South Slavic language to Hungary, though it left neither speakers of Turkish, nor Moslims after their 150 years of occupation. Then, following the victory over the Ottoman Turkish Empire in the early18th century, vast areas were left vacant, which had to be populated so that the land be cultivated again. It is due to these (re)settlement policies and practices that there arose a patchwork of ethnic minority communities in Central and Southern Hungary consisting of Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans, etc. In addition to these events, there was a steady flow of the Roma from Southern Europe, especially the Balkans, and from the 18th century on, Yiddish speaking Jews primarily from Moravia and the German principalities, most of whom gave their nationality as Hungarian after the emancipation legislation at the end of the 19th century, thus tipping the balance of nationalities in the Hungarians' favour. Note finally that until the mid-19th century the official language of the Kingdom was Latin, which made Hungary a peculiar match

[1] I am indebted to Csilla Bartha, who has carried out and/or directed several projects in the topics discussed in this paper, and whose results (as well as those of her collaborators) have been freely made use of here.

only to the Vatican. Admittedly, if anyone wished to have a career in the Hapsburg Monarchy, to which the Kingdom of Hungary belonged, German was obviously a must. When, however, the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy came into being in 1867, a short-sighted minority policy not only began to alienate the nationalities inside the country, but it also turned foreign sympathy arising after the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848/49 to a hostile attitude by the early 1900's.

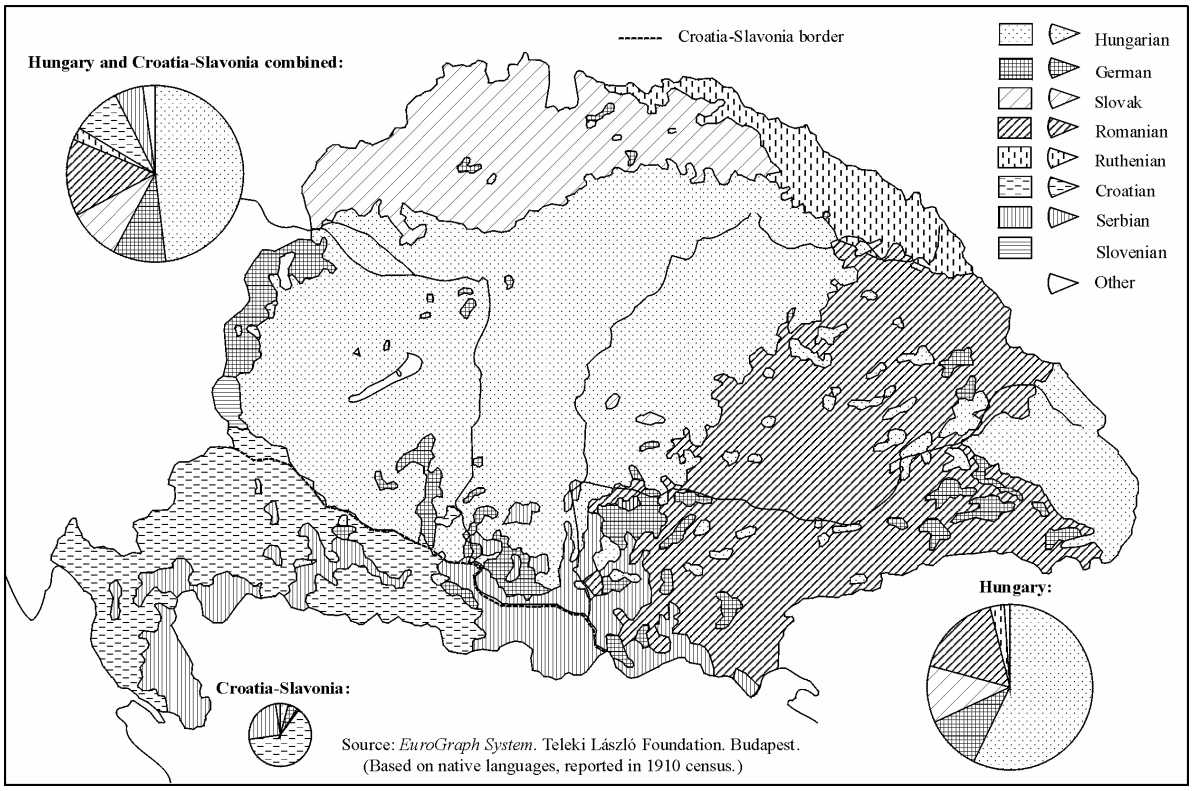

Figure 1: Nationalities in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1886

With the Kingdom of Hungary dissolved at the end of the World War One into a number of countries, which proclaimed themselves to be 'nation states', the remaining territory of Hungary was, ironically, perhaps the least varied in terms of the size of national minorities. Even so all of the minorities listed above were among them, though not all of them had equal rights and/or opportunities. First voluntary secularisation, and then the tragic events of the Holocaust, put an end to the Yiddish language in Hungary, which was spoken exclusively by mostly orthodox Jews in provincial Hungary, where almost all were deported to the death camps in 1944 by Hungarian and German Nazis.

The regime that ruled Hungary after World War Two, following an initial silence for 15 years, at most payed lip-service to minority policy and to the demands of minorities, and kept the issue on the surface only to be able to negotiate with the neighbouring countries so as to have them admit the rights of the Hungarian minorities in them, which were not respected everywhere and/or all the time, to say the least. Even so, one tangible result of this adroit policy was the 1985 Education Act, which proclaimed that any language used in Hungary can be the medium of instruction – with or without the parallel use of Hungarian.

3. Minority legislation

After the fall of Communism, new legislation and subsequently new practice had to be introduced vis-à-vis national and ethnic minorities, and in praise of the first free Parliament and government it must be emphasised that the negotiations were started without casting an eye to the then distant chance of joining the EU. As in most cases in contemporary Europe, the legislation conforms to all criteria of modern minority policies. The 1993 Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities declares the following:

> National and ethnic minorities are all those groups of people who have lived in the territory of the Republic of Hungary for at least one hundred years, represent a numerical minority in the country's population, are citizens of Hungary, and are distinguished from the rest of the population by their own languages, cultures and traditions, and at the same time demonstrate a sense of cohesion aimed at preserving and protecting the interests of their historical communities.

The legislative process made it possible for minorities to identify themselves, and that is how the list at the beginning of this paper arose – with the exception of HSL, whose status was enacted in the autumn of 2009, putting Hungary in the 'premier league' of the countries that have recognised the status of sign languages. Note that the passage cited here makes explicit mention of a historical continuity of minimum one hundred years, which excludes exogenous or recent immigrant communities.

While the legislation is impeccable, its practical application is fraught with problems. But before we embark on those issues, let us see the numbers that are given in the censuses and, concurrently by expert estimates.[2]

Minorities	Census 1990 (Nationality)	Census 2001 (Nationality)	Census 1990 (Mother Tongue)	Census 2001 (Mother Tongue)	Estimated Number
Gypsy/Roma	142 683	189 984	48 072	48 685	400 000-600 000
German	30 824	62 233	37 511	33 792	200 000-220 000
Croatian	13 570	15 620	17 577	14 345	80 000-90 000
Slovak	10 459	17 693	12 745	11 817	100 000-110 000
Romanian	10 740	7 995	8 730	8 482	25 000
Serbian	2 905	3 816	2 953	3 388	5 000-10 000
Armenian	–	620	37	294	3 500-10 000
Polish	–	2 962	3 788	2 580	10 000
Slovenian	1 930	3 040	2 627	3 187	5 000
Ruthenian	–	1 098	674	1 113	6 000
Greek	–	2 509	1 640	1 921	4 000-4 500
Bulgarian	–	1 358	1 370	1 299	3 000-3 500
Ukrainian	–	5 070	–	4 885	2 000
Total	**213 111**	**314 060**	**137 724**	**135 788 (-1,41%)**	**835 000-1 083 955**

Table 1: Minorities according to censuses and estimates
(Source: Central Statistical Office 1990 and 2001 Censuses, Nationality Affiliation)

[2] Boyash was not treated as a separate language but classified under Gypsy/Roma, a grave error, since Boyash is a totally different language spoken by a few tens of thousands of speakers of Roma ethnicity. It is a version of Old Romanian as itinerant Roma groups underwent a language change, cf. Kálmán and Orsós (2009).

The 1993 Act affords extensive entitlements to minorities in the fields of both individual and community rights. Minority self-governments of 5 to 9 members can be elected by secret ballot during local elections in all municipalities. National minority bodies of 15 to 35 members are entitled to comment on, consent to, or veto relevant legislation, primarily concerning media, education, etc. Parliament elects (by a majority of two-thirds) a national minority ombudsman. The current ombudsman is from the Roma community and is a vocal representative a minority rights. Municipal governments can also elect local minority ombudsmen.

The use of minority languages is legitimate from the level of local governments to Parliament. Documents, names of institutions, offices, streets and geographical names are also given in minority languages wherever local minority governments require. There is a preference for employment of officals who speak the minority language in the municipalities where there are speakers of minority languages.

The law guarantees "minority school" status wherever at least 25% of pupils of the educational institution (from and including kindergartens) are members of a minority. Local and/or national minority self-governments are involved in assigning minority school status or the introduction of education in minority languages.

4. Current problems and tendencies: Attitudes to minority languages

As was noted above, the legislation concerning minority rights and language use is, as in many other Eurpean countries, up to the standards of current international requirements, such as the Council of Europe or the OSCE prescribes. But, as is also customary in many European states, the daily practice may differ from what one would think is the case considering the empowerment that legislative actions indicate. A telling sign of the gap between principles and practice is the numbers in Table 1. But rather than speculating on the cause of the discrepancies between reported and estimated numbers of members or minorities or speakers of their languages, we will discuss what current fate and future challenges the languages spoken by these minorities will face in this country.

In the official census of 2001, members of national minorities could choose their identities acccording to four criteria (with possible overlaps): nationality, culture, mother tongue, and actual language use. The diagram in figure 2 shows their ratios.

It is not surprising to see that the members of minorities who identified themselves by the cues of nationality or culture were about twice as many as those who did so by means of native language or language use. The reasons become clearer if we look at the proportion of minority language use in the various communities, as transpires from the research carried out by a project in cooperation between ELTE University, Budapest, and the Research Institute for Linguistics (see figure 3).[3]

[3] Research carried out by Csilla Bartha and Anna Borbély, National Research & Development Programme Contract number: 5/126/2001. For details, see Bartha (2003), Bartha/Borbély (2006), Bartha (2008)

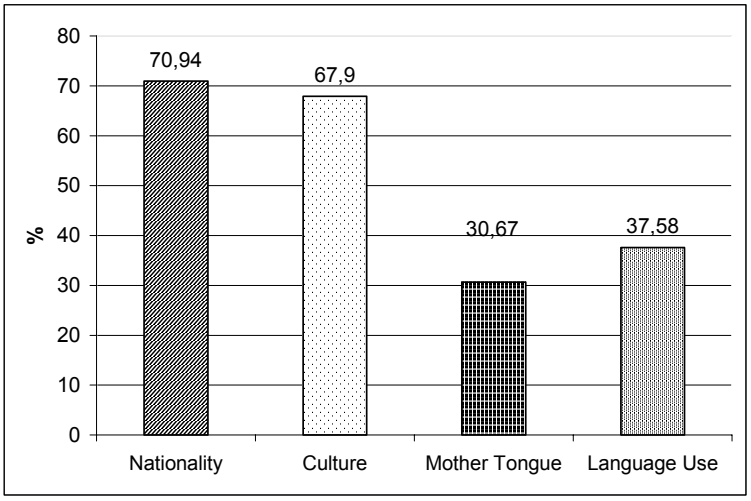

Figure 2: Minority Affiliation (Four Identity Categories; Census of 2001), N = 442 739

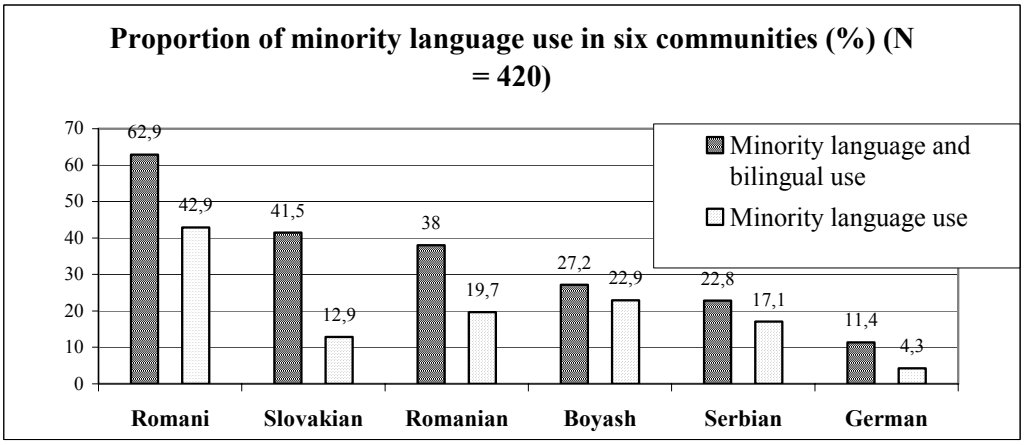

Figure 3: Minority language use

While one would think that (the use of) German was more widespread, cf. Table 1, in fact it ended up at the bottom of the scale, probably because German has the greatest prestige in Hungary along both the national and cultural axes, so more people who have already assimilated identify themselves as of German origin than (former) members of other minorities.

On the "usefulness scale", predictably German has 'pole position' from both the general and the international aspect, though interestingly the two languages spoken by the Roma population, viz., Boyash and Romani, have higher scores than all the other languages which have states 'behind them', thus having institutionalised status. The picture only changes when their international usefulness is inquired about, but strangely Romanian is even then scores remarkably low.

The findings shown in Figures 3 to 5 harmonise with the complex summary results fleshed out in Figure 6, which shows speakers' attitudes to maintaining their respective native minority languages as against abandoning them for the majority language, that is, Hungarian. Romanian again figures at the low end of the scale, and surprisingly both German and Slovak are in less favourable positions than the two langauges spoken by the Roma. Here the status of Serbian can be surprising to those who believe

that a language spoken by a numerically relatively small community has less chance for maintenance, but they do not take into account that the community is held together by their adherence to the Serbian Orthodox religion (Bartha/Borbély 2006).

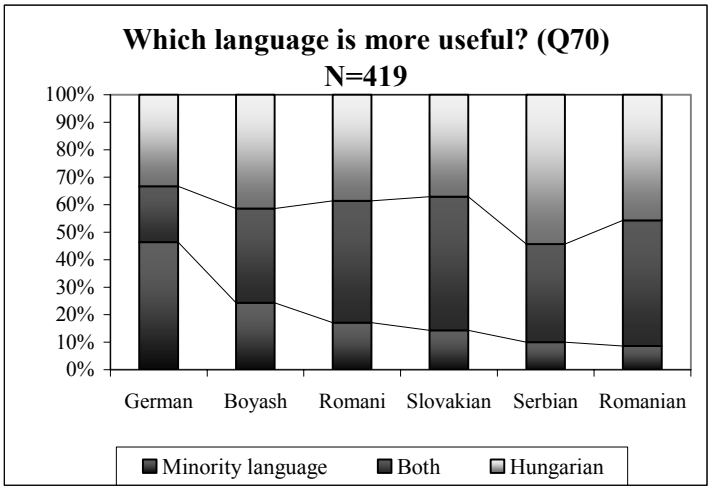

Figure 4: Attitudes to minority languages – general usefulness

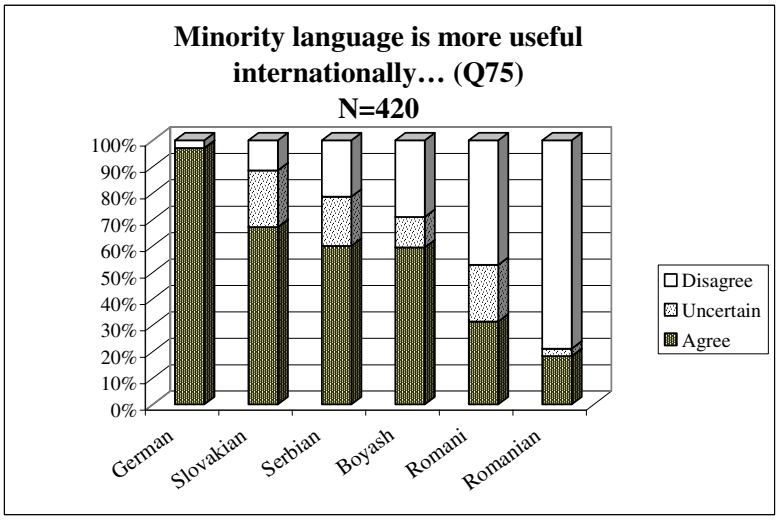

Figure 5: Attitudes to minority languages – international usefulness

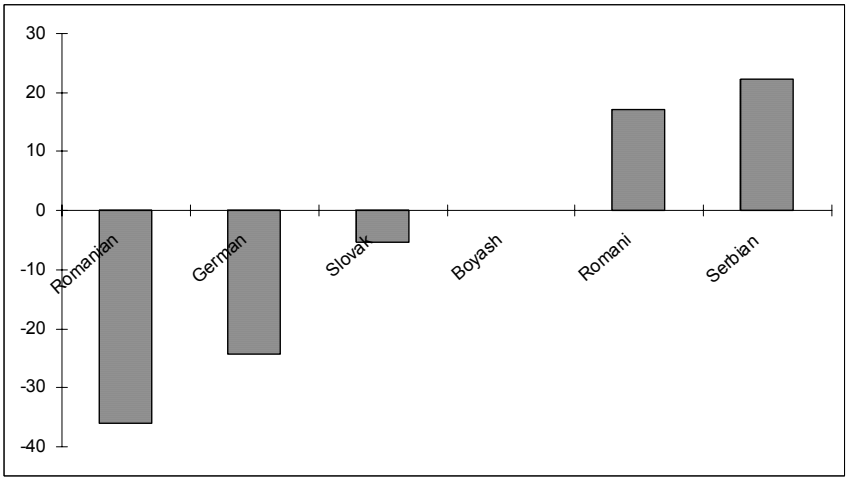

Figure 6: Attitudes to language shift and maintenance

5. Current problems and tendencies: Minority language in education

The crucial factor in maintaining a minority language is its being passed on to the next generation. If it is confined to the family, church, pub, etc., its fate is doomed, even though it is an indigenous language. Without a role or status assigned to it in the national (public) educational system it cannot survive. Therefore, the new type of *Kulturkampf* for authority over schools has been fought ever since the issue of national and/or ethnic minorities was raised in the 19th century. While the official minority policies in Hungary would like the indigenous Hungarian minorities across its borders in the neighbouring states to have every possible option to study in their native language, it often is the case that inside Hungary these same policies are stifled, mostly with reference to dwindling numbers or financial difficulties.

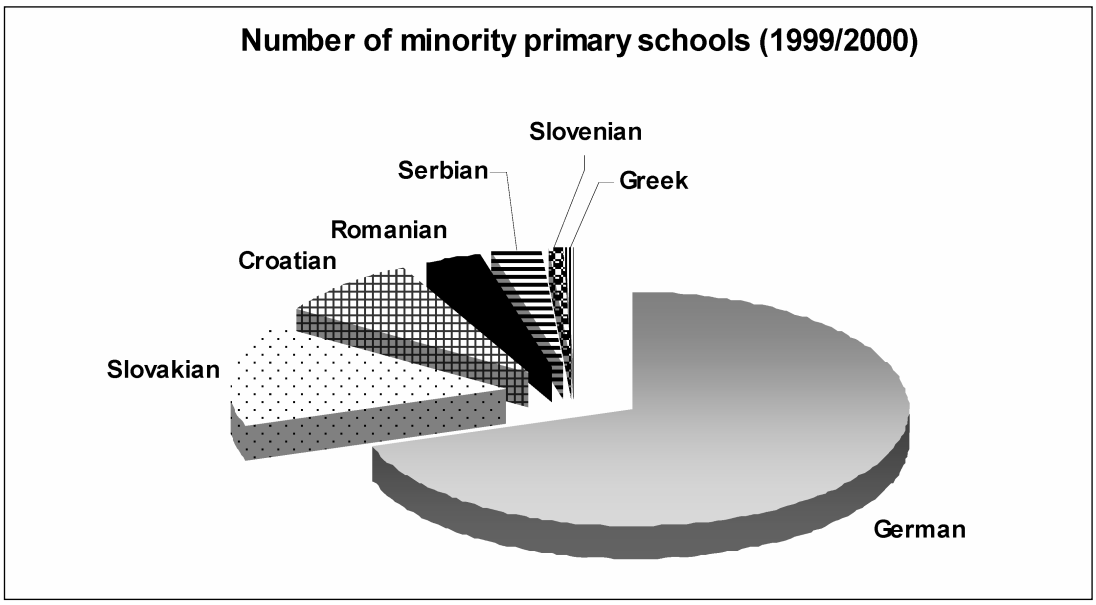

Figure 7: Minority primary schools according to language (1999/2000)

This figure shows a favourable picture, but again the truth has more shades to it. The number of 'all minority language' schools is very low, and only the least efficient third group of 'language teaching' schools have an adequate number – but only the numbers, not the kind, since they mostly teach the 'high' or standard dialect, rather than the local vernacular, which often has less prestige, and in consequence the school is popular, where applicable, as in the case of German, among non-minority parents, who send their children there to pick up a useful foreign language early enough. And, as one study indicates, in bilingual minority schools efficient bilingual methods are neglected also because the parents are already all bilingual and the pupils show an ever decreasing level of knowledge of the minority language (Borbély 2009). Numerically very small minorities (Poles, Greeks, Ruthenians) have created 'Sunday schools' outside the framework of public education (H. Kontra/Bartha forthcoming). It also strikes the eye that there are no Romani or Boyash schools in this statistics.

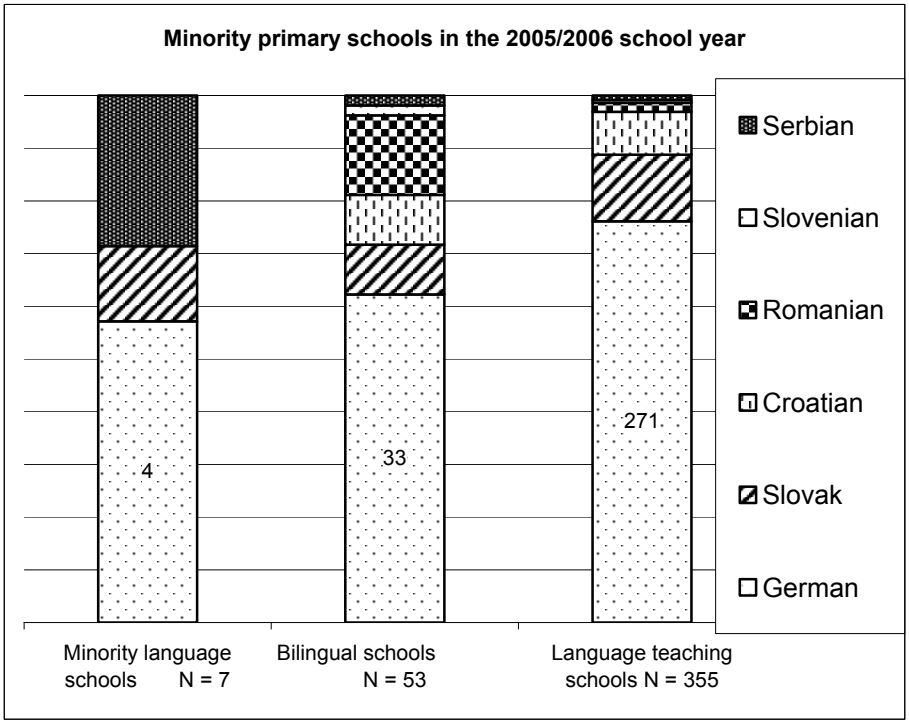

Figure 8: Minority language schools (2005/2006)

The most disheartening numbers come from the number of students in minority education, and especially in secondary education (grades 9 to 12). The numbers are so small that they are truly insignificant.

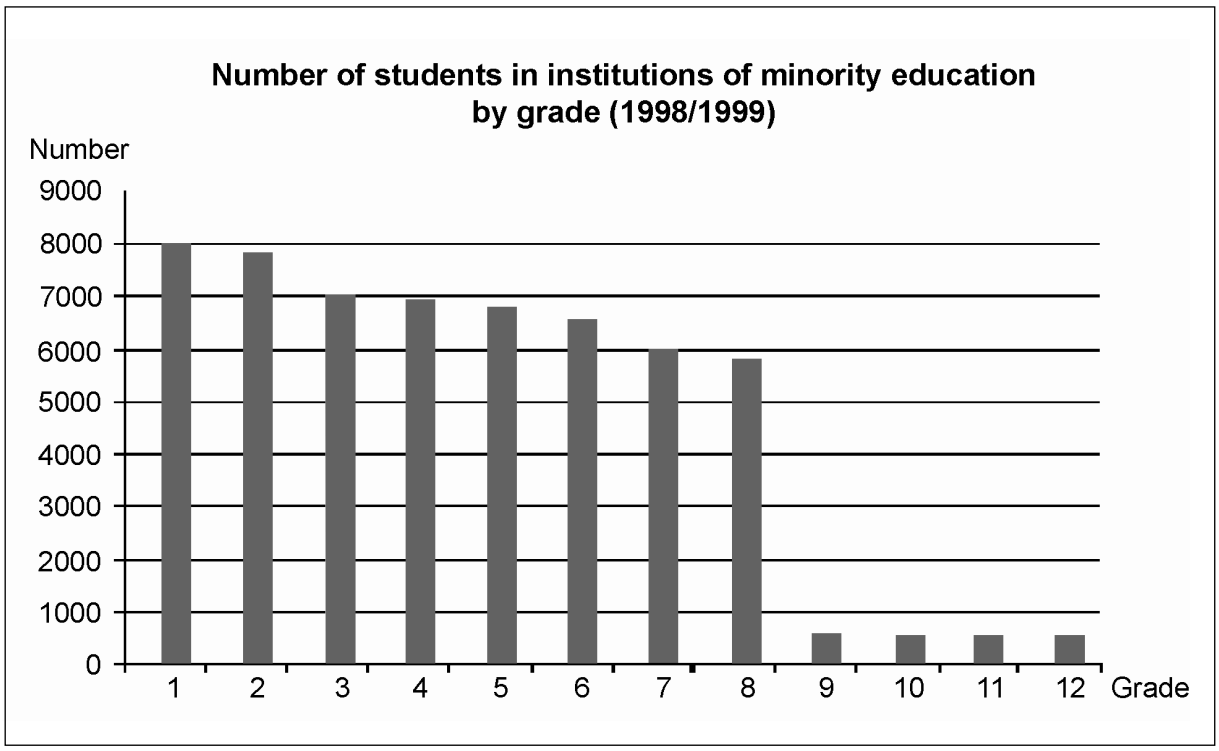

Figure 9: The number of students in minority education (1998/1999)

Of course, the sorry state of the educational situation can always be blamed on the parents: it is mostly due to their decision which type of school their children will attend. And, as has been shown by Kontra (2009), the case is parallel in Hungary and in Romania, Slovakia, etc., where the Hungarian parents do not send their children to Hungarian-language educational institutions.

However, that does not absolve the state from promoting the educational rights of members of minorities, but as the case is, in many countries of Europe, and especially to the East of the former Iron Curtain (and not excluding Hungary), governments choose to fall back on inaction if they are benevolent, or exercise their authority against education in minority languages if they are not.

6. Conclusion

It is no use to draw a conclusion at this point. All I can do here is point out that the Research Institute for Linguistics, together with its sister institute within the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Research Institute of National and Ethnic Minorities, has conducted several projects in minority languages in Hungary and the East Euorpean region, some of whose results have been made use of in this paper. It has also been a principled position of this Institute to hire staff from minority communities, who could do research in(to) their native languages and regions. Thus RIL HAS has research personnel from the the following communities and/or speaking the following minority languages: Boyash, German, Romani, Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Hungarian Sign Language, with only Serbian and Croatian missing from the list of major minority languages. We do not like to be seen as giving an example for others to follow either as regards our research and hiring policy or our critical attitude to current practices in our own country, but we do tend to believe that such small steps forward would help alleviate the current situation.

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Nicoletta Maraschio / Cecilia Robustelli

Minoranze linguistiche: la situazione in Italia

Abstract

The Italian linguistic landscape includes the national language (Italian), dialects, and a number of "minority languages" – or languages of linguistic minorities – of different families. The most ancient group of languages – called "historic" linguistic minorities – come from the Romance, Germanic, Slavic, Greek, Albanian family and are spoken by autochthonous communities. Recently "new" languages have been introduced by communities of immigrants which are now scattered around in the country. Their rights are guaranteed by the Italian Constitution, the Law 15.12.1999, n. 482 and some regional laws.

Il panorama linguistico italiano comprende accanto alla lingua nazionale (l'italiano) e ai dialetti una serie di lingue minoritarie o lingue delle minoranze linguistiche, appartenenti a ceppi linguistici diversi e riconducibili a singole comunità di parlanti. Il loro nucleo "storico" comprende lingue appartenenti al gruppo neolatino, germanico, slavo, greco e albanese. Ad esse si sono affiancate negli ultimi decenni, a causa di fenomeni migratori, "nuove" comunità linguistiche che si sono "disseminate" in singoli gruppi nel territorio nazionale. La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche è regolamentata dalla Costituzione Italiana, dalla Legge 15 dicembre 1999, n. 482 "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche" e da leggi regionali.

Il panorama linguistico italiano comprende accanto alla lingua nazionale (l'italiano) e ai dialetti una serie di lingue, appartenenti a ceppi linguistici diversi e riconducibili a singole comunità di parlanti, comunemente definite lingue minoritarie o lingue delle minoranze linguistiche. Alle minoranze linguistiche cosiddette storiche", cioè di lungo insediamento, si sono affiancate negli ultimi decenni "nuove" comunità linguistiche, che raggiungono oggi già circa il 5% della popolazione nazionale[1] alla pari con quelle storiche.[2] Si tratta di un fenomeno nuovo e in costante crescita, caratterizzato spesso – a differenza delle comunità "storiche" – da una "disseminazione" in singoli gruppi all'interno del territorio nazionale paragonabile a quello delle cosiddette "minoranze diffuse", finora identificate con i gruppi nomadi.

1. Le minoranze linguistiche storiche

Il nucleo storico formato dalle minoranze linguistiche di lungo insediamento comprende lingue appartenenti al gruppo neolatino (provenzale, franco-provenzale, catalano, ladino), germanico, slavo, greco e albanese. Si distinguono comunità autoctone, collocate soprattutto lungo gli attuali confini nazionali settentrionali e in Sardegna, e comunità che risultano da insediamenti conseguenti a fenomeni di immigrazione (dovuti a azioni di ripopolamento o a conquiste territoriali avvenute prima del XVI secolo), presenti soprattutto nell'Italia peninsulare e insulare. In questo secondo caso l'inseri-

[1] Si tratta tuttavia di comunità ancora non stabilmente radicate nel territorio e dal futuro linguistico ancora incerto, per le quali alcuni auspicano l'approvazione di una legge quadro, tesa a garantire "da un lato *tutti* i cittadini da eventuali discriminazioni basate sulla lingua, e a far sì, dall'altro, che *tutto* il patrimonio linguistico nazionale sia oggetto di promozione e di tutela" (Toso 2008, 112).

[2] Si veda Telmon (2004).

mento delle comunità, numericamente esigue e concentrate in territori circoscritti, in un contesto linguistico completamente diverso dal proprio, ne ha motivato la definizione di "colonie linguistiche".

Dal punto di vista della collocazione geografica l'inventario delle varietà parlate lungo l'arco alpino da Ovest verso Est e in Sardegna comprende:

- dialetti provenzali in alcune valli del Piemonte sud-occidentale al confine con la Francia (Val Gesso, Val Chisone, Valle Stura, Val Pellice, alta valle di Susa) e valli delle province di Cuneo e Torino);
- francese e dialetti locali franco-provenzali in Val d'Aosta e in provincia di Torino;
- varietà ladine o retoromanze, comprendenti il ladino dolomitico, intorno al massiccio del Sella nelle province di Trento, Bolzano e Belluno; il ladino del cantone dei Grigioni (romancio); il friulano, articolato nei raggruppamenti dialettali carnico, occidentale e centro-orientale);
- tedesco e dialetti bavaro-tirolesi in Alto Adige. Colonie tedescofone sono presenti anche (a) nelle valli intorno al Monte Rosa (Alagna, Macugnaga, Gressoney), dove sono riconducibili alle migrazioni di età medievale delle popolazioni walser che parlavano originariamente un dialetto germanico di tipo alamannico; (b) di tipo bavarese in Val Fersina nel Trentino; (c) ancora bavaresi (nella varietà "cimbro") nei Tredici Comuni veronesi e sull'Altipiano di Asiago;
- sloveno al confine tra Friuli Venezia Giulia e Slovenia, nelle province di Gorizia e, soprattutto, di Udine e Trieste;
- sardo in Sardegna, articolato in quattro principali varietà: sassarese, gallurese, logudorese, campidanese.

Le minoranze linguistiche dell'Italia meridionale e insulare, oggi sottoposte a una progressiva, crescente erosione che ne riduce la percentuale dei parlanti, sono le seguenti:

- croato in alcuni centri in Molise fondati da gruppi slavi di fede cattolica in fuga dalla conquista turca della costa dalmata nel XV secolo (1435): Acquaviva Collecroce, San Felice, Montemitro, in provincia di Campobasso;
- varietà albanesi (*arbëresh*) in Abruzzo, nella provincia di Pescara (nella frazione Villa Badessa del comune di Rosciano), in Molise e nella confinante area della Puglia (provincia di Foggia), in Basilicata, in Campania (Greci in provincia di Avellino), Calabria e in Sicilia (Piana degli Albanesi). La migrazione dall'Albania nel Regno di Napoli fu favorita dagli Aragonesi nel XIV secolo e dall'invasione turca del paese;
- varietà dialettali di origine greca (*grico*) ma ormai lontane dal greco moderno, in Puglia, nel Salento, e in Calabria, sul versante meridionale dell'Aspromonte. Sulla loro origine – continuità del sostrato ellenico della Magna Grecia o dei più recenti insediamenti bizantini – la questione è aperta;
- dialetti altoitaliani di tipo sostanzialmente galloitalico in Sicilia (San Fratello in provincia di Messina, Randazzo e Piazza Armerina in provincia di Catania, Ferla in provincia di Siracusa) , forse dovuti a ripopolamenti da parte di popolazioni della fascia piemontese-emiliana avvenuti tra l'XI e il XIII secolo;

– dialetti galloromanzi di tipo franco-provenzale in Puglia (Faeto e Celle San Vito in provincia di Foggia), dovuti a ripopolamenti o a immigrazioni valdesi conseguenti alle persecuzioni religiose nel XII e XV secolo, le stesse alle quali si deve la varietà arcaica di provenzale attestato in Calabria, a Guardia Piemontese in provincia di Cosenza;
– catalano a Alghero in Sardegna, nella provincia di Sassari, riconducibile alla conquista dell'isola da parte degli Aragonesi nel XIV secolo e al successivo ripopolamento con abitanti originari dell'area catalana (València, Barcellona, Baleari, Tarragona) in seguito alle sollevazioni della popolazione locale;
– tabarchino nell'Isola di San Pietro e in parte di quella di Sant'Antioco, nella Sardegna meridionale occidentale, nei comuni di Carloforte e Calasetta. Il nome *tabarchino* indica una varietà ligure importata in Sardegna da coloni genovesi dapprima emigrati, nel XVI secolo, nell'isola tunisina di Tabarca, e successivamente nel XVIII secolo rientrati.

2. Tutela delle minoranze linguistiche

La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche è regolamentata dalla Costituzione Italiana, da leggi nazionali e regionali,[3] e da statuti regionali.

2.1 Misure nazionali di tutela delle minoranze: Costituzione Italiana e legge 482/1999

La Costituzione della Repubblica italiana (27.12.1947) tutela espressamente le minoranze linguistiche all'art.6: "La Repubblica *tutela con apposite norme* le minoranze linguistiche". A distanza di cinquant'anni la legge 15 dicembre 1999, n. 482 "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche",[4] dopo aver riconosciuto che l'italiano è la lingua ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana (art. 1),[5] ha ribadito l'impegno a tutelare le minoranze linguistiche presenti sul territorio italiano (art. 2):[6]

> 1. La lingua ufficiale della Repubblica è l'italiano
>
> 2. La Repubblica, che valorizza il patrimonio linguistico e culturale della lingua italiana, promuove altresì la valorizzazione delle lingue e delle culture tutelate dalla presente legge

[3] Un elenco della normativa sulle minoranze linguistiche emanata dalle singole regioni è consultabile al sito della Provincia di Trento http://www.minoranzelinguistiche.provincia.tn.it/normativa/Normativa_delle_Regioni/.

[4] http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/99482l.htm.

[5] La legge 15 dicembre 1999 riconosce per la prima volta l'italiano come lingua ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana. Appare quindi auspicabile l'approvazione definitiva della modifica costituzionale richiesta, fra gli altri, dall'Accademia della Crusca (più volte discussa in Parlamento e approvata dalla Camera dei deputati nella scorsa legislatura) che prevede il riconoscimento dell'italiano come "lingua ufficiale" della Repubblica.

[6] Si noti che dall'elenco restano escluse il taabarchino, le varietà "diffuse" e quelle delle nuove minoranze.

> Art. 2
> 1. In attuazione dell'articolo 6 della Costituzione e in *armonia con i principi generali stabiliti dagli organismi europei e internazionali*, la Repubblica tutela la lingua e la cultura delle *popolazioni* albanesi, catalane, germaniche, greche, slovene e croate e di *quelle parlanti* il francese, il franco-provenzale, il friulano, il ladino, l'occitano e il sardo

Alcune delle lingue minoritarie riconosciute dalla legge 482/1999 godevano già di riconoscimento statale (il francese in Valle d'Aosta, il tedesco e ladino in Trentino Alto Adige, lo sloveno in Friuli Venezia Giulia) o regionale (il friulano in Friuli Venezia Giulia e il sardo in Sardegna). Altre lingue, non riconosciute dalla 482/1999, trovano anch'esse tutela nella legislazione regionale: veneto, piemontese, lingua dei Rom, lingua dei Sinti, lingue di immigrati recenti.

La legge 482/1999 è stata ed è tuttora oggetto di discussione per la diversità di criteri con i quali sono state individuate le minoranze (alcune su base etnica o nazionale, altre linguistica) e l'arbitrarietà con la quale sono state selezionate, dal momento che esse sono disomogenee, oltre che sul piano puramente linguistico, su quello funzionale (per esempio per il rapporto di diglossia o bilinguismo nei confronti della lingua nazionale e/o di altre lingue/dialetti presenti nel territorio[7]) e storico (alcune sono autoctone, altre risultano da fenomeni migratori). Sul piano culturale e sociolinguistico risalta l'accostamento tra le lingue delle minoranze "nazionali" (francese, tedesco e sloveno "standard"), che sono in regime di co-ufficialità con l'italiano, e le lingue "regionali" (ladino, friulano e sardo), le varietà dialettali "transfrontaliere" (provenzali e franco-provenzali), le varietà presenti nelle colonie linguistiche.

Particolarmente problematica si è rivelata l'inclusione del friulano, del ladino e del sardo fra le lingue minoritarie: esse rappresentano tecnicamente lingue regionali con l'italiano come "lingua tetto", e ciò sarebbe sufficiente a escluderle dallo status di lingua minoritaria.[8] Sull'effettiva autonomia culturale di queste varietà risultano ancora attuali le osservazioni di Giovan Battista Pellegrini:

> Se dovessimo considerare nettamente estranei al dominio linguistico italo-romanzo i Sardi e i Friulani, dovremmo ridiscutere la posizione di tante altre parlate regionali rispetto alla lingua e alla cultura nazionale; non ci sarebbe pertanto disagevole dimostrare che anche l'Abruzzo, il Piemonte, la Calabria, la Sicilia ecc., oltre che a possedere linguaggi popolari singolarissimi, non sono sprovviste di una loro particolare cultura o di documenti letterari antichi, anzi antichissimi, non di certo inferiori per importanza e ampiezza a quelli che normalmente si allegano per dimostrare la totale autonomia del sardo (che in buona parte risulta reale e unica in tutta la Romania) e del friulano. E non sarebbe inopportuno constatare, per assurdo, ancora una volta, che "ancor oggi, e tanto più nel vicino passato, se ci fondiamo sulle parlate municipali non influenzate dalla koinè e se prescindiamo da ragioni extralinguistiche, la nazione italiana è costituita da una maggioranza di minoranze. (Pellegrini 1977, 18-19)

[7] Si vedano in proposito le osservazioni di Telmon (2006, 51): "Se posta nei termini corretti di una dialettica fra sistemi linguistici dominanti e sistemi linguistici dominati [....], l'intera questione delle minoranze linguistiche deve essere collocata in una normale situazione di diglossia, dove il polo del codice dominante è quello della lingua italiana [cioè dal Cinquecento in poi lingua tetto, riconosciuta come tale anche dai sardi e dai friulani, così come dai lombardi, dai siciliani ecc.] mentre il polo del codice subalterno è costituito da tutte le singole parlate locali, indipendente dalle loro origini storiche e dalle loro collocazioni tipologiche."

[8] Toso (2008, 88).

2.2 Le misure regionali di tutela delle minoranze

2.2.1 Le minoranze nazionali: tedesco, francese, sloveno

Val d'Aosta per il francese, Alto Adige per il tedesco e Friuli (parzialmente) per lo sloveno sono regioni caratterizzate da un regime di vero proprio bilinguismo che hanno emanato leggi regionali per regolamentare l'uso delle loro due lingue ufficiali.

In Val d'Aosta italiano e francese sono considerate due lingue di una stessa comunità ("bilinguismo inclusivo"). Il francese viene usato accanto all'italiano nella pubblica amministrazione, nella toponomastica e nell'educazione scolastica.

> *Statuto Speciale della Valle d'Aosta*[9] (Legge costituzionale 26 febbraio 1948, n. 4)
>
> […]
>
> Titolo VI – Lingua e ordinamento scolastico
>
> Art. 38. Nella Valle D'Aosta la lingua francese è parificata a quella italiana.
>
> Gli Atti pubblici possono essere redatti nell'una e nell'altra lingua, eccettuati i provvedimenti dell'autorità giudiziaria, i quali sono redatti in lingua italiana.
>
> […]
>
> Art. 39. Nelle scuole di ogni ordine e grado, dipendenti dalla Regione, all'insegnamento della lingua francese è dedicato un numero di ore pari a quello della lingua italiana […].

In Alto Adige italiano e tedesco sono lingue di due distinte comunità ("bilinguismo separativo") a ciascuna delle quali viene riconosciuto il diritto all'educazione e alla vita amministrativa nella propria lingua. Si veda a tale proposito il DPR sulla conoscenza di italiano e tedesco nel pubblico impiego:[10]

> *Statuto speciale per il Trentino-Alto Adige*[11] (Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 31 agosto 1972 n. 670: approvazione del testo unico delle leggi costituzionali concernenti lo Statuto speciale per il Trentino-Alto Adige):
>
> […]
>
> Titolo XI: Uso della lingua tedesca e del ladino
>
> Art. 99. Nella regione la lingua tedesca è parificata a quella italiana che è la lingua ufficiale dello Stato. La lingua italiana fa testo negli atti aventi carattere legislativo e nei casi nei quali dal presente statuto è prevista la redazione bilingue.
>
> […]
>
> Art. 102. Le popolazioni ladine e quelle mochene e cimbre dei comuni di Fierozzo, Frassilongo, Palù del Fersina e Luserna hanno diritto alla valorizzazione delle proprie iniziative e attività culturali, di stampa e ricreative, nonché al rispetto della toponomastica e delle tradizioni delle popolazioni stesse. Nelle scuole dei comuni della provincia di Trento ove è parlato il ladino, il mocheno o il cimbro è garantito l'insegnamento della lingua e della cultura ladina o tedesca.

[9] http://www.regione.vda.it/amministrazione/autonomia/statuto_i.asp.
[10] http://www.provincia.bz.it/praesidium/0101/violazione/downloads/DPR%20752%201976%20ital.pdf.
[11] http://www.regione.taa.it/moduli/933_statuto_speciale.pdf.

In Friuli la protezione delle minoranze è sancita dallo Statuto Regionale:

> *Statuto speciale della Regione Friuli Venezia- Giulia*[12] (Legge Costituzionale 31 gennaio 1963)
>
> […]
>
> Art. 3. Nella Regione è riconosciuta parità di diritti e di trattamento a tutti i cittadini, qualunque sia il gruppo linguistico al quale appartengono, con la salvaguardia delle rispettive caratteristiche etniche e culturali.

2.2.2 Le lingue regionali: friulano, ladino, sardo

Il ladino, nelle sue varietà, gode di ampia tutela a livello regionale. La Provincia autonoma di Trento persegue le finalità di tutela e promozione delle lingue e delle culture, contenute negli atti normativi settoriali (D.L 16.12.1993 n. 592 e legge provinciale n. 4 del 30.8.1999), in favore della minoranza ladina residente nei comuni della Val di Fassa e delle numericamente meno consistenti minoranze mòchena (nei tre comuni germanofoni della Val dei Mocheni) e cimbra (nel territorio del comune di Luserna).[13] Le tre comunità di minoranza del Trentino, assai diverse tra loro per lingua, storia, consistenza numerica, condizioni socio-economiche e dislocazione sul territorio, sono state recentemente unificate in termini di tutela linguistica dalla Legge Provinciale 19.6.2008, n. 6 "Norme di tutela e promozione delle minoranze linguistiche locali".[14]

La tutela del sardo e del friulano promossa dalla legge 482/1999 crea invece, come si è detto in 2.1, una gerarchia difficile da giustificare all'interno del patrimonio linguistico italoromanzo globalmente considerato. Su un piano più generale il riconoscimento ufficiale attribuito dalla 482/1999 a sardo e friulano ha rafforzato in molte comunità l'attaccamento alla propria lingua e identità storica e innescato l'adozione di misure protezionistiche delle varietà linguistiche locali attraverso l'emanazione di leggi e regolamenti attuativi per la loro protezione e diffusione. Si profila tuttavia in molti casi il pericolo di immotivate rivendicazioni di autonomia linguistica e del riconoscimento di specificità culturali senza effettivi fondamenti scientifici e con finalità di tipo politico o commerciale. A ciò si aggiunge che questo riconoscimento ufficiale ha rafforzato nelle due minoranze un sentimento di alterità che travalica il piano linguistico e si intreccia con rivendicazioni di autonomia politica e amministrativa che possono anche assumere carattere anticostituzionale. Un caso recente ha avuto come oggetto il friulano, già protetto dalla Legge Regionale 22 marzo 1996 "Norme per la tutela e la promozione della lingua e della cultura friulane e istituzione del servizio per le lingue regionali e minoritarie".[15] La successiva Legge regionale 18 dicembre 2007 n. 29 "Norme per la tutela, valorizzazione re promozione della lingua friulana" ha inteso valorizzare e promuovere "l'uso della lingua friulana, nelle sue diverse espressioni, lingua propria del Friuli e parte del patrimonio storico, culturale e umano della comunita' regionale". In particolare al Capo II *Uso pubblico della lingua friulana*, art. 6 comma 2, si sancisce che "il diritto di usare la lingua friulana può essere esercitato a

[12] http://www.consiglio.regione.fvg.it/Consreg/frame/documenti/statutoGiugno2003.pdf.
[13] http://www.minoranzelinguistiche.provincia.tn.it/normativa/.
[14] http://www.minoranzelinguistiche.provincia.tn.it/normativa/Normativa_PAT/pagina52.html.
[15] http://lexview-int.regione.fvg.it/fontinormative/xml/IndiceLex.aspx?anno=1996&legge=15&lista=1.

prescindere dal territorio in cui i relativi uffici sono insediati", mentre al Capo III *Interventi nel settore dell'istruzione*, art. 12, comma 3 *Lingua friulana ed educazione plurilingue* si sostiene che "Fatta salva l'autonomia degli istituti scolastici, al momento dell'iscrizione i genitori o chi ne fa le veci, previa adeguata informazione, su richiesta scritta dell'istituzione scolastica, comunicano alla stessa la propria volonta' di non avvalersi dell'insegnamento della lingua friulana." Di entrambi i commi è stata dichiarata l'illegittimità dalla Corte Costituzionale con sentenza del 18.5.2009, nella quale la Corte ricorda la giurisprudenza precedente in materia linguistica: "La giurisprudenza di questa Corte, se da tempo ha affermato che 'la Costituzione conferma per implicito che il nostro sistema riconosce l'italiano come unica lingua ufficiale' (sentenza n. 28 del 1982), ha più volte ritenuto che la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche costituisce uno dei principi fondamentali della nostra Costituzione, dal momento che non soltanto ad essa è dedicato l'art. 6, ma questa speciale tutela concretizza il principio pluralistico ed il principio della eguaglianza".

La varietà sarda è tutelata dalla Legge Regionale n. 26 del 15 ottobre 1997 "Promozione e valorizzazione della cultura e della lingua della Sardegna",[16] tuttora in vigore con poche modifiche: art. 3 "[…] la lingua sarda e la valorizzazione delle sue articolazioni e persistenze, come caratterie strumenti necessari per l' esercizio delle proprie competenze statutarie in materia di beni culturali – quali musei, biblioteche, antichità e belle arti – di pubblici spettacoli, ordinamento degli studi, architettura e urbanistica, nonchè di tutte le altre attribuzioni proprie o delegate che attengono alla piena realizzazione dell' autonomia della Sardegna"; art. 4: "La medesima valenza attribuita alla cultura ed alla lingua sarda è riconosciuta con riferimento al territorio interessato, alla cultura ed alla lingua catalana di Alghero, al tabarchino delle isole del Sulcis, al dialetto sassarese e a quello gallurese". Il movimento verso la standardizzazione di una *limba sarda unificada* ha raccolto consensi e sostegno ufficiale dalla Regione: l'amministrazione regionale ha adottato per la prima volta una delibera in sardo in data 18 aprile 2006. L'apprendimento del sardo non è inserito nei programmi scolastici ufficiali, anche se la Regione incoraggia la realizzazione di progetti sperimentali di istruzione scolastica in lingua sarda e anche in catalano e tabarchino.

2.2.3 Le varietà dialettali franco-provenzali e provenzali

Le varietà dialettali franco-provenzali e provenzali – queste ultime arbitrariamente riunite sotto il termine "occitano" dalla 482/1999 – sono indirettamente tutelate dalla Legge regionale della Regione Piemonte n. 26 del 10 aprile 1990 "Tutela, valorizzazione e promozione dell'originale patrimonio linguistico del Piemonte".[17] L'occitano risulta tutelato anche dalla Regione Calabria, insieme a albanese e gracanico, attraverso una Legge Regionale (v. 2.1.3).

[16] http://www.regione.sardegna.it/j/v/86?v=9&c=72&s=1&file=1997026.

[17] http://arianna.consiglioregionale.piemonte.it/ariaint/TESTO?LAYOUT=PRESENTAZIONE&TIPODOC=LEGGI&LEGGE=026&LEGGEANNO=1990.

2.2.4 Le varietà croate, albanesi, grico, catalano

Le varietà croate e albanesi sono riconosciute dalla Legge regionale della Regione Molise n. 15 del 14 maggio 1997 "Tutela e valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche nel Molise":[18] "la Regione, di concerto con i comuni interessati, con i loro Consorzi e con le Province, promuove e sostiene le iniziative di valorizzazione delle comunità molisane di origine croata e albanese" anche attraverso l'insegnamento scolastico nei comuni bilingui. L'albanese trova tutela anche

- nella Legge Regionale della Regione Basilicata n. 40 del 3 novembre 1998 (successivamente aggiornata con la Legge Regionale n. 17 del 17 agosto 2004) "Norme per la promozione e la tutela delle comunità Arbereshe in Basilicata" limitatamente alle "Comunità etnico-linguistiche di origine arbereshe storicamente presenti nei seguenti Comuni: Barile, Brindisi di Montagna, Ginestra, Maschito, San Costantino Albanese e San Paolo Albanese";[19]
- insieme alle varietà grecanica e occitanica (sic), nella Legge Regionale della Regione Calabria n. 15 del 30 ottobre 2003 "Norme per la tutela e la valorizzazione della lingua e del patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche e storiche di Calabria": art. 1 "La Regione Calabria […] tutela le parlate della popolazione albanese, grecanica e occitanica di Calabria e promuove la valorizzazione e divulgazione del loro patrimonio linguistico, culturale e materiale";[20]
- nella Legge Regionale n. 14 del 20 dicembre 2004 della Regione Campania "Tutela della minoranza alloglotta e del patrimonio storico, culturale e floclorístico della comunità albanofona del comune di Greci in provincia di Avellino".[21]

Il catalano è tutelato dalla Legge Regionale della Regione Sardegna n. 26 del 15 ottobre 1997 "Promozione e valorizzazione della cultura e della lingua della Sardegna" (v. 2.1.2.2)

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[18] http://www.regione.taa.it/biblioteca/normativa/regioni/ordinarie/molise.pdf.
[19] http://www.regione.taa.it/biblioteca/normativa/regioni/ordinarie/basilicata2.pdf.
[20] http://www.regione.taa.it/biblioteca/normativa/regioni/ordinarie/calabria1.pdf
[21] http://www.sito.regione.campania.it/burc/pdf04/burc63or_04/lr14_04.pdf

Elena Jolanta Zabarskaitė

Multilingualism in Lithuania

Santrauka

Straipsnyje pristatomos Lietuvos tautinės mažumos ir jų kalbos. Aptariama demografinė situacija, istorinis tautinių mažumų Lietuvoje kontekstas. Pristatoma teisinė bazė, reguliuojanti tautinių mažumų viešojo gyvenimo, švietimo, informavimo ir kt. sritis. Pateikiama statistinė informacija apie tautinių mažumų švietimo ir žiniasklaidos būklę. Atkreipiamas dėmesys į tautinių mažumų kalbų ir kultūrų paveldo tyrimus Lietuvoje. Konstatuojama, kad tautinių mažumų kalbos ir kultūros yra didžiulis Lietuvos turtas, tačiau jų kalbų statuso problemos šalyje dar nėra iki galo išdiskutuotos.

1. Ethnic minorities in Lithuania

Modern Lithuania remains the multinational central European country. There are 115 nationalities living in Lithuania (for further details see Potachenko 2008; Kaubrys 2002).

The population of Lithuania consists of: Lithuanians (84%), Poles (6.1%), Russians (4.9%), Belorussians (1.1%), Ukrainians (0.6%), Jewish (0.1%), German (0.1%), Latvians (0.1%), Tatars (0.1%), Karaits amongst others (2001 census). There is also an approximately 3 000 people strong Roma community, which is mainly settled in the Vilnius region. Other non-titular people are primarily concentrated in some of the biggest cities: Vilnius (42% of various ethnic minorities), Klaipėda (29% mostly Russian-speakers minority; Klaipėda is the ice-free seaport, where numerous migrants from the Soviet occupation period are working) and Visaginas (concentrated Russian-speakers minority; the Ignalina Power Plant in Visaginas operates in Russian since the Soviet occupation period). The Roma community mainly settled in the Vilnius region. Concentrated Polish communities are settled in Eastern and South-Eastern Lithuania (*Vilnijos kraštas*, *Wileńszczyzna*).

Since the restitution of independence in the Baltic States, there has been a notable decrease in the percentage of resident Russians and Russian-speakers (most of the present-day Russians in Lithuania are migrants from the Soviet occupation era including their descendants) related to political developments, repatriation, and lower birth rate.

Religion had a significant impact on the Lithuanian minorities' history. Population by religious confession consists of: Roman Catholics (79%); Orthodox Believers (4.05%); Old Believers (0.77%); Evangelical Lutherans (0.56%); Evangelical Reformists (0.2%); Jehovah's Witnesses (0.1%); Sunni Muslims (0.08%); All Gospel Churches (0.06%); Pentecostal Church (0.04%); Judaists (0.04%); Balts Believers (0.04%); Baptists (and other independent churches) (0.04%); other believers (0.135%); no religion (9.5%); not indicated (5.35%) (2001 census).

Old Believers, who are Russian speakers, appeared as an organized Fedoseevian community in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the eighteenth century. It was the first wave of an extensive emigration from Russia into the Baltic countries, and in par-

ticular, into Lithuania. In the late eighteenth century, they ranged from 100 000 to 180 000 Old Believers. Nowadays Old Believers remain at about 45 000 (for further details, see Potachenko 2006).

In 1392, Grand Duke Vytautas of the medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania relocated one branch of the Crimean Karaites to Lithuania, where they continued to speak their own language. The Lithuanian Karaites settled primarily in Vilnius and Trakai as well as in Biržai, Pasvalys, Naujamiestis, and Upytė – smaller settlements throughout Lithuania proper – and lands of modern Belarus and Ukraine that were part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Nowadays there are only about 300 Karaites (for further details, see Zajączkowski 1961; Szyszman 1980; Harviainen 1996-1997). There is a website intended for the spoken Karaite language: http://www3.aa.tufs.ac.jp/~djn/karaim/karaimCD.htm. Collection of Karaite language data was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft at the University of Cologne.

In Lithuania, unlike many other northern and western European countries, Islam came long ago. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, stretching from Baltic to Black seas, included some Muslim lands in the south, inhabited by Crimean Tatars. Some people from those lands were moved into ethnically Lithuanian lands, mainly under rule of Grand Duke Vytautas. The Tatars, now referred to as Lithuanian Tatars (*Lipka Tatars*), lost their language over time; however, they have not lost Islam as their religion. Due to long isolation from all the other Islamic world, the practices of the Lithuanian Tatars differs somewhat from the rest of Sunni Muslims; however, they are not considered a separate sect. Nowadays about 4 000 Lithuanian Tatars reside in Lithuania (for further details, see Suter 2004; Bairašauskaitė 1998).

Lithuanian Jews are Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews with roots in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Lithuania was historically home to a large and influential Jewish community that was almost entirely eliminated during the Holocaust. Before World War II, there were over 110 synagogues and 10 yeshivas in Vilnius. Before World War II, the Lithuanian Jewish (*Litvaks*) population was 160 000, approximately 7% of the total population. Nowadays about 4 000 Jews live in Lithuania (for further details, see Katz 2004; Katz 2008; Levin, Teller 2001; Nikžentaitis/Schreiner/Staliūnas/Donskis 2004). Litvaks have an identifiable mode of pronouncing Hebrew and Yiddish that is often used to determine the boundaries of *Lita*. The Vilnius Yiddish Institute is the first Yiddish center of higher learning to be established in post-Holocaust Eastern Europe. It is an integral part of the four-centuries-old Vilnius University (1579). The Institute is dedicated to the preservation of the centuries-old heritage of Yiddish language and culture through teaching and scholarly research of the highest quality.

The Polish minority in Lithuania forms the largest ethnic minority in modern Lithuania and one of the largest Polish diaspora groups in a former Soviet republic. Poles are concentrated in the Vilnius Region (*Wileńszczyzna*, *Vilnija*). Of the Poles in Lithuania, 80.0% consider the Polish language to be their mother tongue, 9.5% speak Russian as their first language, while 7.3% speak Lithuanian. 2.7% Poles did not indicate their first language. The remaining 0.5% speak various other languages (2001 census) (for the sociolinguistical situation in other regions [not Vilnius] see Karas 2001).

Ruthenians (current Belorussian) were native to the central and south-eastern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Ruthenian chancellery language was used to write laws in the midle ages. Ruthenian is a term used for the varieties of Eastern Slavonic spoken and written in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Ruthenian can be seen as a predecessor of modern Belorussian and Ukrainian. There are approximately 55 000 Belorussians in Lithuania today (2001 census).

2. The legal framework

In accordance with the **Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania**, the State is required to offer support to minorities by ensuring the protection and promotion of their language, culture, and customs (Article 37). The Lithuanian Constitution guarantees the availability of an interpreter in judicial proceedings for those who do not speak Lithuanian (Article 117).

The Law on Ethnic Minorities guarantees the right to free development and respect of every nationality and every language (Article 1) as well as the support of the State in education and the teaching of their culture and language (Article 2). It guarantees their right to a state education in their language from nursery school to the completion of secondary education as well as higher levels of initial training for teaching personnel involved with minority languages. It recognizes their right to express themselves publicly in their language in the press and cultural or religious demonstrations. In regions with a high concentration of ethnic minorities, those minorities execute the right to use their language alongside the state language in communication (Article 4) and on signs (Article 5).

The rights of the citizens belonging to the national minorities are protected by state language; education; associations; provision of information to the public; religious communities and associations; political parties and political organization; fundamentals of protection of the rights of children as well as other legal acts.

Lithuania signed (1995) and ratified (2000) the **Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.** In 2007, the Government of Lithuania validated the development of **Politics of National Minorities until 2015**.

3. Education

The provisions for the education of persons belonging to national minorities detail the program for teaching minority languages within the education system and reinforce the correlation between minority and national languages. Exams in schools for minorities are in the minority language and, if the pupils so wish, also in the national language.

At the beginning of the 2008-2009 academic year in the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, there were about 166 schools of general education in which the teaching process was conducted in one or several languages of instruction: 64 general educational establishments with the Polish language of instruction; 38 Russian; 8 Belorussian; 1 English; 1 French.

There are 61 general schools where more than one language of instruction is used: 23 general schools with the Lithuanian – Russian language of instruction, and 17 Lithuanian – Polish, 11 Russian – Polish, 8 Lithuanian – Russian – Polish, and 2 Lithuanian – English schools.

Some minorities (Ukrainians, Armenians, Latvians, Estonians, Karaits, Poles, Russians, Belorussians, Greeks, Chechens, Jews, and Tatars) have established their own Saturday/Sunday schools (approximately 39). This idea was the brainchild of a working group led by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania in 2004.

Nonetheless, it is important to note the difference between the two biggest ethnic communities – the Russian community and the Polish community. Currently, the parents, who belong to the Russian community, more often let their children study in the schools with the Lithuanian language of instruction. Meanwhile, until 2005, the Lithuanian Poles choose the Polish schools for their children (from 10 613 in 1989 to 19 507 in 2004/2005). In recent times, this tendency has been relatively changing (amounting to 15 064 students in 2008/2009 academic year, whose language of instruction was Polish).

4. Mass media

National minorities are able to engage in creative work and publish information in their native languages. Currently periodicals in Russian, Polish, and Yiddish are being published in the country. Tatars and Greeks of Lithuania are issuing their newspapers in Lithuanian or Russian with inserts in their native languages; the Tatar newspaper *Lietuvos totoriai* (*Tatars of Lithuania*) – in the Lithuanian and Russian; *Lietuvos Jeruzalė* (*Jerusalem of Lithuania*) – in the Lithuanian, Yiddish, Russian, and English.

The first programme of the Radio Lithuania gives a daily half-hour broadcast of information on public issues and politics in Russian. The programme *Klasika* (*Classics*) of the Radio Lithuania broadcasts a daily half-hour cultural-educative programme *Santara* for the national minorities living n Lithuania. All other broadcasts of *Santara* are in Russian and are targeted at the Russian and other national minorities of Lithuania. There is also a daily half-hour broadcast in the Polish language for the Poles living in Lithuania.

Lithuania also has non-governmental radio stations operating: Polish radio *Znad Wilii*, Russian radio *Russkoje Radio*, and *Baltijos Bangos* broadcasting in the Belorussian language. In Visaginas and Klaipėda, there are local radio stations broadcasting programmes in the Russian language.

The national television of Lithuania broadcasts various information programmes aimed at national minorities: Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Belorussians, and other small national minorities – Latvians, Estonians, Tatars, Karaites, etc.

The distribution of public information in the languages of minorities may be more successful: in 2003, there were 17 periodicals (7 – in Russian), in 2000 – 49.

5. Research of multilingual history of Lithuania

At the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, the new department for the research in old writings of ethnic minorities and language contacts was established. Major areas of activity of the new department are: Cyrillic manuscripts kept in Lithuania; the spoken language and writings of Russian Old Believers in Lithuania; Muslim (Tatar) writings in Arabic in The Great Duchy of Lithuania; contemporary and historical Lithuanian and other language contacts; Lithuanian and minorities' language dictionaries etc.

The fifth international conference focusing on the research of the cultural heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was organized by the Institute in co-operation with Polish colleagues and was held in 2008. Previous conferences were held in Budapest (1996, 1998, 2000) and Brest, Belorussia (2004).

The Institute of Lithuanian Language publishes multilingual sourses of old writings, for example, *Turkish-Polish dictionary of the Lithuanian Tatars manuscript (1840*) (Miškinienė/Güllüdağ 2008; in Tatars and Polish languages), *Christian science laid out in Samogitian: Priest Jonas Krizostomas Gintilas' Samogitian Catechism in Hebrew alphabet* (Verbickienė 2009; in Lithuanian, Hebrew and English), etc.

Dictionaries of minorities languages are being compiled; for example, lexicographes are working on the *Lithuanian – Polish* and *Polish – Lithuanian* as well as *Belorussian – Lithuanian* and *Lithuanian – Belorussian* dictionaries.

The research into language contacts, language and culture dialog, is an important factor to promote European multilingualism and inter-cultural ideas.

Languages and the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities are of great cultural and social wealth for the Lithuanian.

6. Problems

There is some support for the idea that one or several languages of minorities should be given the legal status of second official language in the regions settled by minority people; however, the issue is not discussed much in public.

In the future, the discussion on the legitimisation of the status of minority languages in public life may be in the centre of public attention.

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Lena Ekberg

The national minority languages in Sweden – their status in legislation and in practice

Abstract: De nationella minoritetsspråken i Sverige – deras status i lagstiftning och i praktiken

År 2000 blev finska, jiddisch, meänkieli, romani chib och samiska nationella minoritetsspråk i Sverige, i samband med att regeringen undertecknade Europarådets minoritetsspråkskonvention. Finska, meänkieli och samiska identifierades som territoriella språk och fick en högre skyddsgrad än de icke-territoriella språken jiddisch och romani chib. Det finns betydande skillnader mellan de fem nationella minoritetsspråken vad gäller inte bara laglig status utan också beträffande antal talare och attityder från majoritetsbefolkningen. Finska, som är det i särklass största minoritetsspråket och det andra största språket i Sverige, har en stabil position i det svenska samhället men har samtidigt blivit i viss mån "osynligt". Meänkieli och samiska, särskilt sydsamiska, är de språk som är akut mest utrotningshotade. Jiddisch har mycket få modersmålstalare, men den judiska minoriteten utgör å andra sidan en välorganiserad grupp. Lägst status i majoritetssamhället har (fortfarande) den romska gruppen och det romska språket.

In year 2000 Sweden ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Five languages were officially recognised as national minority languages, namely Finnish, Meänkieli (Tornedalian Finnish), Yiddish, Romany and Sami. Common for these languages is that they have been spoken in Sweden for hundreds of years. Sami, Meänkieli and Finnish were identified as regional languages, in contrast to Yiddish and Romany. Sami, Meänkieli and Finnish are historically spoken in the Norrbotten County. Finnish is also spoken in industrial districts along the coast of Norrbotten, in Stockholm and the district of Mälardalen and in the big cities in general. Speakers of Romany live above all in the three largest cities. This holds also for Yiddish-speakers.

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of the different minority languages since Sweden does not collect official statistics about this. The figures I give below are coarse estimations, building in principle on Parkvall (2009) – where the author insightfully compares and discusses various reports of number of speakers of the languages in Sweden.

Finnish is the second largest language in Sweden with approximately 200 000-250 000 speakers. Parkvall estimates the speakers of Meänkieli to something between 15 000 and 45 000 – but in the literature there are estimations as high as 75 000-100 000! During the last 25 years the speakers of Meänkieli have been reduced with 40 percent, according to Parkvall. There are about 10 500-12 000 speakers of Romany, and between 3 500 and 7 000 speakers of Sami; three quarters of these speak North Sami, around 15% speak Lule Sami and only 10% speak South Sami. Yiddish is the smallest minority language, spoken approximately only by around 1 500 people. Very few of these have Yiddish as their mother tongue.

1. The legislation concerning minorities and their languages

Up to now, the authorities have taken few initiatives to improve the situation for the national minorities, e.g. as regards bilingual education. In addition to the European convention, national laws (SFS 1999:1175; SFS 1999:1176), entered into force 2000, state that three of the minority languages – Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami – may be used in judiciary institutions and public administration in specific areas ("administrative districts") traditionally inhabited by substantial numbers of persons belonging to the national minorities in question. Speakers of these minority languages also have particular rights regarding education in their language.

The 1st of July 2009 Sweden passed the Language Act (SFS 2009:600) – a law on the status of the languages spoken in Sweden. Besides stating that Swedish is the main language, the Language Act states that the earlier official minority languages shall have the status as national languages. The Swedish Sign Language is placed on a par with the five minority languages although it does not have the status as a *national* minority language. According to the Language Act the five national minority languages, as well as the Swedish Sign Language, have to be protected and promoted. Further, everyone belonging to a national minority language has to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use his/her language. But also other languages are mentioned: the last paragraph states that everyone who has a mother tongue other than Swedish, the Swedish Sign Language or a national minority language has to be given the opportunity to develop and use his/her mother tongue. The fact that the minority languages are included in the same law as Swedish no doubt raises the status of these languages.

The Language Council of Sweden has been commissioned to follow up the realization of the Language Act. The Language Council is the common body of language care, embracing Swedish, Finnish, Romany, Meänkieli, the Swedish Sign Language, and Yiddish. (The Sami Parliament is responsible for the language care of Sami.)

The 1st of January 2010 a new law that strengthens the rights of the minorities entered into force (SFS 2009:724). This law is valid for all of the five minority languages – not only for the regional ones, Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami. The law states that the authorities are to protect the minorities and promote the minority languages. Importantly, the new law regulates the rights of the national minorities to participation in decisions affecting them. With this law the administrative areas for Sami and Finnish, respectively, are expanded, from 4 to 13 for Sami and from 5 to 18 for Finnish. This means that 40% of the Finnish speaking minority now is comprised by the law, compared to only 5% before. Not only municipalities in the northern part of Sweden are included in the Finnish administrative area but also cities in the middle and south of Sweden. For instance, the capital, Stockholm, is now part of the administrative area for Finnish.

Outside these areas individuals have the right to use Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami in communication with authorities, if there is linguistically skilled staff available. Speakers of all national minority languages always have the right to use their language in

written communication with the ombudsmen of the Parliament, the Chancellor of Justice, the Social Insurance Office, the National Tax Board, and the Office of the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination.

Individuals should also have access to elderly care and preschool in Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami, respectively, again provided there are employees proficient in the language in question.

2. The situation for the national minorities in Sweden

Of the five minority languages it is in the first place South Sami and Meänkieli that are severely threatened. There are few young speakers and the bilingual education must be strengthened if the languages should not disappear. As regards Romany (and also Meänkieli) there is a great demand for documentation and standardization. The status of Finnish has increased during the last 30-40 years, but at the same time the language has become more "invisible" in the community. Finnish-speaking people in Sweden are well integrated in the society. The number of speakers is however decreasing; there are few children who speak Finnish and participation in bilingual education is continuously diminishing.

The speakers of Yiddish constitute a very little but well organized group. The practical consequences of being a national minority have up to now been more or less zero for the Yiddish-speaking people; the effect has above all been symbolic.

3. Language instruction in minority languages

The model of teaching is of central importance for the surviving of the minority languages. In Sweden the national minorities are offered language instruction in accordance with the mother-tongue education model, i.e. language is taught outside the regular curriculum and only between 20 minutes and 2 hours per week. Bilingual education (up to 50% teaching in the language) plays a marginal role. The rules for mother-tongue education are however more generous for the national minorities than for other minorities. Education should be provided even if only one pupil requests it and even if the language concerned is not in daily use at home. However, there is one demand concerning mother-tongue tuition in general that holds also for the national minorities: the pupil must have basic knowledge in the minority language in order to get mother-tongue instruction. In practice, this demand is an obstacle for children who are beginners in the minority language. If the minorities should be able to revitalize their languages, this obstacle must be removed. A further obstacle is the lack of competent teachers resulting in that language instruction occasionally is denied also when pupils have legal right to it.

4. Attitudes of the majority of the population towards minority languages

Even if the authorities have an explicit intention to counteract discrimination against minorities and the use of minority languages, there are still to some extent negative attitudes in the Swedish-speaking majority towards the national minorities and in

particular towards Romanies. Several follow-ups of the minority laws have shown that the minorities only to a limited extent use their language in contact with authorities and courts (cf. Prop. 2008/09:158, 171ff.). There might be several reasons for this, e.g. deficient information about the legislation or deficient skill in minority languages by the staff. But individuals may also hesitate to use their language in contact with the authorities due to linguistic factors, such as lack of administrative terms, inability to express oneself in written communication in the minority language, or fear that the authority person will not understand (Elenius/Ekenberg 2002). As pointed out by the Committee of Experts on the application of the Charter (ECRML 2009, 46) it is very rare that citizens submit a written application in minority languages. Only oral communication takes place in these languages. Finally, the assumption that the authorities lack economical resources or will to use the minority languages might have a restraining effect on the usage.

The passing of the Language Act has made the national minority languages more visible to the public. There is a positive interest towards these languages, but also a certain questioning of the choice of languages that have got official status. In particular the choice of Yiddish is questioned. Firstly, the number of speakers in general is low, not to mention the number of native speakers, i.e. speakers whose first language is Yiddish. Secondly, people are not in general aware of the fact that Yiddish has been spoken in Sweden since the 18th century. (Also Meänkieli has sometimes been questioned, as it can be argued that it is a dialect of Finnish.) In relation to this discussion, the question is sometimes raised why not, e.g., Arabic, one of the largest minority languages in Sweden, may become an official minority language, or why not Övdalian, a Swedish dialect spoken in the central of Sweden? Whereas there is a small group of linguists and people, mainly from the Övdalian county, who argues that Övdalian should get the status as national minority language, there is no real opinion towards making Arabic a national minority language. (In addition, Arabic does not yet fulfil the criteria for becoming a national language: the language has to be spoken at least three generations in Sweden.) Overall, there is no general support among the public to enlarge the number of minority languages.

There are also societal initiatives that can, and have been, interpreted as a result of negative attitudes towards the use of minority (immigrant) languages in general. For instance, the Liberal Party suggested in February 2009 that instruction in special subjects in school, such as mathematics and English, should always be done in Swedish, not in a “foreign mother tongue”. The motivation was that the pupil's development in Swedish would be suffering. The reaction from other political parties, as well as from many individuals, was however strong and the Liberal Party withdraw their proposal.

5. Summary

There are significant differences between the five official minority languages in Sweden as regard status, number of speakers and historical relation to the majority language. Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami are regional languages with a higher degree of

protection than Romani and Yiddish which are identified as non-territorial languages. Finnish is the largest minority language, Yiddish the smallest one. Sami and Meänkieli are today the most threatened ones.

Among the public there is an intuitive understanding of the reasons to give four of the five languages official status, but as regards Yiddish people tend to question the motivation. Also Meänkieli has sometimes been questioned, as it can be argued that it is a dialect of Finnish. The attitudes towards the minority languages differ. Finnish has got a significantly higher status during the last decades – but at the same time it is losing ground and has become more "invisible". Romany is (still) the language that has the lowest status in the society of the minority languages.

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Ulrike Haslinger

Zur sprachlichen Situation in Österreich

Abstract

Austria's national language is German, spoken by 97.2% of the total population. In addition, six autochthonous languages (Czech, Croatian, Hungarian, Romani, Slovakian, and Slovene) as well as Austrian Sign Language are acknowledged as further official languages. For the protection of her autochthonous minorities, Austria provides for/regulates minority school laws, official language use, topographical signs, and media law. Furthermore, Austria signed both the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1998) and the European Charta for Regional or Minority Languages (2001).

New migrant languages such as e.g. Bosnian, Serbian or Turkish are not enshrined yet, but an understanding for the linguistic and cultural potential of these languages is on the increase.

1. Sprachenvielfalt und ihre gesetzliche Anerkennung in Österreich

Deutsch ist offizielle Staatssprache und wird von 97.2 % der 8.265.925 in Österreich lebenden Personen gesprochen (Austria Statistics/Volkszählung 2001). Das österreichische Deutsch ist seit 1994 eine von der Europäischen Union anerkannte Varietät der deutschen Sprache (Protokoll Nr. 10, 1994).

Daneben werden **Kroatisch**, **Romani**, **Slowakisch**, **Slowenisch**, **Tschechisch** und **Ungarisch** als autochthone ethnische Minderheitensprachen gesetzlich anerkannt. Dadurch bekennt sich die österreichische Republik zur gewachsenen sprachlichen und kulturellen Vielfalt ihrer autochthonen Volksgruppen. Ebenfalls als eigenständige Sprache gilt seit 2005 die **österreichische Gebärdensprache**. Bis 2005 wurde die österreichische Gebärdensprache der deutschen Sprache zugeordnet.

Sprache	**Sprecher/innenzahl***	**Bundesland**
Kroatisch	19.412	Burgenland und Steiermark
Romani	6.273	Burgenland
Slowakisch	10.234	Wien
Slowenisch	24.855	Kärnten und Steiermark
Tschechisch	17.742	Wien
Ungarisch	40.583	Wien und Burgenland
Österr. Gebärdensprache (ÖGS)	10.000**	
ÖGS-kompetente Sprecher/innen	10.000**	
* Statistik Austria, Census 2001 ** geschätzte Zahl, Krausneker (2001)		

Tab. 1: Sprachen in Österreich

Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen zur Anerkennung dieser Sprachen sind in der österreichischen Bundesverfassung (Artikel 8, § 1-3) verankert. Grundlagen dafür finden sich im Staatsvertrag von Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919), im österreichischen Staatsvertrag (Wien, 1955) sowie im österreichischen Volksgruppengesetz (1976).

Gesetzlich vertreten werden die autochthonen Minderheiten vom **Volksgruppenbeirat ethnischer Minderheiten**; die Interessen der gehörlosen österreichischen Bürger/innen werden durch den **österreichischen Gehörlosenbund** wahrgenommen.

Neben den gesetzlich anerkannten Sprachen gibt es in Österreich auch eine Gruppe der so genannten **neuen Migrant/inn/ensprachen**. Dazu zählen in Österreich unter anderem Albanisch, Arabisch, Bosnisch, Bulgarisch, Chinesisch, Filipino, Indisch, Japanisch, Kroatisch, Kurdisch, Mazedonisch, Persisch, Polnisch, Rumänisch, Russisch, Serbisch, Thai, Türkisch und Vietnamesisch. Für diese neuen Migrant/inn/ensprachen gibt es zwar noch keine gesetzlichen Regelungen, aber die Anerkennung und Förderung des sprachlichen und kulturellen Potenzials dieser Bevölkerungsgruppe bildet seit geraumer Zeit einen Schwerpunkt in der österreichischen Bildungspolitik. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit erhalten hier die zahlenstärksten Migrant/inn/ensprachen aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien und der Türkei. Vor allem sollen diese Migrant/inn/en durch Muttersprachenunterricht und gleichzeitiger DaF/DaZ-Förderung unterstützt werden (Deutsch als Fremdsprache/Deutsch als Zweitsprache). Darüber hinaus gewinnt die Förderung der Sprachen in den Grenzregionen (z.B. Projekt "CROMO – Intercultural cross-boarder module/supplement to ELP15+" für Deutsch, Italienisch und Slowenisch; Projekt "Niederösterreichische Sprachoffensive" für Tschechisch, Slowakisch und Ungarisch; und Projekt "Drei Hände – Tri roke – Tre mani" für Deutsch, Slowenisch und Italienisch) immer mehr an Bedeutung.

Auf europäischer Ebene bekennt sich Österreich zum Schutz der Minderheitensprachen durch die Unterzeichnung der *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1998) sowie der Ratifizierung der *European Charta for Regional or Minority Languages* (2001).

2. Weitere gesetzliche Verordnungen und Zuständigkeiten

Obwohl die Wertschätzung der gesetzlich anerkannten Minderheitensprachen in Österreich als sehr fortschrittlich bezeichnet werden kann, können die Gesetze für den Gebrauch und Erhalt dieser Sprachen und Kulturen – darunter fallen das Minderheitenschulgesetz, der Amtssprachengebrauch, Rechtsvorschriften für die Topographieverordnung und das bundesweit gültige Mediengesetz – je nach Region unterschiedlich interpretiert werden, denn die Sicherung und Förderung der Sprachen und Kulturen unterliegen den Gesetzmäßigkeiten der jeweiligen Bundesländer.

Die Bundesländer Burgenland (Kroatisch, Romani und Ungarisch) und Kärnten (Slowenisch) verfügen über ein **Minderheitenschulgesetz**, das den zweisprachigen Unterricht für Kinder und Jugendliche in der Pflichtschulzeit umfasst: Im Burgenland werden Kinder automatisch für den zweisprachigen Unterricht angemeldet; in Kärnten müssen sie ausdrücklich dafür eingeschrieben werden.

In den ausgewiesenen zweisprachigen Gebieten im Burgenland und in Kärnten sind die Volksgruppensprachen Kroatisch, Slowenisch und Ungarisch als **Amtssprachen** anerkannt und können im Umgang mit den regionalen Ämtern gebraucht werden. Ebenso gilt für diese zweisprachigen Gebiete eine Regelung für **topographische Aufschriften**: Jede Ortschaft, deren Anteil an einer Volksgruppe 10 % beträgt, ist verpflichtet, für zweisprachige Straßenbeschilderung zu sorgen. Diese betrifft die Bundesländer Burgenland und Kärnten.

Der ORF (Österreichischer Rundfunk und Fernsehen) hat als staatlicher Rundfunk- und Fernsehsender einen öffentlichen Bildungsauftrag. Im Abschnitt "Besondere Aufgaben" § 5 des **ORF-Gesetzes** wird deklariert, dass der ORF den österreichischen Volksgruppen angemessene Sendezeiten einräumen muss, um seinem Bildungsauftrag Folge zu leisten.

Zuständig für Fachinhalte im Bereich der Volksgruppen ist eine Abteilung des Bundeskanzleramts (http://www.bka.gv.at/site/3514/Default.aspx). Bildungspolitische Fragen für Minderheitensprachen sowie Deutsch als Zweitsprache/Deutsch als Fremdsprache betreut das Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur (BMUKK) (http://bmukk.gv.at). Für eine bessere Vernetzung aller an sprachenpolitischen Entwicklungen beteiligten Institutionen hat das BMUKK im Jahr 2003 das Österreichische Sprachenkomitee (ÖSKO) eingerichtet. Das ÖSKO hat sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, das Sprachenlernen weiterzuentwickeln, zu bewerben und zu unterstützen – auch über die Schule hinaus (Lebenslanges Lernen).

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Anna Lazarova / Vasil Rainov

On the minority languages in Bulgaria[1]

За малцинствени езици в България

Родният език на над 84% от населението на Република България е българският. Приемането му за официален език на държавата е израз на единството на нацията и е признато от всички политически сили, включително и от представителите на малцинствата. България не е подписала *Европейската харта за регионалните или малцинствените езици*. Конституцията на републиката не поддържа концептите *регионален* и *малцинствен език*, но гарантира езиковите права на всички граждани, чийто „майчин език е различен от български". Обучение по езиците на двете най-многобройни етнически малцинства – турски и цигански – както и на традиционните – еврейски и арменски – е предвидено в училищните програми като задължително избираема подготовка. Българският опит в тази сфера представлява интересен пример за сериозните предизвикателства, свързани с осигуряването на качествено обучение по малцинствени езици, съобразено с нуждите и желанията на съответните групи.

1. The language situation in Bulgaria

Bulgarian is the native language of the majority of the population of the Republic of Bulgaria. Most of the minority populations are almost completely biligual or at least have a good command of both Bulgarian and the respective minority language. Among the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria (Prom. SG 56/13 Jul 1991), article 3 of chapter 1 states that "Bulgarian is the official language of the Republic". This is the language of State in Parliament, courts of justice, public administration, schools and all areas of cultural, economic and social life in general. The adoption of the Bulgarian language as the official language of the Republic is an expression of the unity of the nation and is recognized by all political forces in the country, including the representatives of the minorities.

1.1 Regional varieties of Bulgarian

The regional spoken varieties of the Bulgarian language are part of the South Slavic dialect continuum, linked with Serbian and Macedonian to the West, bordering Greek and Turkish to the South, and Romanian to the North. They are mutually intelligible with the standard Bulgarian and there are no interlects. The differences include vocabulary and phonological aspects but not structural differences. The main isogloss separating the Bulgarian dialects into Eastern and Western is the *Yat* border, marking

[1] It is the very stimulating topic of the Annual Conference 2009 of EFNIL that made us realise there is no reliable and fully representative information on the present language situation and especially on the use of additional languages in Bulgaria. Since there is no Institute of Linguistics apparently the task to undertake such a research is assigned to the Institute for Bulgarian Language. This paper provides a first attempt in this respect. As for the ethnic minorities in particular there are numerous sociological studies mainly by non-governmental organizations, but very few of them take into account the characteristics of their spoken languages that are connected to the excercising of their linguistic rights.

the different mutations of the Old Bulgarian *yat* form (ѣ), pronounced as either /ʲa/ or /ɛ/ to the East (*b**ya**l*, but plural *b**e**li*, "white") and strictly as /ɛ/ to the West of it (*b**e**l*, plural *b**e**li*) (Kocev et al. 2001).

This is the place to note that even if since the second half of the 20th century, foreign authors, following its codification as the literary standard language of Yugoslav Macedonia, have mostly adopted the convention of treating Macedonian in terms of a separate language, contemporary Bulgarian linguists still consider it as a dialect of Bulgarian (Chakalova 1980). Nevertheless as a result of the active language policy of the Republic of Macedonia over the last decades, directed towards the differentiation of Macedonian simultaneously from Serbian and from Bulgarian, a tendency has arisen towards the formation of a separate 'Macedonian' language.

1.2 The ethnic minorities in Bulgaria and their languages

The ethnic composition of the country's population remains relatively constant. According to the 2001 census around 84% of the Bulgarian citizens are Bulgarians. The two largest ethnic minority groups are the Turks (9.4%) and the Roma (4.7%). Regardless of the State minority policy the ethnocultural communities in the country have worked out modi of coexistence, avoiding the escalation of conflicts.

Ethnicity	Population	Percent
Bulgarians	6,655,210	83.9
Turks	746,664	9.4
Roma	370,908	4.7
Other	156,119	2.0
Total	7,928,901	100.0

Table 1: Bulgaria's ethnic groups (based on the results of the March 1, 2001 official census)
Source: Data presented by the Bulgaria's National Statistical Institute (2001)

The ***Turkish*** ethnic minority is basically concentrated in two rural areas in South-Eastern and North-Eastern Bulgaria. In the South-Eastern part of the country, or Rodopa mountain region, the biggest Turkish minority population is located in the Kardzhali district, where it forms the absolute majority in the province. In North Eastern Bulgaria (Ludogorie/Deliorman) the Turks concentrated around Razgrad, where they form a relative majority, in Targovishte, Silistra and Shoumen. The language spoken by this long-established community is a Balkan Turkish dialect which is also influenced by Bulgarian language.

At the end of the socialist regime, Zhivkov's policy of highly restrictive measures towards minority groups led to the large-scale external migration of the Turkish-speaking population in 1989, when the Republic of Turkey opened its borders to accept Turks from Bulgaria. For a period of almost three months about 450,000 Turks (including Tatars and Gypsies-Muslims) left Bulgaria, but later some 120,000 of them came back.

On a religious basis we should distinguish two more groups: the ***Pomaks***, a good size of Muslims who speak a Bulgarian dialect of the Rhodopean group, and the ***Gagauz***, Turkish-speaking Christians. The Turks and the Pomaks therefore make up distinct language minorities, even though they belong to the same religion (Muslim): one speaking Turkish, the other speaking a Bulgarian dialect. "The Muslim Bulgarians are not listed in the census. Their number is estimated to be about 200,000 to 280,000. They are concentrated in the Rodopa mountain region in Southern Bulgaria as well as in the South-Western part, or the Pirin mountain region" (Krasteva 2001, 443).

Roma are the third biggest ethnic group in Bulgaria. But "experts estimated their number to be from 720,000 to 815,000 people (9-10% of the population) in 2007, using the data of local authorities and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1989 and different natural growth coefficients. Roma are an extremely heterogeneous group. There are five major Roma linguistic groups in Bulgaria: Dasikane Roma, Xoraxane Roma, Kaldarash, Kalaydjes (Coppersmiths), Ludara, and more than 70 subgroups based on traditional crafts, religion, etc. Part of the Roma lost their group language or simply chose to replace it with a more prestigious language - Bulgarian or Turkish. Roma differ largely on their religious affiliation, too. The majority are East Orthodox Christians. The number of Evangelists rose significantly during Post-Communism, and the number of Muslims decreased, but is still high – between one third and one half of the group, using different criteria (self-identification or others' labelling)." (Tomova 2009, 66).

The last national scope survey which contains data on the mother tongue of the Bulgarian citizens (the 2001 Census) reveals that in the country there are 12 more numerous communities of people whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian: Turkish, Roma, Armenian, Jewish, Vlach (Wallachian), Arab, Russian, Tatar, Greek, Macedonian, Romanian and Ukrainian.

Armenians are the third long-established minority community in Bulgaria. Their main centers in the country are the major cities Plovdiv, Varna, Sofia, Sliven, Rousse and Burgas. Historically seen the Armenians were between the other tribes living on the Balkan Peninsula during the Hellenistic period and the process of Romanization of this territory as well as in the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. Bulgaria accommodated several Armenian waves that emigrated from Armenia through the Ottoman Empire. The first wave arrived by the end of 19th century after the Armenian genocide in Turkey. The last human wave happened about 1920 when Bulgarian ethnologists consider Armenian local Diaspora definitively structured and organized. The traditional language of the community is Western Armenian and Bulgarian, being the official language, is spoken by all Armenians in the country.

The local ***Jewish*** community occupied an important place in Bulgarian modern history. Bulgaria is one of the few countries in Europe to have saved its Jewish minority during the World War II from the Nazi deportation. Most of its members have Bulgarian national consciousness and nowadays this is one of the most integrated minorities in Bulgarian society. The majority of Bulgarian Jews use actually Ladino (till recent time the widely spoken throughout the Balkans Judeo-Spanish) as family language along with Bulgarian. As per the column "Hebrew language" in Table 2 – here it should be understood, the language which is taught as mother tongue in schools.

Ethnic group	***Mother tongue***											
	Turkish	Romani	Armenian	Hebrew	Vlach	Arab	Russian	Tatar	Greek	Mace-donian	Romanian	Ukrainian
Total	**762,516**	**327,882**	**10,294**	**584**	**6,587**	**2,607**	**18,477**	**2,388**	**6,876**	**3,518**	**8,714**	**2,321**
Bulgarian	15,233	7,016	308	21	1,326	126	3,081	44	579	90	1,646	245
Turkish	720,136	694	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-
Roma (Gypsy)	24,214	319,821	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	260	-
Russian	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,347	656	132	-	-	47
Armenian	-	-	9,923	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-
Vlach	8	14	-	-	5,051	-	-	-	-	-	5,059	-
Macedonian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3,366	-	-
Karakachan	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,276	-	-	-
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,800	-	-	-
Ukrainian	-	-	-	-	-	-	440	-	-	-	-	1,988
Arab	6	5	-	-	-	2,191	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tatar	56	-	-	-	-	-	38	1,669	-	-	-	-
Jewish	-	-	1	552	-	-	38	-	-	-	-	-
Romanian	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	1,035	-
Other	77	41	35	7	148	163	58	1	33	34	614	3

Table 2: Population as of 01.03.2001, whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian, given by ethnic groups
Source: Data presented by the Bulgaria's National Statistical Institute (2001)

The declared ***Vlach*** speakers use Aromanian or Balkan Romance languages. To some extent, they could be perceived as a couple of ethnic minority groups - Aromanians and Vlachs - related to neighboring country of Bulgaria, namely Romania. The Aromanians are rural issued people. Usually, they remain spread throughout the country, while the Vlachs are predominantly concentrated in towns, beside the river Danube, essentially in Vidin.

It is important to mention that also Greek speakers do not represent a monolith minority group. The ***Greeks*** who live and work today in Bulgaria as Bulgarian citizens have different historical background: the political immigrants (located mainly in Sofia), the old Greek population of the interior of the country (centered in the city of Plovdiv) and the Black Sea Greek community who use a local Greek dialect of the Black Sea coast region to communicate within the family. Unlike these town living small communities, the ***Karakachans*** live in the mountain areas from Sliven to Panagyurishte, predominantly in the villages, and speak Northern Greek (Sarakatsani) dialect.

These are the long-established (ethnic) communities that are perceived as traditional minorities in Bulgaria. Among them the Roma and the Turk communities are considered as the real minority groups in the country that local ethnic majority and the State have to make sensitive efforts to solve their specific problems and to improve their integration in the society.

2. The legal framework for minority languages

The Bulgarian Constitution does not maintain the concept of "regional and minority languages", but acknowledges the right (article 36, §2) of the citizens for whom the official language (Bulgarian) is not mother tongue to use and study their native language along with Bulgarian. Article 54 (§1) lays down the right of each citizen "to make use of the national and universal cultural values as well as to develop his/her culture in accordance with his/her ethnic identity, which is recognized and guaranteed by the law". Simultaneously article 6 (§2) states that all citizens are equal before the law and no limitations of the rights or the privileges, based on race, nationality, ethnic identity, etc. are accepted.

Bulgaria signed the *Council of Europe's Convention Framework for the Protection of National Minorities* in 1997 and ratified it in 1999.[2] Specialized structures in charge of the integration of minority communities have been established in some ministries. Many non-governmental organizations of the ethnic communities in Bulgaria set out, in their statutory objectives and in their activities, tasks and initiatives for protection of the respective language and development of the cultural expression in it. From the end of 2004 the National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Demographic Issues (NCCEDI) at the Council of Ministers is the consultative and coordinating body, assist-

[2] There are two decisions of the Constitutional Court on the compliance of the Convention term "national minorities" with the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria and on the effect of the Convention. The Court found that Bulgarian and international law does not have a definition of the term that is legally binding on the Republic of Bulgaria. The rights and freedoms listed in the Convention are duly provided for and correspondingly protected in the Constitution.

ing the Bulgarian government in the formulation and implementation of the State policy on ethnic and demographic issues. The NCCEDI facilitates the cooperation and coordination among the State institutions, the associations of Bulgarian citizens, belonging to ethnic minorities and other associations, active in the field of interethnic relations and demographic development. A special Roma Integration Commission has been established within the Council. District and Municipal Councils on Ethnic and Demographic Issues have been set up at all district administrations and most of the municipal administrations. They implement district programs for integration of ethnic minorities. Experts on ethnic and demographic issues have been employed by the district and municipal administrations.

Bulgaria is not a party on the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, but commits to ensuring that persons belonging to minorities have the opportunity to learn their mother tongue in the context of the education system. As mentioned above, domestic legislation refrains the use of the term "minority language". The main road chosen by Bulgarian law for the protection of the language rights of the representatives of minority groups in Bulgaria is that which guarantees protection of their individual human rights. The concept of "mother tongue" in the Constitution is defined in a negative way – it refers to all persons "for whom Bulgarian language is not mother tongue". The definition of the minority the person belongs to is not necessary. It is sufficient to ascertain the fact that the mother tongue of the person is not the Bulgarian.

3. Official policy regarding the presence and teaching of mother tongue in the education system

3.1 The official language of the State

The Law on National Education (1991) in its article 8 (amended - State Gazette No. 36/ 1998) states that Bulgarian language is the official language in kindergartens, schools and supporting units. School Education provides conditions for the learning of literary Bulgarian language. Students for whom the Bulgarian language is not mother tongue, along with the compulsory study of Bulgarian language have the right to study their mother tongue in the public schools under the protection and the control of the State.

The key importance of the standard Bulgarian language in all public schools, beginning with the kindergarten level, is reinforced by the most recent *Ordinance No. 2/ 18.05.2009 for the compulsory study and use of the literary Bulgarian language in Bulgarian schools*, issued by the Minister of Public Education and Science. According to this ordinance it is an explicit obligation of the teachers to use literary Bulgarian in all their communications with students inside and outside the school. Teachers further must communicate among themselves inside the school by using the standard Bulgarian.

One-year obligatory pre-school preparation in preparatory groups at kindergartens or preparatory classes at schools has been introduced for all 6-year-old children. In the preparatory groups the children whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian study Bulgarian language, so that they can be at equal footing with the other children regarding the knowledge of Bulgarian when they enter school.

3.2 Mother tongues different than Bulgarian

Part of the national educational system reform project is the *Strategy for educational integration of children and students from the ethnic minorities* (2004). In 2005 a Center for Educational Integration of Children and Students of Ethnic Minority Origin (COIDEUM) has been set up to the Ministry of Education, Youth and Science, where there are nominated experts in the languages of the traditional ethnic minorities in Bulgaria, namely Turkish, Romani, Armenian and Hebrew. Board members are representatives of non-governmental organizations of the ethnic communities in the country. The Center started its real activity as a secondary distributor of budget in 2007 and since then under competitive procedures approved dozens of projects aimed at educational integration in schools and municipalities.

There are a number of legislative acts relating to the teaching of minority languages in Bulgaria.[3] In addition to the above mentioned article 8 of the *Law on National Education*, which guarantees the right of the students whose mother tongue is different than Bulgarian to study it in the public schools, the *Regulation on the application of the Law on National Education* (Article 8, §4) specifies that "the 'mother tongue' in the context of this regulation is the language in which a child communicates with its family before it starts school". Students whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian can study Turkish, Romani, Armenian or Hebrew from 1st to 8th grade in the public schools as a compulsory choice subject. Mother tongue is taught 4 hours a week by regular teachers; the respective textbooks are provided to the children for free and the teaching is covered by the municipal budgets. The mark on this subject is taken into account for the formation of the annual mark (*The Law on the Educational Degree, the Educational Minimum and the Curriculum*, 1999). The training in mother tongue and in religion as compulsory choice subjects shall be conducted according to curriculum programs, approved by the Minister of Education, Youth and Science (amended article 7 - State Gazette, No. 80/2004 - of the *Ordinance No. 6/28.05.2001 on the distribution of the schedule of the educational minimum according to classes, stages and degrees of education*). The bodies which supervise and control the teaching of non-Bulgarian mother tongue in schools are the Regional Inspectorates on Education at the Ministry of Education, Youth and Science, where native language experts are hired only in high-minority areas. In other areas, their functions are carried out by experts in education management.

According to data presented by the Regional Inspectorates on Education, during the 2008-2009 school year as mother tongue 8370 students studied Turkish, 62 students studied Romani, 135 students studied Armenian and 850 students studied Hebrew.

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[3] The training in mother tongue and culture of children who are not Bulgarian citizens is regulated by the Section II of the *Ordinance No. 3/19.06.2009 on the conditions and order of providing free of charge training in Bulgarian, as well as training in mother tongue and culture for students of compulsory school age - children of citizens of EU member states, the European Economic Area, and Switzerland*. The training shall be carried out at the request of the parents (guardians) and organized through the diplomatic representation of the country of origin. It cannot be financed by means from the state budget and the budgets of the schools, but by the country of origin and/or by physical or juridical persons.

Mother tongue	Total of students in primary school	Total of students in middle school	Total of teachers
Turkish	3,088	5,282	114
Romani	15	47	2
Armenian	68	67	23
Hebrew	581	269	6

Table 3: Number of pupils who had studied mother tongues different than Bulgarian, during the 2008-2009 school year
Source: Data presented by the following Regional Inspectorate on Education: a) Turkish - Kardzhali, Haskovo, Smolyan, Veliko Tarnovo, Blagoevgrad, Razgrad, Plovdiv, Rousse, Shumen, Sofia; b) Romani – Varna; c) Armenian - Plovdiv, Varna, Sofia; d) Hebrew – Sofia

The numbers presented above must not be taken as reliable statistical sample from which to draw any general conclusions. The source does not specify whether the data are collected from all the public schools in the country (where mother tongue different than Bulgarian is taught), nor takes account of the students' ethnicity. For example in the only Jewish school in the capital, where the study of Hebrew is compulsory from the 1st grade, many ethnic Bulgarian students are enrolled together with the ethnic Jews, simply because of the prestige of the school.

At university level an attempt was made to introduce a program "Primary school pedagogy with Romani language" at the University of Veliko Tarnovo, but it failed due to insufficient capacity in terms of academic staff. Programs in Turkish, Armenian, Jewish and Greek studies are established long ago at several universities in the country.

4. Minority languages in the public services, in the media and in the cultural sphere

Article 10 of the *Framework Convention for Protection of the National Minorities* envisages the opportunity for persons belonging to national minorities to use the minority language in their relations with the administrative bodies, but only "in case this desire corresponds to the real need". As the Bulgarian citizens of minority origin can use without difficulties the official language, and as the State can hardly finance a multilingual administrative public service, it is not applied. However, in the administrative structures in regions with compact population of minority ethnic origin non-Bulgarian mother tongue is freely used in the verbal communication in case both sides are fluent in the respective language.

The topographical signs in Bulgaria are, as a rule, written in the Cyrillic alphabet (in Bulgarian language) and in the Latin alphabet (in English language). Ordinance of the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Works *on the transliteration of the Bulgarian geographic names in the Latin alphabet* (No. 3/26.10.2006) enforces the writing of the Bulgarian toponyms in Latin. The indicative signs in Cyrillic and Latin letters are understandable for all literate Bulgarian citizens.

Each numerous ethnic community in Bulgaria publishes periodicals in its language. Most of these periodicals are bilingual. The *Law on Radio and Television* (1998) gives to the radio and TV broadcasters the opportunity to broadcast programs in languages, different from Bulgarian, in case these programs are targeting "Bulgarian citizens, for whom the Bulgarian language is not the mother tongue". The Bulgarian National TV broadcasts a news bulletin in Turkish every day of the week. The Bulgarian National Radio has a world service called *Radio Bulgaria* broadcasting in 11 languages (Bulgarian, Russian, English, German, French, Spanish, Serbian, Greek, Albanian, Turkish and Arabic). In the procedures for licensing electronic media the Council for Electronic Media included the requirement for them to produce programs for the minorities, connected with the minorities' lifestyle, culture, and social integration. Stimulating criteria for production of programs in mother tongue, particularly in the ethnically mixed areas, are also in place. There are also Internet sites focused primarily on the problems of the ethnic communities in Bulgaria (such as www.ethnos.bg and www.nccedi.government.bg) and Internet newsletter of the NGOs of the ethnic communities.

The free use of minority languages in the cultural sphere is guaranteed by law. Book production focuses primarily on publishing bilingual (there are also trilingual) dictionaries of the respective non-Bulgarian languages and Bulgarian. Popular songs in Romani and Turkish languages are written and sung. The State supports (financially) the publishing activities, artistic performances, folklore festivals, traditional fairs and celebration of historical dates and events from the calendar of the ethnic communities in Bulgaria.

5. Final remarks

In recent years, standardization of minority protection has taken place, with an emphasis on the values of linguistic diversity, non-discrimination and tolerance. Different paths of accommodating linguistic diversity can be followed, resulting in dissimilar regimes of legal, political and cultural recognition. Besides the conceptual difficulties in minority language maintenance, there are, of course, other more practical. And sometimes the domestic intricacies of each and every country demand home-grown solutions, which may or may not incorporate outside experience and practice.

With reference to the language situation in Bulgaria we would like to draw a special attention to the possibility for minority languages to be successfully included in education. The following issues regarding the minority language teaching are to be considered: the discrepancy between the spoken local variety and the respective school-taught standard language, the methodological difficulties of teaching a non-standardized language without a written form and the curriculum and textbook development and monitoring.

Responsible for the management of the minority languages acquisition in Bulgaria are the Ministry of Education experts at a part-time position (one per language). They are responsible for supplying the teaching materials and, to a certain degree, coordinating the curriculum. Most of the textbooks are ordered from the respective country of origin or have been developed under external projects. Thus, the Armenian textbooks used in public schools, for instance, (donated from Middle Eastern Armenian

Communities!) are on Eastern Armenian, while the family language of the respective community in Bulgaria is the Western Armenian literary norm. Bulgarian Jews traditionally are Ladino speakers, but the only education in mother tongue supported by the State is in Hebrew. The latter obviously serves their minority language rights, but does not contribute to the preservation of Ladino, which faced the risk of extinction. A question was raised if the present day education in Turkish as mother tongue could create a kind of diglossia as the language teaching materials sent by the Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic are developed in the standard variety, which is the Turkish spoken in Istanbul (Can/Todorov 2005). Last, but not least, Bulgarian Roma speak more than five different Romani dialects, which do not have written form. Their dynamics make the standardization of the macrolanguage in order to function in education virtually impossible. The textbooks used in the attempts to introduce Romani in public education implement a version of the Roman alphabet, without taking into account the great difficulties that 1st grade students from Roma minority origin already experience in learning the Cyrillic one (due to an insufficient knowledge of the Bulgarian language). Moreover, there seems to be certain unwillingness among Roma parents for their children to be educated in Romani at school. There is always a risk that the mother tongue classes make more difficult, instead of contributing to, the integration of the children of minority origin.

Bulgaria could be in many respects an informative example for the challenges in maintaining and promoting minority languages. Besides enhancing the quality of teaching, a very important issue is the significant lack of reliable official information, supervision and monitoring of the minority language education. Structures and mechanisms of coordinating and controlling the implementation of the State policy towards minority languages are need, as well as experts with scientific background to help both in its development and effectiveness evaluation.

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Pádraig Ó Riagáin

The relationship between official national languages and regional and minority languages: Ireland

Achoimre

I gcaitheamh an naoú haois déag agus thús an fhichiú haois is i measc na n-aicmí feirmeoireachta ba bhoichte a d'fhaightí lucht labhartha na Gaeilge, go príomha, agus iad sna limistéir ab iargúlta laistigh den aicme sin. Ainneoin dinimic an mheatha, ó thaobh líon na gcainteoirí Gaeilge de, a bheith seanbhunaithe, sheol an stát nua neamhspleách straitéis leathan teanga sa bhliain 1922 atá mar fhráma polasaí go dtí an lá inniu. Bhain an stát nua Éireannach leas as a chuid údaráis d'fhonn cur leis an luach siombalach, cultúrtha agus eacnamaíoch a bhain le líofacht sa Ghaeilge. In ainneoin an polasaí sin, is mó ná riamh na brúnna agus na deacrachtaí atá roimh líonraí scaipthe lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. Níl líonraí na Gaeilge sách mór ná sách cobhsaí, mar sin, le deimhniú go labhrófaí an Ghaeilge ar bhonn leathan go leor chun an chéad glúin dhátheangach eile a dheimhniú. Teacht slán is ea athbheochan. Ba mhar sin riamh é in Éirinn ó 1922 ar aghaidh.

1. Introduction

Together with the related languages of Scottish Gaelic and Manx, Irish comprises the Goidelic group of insular Celtic languages. While it is clear that the language was brought to Ireland by sections of the Celtic peoples who migrated from mid-continental Europe, a precise date for its introduction into Ireland cannot be established. However, evidence from written records suggests that Irish was spoken on the island from at least the early centuries of the Christian era.

Until the sixteenth century, Irish was the dominant language spoken in Ireland. But at that point, the English kingdom and, as a consequence, the English language had established a foothold in the eastern region of Ireland. These political and military incursions, which continued and expanded in subsequent centuries, had profound long-term consequences for the spatial and social distribution of the two languages in Ireland.

The English monarchs gradually established control in all directions from their initial eastern base on the island. By the early part of the seventeenth century most of the old Irish aristocratic families had been dispossessed, and the English system of land tenure had been successfully established. A series of plantations beginning at this time introduced large numbers of native-born English to form a new landlord class. As the upper classes among the native Irish had most to gain from complying with the new social and political order, it was among this class that language shift to English first occurred. Towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries the upwardly mobile among the middle-classes and especially the lower middle-classes were also vulnerable to the social and economic pressures favouring language shift.

The role of the towns, as the main locations of British military and administrative influence, was also significant. Over the eighteenth century the shift to English spread through the urban network, diffusing more slowly but relentlessly into the rural hinter-

land along a general east-west axis. Fitzgerald (1985) has calculated from census data that no more than about 45% of the population was Irish-speaking by the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The process of language shift was given further impetus in the mid-nineteenth century by the Great Famine (1845-1849) which reduced the population of Ireland by two million and a half within the space of five years. Just before the famine years, 30% of the population were Irish-speaking, mostly in western regions. This percentage, however, conceals the equally important fact that, in absolute terms, there were more Irish-speakers alive at that time than at any other point in history. The population of Ireland in 1841 was close to eight million people, of whom some two and half million were Irish speakers. By present day European standards, this was a very sizeable language community, albeit a minority in its local context.

The Great Famine had a greater impact in Irish-speaking areas than elsewhere. Most of those who died or emigrated were Irish-speakers. This not merely altered the demographic balance between the two language communities in Ireland, but the subsequent rise of large-scale emigration added a powerful new incentive to learn English.

Language shift thus continued to the point where, at the beginning of the twentieth century, no more than 3% of the population lived in core Irish-speaking districts in western coastal regions and, at most, another 3% lived in adjacent bilingual districts. The remaining Irish-speakers (12% of total population) were scattered throughout largely English-speaking communities (Ó Riagáin 1997). As a general rule, this last group learned and spoke Irish as a second language with variable degrees of fluency, while the first two groups spoke Irish as a first language.

As the linguistic shift to English entered this advanced phase, a movement for the preservation of Irish emerged (Hutchinson 1987) and became an influential element of the political independence movement in the early twentieth century. Thus, despite the well established dynamic of decline and the unpromising contemporary pattern of bilingualism, the newly independent Irish state in 1922 launched a comprehensive strategy to reverse the process of shift towards English.

2. The objectives of Irish language policy

Although the counter-trend character of Irish language policy is clear, there has always been a good deal of confusion about the ultimate objective of the policy. It has been taken by many the past, and maybe still is by a few, to mean the displacement of English by Irish among the national population (Ó Cuív 1969, 130). However, whatever may have been the views of individual politicians or language organisations, the constitutional and legislative provisions made for Irish in the 1920s and 1930s (and since) do not suggest that anything other than the establishment of a bilingual state was ever envisaged. The first Constitution of Ireland in 1922, and all subsequent revisions, designated two official state languages - English and Irish. A half century later, the policy objective was expressed in the *White paper on the Restoration of the Irish Language* (1965) as the restoration of the Irish language “as a general medium of communi-

cation" and, most recently in 2006 as an objective "to increase on an incremental basis the use and knowledge of Irish as a community language" (The Government's *Policy Statement on Irish*, published in December 2006).

The language revival strategy formulated in the 1920s had three elements. The first was the maintenance of Irish as the spoken language in those marginal areas where it was still the community language. As these areas were among the most impoverished and remote areas in the state, this dimension of the strategy quickly took on the character of a regional economic development programme. Elsewhere the objective was revival, for Irish-speakers were only a scattered minority in an almost entirely English speaking population. Accordingly, the state looked to the educational system for an increase in the numbers of Irish-speakers in society. This was the 'Revival' part of the strategy, but it is not often enough noted that it was only part of a wider programme, which contained a substantial maintenance element as well. It can, in fact, be argued that Irish language policy since 1922 can be usefully conceived as a continuous struggle to find the most efficient, fair and politically appropriate balance between the twin objectives of maintenance and revival. Finally, both these dimensions of the strategy were serviced by a third, which was concerned with the provision of the necessary infrastructure for maintenance and revival dimensions alike (e.g. constitutional and legal status of Irish; standardisation and modernisation of the language etc.).

Although the constitutions of many European states recognize more than one official language, territorial considerations usually frame the application of these basic provisions. It is in this respect, and not in the constitutional status accorded to a minority language, that the Irish case is unusual in the international context. Despite the marked regional bias in the distribution of Irish-speakers at the time towards western areas, the Irish state did not, as happened in several other countries (e.g. Belgium, Switzerland, Spain) legislate for a language policy organised on territorial lines. That is to say, it did not designate two language regions, one Irish-speaking and the other English-speaking, within which each language would be defined as the official standard and norm. While an Irish-speaking region was defined (*The Gaeltacht*) and special measures were formulated to deal with it, Irish language policy was not only designed to meet the needs of an already existing bilingual community, but rather over most of the country *it sought to create one*. This feature gave an unique character to Irish language policy.

3. The changing pattern of Irish-English bilingualism

Language Maintenance. In the the period between 1925 and 1956 there was a significant fall in population in all Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) districts although it has to be noted that this was a feature of Irish rural areas generally, and not just the Gaeltacht. However, despite these demographic trends the majority of core Irish-speaking areas remained stable, in linguistic terms, until the 1960s.

The small farm economy of Gaeltacht areas, in the first half of the twentieth century, supported a pattern of social networks which were very localized. The relative stability of these networks was an important factor in sustaining Irish-speaking communities. But as economic development began to percolate into rural areas in the post-1960 period, the minimum threshold population levels were no longer available in many

rural communities to support traditional activities (primary school, parish, etc.), even less so new functions e.g. post-primary education. The growth in non-agricultural employment resulted in increases in commuting to nearby towns. These changes in employment, education, shopping and recreation patterns all reflected a major transformation of social network patterns in the Gaeltacht which intensified the frequency of interactions between Irish-speakers and English-speakers. The overall effect was to diminish the possibility of maintaining Irish.

As a result, it would seem that the linguistic distinctions between the Gaeltacht and the rest of the country are weakening. "In the Gaeltacht the historical process of language shift is progressing to the point where Irish is ceasing to be a community language and becoming instead the language of particular social networks" (APC 1988, xxvi).

Language Revival. In 1926, about one eight of the total population outside of the Gaeltacht was recorded in the census as Irish-speakers. Almost all spoke Irish as a second language, they tended to be young and they resided in an English-speaking environment. Successive censuses since then have shown a steady increase in the proportion of Irish-speakers to 42% in 2006. The proportion of Irish people now claiming a competence to speak Irish is higher than the proportion of Irish-speakers recorded by the census in 1851. However, in 1851 Irish-speakers were predominantly persons who had acquired Irish as the first language in the home; their 2006 counterparts are mostly persons who have acquired Irish as a second language in school.

Furthermore, survey research conducted since 1970 (see Ó Riagáin 1997 for a more detailed discussion) would suggest that those who speak Irish as second language have mostly achieved only limited or moderate speaking skills, as measured in national language surveys (i.e. they are able to speak 'a few simple sentences' and/or negotiate 'parts of (general) conversations' in Irish). At most, only about 10% of national survey respondents claim levels of speaking ability in Irish that reach, or even approach, real native-like fluency in the language. Given the limited number of fluent Irish-speakers in Irish society, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of adults who use Irish as their first or main language about three percent. However, while speakers with limited proficiency do not generally use Irish in everyday conversation, significant numbers appear to be comfortable with Irish when the context requires a listening, or understanding, engagement. For example, about 18% of the population listen to Irish language radio programmes at least once a week, and a larger proportion (70%) watch TG4 (Irish language television) at least once a week (BCI 2004).

Two other features of the present pattern of bilingualism are significant. Spatially, the small minority of Irish-speaking families are not sufficiently numerous or concentrated to form a fully-fledged community (i.e. capable of supporting a full range of social domains) at any non-Gaeltacht location. Secondly, for a combination of reasons, many of which have more to do with the structure of the Irish educational system rather than operation of language policy *per se*, Irish-speakers are predominantly middle-class. Although the social class base of educational participation (and of Irish-speakers) has widened in recent decades, as post-primary and third level opportunities expanded, the middle-class bias persists.

4. Strengths and weaknesses in the current structure of bilingualism

From the viewpoint of the original strategy, the present pattern has both strengths and weaknesses. Following the approach adopted by the European Commission in the "Euromosaic" report (1996), we can assess the situation in terms of 'language reproduction' (i.e inter-generational transmission of the language in the home), and 'language production' (i.e. learning the language in the school rather than the home).

Rates of language reproduction, even when Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht areas are combined, are no higher than, and probably under, five percent. This ratio of home use of Irish is approximately the same as that which obtained in the 1920s. While the evidence in this respect indicates stability rather than the expansion envisaged in Government objectives, it is nonetheless a sociolinguistic achievement that would have been inconceivable prior to the establishment of an independent state. However, while bilingualism, so measured, appears to be relatively stable, outside of the Gaeltacht only one quarter of those who grew up in Irish language homes use Irish with the same intensity in their current homes.

The maintenance of more or less stable rates of home bilingualism over recent decades is therefore due as much, if not more so, to the capacity of the schools to produce competent bilinguals rather than the capacity of the bilingual community to reproduce itself. Most Irish children learn Irish in both primary and post-primary school as a subject. However, research studies have consistently shown that the education system's capacity to produce competent bilinguals is closely related to the number of years an individual spent in school and, of course, the type of Irish language programme followed. In 1993, nearly three quarters of current users of Irish had post-primary schooling and nearly half had taken the higher level Leaving Certificate course in Irish. However, since 1980 only 10-15% of a cohort opt for the higher level courses in Irish in post-primary schools and even after thirteen years' study of the subject the speaking ability of the majority of the cohort is only moderate or, in the case of a growing minority, negligible. While the all-Irish (immersion) school sector is showing signs of a revival since 1970, it is still too small to greatly effect the national pattern.

Thus, Irish-speaking networks have been characterised by a marked degree of impermanence, openness and instability. While the class distribution of bilinguals has some elements of Hechter's (1978) cultural division of labour model, both hierarchically (middle-classes) and segmentally (public service), "no social class (or class fraction) has emerged in Ireland which uses Irish primarily rather than English, or where the use of one language as against another is a central element in the processes of class formation and class closure" (APC 1988, 37).

Nonetheless, the relationship between social class and Irish has been a contributory factor in the formation of Irish-speaking networks outside of the Gaeltacht. First, because the proportion of Irish speakers is higher than average in some middle-class groups, the likelihood of Irish being spoken within these groups is also higher. Secondly, because residential areas tend to segregate by social class, the spatial distribution of Irish-speakers in large urban areas is also, relatively speaking, more concen-

trated in middle-class areas. One of the few studies of Irish-speaking networks in urban areas found a strong relationship between the distribution of Irish language schools and socio-spatial concentrations of Irish-speakers (Ó Riagáin 1997). Furthermore, there is some evidence that Irish-speaking networks are capable, in these circumstances, of recruiting new members, especially 'novice' or 'reluctant' bilinguals. This must be set against their acknowledged inability to secure a permanent character that could ensure the reproduction of Irish speakers and absorb the bilingual output of homes and schools (APC 1988, 31)

For this reason, it has been argued (APC 1988, 26) that bilingualism was 'institutionally-based'. That is to say, some specific organisations, schools, clubs and families operate as Irish-medium institutions, although these institutional areas in their totality (education, recreation, homes, work, etc.) are not Irish-speaking. However, as institutions they appear able to survive changes in personnel, unlike Irish-speaking networks per se.

5. Public attitudes towards Irish

One can view the history of the Irish language over the last century and a half as a struggle between two conflicting socio-economic processes. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century the economic and political incorporation of Ireland into the wider British system intensified. Language shift occurred in circumstances that created very unfavourable views of the utility of Irish among the public and the all too clearly visible evidence of decline itself added to the strength with which these views were held. These beliefs and opinions have persisted over time, but since the early part of this century the counter-process of state intervention has been cutting across this process of decline, generating its own very different mixture of positive and negative attitudes. In the post-colonial period two ideological and status systems have thus been competing for dominance, one deriving from the pre-independence British connection and the second arising from an attempt to establish an alternative based upon "Irish" ethnic identity (Tovey/Hannan/Abramson 1989). As might be expected each of these two systems accord different significance to the minority but indigenous language. The relationship between the Irish language and ethnic identity on the one hand, and perceptions of its limited value as cultural capital on the other, form two opposing attitudinal predispositions which determine attitudes towards policy. Support for Irish language is higher in many respects than the objective position of the Irish language in society would appear to justify, yet it is not high enough in regard to those policy options which could significantly alter the linguistic picture.

Public support for Irish is shown to be very positive when attitudinal questions in surveys tap into the role the Irish language is perceived to have in defining and maintaining national cultural distinctiveness. While there is a weak relationship between this dimension of the attitudinal and actual language use, its positive relationship with public support for language policies is important. Successive surveys have shown that a majority of the public support for policies to maintain Irish in the Gaeltacht, to provide Irish language services on the national television channels, to use Irish on public

notices etc., to provide state services in Irish and officials who could speak Irish, and to support the voluntary Irish language organisations. In all of these matters, there was an increase in public support between 1973 and 1993. Thus, the general population is willing to accept a considerable commitment of state resources to ensuring its continuance and even to support a considerable imposition of legal requirements to know or use Irish on certain groups within the society, such as teachers and civil servants.

For most people, it is within the education system that they have the most direct contact with Irish language policy. Not surprisingly, given the relationship between educational achievements and the qualifications needed for entry into the largely English-speaking labour market, the public are not prepared to support policies which would discriminate strongly in favour of Irish. While the policy presently in operation is supported by a large majority, this policy does no more than ensure that Irish is kept on the curriculum of all recognised schools. It does not, by and large, produce large numbers of competent bilinguals and, on the other hand, the sanctions incorporated in the policy appear unable to prevent a steady growth in the proportion of pupils who either fail the subject in state examinations or do not present for the Irish paper at all. Although about one quarter of the public would support more intensive, including immersion, programmes only a fraction of this minority is currently being accommodated. The attitudes to school Irish suggest that where such requirements directly affect respondents' own material opportunities, or those of their children, they are less easily supported.

Therefore, although a majority of the Irish public would appear to espouse some form of bilingual objective, the evidence from surveys would suggest that many of this majority seek at best to simply maintain the status of Irish in the Gaeltacht, in artistic life and within the low levels of social bilingualism now pertaining. The survey evidence would indicate that this viewpoint may now be the dominant consideration for those favouring a general bilingual objective. When taken in conjunction with the increase over the past few decades of those favouring an ‘English only’ objective, it would appear that the proportion holding the revival position as traditionally understood has slipped and may no longer represent the majority viewpoint (Ó Riagáin 2007).

6. Shifts in policy support

At the policy level, a significant re-alignment has been apparent for several decades which reflects the shift in public attitudes. There has been a shift towards the maintenance pole of the overall strategy and a consequent weakening emphasis on the revival dimension. The underlying principle is tending towards one of servicing the bilingual population primarily at those locations where the most obvious concentrations of Irish-speakers occurs, i.e. where a community of speakers is presumed to already exist.

This is most clearly seen in the new policies which have received support in since 1970. An Irish language radio station has been established, followed by an Irish language television service. But the amount of Irish language material on mainstream radio and television services has been reduced.

One can see a similar development within the education system. The long-term drift from the objective of Irish language medium education for all seemed to have receded to the last line of defence in 1973, when Irish ceased to be a compulsory subject in state examinations, but was retained as a required subject on the curriculum of schools in receipt of state funds. But the pattern of recent examination results in Irish - which show a growing percentage of pupils failing or not taking the paper - together with a number of recent policy decisions suggest that this line is itself showing signs of erosion. While the government is careful to support the expanding all-Irish school movement, it has also relaxed further the requirements for pupils to study Irish and the requirements for teachers to have a professional competence in Irish. There is now a clear possiblity that Irish as a school subject will revert to its pre-independence status as a voluntary subject.

Public statements about the strategic direction of language policy are rare. As a result, each of the main agencies responsible for implementing key policies in e.g. education, the Gaeltacht and media are left in a policy vacuum and increasingly tend to act autonomously. Policies are left vulnerable to assessment solely within the context of the sponsoring agency's operational environment and without reference to any wider societal goal. The possibility that they may have a function within a national bilingual policy - irrespective of its shape - is increasingly difficult to articulate and sustain.

7. Conclusion

A short reflection on the structural limits and inherent weakness of the present pattern of bilingualism in Ireland clearly indicates that there are major problems with both the processes of bilingual production and of bilingual reproduction.

The stability of current Irish usage is dependent on the stability of the social networks of users, that is, on the series of interlinked social relationships that may grow out of contacts in an institutional setting, but whose survival depends on the achievement of some degree of friendship, intimacy and interpersonal knowledge among participants. It seems unlikely that these are strong enough at present to guarantee the reproduction of spoken Irish, or its expansion, into the next generation.

I would argue that the focus of current Irish language policy has swung too far towards the maintenance pole of the original strategy. There are dangers in this development. Tovey (1988, 67) points out that the more policy singles out ‘Irish-speakers’ as the target for language policies on the grounds of their rights as a minority group, the less plausible it becomes to sustain existing policies to revive Irish. Furthermore, a policy built primarily around the provision of state services to Irish-speakers will, in my opinion, ultimately find that they do not exist in large enough numbers nor are they sufficiently concentrated to meet the operational thresholds required to make these services viable. A viable language policy for Irish has to always to aim to recruit from the ranks of those currently speaking English, rather than simply service those currently speaking Irish. Language survival, in other words, requires language revival.

8. References

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all statistics and the analysis presented here can be found in fuller detail in Ó Riagáin (1997, 2001, 2007).

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Walery Pisarek

The relationship between official and minority languages in Poland

Streszczenie: Relacje między językiem urzędowym a językami mniejszościowymi w Polsce

Dla co najmniej 96% mieszkających w Polsce 38 230 tysięcy obywateli Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej język polski jest językiem ojczystym. Znakomitej większości pozostałych 4% polskich obywateli język polski jest dobrze znany (niekiedy lepiej niż deklarowany język ojczysty) przynajmniej biernie. Polska należy więc obecnie do krajów o niskim odsetku mniejszości narodowych.

Najważniejszym dokumentem regulującym status mniejszości językowych w Polsce jest ustawa z 6 stycznia 2005 r. Za języki mniejszości narodowych uznane są: białoruski, czeski, hebrajski, jidysz, litewski, niemiecki, ormiański, rosyjski, słowacki i ukraiński, za języki mniejszości etnicznych – karaimski, łemkowski, romski i tatarski, a za język regionalny – kaszubski. Najliczniejszą mniejszość językową w Polsce stanowią osoby wskazujące niemiecki jako swój język ojczysty. Polska ratyfikowała zarówno Europejską kartę języków regionalnych i mniejszościowych (w 2008), jak i Konwencję ramową o ochronie mniejszości narodowych (w 2000).

Występują znaczne różnice między danymi pochodzącymi od rzeczników mniejszości a wynikami Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego z r. 2002 co do liczebności poszczególnych mniejszości. Powinien je zweryfikować następny Spis przewidziany na r. 2011.

Sytuacje konfliktowe między językiem polskim jako urzędowym językiem RP a językami mniejszościowymi występują najczęściej w zakresie napisów do publicznego użytku. Zazwyczaj chodzi o relacje między wersją polską a wersją obcojęzyczną. Niektóre z polskich dialektów pretendują do statusu języka regionalnego. Ta tendencja obecnie przejawia się najsilniej wśród mieszkańców Górnego Śląska.

38 230 000 citizens of the Republic of Poland live in Poland. For at least 96% of them, i.e. for 36 700 000, the Polish language is their native language. At least, formally. The vast majority of the remaining 4% of Polish citizens, i.e. about 1.5 million people, are familiar with Polish (sometimes better than with the declared native language); they have at least a passive knowledge of the language. These figures prove that Poland is currently one of the countries with the smallest percentage of national minorities. Before the Second World War, only 69% of the then Polish citizens declared Polish as their native language.

The most important document, regulating the status of national minorities and, in consequence, also linguistic minorities is the National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language Act of January 6th, 2005. The law distinguishes between national and ethnic minorities: the difference is that the ethnic minority, unlike the national minority, is a group that does not identify with any nation that is currently organized in its own country. According to this criterion, the Polish law recognizes the existence of 9 national and 4 ethnic minorities in Poland. Moreover, users of the Kashubian language as a regional language are recognized as a linguistic minority (although not a national, nor an ethnic one).

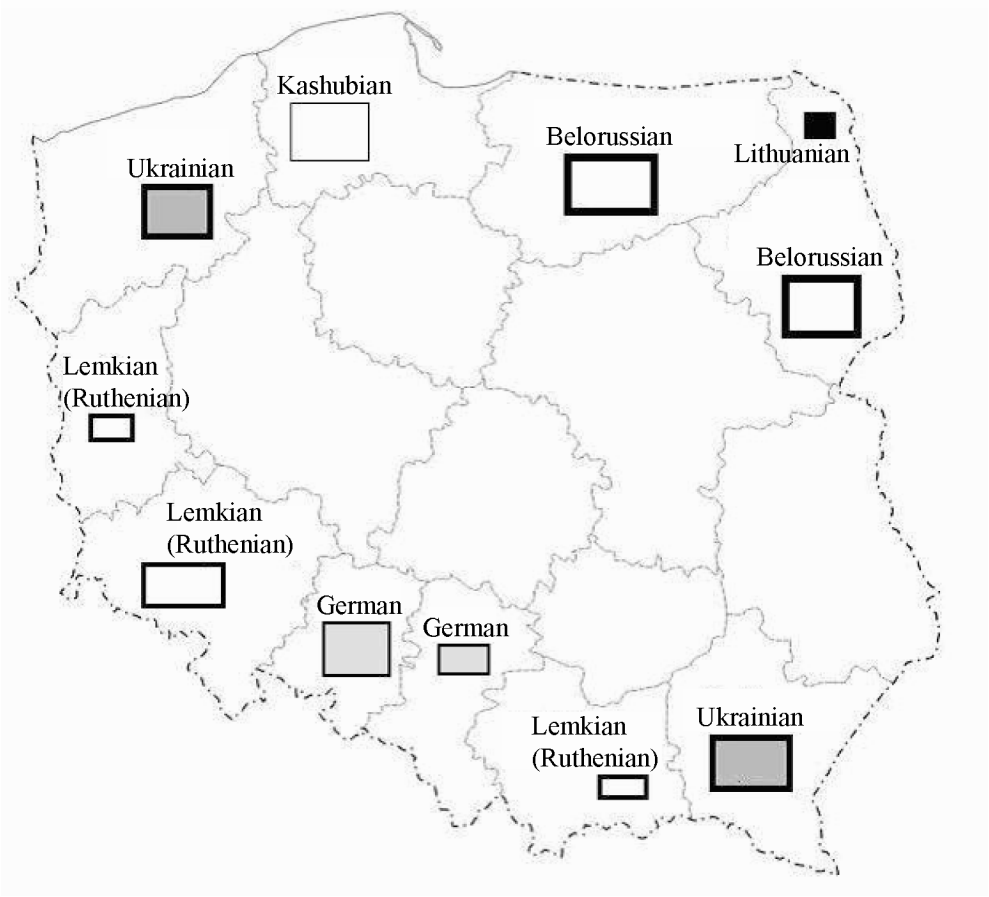


Fig 1: The biggest territorial concentrations of the minority languages in Poland

In a Statement made by the Republic of Poland with relation to the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Belarusian, Czech, Hebrew, Yiddish, Karaim, Kashubian, Lithuanian, Lemkian, German, Armenian, Romani, Russian, Slovak, Tatar and Ukrainian were recognized as minority languages. From these – as it has been already mentioned – the Kashubian language was designated as a regional language, Belarusian, Czech, Hebrew, Yiddish, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Russian, Slovak and Ukrainian were acknowledged as languages of national minorities, while Karaim, Lemkian, Romani and Tatar – as languages of ethnic minorities; Hebrew, Yiddish, Karaim, Armenian and Romani were listed as non-territorial languages.

As far as the number of each of these fifteen groups is concerned, it is hard to determine as there is a large divergence between data submitted by representatives of the individual minorities and the results of the 2002 national census. In some cases, differences in numbers are like 5 to 1. In the 2002 national census, only 1.23% of those polled (which accounts for 471.5 thousand people) declared a nationality other than Polish but 2.3% (779 112 people) did not declare any nationality or only declared, in general, a nationality other than Polish. Respondents did not want to restrict themselves to one citizenship, explaining that they consider themselves members of two or even three different nations or linguistic communities. They then declared, only in general, a non-Polish nationality or did not declare any. Sometimes this concerned not only a lack of choice between e.g. Polish and German nationalities but also e.g. be-

tween Belarusian and Ukrainian. It is assumed that a declaration of nationality means also a declaration of native tongue. In two years, i.e. in 2011, there will be a new national census; it will shed new light on the controversies over the numbers of individual minorities. Figure 2 and Table 1 contain detailed data about the current number of speakers of individual languages of the national/ethnic minorities.

Moreover, members of other nationalities live on the territory of Poland, in particular: the Vietnamese (1808 people), French (1633), American (1541), Greek (1404), Italian (1367) and Bulgarian (1112). The numbers of these national groups and, as a consequence, speakers of their national languages, given in brackets, show that none of them exceeds even 0.05 per mille of the whole of Poland's permanent inhabitants.

The status of languages other than Polish and used by Polish citizens is regulated mainly indirectly, by laws concerning national and ethnic minorities. The most important of those regulations are:

– Article 35 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, which guarantees Polish citizens of national and ethnic minorities the freedom to keep and develop their own language.
– Education System Act of September 7th, 1991, which stipulates, inter alia, that public schools shall enable national minorities to learn their mother tongue.
– Radio and Television Act of December 29th, 1992, which stipulates that public radio and television shall take into consideration the needs of national and ethnic minorities.
– Polish Language Act of October 7th, 1999, which stipulates that notices and information in Polish, meant for public reception, may be accompanied by their foreign language versions (conditions for placement of these versions are determined by a regulation of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration).
– Act on System of General Jurisdiction Courts of January 6th, 2005, which stipulates that "A person who does not have a sufficient command of the Polish language is entitled to act in court using a language known to him/her and to use help of an interpreter, free of charge".
– And, first of all, the National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language Act of January 6th, 2005, which stipulates that in those municipalities where the number of residents belonging to a given minority is not lower than 20% of the total number of residents of this municipality: 1) additional traditional names in the language of that minority may be used along with the official names of places and streets, 2) the language of this minority may be used as an auxiliary language in contacts with municipality authorities. According to the 2002 national census, the 20%-condition has been met by 28 municipalities: in 22 municipalities the auxiliary language is German, in 3 Belarusian, in 2 Kashubian, in 1 Lithuanian.

Polish law does not use the terms of *indigenous* and *exogenous* languages but the difference between them ensues from the statutory definition and *enumeration* of the recognized national and ethnic minorities and communities which use a regional lan-

guage; pursuant to the current law, German is a minority language (so, an indigenous language) in Poland, but French or Italian are not (for they are recognized as exogenous languages).

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was signed by the Republic of Poland on May 12th, 2003, and ratified on June 13th, 2008. In its declaration, the Republic of Poland defined what it recognizes as a national minority and pledged to abide by certain provisos of articles 8-14 of the Charter. Moreover, the Republic of Poland ratified, on November 10th, 2000, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

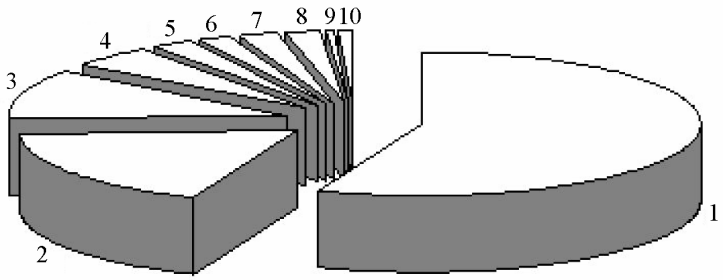
Bilateral agreements (declarations, treaty, arrangements, etc.) on cooperation in the area of culture and education play some part in the situation of national minorities. The Republic of Poland has entered into such agreements with the Czech Republic, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, Russia, Slovakia and Ukraine.

Domains in which the Polish language should be used as the official language of the Republic of Poland are determined by the Polish Language Act:

Situations of conflict between the Polish language as the official language of the Republic of Poland and minority languages occur in the area of notices and information for public use. Most often, they concern the relationship between the Polish and foreign language versions. Pursuant to the provisions (Regulation of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration), the Polish version should be placed above the "accompanying" foreign language version. Meanwhile, it happens in practice that it is rather the Polish version that accompanies the foreign language one.

Some of the Polish dialects aspire to the status of a regional language and, ultimately, even an ethnic language. The recent promotion of the Kashubian language from the status of a dialect to the status of a regional language helps to raise such hopes. This trend manifests itself most strongly among the inhabitants of Upper Silesia (from an administrative point of view, it is mainly the Silesian Province) where as many as 173 thousand inhabitants of this province declared the Silesian nationality, unrecognized by the Polish authorites, and, as consequence, the use of the Silesian language in a national census. Silesian Autonomy Movement is one of the organizations which seek the recognition of Silesians' language as a regional language. Apart from the issue of the Silesian nationality, the Silesian dialect has – in my opinion – a long way to reach the status of a language, due to its considerable internal diversification (the Silesian dialect consists of several local subdialects which differ significantly from each other).

The majority of the inhabitants of Poland are friendly towards minority languages. For some (older) Poles, it is a pleasant memento of the old Republic of Two, Three or even Four Nations. Situations which, even if not conflictual, pose a danger of conflict, occur in the borderland districts (especially in parishes), with a significant percentage of persons speaking the minority language. It concerns mainly the Polish-Lithuanian and the Polish-Slovak borderland. In case of the older generation of Poles, post-war resentments towards the German language are sometimes still intense.



1 - German (56,14%); 2 - Belorussian (17,89%); 3 - Ukrainian (11,36%);
4 - Romani (4,72%); 5 - Russian (2,24%); 6 - Lemkian (2,15%);
7 - Lithuanian (2,14%); 8 - Kashubian (1,86%); 9 - Slovakian (0,73%);
10 - Other languages [Jewish, Tartar, Armenian, Karaite] (0,74%)

Fig. 2: The Structure of the minority languages population of Poland (according to the 2002 national census; 100% = 258 355)

The Polish legislation of the last couple of years explicitly distinguishes indigenous and exogenous languages among the languages used in present-day Poland, even though – as it was said above – it does not use such terms. The practical "indigenousness" is one of the conditions of reaching the status of a national or ethnic minority language. The National and Ethnic Minorities Act stipulates that a national and ethnic minority is a group of Polish citizens, less numerous than the remaining part of the population of the Republic of Poland whose "ancestors have inhabited the present-day territory of the Republic of Poland for at least 100 years".

Minority	**Number of the Polish citizens according to the 2002 national census**	**Number of the inhabitants of Poland according to national/ethnic organizations**
German	147 094	300 000-400 000
Belorussian	47 640	250 000-300 000
Ukrainian	27 172	220 000-300 000
Romani	12 731	20 000
Russian	3 244	20 000
Lemkian (Ruthenian)	5 850	50 000
Lithuanian	5 639	30 000
Slovakian	1 710	15 000
Jewish	1 055	5 000
Czech	386	3 000
Tartar	447	2 000
Armenian	262	1 500
Karaite	43	150
Kashubian speakers	5 062	250 000-300 000
Total	258 355 = 0,67%	1 166 650-1 446 650 = 3,1%-3,8%
with the people who declared Silesian nationality	(431 508 = 1,13%)	

Table 1: National/Ethnic Minorities and Kashubian Language Community in Poland

I express my opinion about the attitude of persons speaking minority languages towards their language solely on my own responsibility, on the basis of observations and individual facts known to me. And so, it is my opinion that members of different minorities differ significantly in their attitude towards their language. In Poland, a high symbolic value is attributed to their regional language by Kashubians and to their mother tongue – by Lithuanians, Lemkos, Slovaks and Germans. Some minorities have already lost their language (e.g. Polish Karaims and Tatars).

In Poland, the most serious sociopolitical problem in the field of the linguistic minorities is, in my view, the problem of the future status of the present-day Silesian dialect. In my opinion, its promotion to the status of a regional language would not meet with the resistance it meets if this idea was not supported by movements that support the recognition of the Silesian nationality (with electoral consequences: the 5% electoral threshold does not apply to parties of national minorities, as e.g. the German minority, the only one that is represented in Polish Parliament by its two deputies) and the autonomy of Silesia.

The Joint Commision of Government and National and Ethnic Minorities is responsible, in Poland, for language planning-care-policy for minority and regional languages, as an consultative-advisory body of the Prime Minister, established in 2005, pursuant to the Act of January 6th, 2005. So far, its contacts with the Polish Language Council have been rather casual. Polish national committee of the Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL), or POLBLUL, established on January 17th, 2004, distinguishes itself with significant activity. Poland is the first country among the new member states of the European Union in which such structures were organized.

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Slavomír Ondrejovič

Sprachsituation und Sprachpolitik in der Slowakei und die Novellierung des Gesetzes über die Staatssprache der Slowakischen Republik

1. Es wird manchmal konstatiert, dass die Slowakei das ethnisch heterogenste Land in Mitteleuropa sei. Gemäß der Volkszählung aus dem Jahr 2001 leben auf dem Territorium der Slowakei 5 379 445 Einwohner, wobei der Anteil der slowakischen Mehrheit 85,8% (4 614 854 Personen) ausmacht. Bei den nationalen Minderheiten des traditionellen (autochthonen) Typs ist, wie bekannt, die ungarische Minderheit am zahlreichsten vertreten (9,7% der Einwohner). Ihr folgen mit Abstand die Romas (entsprechend der offiziellen Volkszählung 1,7%). Zu den Minderheiten mit offiziellem Status gehören in der Slowakischen Republik noch die tschechische, ruthenische, ukrainische, deutsche, polnische, mährische, kroatische, bulgarische und jüdische Minderheit. Alle diese Minoritäten zusammen haben – offiziell – einen Anteil von 13,1% an der Bevölkerung der Slowakischen Republik (704 315 Personen). Es wird jedoch vermutet, dass die Minderheitsbevölkerung in der Slowakei tatsächlich sogar mit 17 bis 19 Prozent vertreten ist. Diese Abweichung geht vor allem auf die Minderheit der Romas zurück: Zu dieser Nationalität bekennen sich etwa 90 000 Personen, manchmal wird jedoch für diese Minderheit die Zahl von 350 000 bis 450 000 Angehörigen genannt (8,4%). Es sei hier erwähnt, dass alle Minderheitssprachen, die auf dem Territorium der Slowakei gesprochen werden, kodifiziert sind – inklusive der Sprachen, die über keinen Bezugsstaat verfügen: Die ruthenische Sprache in der Slowakei wurde im Jahr 1995 standardisiert und das Romani wurde im Jahr 2008 kodifiziert, und zwar nach dem ersten Kodifikationsversuch im Jahr 1979.

Es liegen leider keine Ergebnisse aus systematischen Untersuchungen bezüglich der Fragen vor, wie diese Sprachen in den gemischten Gebieten koexistieren, wie sie sich gegenseitig beeinflussen, wie sie miteinander konkurrieren bzw. ob sie kooperieren; und es wurde bisher auch nicht untersucht, wie sowohl die Minderheits- als auch die Mehrheitsbevölkerung in diesen Gebieten ihre aktuelle Sprachsituation wahrnehmen. Es gibt lediglich eher episodische Sondierungen dieser Problematik, weswegen dieses Feld von den Politikern beherrscht wird. Von diesen hört man – ohne jede sachliche Begründung – Aussagen wie "Auf dem gemischten Gebiet schwindet das Slowakische" oder "Auf dem gemischten Gebiet schwindet das Ungarische". In der linguistischen Gemeinschaft wird das Fehlen von entsprechenden Untersuchungen seit langem als bedauerlich empfunden, aber erst die durch die Novellierung des Sprachgesetzes ausgelösten Reaktionen haben auf die Dringlichkeit derartiger Untersuchungen hingewiesen. Auf Grund dieser Erfahrung wird ein entsprechendes Forschungsprojekt vorbereitet: *Sprachsituation und Sprachpolitik in der Slowakischen Republik im gesamtnationalen Kontext*.

Wie bekannt ist, wurde von der Slowakischen Republik (SR) das Gros der relevanten Dokumente der Vereinten Nationen bereits zu Beginn ihres Bestehens ratifiziert. In das Rechtssystem der SR wurden größtenteils auch die Dokumente des Europäischen

Rates eingegliedert, inklusive des Rahmenabkommens des Europäischen Rates über den Schutz der nationalen Minderheiten sowie der Europäischen Charta der regionalen oder Minderheitssprachen. Dadurch wurden günstige Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in der Slowakei im Geiste der vollen Respektierung der europäischen Werte geschaffen, d.h. im Geiste der Toleranz, der Multikulturalität und des Multilingualismus. Nun stellt sich die Frage: Wird in diesem Geiste gehandelt oder nicht?

Im Jahr 1995 wurde im Parlament das "Gesetz über die Staatssprache der Slowakischen Republik" verabschiedet, das auch Geldstrafen für die Verletzung seiner Vorschriften vorsah; diese wurden jedoch 1999 gestrichen. In den Jahren 2007 und 2008 haben heftige Reaktionen das bereits angekündigte Vorhaben des Ministeriums für Kultur bekräftigt, das bestehende Sprachgesetz unter Einbeziehung der früheren Geldstrafe zu novellieren. Zu Beginn der Vorbereitungen für die Novellierung des Gesetzes wurde davon ausgegangen, dass sich die slowakische Standardsprache in desolatem Zustand befinde, so dass ihre Kultivierung auch gesetzliche Maßnahmen erfordere. Inzwischen ist diese ursprünglich sprachliche Angelegenheit jedoch durch politische Einflussnahmen derart vernebelt worden, dass sie primär zu einem politischen Sachverhalt bzw. zu einem politisch-juristischen Problem geworden ist – und zwar dergestalt, dass man darin nur noch mit großer Mühe eine "rein linguistische" Thematik erkennen kann.

Während sich die Polemik der Politiker über die Novellierung des Sprachgesetzes immer mehr auf die Frage konzentrierte, inwieweit dadurch die Rechte der Minderheiten betroffen sind, wurden die Linguisten vorrangig durch andere Fragen beunruhigt. Von Anfang an haben sie darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass man durch das novellierte Gesetz mit direkten sprachpolitischen Maßnahmen in die Sprachkultur eingreift, obwohl es die Aufgabe der Sprachpolitik sei, optimale Bedingungen zum normalen Funktionieren der Sprache und zu ihrer Erforschung zu schaffen. Die Sprachwissenschaftler finden es nicht akzeptabel, dass über die kodifizierte Norm seitens der politischen Macht entschieden werden soll. Durch das Gesetz wird aus dieser politischen Position heraus geregelt, wo "die kodifizierte Form der Staatssprache" zur Geltung komme und welche Werke als offizielle Kodifikationswerke gelten.

Das Sprachwissenschafliche Institut von Ľudovít Štúr der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften war eine der Institutionen, die gegen die Novellierung des Gesetzes über die Staatssprache der Slowakischen Republik opponiert haben. So hat die Leitung des Instituts empfohlen, aus dem Gesetzestext den Satz "Jedwedes Eingreifen in die kodifizierte Form der Staatssprache im Widerspruch zu ihren Gesetzmäßigkeiten ist unzulässig" in Folge seiner – aus linguistischer Sicht – Irrationalität, ja Sinnlosigkeit, zu streichen. In dem gültigen Text des Gesetzes ist auch folgende Formulierung zu finden: "Die kodifizierte Form der Staatssprache verabschiedet und veröffentlicht das Ministerium für Kultur der Slowakischen Republik auf seiner Internetseite", was für die Linguisten wiederum ein Problem darstellt. Das Ministerium für Kultur der SR besitzt im Kodifikationsprozess der Staatssprache eine Machtposition, obwohl die Kodifikation die ureigene Domäne der Linguisten ist. In der Begründung steht unter ande-

rem: "Durch dieses Gesetz wird die Verwendung von nichtstandardsprachlichen Mitteln nicht ausgeschlossen, falls es um eine funktionsbedingte Verwendung geht, insbesondere in künstlerischen Werken und in der Publizistik". Die funktional begründete Überschreitung dieser Norm in differenzierten Kommunikationssituationen ist aber zweifellos viel mannigfaltiger als es diese Aussage bestimmt.

Die Vertreter des Sprachwissenschaflichen Instituts von Ľudovít Štúr der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften haben immer wieder die Meinung geäußert (besonders in Erklärungen für die Presse und elektronische Medien), dass die Sprache (genauer: ihre Verwendung) nicht von Bußen und Sanktionen begleitet werden darf, weil mithilfe von Strafen keine positive Beziehung zur Sprache gepflegt werden kann. Oft wurde dagegen argumentiert, dass ein Gesetz ohne Sanktionen wirkungslos sei, lediglich ein Fetzen Papier, und dass es nicht durchsetzbar sei. Die Situation in den europäischen und anderen Ländern zeigt jedoch, dass es keine zwingende Notwendigkeit für solche Sanktionen gibt (innerhalb der Europäischen Union haben nur sieben Staaten Sanktionsgesetze). Die natürliche Sprache gehört zu den immanenten Merkmalen eines Individuums, so dass derartige Interventionen nach Meinung der Linguisten nicht angemessen sind.

2. Das Problem des Sprachgesetzes wurde durch eine internationale Dimension verstärkt. In diesem Zusammenhang engagieren sich die Ungarische Republik und die politischen Repräsentanten der ungarischen Minderheit in der Slowakei besonders aktiv. Deren Absicht ist es, eine möglichst große Unterstützung seitens der internationalen politischen Kreise und der europäischen Institutionen zu erreichen. Es wurde darüber im Rat für Menschenrechte der UNO, im Europäischen Rat, in der Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa sowie im Europäischen Parlament gesprochen, und man versuchte sogar, das Thema ins Weiße Haus zu tragen – was durch die Union der Ausländsungarn gelang.

Besonderes Interesse erweckte jedoch eine Internetpetition des Forschungszentrums für Sprachen der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, die einige Hundert Personen aus der internationalen wissenschaftlichen und kulturellen Öffentlichkeit unterschrieben haben (darunter bekannte Linguisten wie N. Chomsky, P. Trudgill, M. Bierwisch, W. Dressler, G. Stickel). Dabei spielten offensichtlich mehrere Aspekte eine Rolle: Die Ungarische Republik zeichnet sich durch erfolgreiche Diplomatie und wohlbekannten Lobbyismus aus. Die Wiedergabe der Gesetznovelle, gegen die die Unterzeichner protestierten, entsprach in der englischen Übersetzung nicht dem Originaltext, sie war an einigen Stellen sogar verzerrt, insgesamt also nicht korrekt (an einigen Stellen, in denen das Gesetz die Zweisprachigkeit bekräftigt, wird etwa behauptet, dass die Verwendung der Staatssprache gefordert werde, z.B. bei Kulturveranstaltungen der ethnischen Gruppen). Der letzte Grund für die Einbeziehung so vieler Wissenschaftler ist die Natur des Sprachgesetzes, das unserer Meinung nach nicht sorgfältig genug und ohne entsprechende Empathie den Minderheiten gegenüber konzipiert wurde.

Aus dem Blickwinkel der früheren und auch gegenwärtigen Polemik scheint es, als ob das novellierte Staatsgesetz aus dem Jahr 2009 das – zumindest in Europa – restriktivste Gesetz wäre, das die bürgerlichen und die Menschenrechte am stärksten verletzt.

Neben der Slowakei gibt es allerdings in der Europäischen Union sechs weitere Länder, in denen ein Sprachgesetz gilt, das als Bestandteil Sanktionen und Bußen enthält. Es sind dies die Baltischen Staaten (Lettland, Litauen, Estland), Slowenien, Polen und Frankreich. Andere Länder in der EU haben entweder Sprachgesetze ohne Sanktionen oder verfügen über keinerlei derartigen Gesetze. Es sei hier gleich hinzufügt, dass man berechtigte Ansprüche am besten aus einer Position heraus erhebt, bei der auch die klagende Seite ihre moralischen Pflichten gegenüber der eigenen Gemeinschaft, die im jeweiligen Land nicht an der Macht ist, erfüllt. Die Situation der Minderheiten in Ungarn ist nach Aussage des ehemaligen Ombudsmanns für die Minderheiten Jeno Kaltenbach auch heutzutage "beklemmend" (Sme, 23. 7. 2009, 13). Es existiert in Ungarn zwar ein überaus liberales Minderheitsgesetz, das den Gebrauch der Minderheitssprachen in keinerlei Form einschränkt, aber dabei handelt es sich eher um leere Worte, weil die Minderheiten in Ungarn nach den Worten des Ombudsmanns "seit dem 19. Jahrhundert dem Verfallen ausgesetzt waren" und "ausnahmslos an den Rand des Identitätsverlustes gerieten" (Ombudsmann J. Kaltenbach im Tageblatt Sme: Minderheitenpolitik in Ungarn ist beklemmend; vgl. hierzu www.luno.hu/content/view/8631/38/).

Winston Churchill hat einmal gesagt, dass man die Zivilisiertheit einer jeden Nation am besten daran erkennt, wie sie sich gegenüber ihren Minderheiten verhält. Das Verhalten der ungarischen Repräsenten – besonders nach dem Jahr 1830, als die programmatische gewaltsame Magyarisierung in Ungarn begann – war in diesem Sinne nicht zivilisiert. Es wäre jedoch gänzlich verfehlt, wenn wir uns heutzutage in der Slowakei ähnlich verhalten wollten, wenn wir so etwas wie die Gesetze von Apponyi in umgekehrter Form der Positionen umsetzen wollten.

3. In diesem Kontext ist schließlich ein Dokument von großer Bedeutung: das 2009 entstandene Gutachten zur Gesetzesnovelle über die Staatssprache der SR aus dem Umfeld von Knut Vollebæk, des Hohen Kommissars für die Fragen der nationalen Minderheiten der Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa. Es handelt sich um ein merkwürdig ausgeglichenes Gutachten, das beide Seiten des Streits berücksichtigt. Im Gutachten ist die Feststellung von Bedeutung, dass die Gesetznovelle über die Staatssprache "ein legitimes Ziel verfolgt und im Großen und Ganzen im Einklang mit den internationalen Standards steht." Das ist eine prinzipielle Formulierung, von der man bei Beurteilung der globalen Situation ausgehen sollte, auch wenn sie durch die folgende Aussage teilweise relativiert wird: "Wenn auch die Novelle im allgemeinen nicht strittig ist, soll man sorgfälltig all ihre Folgen in Erwägung ziehen [...]". An mehreren Stellen des Gutachtens wird auf die Notwendigkeit der Aufrechterhaltung des Gleichgewichts zwischen der Förderung der Staatssprache und dem Schutz der Sprachrechte der Minderheiten, und ihre Interaktion hingewiesen. Der Bericht erörtert auch die Tatsache, dass durch das Gesetz in seiner aktuellen Fassung keine unabhängige Institution, sondern das Ministerium für Kultur bevollmächtigt werde, die Staatssprache zu kodifizieren.

Das Gutachten bekräftigt die Legitimität von Sanktionen bei Verletzung der Bestimmungen über die Verwendung der Sprache, betont aber: "falls man davon Gebrauch macht, müssten die Organe daran mit außerordentlicher Sorgfälltigkeit herantreten."

Die Sprache gehört, wie es das deutsche Bundesverfassungsgericht formuliert hat, zu den grundlegenden Freiheiten. Deshalb sollte sie im Normalfall nur zu einem möglichst geringen Grad einer normativen Regelung ausgesetzt werden. Schließlich steht die Drohung mit Bußen im krassen Widerspruch zu der Deklaration im Motivbericht, laut derer durch die Novellierung (unter anderem) "die positive Beziehung der Bürger der slowakischen Nationalität sowie der Angehörigen der nationalen Minderheiten zur slowakischen Sprache vertieft werden soll". Übrigens bestätigt dies auch Knut Vollebæk, der in seinem Gutachten die Bestimmung über Geldstrafen als eine "negative Entwicklung" beurteilt. Dies dürfe nur die allerletzte Möglichkeit sein; ihr Auferlegen solle eher erschwert als erleichtert werden, zumal die Geldstrafen aktuell eine sehr breite Spannweite aufweisen (von 100 bis 5000 Euro). Inzwischen wurden die Bußen in das Jahr 2010 verschoben.

Das Ministerium schreibt in einer seiner Erklärungen: "Der Schutz der Staatssprache verpflichtet den Staat, das Recht seiner Bürger auf Verständigung in dieser Sprache sowohl im privaten als auch im öffentlichen Verkehr sicherzustellen". Das Recht auf Verständigung durch die Staatssprache auf dem Territorium des betreffenden Staates ist nicht zu bezweifeln. Aber die Nicht-Beherrschung des Slowakischen in der Slowakei ist vor allem ein Nachteil für die Angehörigen anderer Nationalitäten (z.B. bei der Ausübung des Berufs, bei der Arbeitssuche usw.).

In der Gesetzesnovelle gibt es auch andere Unklarheiten. So ist nicht erkennbar, was unter dem Eingriff in die kodifizierte Form der Staatssprache zu verstehen ist, was als funktionsbedingte Verwendung in einem Kontext gilt, o.Ä. Aus juristischer Sicht dürfte sie nach unserer Auffassung einwandfrei sein; sie entspricht den üblichen Standards, so dass der Einwand vor allem von der Seite der Ungarischen Republik, demzufolge die Slowakische Republik die europäischen bzw. internationalen Normen verletze, nicht berechtigt ist. Zugleich sind wir aber der Meinung, dass dieses Gesetz nicht sorgsam genug und nicht in erforderlicher Kooperation mit den Minderheiten vorbereitet wurde. Deshalb warten wir ungeduldig auf die Durchführungsbestimmungen zum Gesetz, die das Ministerium für Kultur der SR vorbereitet. Wir sind voller Hoffnung, da Knut Vollebæk seine Unterstützung versprochen hat.

Manuel Casado Velarde

Spain, a plurilingual state: Spanish and other official languages[1]

Abstract

La Constitución española de 1978 establece que "el castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla" (art. 3, 1). En el mismo art. 3, 2, se dice que "las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos". Entre 1979 y 1983 se aprobaron los Estatutos de autonomía de las diferentes comunidades, en cuyos textos, en su caso, se establece la cooficialidad de las correspondientes lenguas con el español en sus respectivos territorios. Las "leyes de normalización lingüística", promulgadas entre 1982 y 1998, al desarrollar las disposiciones de los estatutos relativas a la lengua, representan las líneas directivas de la política lingüística de las Comunidades bilingües. En la exposición se realiza un balance de la situación lingüística.

1. Introduction

Due to its long and rich history, the fact that the Spanish language was only recently declared the official language of the country may seem surprising.[2] It was established for the first time in the Constitutive Courts during the Second Republic, in 1931, and it was promulgated in the Constitution of that year (in that text, it is referred to as *Castilian*). But its validity was ephemeral. The Constitution of 1931 was abolished by force, thus Spanish lost – legally but not effectively – its official recognition during the regime of General Franco – established right after the Civil War of 1936-1939. It lacked its official character for the next 42 years.

However, Franco announced his thoughts on Spanish and the rest of the languages in Spain in the first days of 1938 with this early statement (surprisingly coinciding with Unamuno): "The character of each region will be respected, but without detriment to the national unity, which we want to be absolute, with a single language, Castilian, and a single personality, the Spanish one" (apud González Ollé 1995, 52-53, 55).

With the so-called "Democratic Transition" that followed the death of Franco in 1975, the linguistic issue would receive normative treatment in accordance with the cultural situation in Spain. In the Spanish Constitution of 1978, it is established that "Castilian is the official Spanish language in the State. Every Spanish citizen has the duty of knowing it and the right to use it" (article 3, paragraph 1).

In the same article 3, paragraph 2 in the Constitution, it is added that "the rest of the Spanish languages will be also official in the respective autonomous communities according to their statutes". Therefore, everything concerning these languages is regulated by the aforementioned statutes, and it depends on the autonomous communities (administrative divisions) which compose the Spanish State. Moreover, in the following paragraph of article 3 it is stated that "the richness of the different linguistic modalities in Spain is a cultural heritage that will be especially respected and protected" (3, §3).

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[1] This article was translated from Spanish into English by Dámaso Izquierdo Alegría.

[2] I follow the well-known article by González Ollé (1978) about the officiality of Spanish.

The Constitution of 1978, currently in force, thus represents a legal milestone, that was very relevant historically in the treatment of the Spanish languages. It was a turning point as a result of the consensus between the different political parties. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to overcome outdated conceptions in the right and left wings.

2. The recognition of the co-official character of other languages spoken in Spain

Between the years 1979 and 1983, the different statutes of the autonomous communities in Spain were approved and promulgated. In these texts, the co-official character of the corresponding languages in those territories was established.

The following map shows the bilingual communities: Galicia, the Basque Country, some zones in the Community of Navarra, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, with the figure of their population in 2009, in millions of inhabitants:[3]

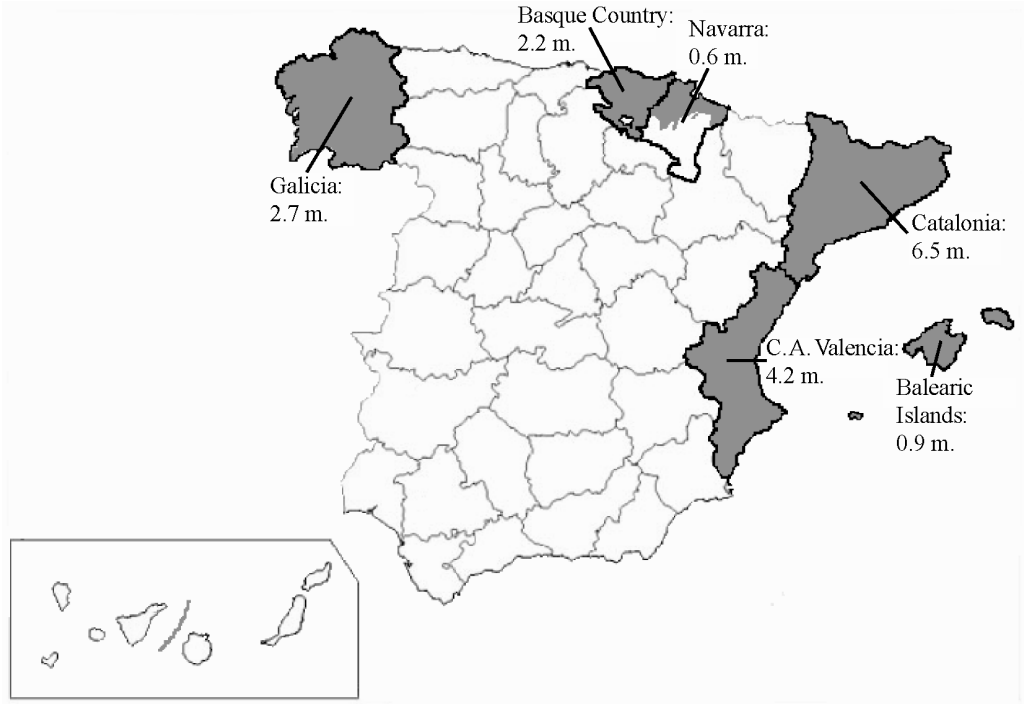

Fig. 1: Bilingual communities in Spain

Except for Galicia, the speakers whose mother tongue is Spanish are the majority in all of the bilingual communities. The rate of the oral comprehension of Spanish is 100% in all of them, and, in the case of oral expression, practically the same percentage (CIS polls 1998; 98% in Galicia).

All the statutes of the autonomous communities reflect some kind of convergence in two essential points: on the one hand, the definition of the regional language as the language proper to the community ("lengua propia"),[4] and, at the same time, as co-

[3] This map was drawn by Felipe Jiménez Berrio.

[4] With the exception of the statute of Navarra. The expression *language proper to the community* (*lengua propia*) has been criticized, since Spanish is also proper to Navarra, even more so than Basque, as will be shown.

official with Spanish; on the other hand, the rights of every citizen to use the language proper to his/her community and not suffer discrimination as a result.

The "laws of linguistic normalization", promulgated since 1982 to develop the statutes referring to languages, defined the parameters of linguistic policy in the bilingual communities. Their objective was and is to promote the use of the autonomic languages in every social sphere (Herreras 2006, 81): education, administration, toponymy, among others.

3. Evaluation of nearly three decades

It is difficult to evaluate this subject objectively, as it is a process which is on the move, and it is very politicized, since it can be analyzed from different points of view. Even the concept of "linguistic normalization" seems to be vague. *Normalizing* means "making something seem normal". It was a question of turning the use of specific languages in each bilingual community – which had been abnormal – into something normal. The problem is: at what point can we conclude that normalization has been achieved (Herreras 2006, 331)?

On the other hand, the applications of the "normalization" processes have been different depending on the autonomous communities: the two bilingual communities that have most forcefully carried out "a policy of affirming the presence of their autonomous languages are the Basque Country and Catalonia", communities that, from the moment of their constitutions until their last autonomous elections, have had nationalist parliaments and governments (Herreras 2006, 332). Nevertheless, they are very different due to the linguistic factor: in fact, Catalan is a sister language to Spanish, which makes it easier to learn than Basque, which is neither a Romance, nor Indo-European language, as is known.

As for the Community of Valencia, it has always been zealous in affirming its uniqueness. The official name of its language reflects this fact. It is called Valencian[5] instead of Catalan, although without linguistic foundation. Furthermore, there is an "Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua".

Concerning the Community of Navarra, it is predominantly monolingual Spanish, and the Basque-speaking zone is the least populated. And Galician, after its late normalization, is still suffering from idiomatic discrepancies about the acceptance of standard norm among those who use Galician with the sense of correction. Moreover, there are some problems of social consideration.

Even with these differences, it can be stated that in all of the bilingual communities, there has been "a significant increase in the linguistic competence of its inhabitants" (Herreras 2006, 333). If census and municipal registry results are compared, "the most important progress can be appreciated in the written skills (reading and writing)" (Herreras 2006, 334), as the following charts made by this author reflect:

[5] This autonomous community also wrote an official version of the Spanish Constitution in Valencian.

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. A. Catalonia**	Barcelona	Girona	Lleida	Tarragona
Understands	1986	**90.6**	89.0	95.1	96.3	93.2
	1991	**93.8**	92.8	96.4	98.0	96.1
	1996	**95.0**	94.3	96.7	98.3	96.6
	2001	**94.5**	94.0	95.6	97.2	95.6
Can speak	1986	**64.2**	59.9	80.1	82.8	73.2
	1991	**68.3**	64.7	80.6	84.4	76.8
	1996	**75.3**	72.5	84.4	88.5	81.5
	2001	**74.5**	72.1	81.7	86.4	79.7
Can read	1986	**60.7**	58.2	70.7	71.5	64.0
	1991	**67.6**	65.2	76.5	77.4	72.1
	1996	**72.3**	70.3	79.9	82.2	75.6
	2001	**74.3**	72.6	80.4	83.1	77.4
Can write	1986	**31.6**	30.2	39.4	36.9	32.2
	1991	**39.9**	38.4	49.2	42.9	42.2
	1996	**45.8**	44.3	53.8	51.2	47.7
	2001	**49.8**	47.7	58.4	57.9	53.0

Fig. 2: Catalonia (* Population of 2 years and older - 1986: 5,856,433 people; 1991: 5,949,177 people; 1996: 5,984,334 people; 2001: 6,215,281 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 86), based on the data from Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (1993): *Cens de població 1991. Vol. 8, Cens lingüístic. Dades comarcals i municipals*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya; Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (1998): *El coneixement del català, 1996*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya; and Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (2003): *El coneixement del català, 2001*.

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. A. Valencia**	Alicante	Castellón	Valencia
Understands	1986	**77.1**	60.6	90.3	84.0
	1991	**83.2**	70.4	93.7	88.8
	2001	**84.0**	73.5	91.0	89.4
Can speak	1986	**49.5**	36.5	67.0	53.4
	1991	**51.0**	38.1	68.1	55.3
	2001	**47.6**	35.2	62.4	52.5
Can read	1986	**24.3**	13.1	28.7	30.0
	1991	**37.9**	23.8	46.0	44.8
	2001	**46.0**	31.3	56.0	53.4
Can write	1986	**7.0**	4.4	8.7	8.2
	1991	**15.1**	10.2	19.7	17.1
	2001	**23.3**	16.7	29.2	26.5

Fig. 3: Community of Valencia (* Population of 3 years and older - 1986: 3,598,528 people; 1991: 3,737,150 people; 2001: 4,022,455 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 90), based on the data from Generalitat Valenciana (1990): *Coneixement del valencià. Análisi dels resultats del Padró Municipal d'Habitants de 1986*. València: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència; Institut Valencià d'Estadística (1993): *Dades basiques del cens de població. Comunitat Valenciana 1991*. València: Generalitat Valenciana; and Institut Valencià d'Estadística (2004): *Población en viviendas familiares de 3 y más años, según el conocimiento del valenciano y la edad* (Census 2001. Provisional results, 2004).

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. A. Balearic Islands**	Ibiza-Formentera	Majorca	Minorca
Understands	1986	**89.4**	83.3	89.6	94.5
	1991	**88.7**	84.7	88.1	94.7
	2001	**89.1**	86.3	89.0	93.8
Can speak	1986	**70.8**	61.8	70.4	84.5
	1991	**66.7**	58.9	66.1	81.2
	2001	**62.7**	57.2	62.2	75.1
Can read	1986	**46.0**	29.8	46.7	60.4
	1991	**55.0**	42.9	54.8	71.1
	2001	**62.1**	53.2	62.0	73.8
Can write	1986	**16.5**	12.3	16.0	26.3
	1991	**25.8**	19.6	25.7	34.8
	2001	**38.7**	34.5	38.6	45.4

Fig. 4: Balearic Islands (* Population of 6 years and older - 1986: 626,956 people; 1991: 661,306 people. Population of 5 years and older - 2001: 793,506 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 95), based on the data from Institut Balear d'Estadística (1989): *La Llengua de les Illes Balears*. Palma de Mallorca: Govern Balear; Institut Balear d'Estadística (1993): *Cens de població 1991. VII. Taules sobre el coneixement de la llengua de la CAIB*. Palma de Mallorca: Govern Balear; and Direcció General d'Economia, Institut Balear d'Estadística/Institut Nacional d'Estadística (2004): *Resultados del Censo de 2001*.

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. A. Basque Country**	Álava	Biscay	Guipúzcoa
Euskaldunes (*basque-speakers*)	1981	**21.5**	3.9	14.9	39.5
	1986	**24.6**	6.7	17.5	43.7
	1991	**26.3**	8.6	18.9	45.9
	1996	**30.9**	14.6	23.7	49.7
	2001	**32.3**	16.2	24.9	51.4
Quasi-euskaldunes	1981	**14.5**	9.5	13.4	18.1
	1986	**17.4**	16.8	17.8	17.0
	1991	**19.8**	20.0	20.5	18.6
	1996	**19.7**	19.6	20.8	17.9
	2001	**23.1**	24.6	24.8	19.7
Erdaldunes (*Non-basque-speakers*)	1981	**64.0**	86.6	71.8	42.4
	1986	**58.0**	76.5	64.7	39.4
	1991	**53.9**	71.4	60.5	35.5
	1996	**49.4**	65.8	55.9	32.2
	2001	**44.6**	59.1	50.2	28.9

Fig. 5: Basque Country (* Population of 2 years and older - 1981: 2,081,461 people; 1986: 2,089,995 people; 1991: 2,068,927 people; 1996: 2,062,525 people; 2001: 2,033,247 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 99), based on the data from EUSTAT (1994): *Euskera 81-91*. Vitoria: Gobierno Vasco; and EUSTAT: *Censos de Población y Viviendas 1991-2001* and *Estadística de Población y Viviendas 1996*.

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. Foral Navarra**	Basque-speaking zone	Mixed zone	Non-Basque-speaking zone
Euskaldunes	1986	**10.1**	59.3	6.1	0.7
	1991	**10.2**	60.8	6.4	1.0
	1996	**10.9**	60.4	7.3	1.5
	2001	**12.1**	62.3	9.5	2.2
Quasi-euskaldunes	1986	**5.2**	8.0	5.4	1.1
	1991	**6.3**	9.3	6.0	1.4
	1996	**7.4**	13.4	9.1	3.2
	2001	**8.4**	13.2	10.9	3.5
Erdaldunes	1986	**84.5**	32.7	88.5	98.1
	1991	**83.4**	29.8	87.6	97.5
	1996	**81.7**	26.2	83.5	95.2
	2001	**79.4**	24.5	79.6	94.3

Fig. 6: Community of Navarra (* Population of 2 years and older - 1986: 501,989 people; 1991: 500,250 people; 1996: 511,898 people; 2001: 536,989 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 104), based on the data from Gobierno de Navarra (1986): *Distribución de la población navarra según el nivel de euskara* (*Padrones municipales de habitantes al 1/4/86*), Pamplona; Gobierno de Navarra (1995): *Datos sociolingüísticos del euskara en Navarra*. Pamplona: Dirección General de Política Lingüística; Instituto de Estadística de Navarra (1996): *Estadística de la población de Navarra*. *1996*. Pamplona; and Instituto de Estadística de Navarra (2004): *Censo de Población y Viviendas 2001*.

Linguistic competence	Census/ Register*	**C. A. Galicia**	A Coruña	Lugo	Ourense	Pontevedra
Understands	1991	**97.0**	96.7	98.0	97.7	96.6
	2001	**99.2**	99.0	99.6	99.5	99.0
Can speak	1991	**91.4**	90.5	95.2	94.2	89.8
	2001	**91.0**	90.4	95.5	94.4	88.8
Can read	1991	**49.9**	51.5	51.5	46.4	48.9
	2001	**69.0**	71.9	77.0	63.4	64.3
Can write	1991	**34.9**	35.1	38.7	33.1	33.6
	2001	**57.9**	60.0	66.2	51.9	54.4

Fig. 7: Galicia (* Population of 3 years and older - 1991: 2,649,084 people. Population of 5 years and older - 2001: 2,587,407 people)

Source: Herreras (2006, 108), based on the data from Instituto Galego de Estadística (1993): *Galicia en cifras. Anuario 1993*. Santiago: Xunta de Galicia; Instituto Galego de Estadística (2003): *Población de 5 años y más. Datos provisionales del Censo 2001*.

In all of the bilingual communities, "normalization" has made progress in the Administration, autonomic institutions, and toponymy, among others, although with remarkable differences between communities.

In the level "can speak", there is a noticeable difference with regard to the ones who speak the language effectively or just in particular spheres (e.g., familiar, professional).

4. The educational system

The most sensitive point in the linguistic "normalization" concerns the use of official languages in the educational system. In fact, it is very common to see this subject in the headlines. Three phases can be distinguished in the incorporation of co-official languages into education:

a) Firstly, an *initial phase*, starting in 1975 with the facultative learning of the regional language in the educational system.
b) Secondly, an *extension phase*, with the promulgation of decrees establishing bilingualism. In this phase, the learning of the co-official language of the community becomes compulsory for all of the preschoolers, students in elementary education and first grade professional training, with a timetable of at least three hours a week, regardless of which is the mother tongue. Students could also receive instruction in other subjects in the proper language ("lengua propia") of the community, at the behest of their parents. The full application of these decrees of bilingualism was achieved in 1985-86.
c) Finally, an *intensification phase*, starting with the promulgation of laws of linguistic "normalization", aimed at intensifying the presence of the proper language, in order to promote a balanced presence of both co-official languages.

In Catalonia, the goal was to accelerate the process with the generalization of the so-called "Programs of Linguistic Immersion" ("Programas de Inmersión Lingüística", PIL), compulsory since the 1993-94 academic year. This is why Spanish-speaking parents protested: they demand schooling in Spanish for their children. Actually, the most affected by these "Programs of Linguistic Immersion" – which is an early complete immersion in the proper language of the community – are Spanish speakers, generally from lower social and cultural level, who have a high rate of school failure.

José Carlos Herreras, in his study *Lenguas y normalización en España* (*Languages and normalization in Spain*),[6] wrote that

> the model chosen in Catalonia not only puts at risk the learning of Spanish, but also does not offer a guarantee of obtaining good results in Catalan [...], thus endangering the educational and employment prospects of a great part of the population whose mother tongue is Spanish. (Herreras 2006, 349-50)

In the other communities, the development of the intensification phase is being implemented more slowly, as in Valencia, Balearic Islands and Galicia. In the two latter communities, Programs of Linguistic Immersion are being prepared, but they will be completely voluntary.

[6] After all I have exposed, I do not need to consider how I have benefited from him.

5. Final

The promotion of the co-official autonomous languages has caused, in the last years, some social movements in defence of the common language in the State, that is, Spanish or Castilian, as can be ascertained by reading the newspapers.[7] The Spanish speakers affected appeal for the Constitution and the human rights so as to demand as a right to provide schooling to their children in their mother tongue.

Moreover, it cannot be ignored that political changes in the central and autonomous governments cause remarkable fluctuations in the linguistic policy of both spheres. Nevertheless, as Pericay affirms, "in Spain, since the beginning of democracy, the State has never exerted itself in the matter of linguistics" (Pericay 2007, 15).

6. References

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Herreras, J.C. (2006): *Lenguas y normalización en España*. (= Biblioteca románica hispánica 3, Manuales 86). Madrid: Gredos.

Pericay, X. (2007): Introducción. In: Arteta, A. et al.: *Políticas lingüísticas y nacionalismos en España*. Madrid: FAES, 9-23.

[7] There are some organizations that propose the defence of institutional bilingualism and the freedom of choice in bilingual communities, such as the Asociación por la Tolerancia (Catalonia), the Círculo Balear (Balearic Islands), Galicia Bilingüe (Galicia), the Plataforma por la Libertad de Elección Lingüística (Euskadi) or the Plataforma Valenciana por la Libertad Lingüística (Comunidad Valenciana). These organizations tend to argue that "citizens, not territories nor languages themselves, have linguistic rights. That is: citizens speaking any co-official language have the right to receive education and to be attended by the Administration in that language, but languages themselves do not have the right to achieve speakers under duress, nor to impose themselves as a priority in education, information, public signs or institutions, with detriment to Spanish" (*Manifiesto por la Lengua Común en defensa de los derechos de los castellanohablantes en las comunidades con lengua cooficial*, announced on 23 June 2008).

THE DUBLIN DECLARATION ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND REGIONAL AND MINORITY LANGUAGES IN EUROPE

in 24 European languages

The declaration presented here in 24 European languages takes into account all of EFNIL members' views and attitudes to the important issues put forth and synthesizes the different positions of all those who continued the discussion with the Executive Committee after the 7th EFNIL conference in Dublin 2009, during which the first draft of this Declaration was discussed.

bg	български	fi	suomi	hu	magyar
cs	čeština	fr	français	mt	Malti
da	dansk	ga	Gaeilge	pl	polski
de	Deutsch	is	íslensk	pt	português
el	ελληνικά	it	italiano	ro	română
et	eesti keel	lv	latviešu valoda	sk	slovenčina
en	English	le	Lëtzebuergesch	sl	slovenščina
es	español	lt	lietuvių kalba	sv	svenska

bg

Дъблинска декларация за отношенията между официалните езици и регионалните и малцинствени езици в Европа

1. В резултат на различни исторически, социални и политически фактори езиковата реалност в отделните европейски държави значително се различава. Членовете на ЕФНИЕ, в качеството си на национални или централни институции на страните-членки на ЕС, се ангажират да поддържат официалните си книжовни езици, чрез научни изследвания, езиково планиране, документиране и езикова политика. Освен това те имат и задължението да следят отблизо динамиката на езиковата употреба и езиковото разнообразие в страните си.
2. Термините "малцинствен език" и "регионален език" обикновено са натоварени с идеологическо значение, както и "национален език", "официален език" и много други термини, които се използват за обозначаване на статута на един език (напр. местен, автохтонен, етнически, по-малко използван език, втори официален език, диалект, нетериториален език, доминиращ език). Употребата на такъв широк кръг от термини сама по себе си говори за сложността на отношенията както между отделните езици, така и между език и общество. ЕФНИЕ се стреми да допринася за повишаването на осведомеността по отношение на използването на тези термини и да съдейства за внимателната им употреба в официалните документите и в езиковата политика.
3. ЕФНИЕ приема всички езици, включително и малцинствените, за равни по отношение на културната значимост. Федерацията не прави разлика между автохтонни, имигрантски или малцинствени езици, що се отнася до свързаните с тях права за достъп до познание и езиково обучение. С оглед на това ЕФНИЕ подкрепя включването на колкото е възможно повече езици в учебните планове и призовава държавните органи да предприемат активни действия за включването на езиците на мигрантите в училищните програми и/или да предложат възможности за достъп до образование на тези езици, когато това е възможно.
4. Езиковите групи, които живеят извън своята "родна страна" или които нямат такава, следва да получат уверение (напр. чрез двустранни споразумения със съответните им "родни страни" или съобразени с тях нормативни актове по отношение на други групи), че държавата, на която са граждани, съблюдава и уважава техните езикови права. Подобни практики могат да допринесат за подобряването на международните отношения, обмена и търговията.
5. От гражданите формално се очаква да владеят определен език (обичайно наричан "национален" или "официален" език). Лицата, които желаят да получат гражданство, трябва да представят доказателство за знанията си на

този език. В някои държави това изискване се отнася до един от няколкото официални езика. Това, обаче, не означава, че други автохтонни за съответната страна езици, които са част от нейното културно наследство, са по-малко значими. Бързото намаляване на броя на носителите на някои от тези езици в днешно време е сериозен повод за безпокойство. ЕФНИЕ призовава властите и широката общественост да признаят предимствата – когнитивни, социални, а също така политически и икономически – за националната общност на двуезичието или многоезичието на всички нейни членове.

6. Сложността на езиковата реалност в повечето европейски държави днес невинаги личи поради липсата на надеждни и актуални статистически данни. Като отчита условията на социално многообразие в Европа и необходимостта от социална сплотеност, ЕФНИЕ се ангажира да насърчава създаването на една многоезична гражданска общност и да работи съвместно с други Европейски организации за събирането и разпространението на достоверни данни и най-добри практики в тази област.

cs

Dublinská deklarace o vztahu mezi oficiálními a menšinovými jazyky v Evropě

1. Jakožto výsledek historických, sociálních a politických podmínek se jazyková realita z jedné evropské země do druhé značně liší. Členové EFNIL usilují jako národní či ústřední instituce členských států EU o podporu svých úředních, standardních jazyků v oblasti lingvistického výzkumu, plánování jejich statutu a korpusů a dokumentování i jazykové politiky. Mají navíc i odpovědnost za to, že bedlivě monitorují vývoj jazykového úzu i jazykové různosti v každé ze svých zemí.

2. Označení jako "menšinový jazyk" a "regionální jazyk" bývají zatíženy ideologickými významy, stejně jako název "národní jazyk", "úřední jazyk" a mnoho dalších, které se užívají k označení situace či statutu nějakého jazyka (např. domácího, autochtonního, etnického, méně užívaného, poloúředního, nářečního, neteritoriálního či dominantního jazyka). Užívání takto široké škály názvů samo naznačuje, že vztah mezi jazyky a mezi jazykem a společností je velmi složitý. EFNIL zamýšlí přispět ke zvýšenému a vědomějšímu užívání takovýchto označení a přispívat k jejich pečlivému užívání v oficiálních dokumentech a v jazykové politice.

3. EFNIL vnímá všechny jazyky jako rovnocenné co do své kulturní hodnoty, což se samozřejmě týká i jazyků menšin. EFNIL nedělá žádný rozdíl mezi jazyky autochtonními, přistěhovalců či menšin, když jde o jejich práva na přístup k vědění a jazykovému vzdělání. Proto se staví EFNIL za to, aby se do školních osnov vtělilo co nejvíce jazyků a vyzývá státní orgány k aktivnímu přístupu, pokud jde o začlenění menšinových migrujících jazyků do školních programů a/či nabídku příležitostí umožňujících přístup ke vzdělání v těchto jazycích všude tam, kde je to možné.

4. Jazykové skupiny, které žijou mimo svůj „rodný stát" či ho nemají, je třeba ujistit (například bilaterálními smlouvami týkajícími se „rodného státu", anebo odpovídajícími zákonými kroky vztahujícími se k jiným skupinám) o tom, že země, jejímiž jsou občany, jejich jazyková práva respektuje, ba si jich i váží. Takováto praxe může přispět ke zlepšení mezinárodních vztahů, výměně a obchodu.

5. Od občanů se typicky očekává, že ovládají nějaký jazyk (nazývaný obvykle "státní" či "úřední"). Ti, co usilují o získání občanství, musejí v tomto jazyce i prokázat svou kompetenci. Tento požadavek se uplatňuje v některých zemích na jeden z několika úředních jazyků. To by však nemělo znamenat, že by se i další autochtonní jazyky neměly jako konstituentní jazyky tvořící součást kultury dané země oceňovat. Nedávný rychlý úbytek mluvčích některých takových jazyků je důvodem ke znepokojení. EFNIL vyzývá státní orgány i širokou veřejnost, aby uznala kognitivní, sociální a vlastně i politické a ekonomické výhody bi- či multilingválnosti pro danou národní komunitu.

6. Ve většině evropských zemích převládá dnes poměrně složitá jazyková realita, která však není vždy v důsledku spolehlivých a čerstvých statistických dat vždy patrná. Protože si je EFNIL vědoma situace sociální plurality v Evropě i potřeby sociální koheznosti, klade si za cíl podporovat vícejazyčné občanstvo a spolupracovat s dalšími evropskými organizacemi, aby se tak umožnil sběr a šíření spolehlivých údajů i osvědčené praxe v této oblasti.

da

Dublin-erklæringen om forholdet mellem de officielle sprog, regionale sprog og mindretalssprog i Europa

1. Den sproglige virkelighed varierer betydeligt fra land til land i Europa, og det skyldes en række forskellige historiske, sociale og politiske forhold. EFNIL's medlemmer arbejder, i deres egenskab af centrale institutioner i EU-medlemslandene, for at støtte deres officielle sprog via sprogforskning, sprogbarometre, korpusopbygning, dokumentation og politiske initiativer. Desuden er de forpligtet til at følge udviklingen i sprogbrugen og den sproglige mangfoldighed i deres respektive lande.

2. Udtryk som "mindretalssprog" og "regionale sprog" er normalt meget værdiladede og anvendes i ideologiske sammenhænge. Det samme gælder udtryk som "nationalt sprog", "officielt sprog" og mange andre der bruges til at angive et sprogs tilstand eller status (fx indfødt, autoktont, etnisk, mindre anvendt, halvofficielt, dialekt, ikke-territorialt, dominerende sprog). Alene det at der anvendes så mange forskellige udtryk om sprog er tegn på at forholdet mellem forskellige sprog indbyrdes og mellem sprog og samfund er meget komplekst. EFNIL agter at bidrage til en generel bevidstgørelse om disse udtryk og til at fremme en standardiseret anvendelse af udtrykkene i officielle dokumenter og sprogpolitikker.

3. EFNIL anser alle sprog for kulturelt ligeværdige, og dette omfatter naturligvis også minoritetssprog. Når det gælder sprogbrugernes krav på adgang til viden og sprogundervisning, så skelner EFNIL ikke mellem autoktone, indvandrer- eller mindretalssprog. Til disse formål anbefaler EFNIL optagelse af så mange sprog i skolernes undervisningsplaner som muligt og opfordrer statslige myndigheder til at indtage en proaktiv holdning til integrationen af mindretalssprog i skoleundervisningen og/eller tilbyde muligheder for adgang til uddannelse på og i disse sprog så vidt muligt.

4. Sproggrupper bosiddende uden for deres sproglige hjemland bør være forsikret om at den nation i hvilken de er borgere, respekterer og værdsætter sproglige rettigheder. Det kan eksempelvis opnås i form af bilaterale aftaler med de sproglige mindretals hjemlande eller via lovgivning om mindretalssprogenes status. Etableres en sådan praksis, så kan gevinsten ofte være forbedrede internationale forbindelser, udveksling og handel.

5. Borgere i et givet land forventes som regel at have en vis sprogfærdighed på et bestemt sprog (normalt kaldet det "nationale" eller "officielle" sprog). Personer der ønsker at opnå statsborgerskab skal typisk fremlægge bevis for deres færdigheder på dette sprog. I nogle få lande gælder denne betingelse ét af flere officielle sprog. I disse tilfælde bør det naturligvis ikke finde sted at visse indfødte sprog værdsættes mindre end andre, idet alle sprogene udgør en del af landets

kulturarv. Det giver anledning til stor bekymring at der på det seneste har kunnet spores en hurtig tilbagegang i antallet af sprogbrugere for visse indfødte sprog. EFNIL opfordrer de statslige myndigheder og offentligheden i alle medlemslande til at anerkende de kognitive, sociale, og også politiske og økonomiske fordele ved to- eller flersprogethed for det nationale fællesskab.

6. I de fleste europæiske lande er der i dag en temmelig kompliceret sproglig virkelighed, som dog ikke altid er synlig grundet mangel på pålidelige og opdaterede oplysninger. Da EFNIL anerkender betingelserne for social mangfoldighed i Europa og behovet for social samhørighed, så arbejder sammenslutningen for at fremme vilkårene for flersprogede borgere og for at øge samarbejdet med andre europæiske organisationer med henblik på at indsamle og formidle pålidelige oplysninger om dette område og etablere en god praksis.

de

Die Dubliner Erklärung zum Verhältnis zwischen offiziellen Sprachen und Regional- und Minderheitssprachen in Europa

1. Aufgrund der unterschiedlichen historischen, sozialen und politischen Bedingungen variieren die sprachlichen Gegebenheiten in Europa erheblich. Die Mitglieder von EFNIL sind als nationale oder zentrale Einrichtungen der Mitgliedsstaaten der EU damit befasst, die offiziellen Standardsprachen ihrer Länder durch Sprachforschung, -planung, -dokumentation und -politik zu fördern. Sie haben zudem die Aufgabe, die Entwicklung von Sprachgebrauch und sprachlicher Vielfalt in ihren Ländern genau zu beobachten.

2. Begriffe wie "Minderheitssprache" und "Regionalsprache" haben gewöhnlich ideologische Konnotationen wie auch "Nationalsprache", "offizielle Sprache" und viele andere (z.B. indigene, autochthone, ethnische, weniger-gebrauchte, ko-offizielle, dominante, nicht-territoriale Sprache, Dialekt), mit denen der Status oder die Bedingungen einer Sprache benannt werden. Der Gebrauch dieser vielen Begriffe ist an sich schon kennzeichnend dafür, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Sprachen und zwischen Sprache und Gesellschaft sehr komplex sind. EFNIL möchte dazu beitragen, das Bewusstsein für den Gebrauch solcher Begriffe zu schärfen und Sorgfalt bei ihrem Gebrauch in offiziellen Dokumenten und sprachpolitischen Maßnahmen zu fördern.

3. EFNIL betrachtet alle Sprachen als gleich in ihrem kulturellen Wert, und dies schließt selbstverständlich Minderheitssprachen ein. Im Hinblick auf das Recht auf Zugang zu Bildung und sprachlicher Erziehung macht EFNIL keinen Unterschied zwischen autochthonen Sprachen, Migranten- und Minderheitssprachen. Deshalb plädiert EFNIL dafür, so viele Sprachen wie möglich in die Unterrichtpläne der Schulen aufzunehmen, und appelliert an die staatlichen Behörden, für die Aufnahme von Minderheits- und Migrantensprachen in die Unterrichtspläne initiativ zu werden und/oder – wo immer möglich - Gelegenheiten für eine Erziehung in diesen Sprachen zu bieten.

4. Sprachgruppen außerhalb ihrer sprachverwandten Staaten oder ohne einen solchen Staat sollten die Sicherheit haben (etwa durch bilaterale Abkommen für Gruppen mit sprachverwandten Staaten oder durch angemessene gesetzliche Regelungen für andere Gruppen), dass das Land, dessen Bürger sie sind, sprachliche Rechte respektiert und schätzt. Dies kann auch zur Verbesserung von internationalen Beziehungen, Austausch und Handel beitragen.

5. Von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern wird typischerweise erwartet, dass sie eine bestimmte Sprache beherrschen (gewöhnlich als "nationale" oder "offizielle" Sprache bezeichnet). Bewerberinnen und Bewerber um eine entsprechende Staatsbürgerschaft müssen ihre Kenntnis dieser Sprache nachweisen. In einigen Ländern betrifft

dieses Erfordernis eine von mehreren offiziellen Sprachen. Dies sollte jedoch nicht bedeuten, dass die anderen autochthonen Sprachen, die zu diesem Land gehören und Teile seines kulturellen Erbes sind, gering geschätzt werden. Der rasche Rückgang von Sprecherinnen und Sprechern dieser Sprachen in der letzten Zeit stimmt sehr bedenklich. EFNIL mahnt staatliche Behörden und die Allgemeinheit, die kognitiven, gesellschaftlichen sowie die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Vorteile von Zwei- oder Mehrsprachigkeit der gesamten Bevölkerung zu erkennen.

6. Die komplizierte sprachliche Realität in den meisten europäischen Ländern ist nicht immer sichtbar, weil es an zuverlässigen neuen Statistiken fehlt. Da sie die Bedingungen gesellschaftlicher Vielfalt in Europa und die Notwendigkeit sozialen Zusammenhalts anerkennt, ist EFNIL entschlossen, die Mehrsprachigkeit der Bevölkerung zu fördern und mit anderen europäischen Organisationen zusammenzuarbeiten, um zuverlässige Daten und gute Beispiele in diesem Bereich zu ermitteln und zu verbreiten.

el

ΔΙΑΚΗΡΥΞΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΒΛΙΝΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΧΕΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΠΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΙΟΝΟΤΙΚΕΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΕΣ

1. Η ευρωπαϊκή γλωσσική πραγματικότητα εμφανίζει αξιοσημείωτη ποικιλία από χώρα σε χώρα λόγω των διαφορετικών ιστορικών, κοινωνικών και πολιτικών συνθηκών που επικρατούν σε αυτές. Τα μέλη της EFNIL, ως εθνικοί ή κεντρικοί φορείς των κρατών-μελών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, έχουν ως αποστολή τους να στηρίξουν την επίσημη/ες, πρότυπη/ες γλώσσα/ες τους διερευνώντας τα τυπικά στοιχεία και τη λειτουργία της/τους μέσα από την έρευνα της γλώσσας και διαμορφώνοντας γλωσσικές πολιτικές για την προστασία της θεσμικής της/τους θέσης και του κοινωνικού της/τους ρόλου. Επιπλέον, έχουν ευθύνη να παρακολουθούν στενά την ανάπτυξη της χρήσης της γλώσσας και τη γλωσσική ποικιλομορφία που εμφανίζεται στη χώρα τους.

2. Όροι όπως *μειονοτική* και *τοπική* γλώσσα είναι συνήθως φορτισμένοι με ιδεολογικά νοήματα καθώς και όροι όπως *εθνική, επίσημη γλώσσα* και πολλοί άλλοι που χρησιμοποιούνται για να δηλώσουν την κατάσταση ή το κύρος μιας γλώσσας (π.χ. ιθαγενής, αυτόχθονη, εθνική, λιγότερο χρησιμοποιούμενη, συν-επίσημη, διάλεκτος, μη εδαφική, κυρίαρχη γλώσσα). Η χρήση ενός τόσο ευρέος φάσματος όρων είναι ενδεικτική, από μόνη της, της μεγάλης πολυπλοκότητας που διέπει τις σχέσεις των γλωσσών μεταξύ τους καθώς και της σχέσης γλώσσας και κοινωνίας. Η EFNIL προτίθεται να συμβάλει στην ανάπτυξη επίγνωσης σχετικά με τη χρήση αυτών των όρων και να προωθήσει την προσεκτική χρήση τους στα επίσημα έγγραφα και τις γλωσσικές πολιτικές.

3. Η EFNIL θεωρεί ότι όλες οι γλώσσες είναι ίσες ως προς την πολιτισμική τους αξία, περιλαμβανομένων φυσικά και των μειονοτικών γλωσσών. Δεν κάνει καμιά διάκριση ανάμεσα σε αυτόχθονες γλώσσες, γλώσσες των μεταναστών και μειονοτικές γλώσσες όταν πρόκειται για το δικαίωμα των ομιλητών τους να έχουν πρόσβαση στη γνώση και τη γλωσσική εκπαίδευση. Γι' αυτό και η EFNIL τάσσεται υπέρ της εισαγωγής όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερων γλωσσών στα σχολικά αναλυτικά προγράμματα και παροτρύνει τις αρχές να υιοθετήσουν μια προσέγγιση θετικής δράσης απέναντι στην εισαγωγή των μειονοτικών γλωσσών των μεταναστών στα σχολικά προγράμματα ή/ και να προσφέρουν ευκαιρίες για πρόσβαση στην εκπαίδευση σε αυτές τις γλώσσες όπου είναι δυνατόν.

4. Όσον αφορά ομάδες που ζουν εκτός του κράτους με το οποίο έχουν άμεση συγγένεια ή ομάδες που δεν έχουν κάτι αντίστοιχο, θα πρέπει να διασφαλίζονται τα γλωσσικά τους δικαιώματα στο κράτος στο οποίο ζουν, π.χ. μέσω διμερών συμφωνιών ή άλλων νομικών πράξεων. Τέτοιου είδους πρακτικές θα μπορούσαν να συνεισφέρουν στη βελτίωση των διεθνών σχέσεων, των συναλλαγών και του εμπορίου.

5. Είναι αναμενόμενο οι πολίτες μιας χώρας να έχουν ικανότητα σε μια συγκεκριμένη γλώσσα (η οποία συνήθως ονομάζεται *εθνική* ή *επίσημη*). Αυτοί που επιθυμούν να αποκτήσουν υπηκοότητα πρέπει να τεκμηριώσουν την ικανότητά τους σε αυτή τη γλώσσα. Σε λίγες χώρες αυτό το προαπαιτούμενο εφαρμόζεται σε μία ή πολλές επίσημες γλώσσες. Ωστόσο, αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι δεν θα πρέπει να εκτιμώνται οι άλλες αυτόχθονες γλώσσες, ως συνιστώσες γλώσσες της χώρας και μέρος της πολιτισμικής κληρονομιάς. Η ταχεία παρακμή των ομιλητών κάποιων από αυτές τις γλώσσες, που παρατηρείται προσφάτως, αποτελεί αιτία μεγάλης ανησυχίας. Η EFNIL παροτρύνει τις κρατικές αρχές και τον κόσμο να αναγνωρίσουν τα γνωστικά, κοινωνικά, πολιτικά και οικονομικά πλεονεκτήματα της διγλωσσίας ή πολυγλωσσίας όλων των μελών της για την εθνική κοινότητα.
6. Στις περισσότερες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες σήμερα υπάρχει μια αρκετά σύνθετη γλωσσική πραγματικότητα που δεν είναι πάντα ορατή, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν αξιόπιστες πρόσφατες στατιστικές μελέτες. Καθώς η EFNIL αναγνωρίζει τις συνθήκες της κοινωνικής πολλαπλότητας στην Ευρώπη και την ανάγκη για κοινωνική συνοχή, δεσμεύεται να προωθήσει τη συγκρότηση πολύγλωσσης πολιτικής ταυτότητας και να συνεργαστεί με άλλους ευρωπαϊκούς οργανισμούς, προκειμένου να συγκεντρώσει και να διασπείρει αξιόπιστα δεδομένα καθώς και τις άριστες πρακτικές σε αυτό το πεδίο.

et

Dublini deklaratsioon ametlike keelte ning regionaal- ja vähemuskeelte vahekorrast Euroopas

1. Ajaloolistel, sotsiaalsetel ja poliitilistel põhjustel on keelesituatsioon Euroopa riikides väga erinev. EFNILi liikmete peamine eesmärk ELi liikmesriikide riiklike või keskasutustena on toetada oma riigi ametlikku kirjakeelt või ametlikke kirjakeeli keeleuurimise, keelekorralduse, keelematerjali talletamise ja keelepoliitika kaudu. Lisaks on neil kohustus jälgida hoolikalt keelekasutuse ja keelelise mitmekesisuse arengut oma riigis.

2. Mõisted "vähemuskeel" ja "regionaalkeel" kannavad harilikult ideoloogilist sisu nagu ka "riigikeel", "ametlik keel" ja paljud teised keele seisundit või staatust tähistavad mõisted (nt põliskeel, autohtoonne keel, etnilise rühma keel, vähem kasutatav keel, teine riigikeel, murre, territooriumita keel, dominante keel). Juba mõistete suur hulk viitab asjaolule, et nii keelte kui ka keelte ja ühiskonna seosed on äärmiselt keerukad. EFNIL kavatseb suurendada ühiskonna teadlikkust selliste mõistete kasutamisel ning edendada nende kasutuse täpsust ametlikes dokumentides ja keelepoliitikas.

3. EFNIL käsitab kõiki keeli kultuuriliselt võrdväärtuslikena ja see kehtib ka vähemuskeelte kohta. EFNIL ei tee vahet põlis-, immigrant- ja vähemuskeelte vahel seoses õigusega saada neis keeltes teadmisi või neid keeli õppida. Seetõttu propageerib EFNIL võimalikult paljude keelte õpetamist koolis ning soovitab valitsustel tungivalt võtta vähemus-migrantkeelte suhtes ennetav hoiak, kaasates need õppekavadesse ja/või pakkudes võimaluse korral nendes keeltes haridust.

4. Väljaspool emamaad elavatele või emamaata keelekogukondadele tuleks kinnitada (nt emamaaga sõlmitud kahepoolse lepinguga või emamaata kogukondade puhul vastava õigusaktiga), et riik, mille kodanikud nad on, austab ja tõepoolest hindab keelelisi õigusi. See võib parandada rahvusvahelisi suhteid, välissuhtlust ja -kaubandust.

5. Kodanikelt eeldatakse tavaliselt teatud keele (harilikult riigi- või ametliku keele) valdamist. Kodakondsuse taotleja peab vastava keele oskust tõendama. Mõnes riigis kehtib see nõue mitmest ametlikust keelest ühe kohta. See ei tähenda, et teisi riigis kõneldavaid põliskeeli ei peaks riigi kultuuripärandi osana väärtustama. On väga murettekitav, et mõne sellise keele kõnelejaskond kahaneb viimasel ajal kiiresti. EFNIL kutsub nii valitsusi kui ka üldsust üles mõistma tunnetuslikke, ühiskondlikke, aga ka poliitilisi ja majanduslikke eeliseid, mida pakub ühiskonnale kõigi selle liikmete kaks- või mitmekeelsus.

6. Enamikus Euroopa riikides valitseb üsna keerukas keelesituatsioon, mis usaldusväärse ja värske statistika puudumise tõttu ei pruugi alati ilmne olla. Tunnistades Euroopa sotsiaalset paljusust ja vajadust sotsiaalse ühtekuuluvuse järele, pühendub EFNIL mitmekeelse kodanikkonna edendamisele ning koostööle teiste Euroopa organisatsioonidega, et koguda ja levitada usaldusväärseid andmeid ja parimaid tavasid kõnealuses valdkonnas.

en

The Dublin Declaration on the Relationship between Official Languages and Regional and Minority Languages in Europe

1. The linguistic reality varies considerably from one country to another across Europe, as a result of differing historical, social, and political conditions. EFNIL members, as national or central institutions of the EU member states, are dedicated to supporting their official, standard language(s) through language research, status/corpus planning, documentation, and policy. In addition, they have a responsibility to monitor closely the development of language use and linguistic diversity in each of their countries.

2. Terms such as "minority language" and "regional language" are usually charged with ideological meanings, as are terms such as "national language", "official language" and many others used to indicate the condition or status of a language (e.g. indigenous, autochthonous, ethnic, lesser-used, co-official, dialect, non-territorial, dominant language). The use of such a range of terms is itself indicative of the fact that the relationship between languages and between language and society is very complex. EFNIL intends to contribute to awareness-raising regarding the use of such terms and to promote their careful use in official documents and language policies.

3. EFNIL views all languages as equal in cultural value, and this of course includes minority languages. EFNIL makes no distinction between autochthonous, immigrant and minority languages when it comes to the rights of their speakers for access to knowledge and language education. To this end, EFNIL advocates the inclusion of as many languages in school curricula as possible, and urges state authorities to take a proactive approach to the inclusion of minority migrant languages in school programmes and/or to offer opportunities for accessing education in these languages whenever possible.

4. Language groups living outside their "kin-state(s)" or without a "kin-state" should be reassured (for instance by bilateral agreements as regards groups with "kin-state(s)" or by adequate legal acts regarding other groups) that the country of which they are citizens respects and indeed values linguistic rights. Such practices might contribute to improved international relations, exchange, and trade.

5. Citizens are typically expected to have a command of a particular language (usually termed the "national" or "official" language). Those wishing to acquire citizenship have to provide evidence of their competence in this language. In a few countries this requirement is applicable to one of several official languages. Nevertheless, this should not mean that other autochthonous languages, as constituent languages of the country and part of its cultural heritage, should not be valued. The rapid decline of speakers of some of these languages in recent times is a cause

for great concern. EFNIL urges state authorities and the general public to recognise the cognitive, social, and indeed political and economic advantages for the national community of the bi- or multi- lingualism of all its members.

6. In most European countries today there is a rather complicated linguistic reality which is not always visible due to lack of reliable, recent statistics. As EFNIL recognises the conditions of social plurality in Europe and the need for social cohesion, it is committed to promoting plurilingual citizenry and to working together with other European organisations, in order to collect and disseminate reliable data and best practice in this field.

es

Declaración de Dublín sobre las relaciones entre las lenguas oficiales y las lenguas regionales y minoritarias en Europa

1. La realidad lingüística en Europa varía considerablemente de un país a otro, como consecuencia de unas condiciones históricas, sociales y políticas diferentes. Los miembros de EFNIL, en tanto que instituciones nacionales o centrales de los Estados de la Unión Europea, se dedican a apoyar su(s) lengua(s) oficial(es) y estándar(es) a través de la investigación, planificación (estatus y corpus), producción de documentación y creación de políticas lingüísticas. Además, tienen la responsabilidad de seguir de cerca la evolución del uso de la lengua y de la diversidad lingüística en sus respectivos países.
2. Términos como "lengua minoritaria" y "lengua regional" tienen habitualmente una carga ideológica, mientras que otros como "lengua nacional" o "lengua oficial" se utilizan para indicar la condición o el estatus de una lengua (por ejemplo, lengua indígena, autóctona, étnica, minoritaria, cooficial, dialectal, no territorial o dominante). El uso de tal abanico de términos es, en sí mismo, revelador de la gran complejidad de las relaciones entre las propias lenguas y entre la lengua y la sociedad. EFNIL trata de contribuir a que se vaya tomando conciencia del empleo de estos términos e intenta promover su uso apropiado en documentos oficiales y políticas lingüísticas.
3. EFNIL considera que todas las lenguas cuentan con un valor cultural equivalente, incluyendo, por supuesto, las lenguas minoritarias. EFNIL no establece distinciones entre las lenguas autóctonas, las lenguas minoritarias y las habladas por los inmigrantes cuando se trata de los derechos de los hablantes a acceder al conocimiento y enseñanza de las lenguas. Con este objetivo, EFNIL aboga por la inclusión del mayor número posible de lenguas en los planes de estudio escolares y urge a las autoridades estatales a mostrarse activas en la implantación de lenguas minoritarias y de aquellas habladas por los inmigrantes en los programas escolares, así como a ofrecer posibilidades de acceso a la enseñanza en estas lenguas siempre que sea posible.
4. Las comunidades lingüísticas que viven lejos de sus países de origen o sin lazo alguno con ellos deberían tener la garantía de que el país del cual son ciudadanos respeta y además valora sus derechos lingüísticos (por ejemplo, a través de acuerdos bilaterales para las comunidades que disponen de un país de origen, o a través de disposiciones legales adaptadas, en el caso de otras comunidades). Estas prácticas pueden contribuir a mejorar las relaciones internacionales, los intercambios y el comercio.
5. Con frecuencia, se espera que los ciudadanos dominen una lengua en particular (tradicionalmente designada como lengua "nacional" u "oficial"). Quienes desean obtener la nacionalidad del país en el que residen han de demostrar su competencia

en esta lengua. En algunos países, este requisito se aplica a una de las lenguas oficiales. No obstante, esto no debería suponer un impedimento para reconocer el valor de otras lenguas autóctonas, en tanto que lenguas constituyentes del país y parte de su herencia cultural. El reciente y rápido descenso del número de hablantes de algunas de estas lenguas es un importante motivo de preocupación. EFNIL urge a los Estados y al público general a reconocer las ventajas cognitivas, sociales e incluso político-económicas para la comunidad nacional, del bilingüismo o del multilingüismo de todos sus miembros.

6. En la mayoría de los países europeos actuales existe una complicada realidad lingüística que no siempre es visible debido a la falta de datos estadísticos fiables y recientes. En la medida en que EFNIL reconoce las condiciones de la pluralidad social de Europa y la necesidad de cohesión social, se compromete a promover una comunidad plurilingüe de ciudadanos y a trabajar en colaboración con otras organizaciones europeas para recopilar y difundir datos fiables y buenas prácticas en este campo.

fi

Dublinin julistus Euroopan virallisten kielten sekä alueellisten ja vähemmistökielten suhteesta

1. Euroopan maiden kielellinen todellisuus vaihtelee hyvin paljon historiallisista, sosiaalisista ja poliittisista syistä. EFNILin jäsenillä, kansallisilla tai keskeisillä EU:n jäsenvaltioiden laitoksilla, on tehtävänä tukea virallisia kieliään kielentutkimuksen, kielen aseman ja kielenkäytön suunnittelun, aineistotyön ja kielipoliittisten toimenpiteiden avulla. Lisäksi niillä on omassa maassaan vastuu seurata kielenkäytön kehitystä ja kielellistä moninaisuutta.

2. Termit vähemmistökieli ja alueellinen kieli ovat usein ideologisesti latautuneita, samoin kuin termit kansalliskieli, virallinen kieli ja monet muut termit, joita käytetään osoittamaan kielen tilaa tai asemaa (esim. alkuperäinen, autoktoninen, etninen, vähemmän käytetty, puolivirallinen, murre, ei-alueellinen, valtakieli). Tällainen määrä termejä osoittaa osaltaan sitä, että kielten välinen suhde ja kielen ja yhteiskunnan välinen suhde ovat hyvin monimutkaisia. EFNIL pitää tärkeänä vahvistaa tietoisuuden lisäämistä näiden ilmausten käytössä ja suosittaa niiden huolellista käyttöä virallisissa asiakirjoissa ja kielipolitiikassa.

3. EFNIL pitää kaikkia kieliä kulttuurisesti yhtä arvokkaina, ja tämä koskee luonnollisesti myös vähemmistökieliä. EFNIL ei erottele autoktonisia kieliä, maahanmuuttajakieliä eikä vähemmistökieliä, kun on kyseessä näiden kielten puhujien oikeudet saada tietoa ja kielenopetusta. Siten EFNIL pitää tärkeänä, että koulun opetusohjelmassa on niin monia kieliä kuin mahdollista, ja kannustaa valtion viranomaisia laatimaan tulevaisuuteen suuntaavan strategian vähemmistökielten ja maahanmuuttajakielten kouluopetukselle ja/tai tarjoamaan mahdollisuuksia näiden kielten opetukseen, kun se vain on mahdollista.

4. Synnyinmaansa ulkopuolella asuvien kieliryhmien tai omaa synnyinmaata vailla olevien kieliryhmien pitää voida olla varmoja siitä, että maa, jonka kansalaisia he ovat, kunnioittaa ja todella pitää arvossa kielellisiä oikeuksia (esimerkiksi bilateraalisin sopimuksin, kun on kysymys ryhmistä, joilla on oma synnyinmaa, tai sopivin oikeudellisin säädöksin, kun kyseessä on muu ryhmä). Tällainen suhtautuminen voi parantaa kansainvälisiä suhteita, vaihtoa ja kaupankäyntiä.

5. Kansalaisten oletetaan yleensä osaavan tiettyä kieltä (tavallisesti tästä kielestä on käytetty termiä kansalliskieli tai virallinen kieli). Monissa maissa niiden, jotka toivovat saavansa kansalaisuuden, täytyy osoittaa osaavansa maan kieltä. Eräissä maissa tämä vaatimus koskee yhtä maan virallisista kielistä. Tämän ei kuitenkaan pidä merkitä sitä, ettei muita autoktonisia kieliä, kuten maan kulttuuriperintöön kuuluvia kieliä, pitäisi arvostaa. Viime aikoina eräiden tällaisten kielten puhujien määrän väheneminen herättää syystä laajaa levottomuutta. EFNIL kannustaa valtion

viranomaisia ja julkista valtaa tunnustamaan ne älylliset, sosiaaliset ja myös yhteiskunnalle koituvat poliittiset ja taloudelliset hyödyt, joita syntyy sen kansalaisten kaksi- tai monikielisyydestä.

6. Useimpien Euroopan maiden kielellinen todellisuus on nykyään melko monimutkainen, mikä luotettavan ja ajantasaisen tilastotiedon puuttuessa ei aina pääse näkyviin. Koska EFNIL näkee Euroopan sosiaalisen moninaisuuden ehdot ja sosiaalisen yhtenäisyyden tarpeen, se on sitoutunut tukemaan monikielistä kansalaisuutta ja työskentelemään yhdessä muiden eurooppalaisten organisaatioiden kanssa kootakseen ja levittääkseen luotettavaa tietoa ja parhaita käytänteitä tästä aihepiiristä.

fr

Déclaration de Dublin relative aux relations entre les langues officielles et les langues régionales et minoritaires en Europe

1. La réalité linguistique varie considérablement d'un pays à l'autre de l'Europe, du fait de conditions historiques, sociales et politiques différentes. Les membres de la FEILIN, en tant qu'institutions nationales ou centrales des Etat de l'Union européenne, se consacrent au soutien à leur(s) langue(s) officielle(s) et standard: ils le font à travers la recherche, l'aménagement (statuts et corpus), la production de documentation et la conduite de politiques linguistiques. Ils ont aussi la responsabilité de suivre de près l'évolution de l'emploi de la langue et de la diversité linguistique dans leur pays respectif.
2. Des expressions comme “langue minoritaire” et “langue régionale” sont souvent porteuses d'idéologies, alors que de nombreuses autres telles que “langue nationale” et “lange officielle” sont employées pour désigner la situation ou le statut d'une langue (par exemple, langue indigène, autochtone, ethnique, moins répandue, co-officielle, dialectale, non-territoriale, dominante). Le recours à un tel éventail de termes est, en lui-même, révélateur de la grande complexité des relations entre les langues elles-mêmes et entre la langue et la société. La FEILIN a l'intention de contribuer à une prise de conscience accrue concernant l'emploi de ces termes et d'en promouvoir un usage approprié dans les documents officiels et dans les politiques de la langue.
3. La FEILIN considère que toutes les langues ont une valeur culturelle égale, y compris évidemment les langues minoritaires. La FEILIN n'établit pas de distinction entre les langues autochtones, celles des migrants et les langues minoritaires, quand il s'agit de leurs droits en matière d'accès à la connaissance et d'enseignement des langues. A cette fin, la FEILIN recommande l'inclusion d'un aussi grand nombre possible de langues dans les cursus scolaires; elle presse les Etats de se montrer actifs en ce qui concerne l'inclusion des langues minoritaires et des migrants dans les programmes scolaires et d'offrir, quand c'est possible, des possibilités d'accès à l'enseignement dans ces langues.
4. Des communautés linguistiques vivant éloignées de leurs “pays d'origine” ou dépourvues d'attache avec lui devraient être assurées (par exemple au moyen d'accords bilatéraux pour les communautés disposant d'un “pays d'origine”, ou au moyen de dispositions légales adaptées concernant les autres communautés) que les droits linguistiques de l'Etat dont ils sont citoyens sont respectés et valorisés. De telles pratiques peuvent contribuer à améliorer les relations internationales, les échanges et le commerce.
5. On attend habituellement des citoyens qu'ils aient la maîtrise d'une langue en particulier (traditionnellement désignée langue “nationale” ou “officielle”). Ceux d'entre eux désireux d'acquérir la nationalité ont à fournir la preuve de leur com-

pétence dans ladite langue. Dans quelques pays, cette obligation concerne une des différentes langues officielles. Néanmoins, ceci ne devrait pas conduire à empêcher de valoriser d'autres langues autochtones, en tant qu'elles sont constitutives du pays et éléments de son héritage culturel. La baisse rapide, dans la période récente, des locuteurs de certaines de ces langues est un grand motif d'inquiétude. La FEILIN presse les Etats et le grand public de reconnaître les avantages – cognitifs, sociaux et même politiques et économiques – pour la communauté nationale du bilinguisme ou du multilinguisme de ses membres.

6. Dans la plupart des pays européens aujourd'hui, la complexité de la réalité linguistique n'est pas toujours apparente, en raison d'un manque de statistiques fiables et récentes. Dans la mesure où la FEILIN reconnaît que les sociétés en Europe se caractérisent par une pluralité de fait et une nécessité de cohésion, elle se consacre à promouvoir une communauté de citoyens plurilingue, et à travailler dans ce domaine avec les autres organisations européennes en vue de recueillir et diffuser des données et des bonnes pratiques.

ga

Rún Bhaile Átha Cliath
Faoin ngaol idir teangacha oifigiúla agus teangacha réigiúnacha agus mionlaigh san Eoraip

1. Is iomaí difríocht atá ann maidir le staid teangacha ó thír go tír trasna na hEorpa de bharr chúinsí éagsúla staire, sóisialta agus polaitíochta. Bíonn baill EFNIL, mar institiúidí náisiúnta nó lárnacha de chuid stáit de chuid bhallstát an AE tiomanta do thacaíocht a thabhairt dá dteanga(cha) oifigiúil, chaighdeánach féin trí thaighde ar theangacha, tríd an bpleanáil stádais/chorpais, tríd an gcáipéisíocht agus trí bheartais. Thairis sin, bíonn dualgas orthu géarfhaireachán a dhéanamh ar úsaid teangacha agus ar éagsúlacht teangacha ina dtíortha féin.

2. Bíonn luacháil idé-eolaíoch ag roinnt de ghnáth le húsáid téarmaí ar nós "teanga mhionlaigh" agus "teanga réigiúnach" – agus chomh maith le téarmaí ar nós "teanga náisiúnta", "teanga oifigiúil" agus tuilleadh nach iad a úsáidtear chun cur síos ar staid nó stádas teanga (m.sh. dúchasach, uatheascarthach, eithneach, neamh-fhorleathan, comhoifigiúil, canúint, neamhchríche, ceannasach). Léiríonn úsáid na dtéarmaí seo fiú a chasta is atá an gaol idir teangacha agus idir an teanga agus an tsochaí. Tá sé ar intinn ag EFNIL cur leis an bhfeasacht maidir le húsáid na dtéarmaí seo agus a n-úsáid cháiréiseach a chur chun cinn i gcáipéisí oifigiúla agus i mbeartais teanga.

3. Dar le hEFNIL tá gach teanga chomh tábhachtach lena chéile ó thaobh luacha chultúrtha, agus gan amhras áirítear teangacha mionlaigh anseo. Ní dhéanann EFNIL aon idirdhealú idir teangacha uatheascarthacha, inimircigh nó mionlaigh fad is a bhaineann le cearta lucht a labhartha ar rochtain ar eolas agus ar oideachas teanga. Chuige seo molann EFNIL a oiread teangacha agus is féidir a bheith ar churaclaim scoile agus gríosann sé na húdaráis stáit le cur chuige réamhghníomhach a ghlacadh maidir le teangacha mionlaigh inimircigh a bheith ar chláir scoile agus/nó deiseanna a thairiscint chun oideachas a fháil trí na teangacha seo nuair is féidir in aon chor é.

4. Maidir le cainteoirí teanga atá ag maireachtáil lasmuigh dá "stá(i)t fhine" nó gan "stát fine", ba chóir iad a chur ar a suaimhneas (trí chomhaontuithe déthaobhacha fad is a bhaineann le grúpaí le stá(i)t fhine nó trí achtanna dlíthiúla cuí i gcás grúpaí eile) go dtugann an tír ina bhfuil siad mar shaoránaigh inti aird, agus thairis sin, meas, ar chearta teanga. B'fhéidir go gcabhródh cleachtais mar seo leis an gcaidreamh, leis an malartú agus leis an tráchtáil idirnáisiúnta.

5. Bítear ag súil de ghnáth go mbeadh cumas ag saoránaigh i dteanga áirithe (a dtugtar an teanga "náisiúnta" nó "oifigiúil" uirthi de ghnáth). Bíonn orthu siúd ar mian leo saoránacht a bhaint amach fianaise a sholáthar ar a gcumas sa teanga seo. I roinnt tíortha bíonn an dualgas seo ar dhaoine i gcás roinnt teangacha oifigiúla. Ní hionann seo agus a rá, áfach, nár chóir meas a léiriú ar theangacha

uatheascarthacha eile, mar theangacha de chuid na tíre agus mar chuid dá hoidhreacht chultúrtha. Is ábhar imní é d'EFNIL an meath tapa atá tagtha ar líon na gcainteoirí i gcás chuid de na teangacha seo. Gríosann EFNIL na húdaráis stáit agus an pobal i gcoitinne aitheantas a thabhairt do na buntáistí cognaíocha, sóisialta agus ar ndóigh polaitíochta agus eacnamaíochta, do phobal an náisiúin ag eascairt as an dátheangachas nó ilteangachas ina measc.

6. I bhormhór na dtíortha Eorpacha sa lá atá inniu ann tá an staid maidir le cúrsaí teanga an-chasta ach ní i gcónaí a bhíonn sé soiléir gur mar sin atá de dheasca easpa staitisticí iontaofa nuashonraithe. Toisc go n-aithníonn EFNIL coinníollacha na hiolrachachta sóisialta san Eoraip agus an gá leis an gcomhtháthú sóisialta, tá sé tiomanta do shaoránacht ilteangach a chur chun cinn agus don chomhoibriú le heagrais Eorpacha eile d'fhonn sonraí iontaofa agus an dea-chleachtas sa réimse seo a bhailiú agus a scaipeadh.

is

Dyflinnaryfirlýsingin um sambandið milli opinberra tungumál, svæðisbundinna mála og minnihlutamála í Evrópu

1. Umtalsverður munur er á tungumálalumhverfi hinna ólíku Evrópulanda vegna mismunandi sögulegra, félagslegra og pólitískra aðstæðna. Meðlimir EFNIL, fulltrúar þjóðar- eða aðalstofnana aðildarríkja ESB, eru ákveðnir í að styðja við opinber(t), staðlað/stöðluð tungumál sitt/sín með tungumálarannsóknum, skipulagningu textasafna, skrásetningu og málstefnu. Auk þess hafa þeir þá skyldu að fylgjast náið með þróun tungumálanotkunar og fjölbreytileika tungumála í eigin landi.
2. Hugtök eins og "minnihlutamál" og "staðbundið mál" eru oftast hlaðin hugmyndafræðilegri merkingu, og sömuleiðis eru hugtök á við "þjóðtunga", "opinbert mál" og mörg önnur notuð til þess að gefa til kynna ástand eða stöðu tungumáls (t.d. mál innfæddra, þjóðarbrota, minna notuð mál, sam-opinbert mál, svæðisbundið mál, ríkjandi tungumál). Að slíkur fjöldi hugtaka sé notaður er í sjálfu sér ábending um að sambandið milli tungumála og milli tungumála og samfélagsins er mjög flókið. EFNIL ætlar sér að taka þátt í vitundarvakningu varðandi slík hugtök og stuðla að gætilegri notkun þeirra í opinberum skjölum og málstefnum.
3. EFNIL lítur á öll tungumál sem menningarlega jafngild og þar með eru að sjálfsögðu talin minnihlutatungumál. EFNIL gerir engan greinarmun á tungumálum innfæddra, aðfluttra og minnihluta þegar kemur að rétti þeirra til aðgangs að þekkingu og tungumálakennslu. Í þessu skyni mælir EFNIL með því að eins mörg tungumál og mögulegt er séu höfð með í kennsluskrám skóla og hvetur yfirvöld til að nálgast á forvirkan hátt spurninguna um hlutdeild minnihlutamála í kennsluefni skóla og/eða að bjóða upp á tækifæri til aðgengis að menntun á þessum málum hvenær sem mögulegt er.
4. Málnotendahópar sem búa utan "ættríkis" síns eða án "ættríkis" ættu að fá staðfestingu á (til dæmis með tvíhliða samkomulagi í tilviki hópa með "ættríki" eða með viðeigandi lagaaðgerðum í tilviki annarra hópa) að landið sem þeir eru nú borgarar í virði og meti í raun málleg réttindi. Slíkar aðgerðir gætu stuðlað að bættum alþjóðasamskiptum, verslun og viðskiptum.
5. Yfirleitt er ætlast til þess að borgarar hafi tiltekið tungumál á valdi sínu (oftast nefnt "þjóðtunga" eða "opinbert" tungumál). Þeir sem vilja öðlast þegnrétt verða að sýna fram á færni sína í þessu tungumáli. Í nokkrum löndum á þessi krafa við um eitt af nokkrum opinberum tungumálum. Engu að síður ætti það ekki að merkja að önnur tungumál innfæddra, sem tilheyra tungumálum landsins og eru hluti menningararfleifðar þess, séu ekki talin hafa gildi. Hröð fækkun þeirra sem tala sum þessara tungumála á undanförnum árum gefur ástæðu til áhyggna. EFNIL hvetur yfirvöld og almenning til þess að viðurkenna vitræna, félagslega, efnahagslega og pólitíska kosti tví- eða fjöltyngis allra meðlima ríkis fyrir þjóðarsamfélagið.

6. Í flestum Evrópuríkjum nú á dögum er frekar flókinn málvísindalegur veruleiki sem ekki er alltaf sýnilegur vegna skorts á áreiðanlegum og nýlegum tölfræðiupplýsingum. EFNIL viðurkennir aðstæður félagslegs fjölbreytileika í Evrópu og nauðsyn félagslegrar samheldni og er staðráðið í að hvetja til fjöltyngis ríkisborgara og samvinnu með öðrum evrópskum stofnunum í því skyni að safna og dreifa áreiðanlegum gögnum og bestu vinnubrögðum á þessu sviði.

it

Dichiarazione di Dublino sul rapporto fra lingue ufficiali e lingue regionali e minoritarie in Europa

1. La situazione linguistica interna dei Paesi europei presenta notevoli differenze a causa delle diverse condizioni storiche, sociali e politiche di ciascuno di essi. I membri dell'EFNIL, in qualità di istituzioni nazionali o centrali degli Stati della Ue, sono impegnati a sostenere la loro lingua o le loro lingue standard/ufficiali attraverso la ricerca linguistica, gli interventi relativi allo status della lingua e alla guida dei suoi mutamenti, la raccolta di dati e documenti, e la politica linguistica. Hanno inoltre la responsabilità di monitorare attentamente i cambiamenti relativi all'uso della lingua e alla diversità linguistica nel proprio Paese.
2. I termini "lingua minoritaria" e "lingua regionale" sono connotati sul piano ideologico dal momento che esistono altri termini, come "lingua nazionale" o "lingua ufficiale", per indicare la condizione o lo status di una lingua (es. lingua indigena, autoctona, etnica, poco diffusa, co-ufficiale, dialetto, non territoriale, dominante). L'uso di questa varietà di termini è indicativa di per sé della complessità del rapporto esistente fra le diverse lingue e fra la lingua e la società. L'EFNIL intende contribuire alla acquisizione di una maggiore consapevolezza nei confronti dell'uso di questi termini, in particolare per quanto riguarda i documenti ufficiali e la politica linguistica.
3. L'EFNIL ritiene che tutte le lingue, incluse le lingue minoritarie, abbiano pari valore sul piano culturale. L'EFNIL non fa distinzione, per ciò che riguarda l'accesso al sapere e all'educazione linguistica, fra lingue autoctone, lingue dei migranti e lingue minoritarie. A tal fine l'EFNIL sostiene l'inserimento del maggior numero possibile di lingue nei curricola scolastici ed esorta le autorità statali ad agire attivamente affinché le lingue minoritarie dei migranti abbiano una collocazione nei programmi scolastici e/o venga offerta la possibilità di accedere all'educazione in queste lingue ogni qual volta sia possibile.
4. I gruppi linguistici che vivono fuori degli Stati nei quali la loro lingua ha le sue radici o che non hanno uno Stato di riferimento dovrebbero essere garantiti – attraverso accordi bilaterali per quanto riguarda i gruppi che hanno uno Stato di riferimento, o altri accordi con valore legale per quelli che non lo hanno – in merito al rispetto e alla valorizzazione dei loro diritti linguistici. Ciò potrebbe contribuire al miglioramento delle relazioni, degli scambi e delle attività economiche internazionali.
5. È atteso che i cittadini di uno Stato abbiano una buona padronanza in una particolare lingua, generalmente definita "lingua nazionale" o "lingua ufficiale". In molti Paesi coloro che intendono acquistare la cittadinanza devono dar prova della loro competenza in tale lingua. In alcuni Stati questo requisito riguarda una sola fra più

lingue ufficiali. Ciò non deve significare che le altre lingue autoctone, in quanto elementi costitutivi del Paese e parte del suo patrimonio culturale, non debbano essere tenute in adeguata considerazione. Il recente rapido decremento del numero di parlanti di alcune di queste lingue è oggi ragione di grave preoccupazione. L'EFNIL esorta le autorità statali e i privati cittadini a riconoscere i benefici in campo cognitivo, sociale, politico e economico che derivano, per la comunità nazionale , dalla condizione di bi- o multilinguismo di tutti i suoi membri.

6. La complessa situazione linguistica esistente oggi nella maggior parte dei Paesi europei risulta talvolta poco perspicua a causa della mancanza di statistiche recenti e affidabili. L'EFNIL, riconoscendo le condizioni di pluralità sociale esistenti in Europa e la conseguente necessità di coesione sociale, si propone di promuovere il plurilinguismo dei cittadini europei e di lavorare insieme alle altre organizzazioni europee per raccogliere e far circolare dati certi e buone pratiche in questo settore.

lv

Dublinas deklarācija par oficiālo valodu un reģionālo un minoritāšu valodu attiecībām Eiropā

1. Lingvistiskā realitāte ikvienā Eiropas valstī ir atšķirīga, jo veidojusies dažadu vēsturisku, sociālu un politisku apstākļu rezultātā. EFNIL biedru – ES dalībvalstu galveno vai valstisko valodas politikas institūciju – misija ir valstu oficiālo, standartizēto valodu atbalstīšana ar zinātnisko pētījumu, kā arī valodas statusa un valodas kultūras stiprināšanas pasākumu starpniecību. Bez tam tās atbildīgas par valodas lietojuma un valodu daudzveidības monitoringu attiecīgajā dalībvalstī.

2. Tādiem terminiem kā "minoritātes valoda" un "reģionālā valoda" parasti piemīt ideoloģiska nozīme, tāpat kā terminiem "valsts valoda", "oficiālā valoda" un citiem, kas tiek lietoti valodas pozīciju vai statusa apzīmēšanai (piem., aborigēnu, autohtonām etniskām mazāk lietotā, neteritoriālā, dominējošā valoda). Tik plašs terminu lietojums jau pats par sevi liecina, ka attiecibas starp valodām un starp valodu un sabiedrību ir ļoti sarežgītas. EFNIL vēlas veicināt izpratni par šo terminu nozīmi un aicina tos apdomīgi lietot oficiālos dokumentos un valodas politikas pamatnostādnēs.

3. EFNIL pauž pārliecību, ka visu valodu kultūras vērtiba ir vienlīdzīga, un tas, protams, attiecas arī uz minoritāšu valodām. Attiecībā uz tiesībām zināšanu un valodas apguvei, EFNIL vienlīdz atbalsta autohtonās, imigrantu un minoritāšu valodas. Šai aspektā EFNIL aizstāv pēc iespējas daudzu valodu iekļaušanu izglītibas programmas un aicina valstu atbildīgās institūcijas uz proaktīvu darbību imigrantu minoritāšu valodu iekļaušanu skolu programmās un/vai veicināt izglītības peejamību šajās valodās, kur tas iespējams.

4. Lingvistiskajām grupām, kas dzīvo ārpus savas valsts vai kam savas valsts nav, būtu jānodrošina (piemēram, ar bilaterālu līgumu palīdzību ar attiecīgo valsti vai ar līdzīgiem juridiskiem aktiem, ka grupai savas valsts nav), lai valsts, kuras pilsoņi tie ir, respektētu un novērtētu viņu lingvistiskās tiesības. Šāda prakse varētu veicināt starptautisko attiecību uzlabošanos, speciālistu apmaiņu un tirdzniecību.

5. Parasti no visu valstu pilsoņiem tiek sagaidīta noteiktas valodas (parasti sauktas par valsts vai oficiālo valodu) prasme. Tiem, kas vēlas iegūt attiecīgās valsts pilsonību, ir jāapliecina šīs valodas prasme. Dažās valstis šis nosacījums attiecas uz vienu no vairākām oficiālajām valodām. Tas nebūt nenozīmē, ka citas autohtonās valodas kā neatņemama valsts kultūras mantojuma sastāvdaļa netiktu augstu vērtētas. Dažu šādu valodu straujas izzušanas process rada bažas. EFNIL aicina valstu valdības un sabiedrību pienācīgi novērtēt visu sabiedrības locekļu bilingvisma un multilingvisma kognitīvās, sociālās un arī politiskās un ekonomiskās priekšrocības.

6. Vairumā Eiropas valstu pašlaik ir samērā sarežģīta lingvistiskā realitāte, kas ne vienmēr ir skaidri redzama, jo trūkst ticamas statistikas. Tā kā EFNIL izprot Eiropas sociālo plurālismu un sociālās saliedētības nepieciešamību, šī federācija ir pārliecināta, ka jāveicina plurilingvāla pilsoņu kopuma rašanās un kopā ar citām Eiropas organizācijām darbosies, lai apkopotu datus par esošo situāciju un dalībvalstu labāko pieredzi.

le

Declaratioun vun Dublin iwwert d'Relatioun tëschent offizielle Sproochen a regionalen a Minoritéite-Sproochen an Europa

1. Déi sproochlech Realitéiten an Europa sinn als Resultat vun ënnerschiddlechen historeschen, sozialen a politeschen Hannergrënn an deenen eenzelne Länner ganz verschidden. D'Membere vun der EFNIL sinn als national oder zentral Institutioune vun de Memberstaate vun der Europäescher Unioun dofir do, hir offiziell Standardsprooch(en) duerch Sproochfuerschong, Status- a Korpusplanung, Dokumentatioun a Sproochepolitik ze ënnerstëtzen. Doriwwer eraus hu si eng Responsabilitéit, fir d'Evolutioun vum Sproochegebrauch a vun der sproochlecher Diversitéit an deenen eenzelne Länner genee ze suivéieren.

2. Begrëffer wéi "Minoritéitesprooch" a "Regionalsprooch" hunn normalerweis eng ideologesch chargéiert Bedeitong, grad ewéi Begrëffer wéi "Nationalsprooch", "offiziell Sprooch" a vill anerer, déi geholl gi fir den Zoustand oder de Status vun enger Sprooch ze charakteriséieren (ë.a. indigène Sprooch, autochthon Sprooch, ethnesch Sprooch, manner gebrauchte Sprooch, co-offiziell Sprooch, Dialekt, net territorial Sprooch, dominant Sprooch). De Gebrauch vun esou engem Eventail vu Begrëffer weist u sech schonns duerops hinn datt d'Relatiounen tëschent de Sproochen ënnerteneen an tëschent enger Sprooch an der Gesellschaft ganz komplex sinn. D'EFNIL ass gewëllt, dozou bäizedroen datt dës Begrëffer méi iwwerluecht gebraucht ginn, an hiren ëmsiichtege Gebrauch an offiziellen Dokumenter an an der Sproochepolitik ze stäipen.

3. D'EFNIL betruecht all Sproochen als kulturell gläichwäerteg, wat evidenterweis och fir Minoritéitesprooche gëlt. D'EFNIL mécht keen Ënnerscheed tëschent autochthone Sproochen, Immigrantesproochen a Minoritéitesproochen, wann et ëm hir Rechter beim Zougank zum Wëssen an zum Léiere vu Sprooche geet. Dofir setzt d'EFNIL sech a fir eng Integratioun vu méiglechst ville Sproochen an d'Léierpläng a fuerdert déi staatlech Autoritéiten nodrécklech op, sech proaktiv mat der Integratioun vu minoritaire Migrantesproochen an d'Programmer vun de Schoulen auserneen ze setzen an iwwerall do, wou dat méiglech ass, Geleeënheete fir den Zougank zu enger Formatioun an dëse Sproochen ze offréieren.

4. Spriechergruppen, déi baussent hirem "Heemechts-Staat" respektiv hiren "Heemechts-Staaten" oder ouni en "Heemechts-Staat" liewen, sollten (beispillsweis duerch bilateral Ofkommes am Fall vu Spriechergruppen mat engem oder méi "Heemechts-Staat(en)" oder duerch adequat legal Texter am Fall vun anere Gruppen) zougeséchert kréien, datt dat Land, deem seng Bierger si sinn, hir sproochlech Rechter respektéiert an doriwwer eraus och valoriséiert. Eng Approche an dësem Sënn kéint dozou bäidroen fir déi international Relatiounen, d'Echangen an de Commerce ze verbesseren.

5. Vun de Bierger gëtt fir gewéinlech erwaart, datt si eng bestëmmte Sprooch (déi normalerweis als “national” oder “offiziell” Sprooch bezeechent gëtt) maîtriséieren. Deen, deen déi respektiv Nationalitéit wëllt kréien, muss seng Kompetenz an dëser Sprooch noweisen. An e puer Länner gëlt dëse Nowäis fir eng vun e puer offizielle Sproochen. Dat sollt ower net heeschen, datt aner autochthon Sproochen als integral Sprooche vum Land an als Deel vu sengem kulturelle Patrimoine net och sollen opgewäert ginn. De rapide Réckgank vun der Zuel vun de Spriecher vu verschiddene vun dëse Sproochen a leschter Zäit gëtt uerg ze denken. D'EFNIL fuerdert déi staatlech Autoritéiten an d'Ëffentlechkeet am Allgemengen op, déi kognitiv, gesellschaftlech an doriwwer eraus och déi politesch an ekonomesch Avantagë vun der Zwee- oder Méisproochegkeet vun alle Membere vun der nationaler Communautéit fir dës Communautéit unzeerkennen.
6. Déi meescht europäesch Länner sinn hautgesdaags charakteriséiert vun enger éischter komplexer sproochlecher Realitéit, déi ower net ëmmer kloer ze erkennen ass, well keng verléisslech a rezent statistesch Donnéeën doriwwer virleien. D'EFNIL unerkennt d'Viraussetzunge fir e gesellschaftleche Pluralismus an Europa an d'Noutwennegkeet vun enger sozialer Kohäsioun an engagéiert sech fir d'Promotioun vun enger méisproocheger Citoyennetéit a fir eng Zesummenaarbecht mat aneren europäeschen Organisatiounen fir fiabel Donnéeën an optimal Praktiken an dësem Beräich beieneen ze bréngen a weider ze ginn.

lt

Dublino deklaracija dėl oficialiųjų kalbų ir regioninių bei mažumų kalbų santykio Europoje

1. Dėl skirtingų istorinių, socialinių ir politinių aplinkybių kalbinė tikrovė Europos šalyse labai įvairuoja. EFNIL narės – ES šalių valstybės institucijos arba svarbiausios įstaigos – yra įgaliotos padėti savo valstybių oficialiajai, bendrinei kalbai (-oms) kalbos tyrimais, jos statuso ar sistemos planavimu, dokumentais ir politika. Be to, jos atsakingos už atidžią kalbų vartojimo ir kalbinės įvairovės raidos savo šalyse stebėseną.

2. Tokiems terminams kaip "mažumų kalba" ir "regioninė kalba", kaip ir terminams "valstybinė kalba", "oficialioji kalba" bei daugeliui kitų terminų, kuriais siekiama nurodyti kalbos būklę ar statusą (pvz., vietinė, autochtoninė, etninė, mažiau vartojama, viena iš oficialiųjų, tarminė, neteritorinė, vyraujanti kalba), paprastai teikiama ideologinė reikšmė. Jau vien tokių terminų gausa liudija faktą, kad santykis tarp kalbų ir tarp kalbų bei visuomenės yra labai sudėtingas. EFNIL pasiryžusi prisidėti prie geresnio tokių terminų supratimo ir skatinti tinkamą jų vartojimą oficialiuosiuose dokumentuose ir kalbos politikoje.

3. EFNIL požiūriu, visos kalbos savo kultūrine verte yra lygios, tai neabejotinai pasakytina ir apie mažumų kalbas. EFNIL nedaro skirtumo tarp autochtonų, emigrantų ir mažumų kalbų jų teisių į žinias ir kalbų mokymąsi kontekste. Tuo tikslu EFNIL pasisako už tai, kad į mokymo turinį būtų įtraukta kiek įmanoma daugiau kalbų, ir ragina atsakingas šalių institucijas imtis veiksmingų priemonių siekiant įtraukti migrantų mažumų kalbas į mokyklų programas ir (arba) pagal galimybes sudaryti sąlygas mokytis šiomis kalbomis.

4. Kalbinės grupės, gyvenančios už savo "gimtosios" valstybės (-ių) ribų arba tokios neturinčios, turi būti tikros (pavyzdžiui, turinčios "gimtąją" valstybę grupės – sudarant dvišales sutartis, kitos grupės – priimant atitinkamus teisės aktus), kad valstybė, kurios piliečiai jie yra, gerbia kalbines teises ir iš tikrųjų jų paiso. Tokia praktika turėtų padėti plėtoti tarptautinius santykius, mainus ir prekybą.

5. Iš piliečių paprastai tikimasi gero tam tikros kalbos (paprastai vadinamos valstybine arba oficialiąja kalba) mokėjimo. Tie, kurie siekia pilietybės, turi pateikti šios kalbos mokėjimo patvirtinimą. Kai kuriose šalyse šis reikalavimas keliamas dėl vienos iš kelių oficialiųjų kalbų. Tačiau tai neturėtų reikšti, kad kitos autochtoninės šalies kalbos, kaip jos kultūros paveldo sudedamoji dalis, neturi būti vertinamos. Spartus asmenų, kalbančių kai kuriomis iš šių kalbų, skaičiaus mažėjimas pastaraisiais metais kelia didelį nerimą. EFNIL ragina atsakingas šalių institucijas ir plačiąją visuomenę pripažinti pažintinę, socialinę ir ypač politinę bei ekonominę naudą, kurią šalių bendruomenėms teikia visų jų narių dviejų ar daugiau kalbų mokėjimas.

6. Daugumoje Europos šalių kalbinė tikrovė šiandien yra gana sudėtinga, bet dėl patikimos naujausios statistikos stygiaus ne visada matoma. Kadangi EFNIL pripažįsta socialinės įvairovės sąlygas ir socialinės sanglaudos poreikį Europoje, ji įsipareigoja skatinti gyventojų daugiakalbystę ir drauge su kitomis Europos organizacijomis dėti pastangas, kad būtų kaupiami ir skleidžiami patikimi šios srities duomenys ir geroji praktika.

hu

Dublini Nyilatkozat a hivatalos nyelvek, valamint a regionális nyelvek és kisebbségi nyelvek közötti kapcsolatról Európában

1. Európában a nyelvi valóság a különböző történelmi, társadalmi és politikai viszonyok miatt az egyes országok között jelentősen eltér. Az EFNIL tagjai mint az EU tagállamainak nemzeti és központi intézményei nyelvtudományi kutatások, státusz-/korpusztervezés, dokumentáció és a szakpolitika segítségével elkötelezetten támogatják saját hivatalos, standard nyelvüket/nyelveiket. Emellett az adott országban a nyelvhasználat fejlődésének és a nyelvi sokféleségnek a folyamatos nyomon követése is a feladatkörükhöz tartozik.
2. A "kisebbségi nyelv" és a "regionális nyelv" kifejezésekhez gyakran ideológiai tartalmak társulnak, ugyanez igaz a "nemzeti nyelv", a "hivatalos nyelv" és számos egyéb, az egyes nyelvek viszonyainak vagy státuszának meghatározására szolgáló elnevezés (pl. őshonos, autokton, etnikai, kevésbé használt, második hivatalos, nyelvjárási, területhez nem kötődő, domináns nyelv) esetében is. Önmagában az, hogy ilyen sok elnevezés használatos, is azt jelzi, hogy maguk a nyelvek, valamint a nyelv és a társadalom közötti viszony rendkívül összetett. Az EFNIL célja, hogy tájékoztató munkát végezzen ezeknek az elnevezéseknek a használatával kapcsolatban, és ösztönözze ezeknek a kifejezéseknek a hivatalos dokumentumokban és a nyelvi szakpolitikákban való elővigyázatos használatát.
3. Az EFNIL szerint minden nyelv, így természetesen a kisebbségi nyelvek is ugyanolyan kulturális értékkel bírnak. Az EFNIL a tudáshoz és nyelvoktatáshoz való hozzáférés jogának kérdésében nem tesz különbséget autokton, bevándorló és kisebbségi nyelv között. Az EFNIL éppen ezért támogatja a lehető legtöbb nyelv iskolai tantervbe való beépítését, valamint arra hívja fel az állami hatóságokat, hogy proaktív megközelítéssel támogassák a kisebbségi migráns nyelvek iskolai tantervbe való beépítését és/vagy biztosítsanak lehetőséget arra, hogy az oktatáshoz a lehetőségekhez képest ezeken a nyelveken is hozzá lehessen férni.
4. Azoknak a nyelvi csoportoknak, amelyek "anyaországukon" kívül élnek vagy nincs "anyaországuk", megerősítést kell nyújtani (például az "anyaországgal" rendelkezők esetében kétoldalú megállapodások vagy a többi csoport esetében megfelelő jogszabályok formájában) arra nézve, hogy az ország, amelynek az állampolgárai közé tartoznak, tiszteletben tartja őket, és valóban figyelembe veszi a nyelvi jogokat. Ezek az intézkedések hozzájárulhatnak a nemzetközi viszonyok, cserekapcsolatok és kereskedelem fellendítéséhez.
5. Egy adott állam polgárának jellemzően egy bizonyos nyelven kell tudni beszélni (ezt általában "nemzeti" vagy "hivatalos" nyelvnek nevezik). Azoknak, akik fel szeretnék venni az állampolgárságot, igazolniuk kell, hogy az adott nyelven megfelelő szintű nyelvtudással rendelkeznek. Néhány országban ez a kívánalom

a több hivatalos nyelv egyikére vonatkozik. Ez azonban nem jelenti azt, hogy a többi autokton nyelvet – mint az ország alapvető nyelvét és kulturális örökségének részét – ne illetné tisztelet. Komoly aggodalomra ad okot, hogy néhány ilyen nyelv beszélőinek száma a közelmúltban hirtelen lecsökkent. Az EFNIL arra hívja fel az állami hatóságokat és a közvéleményt, hogy a nemzeti közösség minden tagjára nézve ismerje el a két- és többnyelvűséggel járó, az egész nemzeti közösséget érintő kognitív, társadalmi, sőt politikai és gazdasági előnyöket.

6. Ma a legtöbb európai országban igen összetett nyelvi valósággal találkozunk, amely megbízható, friss statisztikák hiányában nem mindig szembeötlő. Mivel az EFNIL tiszteletben tartja az európai társadalmi pluralitás viszonyait és a társadalmi kohézió szükségességét, a szervezet elkötelezetten támogatja a polgárok soknyelvűségét, valamint a megbízható adatok és a szakterület legjobb gyakorlatainak összegyűjtését és terjesztését szolgáló, más európai szervezetekkel végzett közös munkát.

mt

Id-Dikjarazzjoni ta' Dublin fuq ir-relazzjonijiet bejn l-ilsna uffiċjali u l-ilsna reġjonali u minoritarji fl-Ewropa

1. B'riżultat ta' kundizzjonijiet storiċi, soċjali u politiċi differenti, ir realtà lingwistika tvarja mhux ftit minn pajjiż għal ieħor matul l Ewropa. Il membri ta' EFNIL, bħala istituzzjonijiet nazzjonali jew ċentrali tal istati membri tal UE, huma mixħuta biex jagħtu appoġġ lil lingwa/i uffiċjali u standard tagħhom permezz tar riċerka lingwistika, il pjanifikazzjoni tal istatus u l korpus, id dokumentaz-zjoni u l politika lingwistika. Barra minn dan, għandhom ir responsabbiltà li jsegwu mill qrib l iżvilupp tal użu tal lingwi u tad diversità lingwistika f'kull wieħed mill pajjiżi tagħhom.

2. Termini bħal "lingwa minoritarja" u "lingwa reġjonali" x'aktarx ikunu mgħobbija b'tifsir ideoloġiku, u l istess jiġrilhom termini bħal "lingwa nazzjonali", "lingwa uffiċjali" u ħafna oħrajn li jintużaw biex jindikaw il qagħda jew l istatus ta' lingwa (e.g. lingwa indiġena, awtoktona, etnika, inqas użata, kouffiċjali, mhux territorjali, dominanti, djalett). L użu ta' firxa hekk wiesgħa ta' termini diġà jindika li r relazzjoni bejn il lingwi u bejn il lingwa u s soċjetà hija komplessa ħafna. EFNIL beħsiebha tagħti sehemha biex titqajjem kuxjenza dwar l użu ta' termini bħal dawn u tippromwovi l użu għaqli tagħhom f'dokumenti uffiċjali u f'politiki lingwistiċi.

3. EFNIL tqis l ilsna kollha ndaqs fis siwi kulturali tagħhom, u dan – m'għandniex xi ngħidu – jinkludi l lingwi minoritarji. EFNIL ma tagħmel l ebda distinzjoni bejn il lingwi awtoktoni, tal immigranti u minoritarji fejn jidħlu l jeddijiet tagħhom għall aċċess għall għarfien u għall edukazzjoni lingwistika. Għal dan il għan, EFNIL hija tal parir li fil kurrikula tal iskejjel jidħlu kemm jistgħu lingwi, u tinsisti mal awtoritajiet statali biex jieħdu passi proattivi biex il lingwi minoritarji tal migranti jiddaħħlu fil programmi tal iskejjel u/jew biex, kull meta jkun possibbli, joffru opportunitajiet għall aċċess għall edukazzjoni b'dawn il lingwi.

4. Il komunitajiet lingwistiċi li jgħixu barra mill istat omm tagħhom, jew li m'għandhomx stat omm, għandu jkollhom moħħhom imserraħ (ngħidu aħna, permezz ta' ftehimiet bilaterali fejn jidħlu l komunitajiet bi stat/i omm jew b'atti legali adegwati fejn jidħlu l komunitajiet l oħra) li l pajjiż li huma ċittadini tiegħu jirrispetta u jgħożż id drittijiet lingwistiċi. Imġiba bħal din tista' tgħin biex jitjiebu r relazzjonijiet, l iskambju u l kummerċ internazzjonali.

5. Tipikament, ikun mistenni miċ ċittadini li jkollhom ħakma ta' lsien partikolari (x'aktarx imsejjaħ lingwa "nazzjonali" jew "uffiċjali"). Min ikun jixtieq jikseb iċ ċittadinanza jkun irid jagħti xhieda ta' ħiltu f'din il lingwa. Fi ftit pajjiżi din il ħtieġa tkun tapplika għal waħda minn diversi lingwi uffiċjali. Madanakollu, dan m'għandux ifisser li lingwi awtoktoni oħra, bħala lingwi kostitwenti tal pajjiż u

parti mill wirt kulturali tiegħu, m'għandhomx jiġu apprezzati. It tnaqqis mgħaġġel ta' kelliema ta' wħud minn dawn il lingwi f'dawn l aħħar żminijiet iħassibna mhux ftit. EFNIL tappella bil qawwa kollha lill awtoritajiet statali u lill pubbliku inġenerali biex jagħrfu l vantaġġi konjittivi, soċjali, u mhux inqas politiċi u ekonomiċi li tista' tgawdi l komunità nazzjonali mill bilingwiżmu u l multilingwiżmu tal membri kollha tagħha.

6. Illum fil biċċa l kbira tal pajjiżi Ewropej hemm realtà lingwistika x'aktarx ikkumplikata li mhux dejjem tidher ċar minħabba n nuqqas ta' statistika reċenti ta' min jorbot fuqha. Billi EFNIL tagħraf il kundizzjonijiet ta' pluralità soċjali fl Ewropa u l ħtieġa għall għaqda soċjali, hija impenjata biex iġġib 'il quddiem iċ ċittadinanza plurilingwi u biex taħdem id f'id ma' organizzazzjonijiet Ewropej oħra sabiex tiġbor u xxerred tagħrif ta' min jorbot fuqu u l aħjar imġiba f'dan il qasam.

pl

Deklaracja dublińska w sprawie relacji między językami urzędowymi a regionalnymi i mniejszościowymi w Europie

1. Znaczne różnice sytuacji językowej w poszczególnych krajach Europy wynikają z odmiennych warunków historycznych, społecznych i politycznych. Członkowie EFNIL-u, jako ogólnokrajowe lub centralne instytucje państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej, mają na celu wspieranie swoich urzędowych standardowych języków przez badania językoznawcze, programowanie statusu/korpusu, dokumentację i politykę językową. Ponadto spoczywa na nich obowiązek uważnego śledzenia zmian w używaniu języka i językowym zróżnicowaniu w swoich krajach.
2. Terminy takie, jak język mniejszościowy i język regionalny są zwykle nacechowane ideologicznymi znaczeniami podobnie jak terminy język narodowy, język urzędowy i wiele innych używanych do określania sytuacji lub statusu języka (np. tubylczy, autochtoniczny, etniczny, mniej używany, współurzędowy, dialekt, język nieterytorialny, dominujący). Samo używanie takiej rozmaitości terminów świadczy o tym, że stosunki między językami oraz między językiem a społeczeństwem są bardzo złożone. Intencją EFNIL-u jest przyczyniać się do wzrostu świadomości co do używania takich terminów i do działań na rzecz ich rozważnego używania w oficjalnych dokumentach i w polityce językowej.
3. EFNIL traktuje wszystkie języki, oczywiście łącznie z językami mniejszościowymi, jako równe pod względem wartości kulturowej. EFNIL nie widzi różnicy między językami autochtonicznymi, imigracyjnymi i mniejszościowymi, jeśli chodzi o prawa dostępu ich użytkowników do wiedzy i edukacji językowej. W tym celu EFNIL opowiada się za włączeniem tak wielu języków, jak to tylko możliwe do szkolnych programów i apeluje do władz państwowych o proaktywne podejście do sprawy uwzględniania migracyjnych języków mniejszościowych w programach szkolnych i/lub o stwarzanie możliwości dostępu do edukacji w tych językach, kiedy tylko jest to możliwe.
4. Grupy językowe mieszkające poza swoim macierzystym krajem czy macierzystymi krajami lub nie mające macierzystego kraju należy upewnić (na przykład przez dwustronne umowy, jeśli chodzi o grupy mające swe macierzyste państwo lub państwa albo przez odpowiednie akty prawne, jeśli chodzi o pozostałe grupy językowe), że kraj, którego są obywatelami, respektuje i rzeczywiście ceni prawa językowe. Takie obyczaje mogą się przyczynić do poprawy stosunków międzynarodowych, wymiany i handlu.
5. Od obywateli zazwyczaj się oczekuje opanowania pewnego języka (zwykle określanego jako język narodowy lub urzędowy). Osoby zaś, które chcą uzyskać obywatelstwo, muszą dostarczyć dowodu jego znajomości. W niektórych krajach to wymaganie odnosi się do jednego z kilku języków urzędowych. Tym niemniej,

nie należy tego rozumieć, że inne autochtoniczne języki, jako języki używane w tym kraju i część jego dziedzictwa kulturalnego nie zasługują na to, by je cenić. Szybki spadek liczby użytkowników któregoś z tych języków w ostatnim czasie powinien budzić wielki niepokój. EFNIL apeluje do władz państwowych i ogółu społeczeństwa do uznania poznawczych, społecznych oraz w samej rzeczy politycznych i ekonomicznych korzyści dla wspólnoty narodowej wynikających z dwu- lub wielojęzyczności jej wszystkich członków.

6. W większości krajów europejskich utrzymuje się dziś dość skomplikowana rzeczywistość językowa, która nie zawsze jest widoczna ze względu na brak wiarygodnych, aktualnych danych statystycznych. Skoro zaś EFNIL opowiada się za pluralizmem społecznym w Europie i uznaje potrzebę spójności społecznej, jest tym samym zobowiązany do promowania wielojęzykowego społeczeństwa i wspólnej pracy razem z innymi organizacjami europejskimi na rzecz gromadzenia i rozpowszechniania wiarygodnych danych i najlepszych obyczajów w tej dziedzinie.

pt

Declaração de Dublin as relações entre as línguas oficiais e as línguas minoritárias e regionais na Europa

1. A variedade linguística que a Europa apresenta é resultante de condicionalismos de ordem histórica, social e política. Os membros da EFNIL, que representam quer instituições nacionais ou centrais dos países dos Estados-Membros da EU, dedicam-se, a apoiar a investigação linguística e as diversas políticas de língua no que diz respeito às respectivas línguas oficiais e norma(s) linguística(s). Também têm a responsabilidade de monitorizar o desenvolvimento da diversidade linguística nos respectivos países que representam.

2. Termos como "línguas minoritárias" e "línguas regionais" estão, normalmente, carregados de sentidos ideológicos, assim como as expressões "línguas nacionais", "línguas regionais" são usadas para indicar a estatuto da língua ou ainda, por exemplo, indígena, autóctone, étnico, dialecto, não territorial, língua dominante. O uso desta variada terminologia indica por si só que as relações entre as línguas e entre as línguas e a sociedade é muito complexa. A EFNIL pretende contribuir para a sensibilização do cuidado que deve ser posto no uso destas diferentes expressões, nomeadamente, em documentos oficiais e no âmbito das políticas de língua.

3. A EFNIL atribui a todas as línguas igual valor cultural, incluindo, naturalmente, as línguas ditas minoritárias. A EFNIL não faz qualquer distinção entre línguas autóctones, imigrantes ou minoritárias quando se trata da defesa dos seus direitos ao acesso ao conhecimento e à educação. Assim, a EFNIL defende a importância da inclusão do maior número de línguas possível nos currículos escolares e aconselha veementemente as autoridades a tomarem atitudes proactivas neste sentido para serem criadas oportunidades de acesso à educação nessas línguas, sempre que possível.

4. Os grupos linguísticos que vivem fora do seu território ou que não o têm, deverão ser defendidos e apoiados por acordos bilaterais ou por legislação adequada para que os países onde cidadãos pertencentes a estes grupos residem garantam, de facto, o respeito pelos seus direitos linguísticos. Estas práticas contribuirão para o incremento de relações internacionais em diversas áreas, culturais, comerciais e outras.

5. Espera-se que todos os cidadãos tenham proficiência linguística numa determinada língua, dita, normalmente, "oficial" ou "nacional". Os que desejam adquirir a cidadania têm de provar a sua competência nessa língua. Em alguns países este procedimento é aplicado a uma ou várias línguas. No entanto, isto não deve impedir a validade e o reconhecimento de outras línguas autóctones que são herança cultural dos países. O rápido declínio de falantes de algumas destas

línguas, nestes tempos mais recentes, é preocupante. A EFNIL chama a atenção das autoridades estatais e público em geral para as vantagens culturais, sociais, politicas e económicas do bi- ou do multilinguismo de todos os cidadãos.

6. Na maior parte dos países europeus, existe hoje uma realidade linguística complexa que necessita de ser tratada estatisticamente. Como a EFNIL reconhece as condições desta pluralidade sociolinguística na Europa e também a necessidade de uma coesão social, está empenhada em promover uma cidadania plurilingue, trabalhando com outros organismos europeus para recolher, tratar e divulgar dados e informação com vista a melhores práticas neste domínio.

ro

Declarația de la Dublin privind relațiile între limbile oficiale şi limbile regionale şi minoritare în Europa

1. Datorită condițiilor istorice, sociale şi politice diferite, realitatea lingvistică variază semnificativ de la o țară la alta a Europei. Membrii FEINL, în calitate de instituții naționale sau centrale ale statelor Uniunii Europene, se angajează în susținerea limbilor oficiale şi standard ale respectivelor state prin activități de cercetare, reglementări (statute şi corpusuri), realizarea de material documentar şi orientarea politicii lingvistice. Membrilor FEINL le revine deasemenea responsabilitatea de a urmări îndeaproape evoluția utilizării limbii şi a diversității lingvistice în propria țară.
2. Expresii precum limbă minoritară şi limbă regională sunt adesea expresia unor ideologii în timp ce numeroase alte expresii precum limbă națională şi limbă oficială sunt folosite pentru a desemna situația sau statutul unei limbi (de exemplu limbă indigenă, autohtonă, etnică, mai puțin răspândită, co-oficială, dialectală, neteritorială, dominantă). Recursul la un asemenea evantai de termeni este prin el însuşi elocvent pentru marea complexitate a relațiilor între limbi şi între limbă şi societate. FEINL intenționează să contribuie la o mai mare conştientizare a utilizării adecvate a acestor termeni şi să promoveze o întrebuințare corectă a acestora în documentele oficiale şi în politicile privind limbile.
3. FEINL consideră că toate limbile au o valoare culturală egală, inclusiv limbile minoritare. FEINL nu face deosebire între limbile autohtone, limbile migranților şi limbile minoritare atunci când este vorba despre drepturile lor în ceea ce priveşte accesul la cunoaştere şi la învățarea lor. În acest scop, FEINL recomandă includerea în curicula şcolară a unui cât mai mare număr de limbi, insistă ca statele să se manifeste activ în privința introducerii limbilor minoritare şi ale migranților în programele şcolare şi să asigure, atunci când este posibil, condiții de acces la învățământul în aceste limbi.
4. Comunitățile lingvistice ce trăiesc departe de țara lor de origine sau nu au legături cu aceasta ar trebui să fie asigurate (de exemplu, prin acorduri bilaterale în cazul comunităților care au o țară de origine sau prin dispoziții legale adaptate pentru celelalte comunități) că drepturile lingvistice ale statului, ai căror cetățeni sunt, sunt respectate şi puse în valoare. Astfel de practici pot contribui la ameliorarea relațiilor internaționale, a schimburilor şi a comerțului.
5. În mod obişnuit, se aşteaptă ca cetățenii să cunoască foarte bine cu precădere o limbă (desemnată tradițional ca limbă națională sau oficială). Aceia dintre ei care doresc să obțină naționalitatea respectivă trebuie să facă dovada competenței lor în utilizarea acelei limbi. În câteva țări, această obligație priveşte una dintre diferitele limbi oficiale. Acest lucru nu ar trebui însă să împiedice valorizarea altor limbi

autohtone în măsura în care acestea aparţin ţării respective şi fac parte din moştenirea culturală a acesteia. Scăderea rapidă, în perioada actuală, a numărului vorbitorilor unora dintre aceste limbi constituie un motiv serios de îngrijorare. FEINL insistă ca statele şi marele public să recunoască avantajele- cognitive, sociale şi chiar politice şi economice- pe care le reprezintă pentru comunitatea naţională bilingvismul sau multilingvismul membrilor săi.

6. În majoritatea ţărilor europene de astăzi, complexitatea realităţii lingvistice nu este mereu evidentă din cauza lipsei unor statistici fiabile şi actualizate. În măsura în care FEINL recunoaşte că societăţile din Europa se caracterizează printr-o pluralitate de fapt şi o nevoie de coeziune, ea se angajează să acţioneze în acest domeniu împreună cu celelalte organizaţii europene pentru culegerea şi difuzarea de date şi bune practici.

sk

Dublinská deklarácia o vzťahu medzi úradnými a menšinovými jazykmi v Európe

1. Jazyková realita je ako výsledok historických, sociálnych a politických podmienok v jednotlivých európskych krajinách značne diferencovaná. Členovia EFNILu sa ako národná či ústredná inštitúcia členských štátov EÚ usilujú o podporu svojich úradných, štandardných jazykov v oblasti jazykovedného výskumu, plánovania ich statusu, korpusov a dokumentovania, ako i jazykovej politiky. Majú navyše aj zodpovednosť za to, že starostlivo moniturujú vývoj jazykového úzu a jazykovej rôznosti v každej zo svojich krajín.

2. Označenia typu "menšinový jazyk" a "regionálny jazyk" bývajú zaťažené ideologickým obsahom, podobne ako ho majú pomenovania "národný jazyk" a "úradný jazyk", ktoré sa používajú na označenie situácie či statusu nejakého jazyka (napr. domáceho, autochtónneho, etnického, menej používaného, poloúradného, nárečového, neteritoriálneho či dominantného jazyka). Uplatňovanie takejto širokej škály názvov samo osebe naznačuje, že vzťah medzi jazykmi a medzi jazykom a spoločnosťou je veľmi zložitý. EFNIL sa usiluje prispieť k zvýšenému a uvedomenejšiemu uplatňovaniu takýchto označení a pričiniť sa o ich presné používanie v oficiálnych dokumentoch a v jazykovej politike.

3. EFNIL vníma všetky jazyky ako rovnocenné čo do kultúrnej hodnoty, čo sa, samozrejme, týka aj jazykov menšín. EFNIL nerobí nijaký rozdiel medzi autochtónnymi jazykmi, jazykmi prisťahovalcov či jazykmi menšín, ak ide o ich práva na prístutp k poznaniu a jazykovému vzdelávaniu. Preto je EFNIL za to, aby sa do školných osnov zahrnulo čo najviac jazykov a vyzýva štátne orgány k aktívnemu prístupu pokiaľ ide o začlenenie menšinových migrujúcich jazykov do školských programov a/alebo o ponuku príležitostí umožňujúcich prístup ku vzdelávaniu v týchto jazykoch všade tam, kde je to možné.

4. Jazykové skupiny, ktoré žijú mimo svojho "materského štátu", príp. ho nemajú, treba uistiť (napríklad bilaterálnymi zmluvami týkajúcimi sa "materského štátu", alebo zodpovedajúcimi zákonnými krokmi vzťahujúcimi sa na iné skupiny) o tom, že krajina, ktorej sú občanmi, ich jazykové práva rešpektuje a váži si ich. Takáto prax môže prispieť k zlepšeniu medzinárodných vzťahov, výmene a obchodu.

5. Od občanov sa obvykle očakáva, že ovládajú svoj jazyk (zvyčajne označovaný ako "štátny" či "úradný"). Tí, čo sa usilujú o získanie občianstva, musia v tomto jazyku aj preukázať svoju kompetenciu. Táto požiadavka sa uplatňuje v niektorých krajinách na jeden z niekoľkých úradných jazykov. To by však nemalo znamenať, že by sa nemali oceňovať aj ďalšie autochtónne jazyky ako konštituentné jazyky tvoriace súčasť kultúry danej krajiny. Nedávny prudký pokles hovoriacich niektorými

z takýchto jazykov je dôvodom na znepokojenie. EFNIL vyzýva štátne orgány i širokú verejnosť, aby uznala kognitivne, sociálne a vlastne aj politické a ekonomické výhody dvojjazyčnosti či viacjazyčnosti pre danú národnú komunitu.

6. Vo väčšine európskych krajín prevláda dnes pomerne zložitá jazyková realita, ktorá však nie je v dôsledku nedostatku spoľahlivých a čerstvých štatistických údajov vždy zrejmá. Pretože členovia EFNILu sú si vedomí situácie sociálnej plurality v Európe i potreby sociálnej kohéznosti, kladú si za cieľ podporovať viacjazyčné občianstvo a spolupracovať s ďalšími európskymi organizáciami, aby sa tak umožnil zber a šírenie spoľahlivých údajov a aby sa v tejto oblasti vybudovala adekvátna prax.

sl

Dublinska deklaracija o razmerju med uradnimi jeziki ter pokrajinskimi in manjšinskimi jeziki v Evropi

1. Jezikovna resničnost je po evropskih državah dokaj različna, saj so jo v vsaki oblikovale drugačne zgodovinske, družbene in politične okoliščine. Efnilove članice so kot državne ali osrednje ustanove držav članic EU zavezane podpiranju svojih uradnih, zbornih jezikov z jezikovnimi raziskavami, statusnim/korpusnim načrtovanjem, jezikovnim dokumentiranjem in jezikovno politiko. Hkrati so dolžne bedeti nad tem, kaj se v njihovih državah dogaja z jezikovno rabo in jezikovno raznoterostjo.
2. Izraze kot "manjšinski jezik" in "pokrajinski jezik" navadno zaznamujejo ideološki odtenki, in isto velja za izraze kot "narodni jezik", "uradni jezik" in mnoge druge, ki se uporabljajo za poimenovanje položaja ali statusa jezika (denimo prvoselski, avtohtoni, narodnostni, manj rabljeni, souradni, narečni, brezozemeljski, dominantni jezik). Raba tolikerih izrazov že sama od sebe govori, da je razmerje med jeziki ter med jezikom in družbo zelo zamotano. Efnilov namen je prispevati k ozaveščanju glede rabe tovrstnih izrazov in se zavzemati za to, da bi se v uradnih listinah in jezikovnopolitičnih programih uporabljali premišljeno.
3. Efnil ima vse jezike, vštevši kajpada manjšinske, za kulturno enako vredne. Efnil ne dela razlike med avtohtonimi, priseljenskimi in manjšinskimi jeziki, ko gre za pravice njih govorcev do dostopa do znanja in jezikovnega izobraževanja. V ta namen Efnil zagovarja, naj se v učne načrte vnese čim več jezikov, in priporoča državnim oblastem, naj bodo proaktivne pri vključevanju manjšinskih priseljenskih jezikov v šolske programe in/ali omogočajo priložnosti za dostop do izobrazbe v teh jezikih, kadar se le da.
4. Jezikovne skupine, ki žive zunaj svojih "matičnih držav" ali so brez nje, bi morale imeti zagotovilo (npr. v obliki dvostranskih sporazumov z "matičnimi državami" ali ustreznih pravnih predpisov v primeru preostalih skupin), da država, katere državljani so, spoštuje in čisla jezikovne pravice. Takšno ravnanje bi utegnilo boljšati mednarodne odnose, izmenjavo in trgovino.
5. Od državljanov se praviloma pričakuje, da bodo vešči določenega jezika (navadno imenovanega "državni" ali "uradni"). Prosilci za državljanstvo morajo dokazati, da so temu jeziku zadovoljivo priučeni. To pa ne bi smelo pomeniti, naj drugi avtohtoni jeziki, kot jeziki sogradniki države in del njene kulturne dediščine, ne bodo cenjeni. Naglo upadanje števila govorcev nekaterih od teh jezikov v zadnjem času je razlog za upravičeno zaskrbljenost. Efnil apelira na državne oblasti in občo javnost, naj pripoznajo spoznavne, družbene in seveda politične in gospodarske prednosti, ki jih državni skupnosti prinaša dvo- ali večjezičnost vseh njenih pripadnikov.

6. Za večino evropskih držav je danes značilna dokaj zapletena jezikovna resničnost, a spričo pomanjkanja zanesljivih, svežih podatkov ni vselej vidna. Ko Efnil pripoznava okoliščine družbene pluralnosti v Evropi in potrebo po družbeni koheziji, se zavezuje pospeševati mnogojezičnost državljanov in delovati skupaj z drugimi evropskimi organizacijami v prid zbiranju in razširjanju zanesljivih informacij in najboljših ravnanj na tem področju.

sv

Dublindeklarationen om förhållandet mellan officiella språk och regional- och minoritetsspråk i Europa

1. Den språkliga verkligheten varierar avsevärt från land till land i Europa, som ett resultat av olika historiska, sociala och politiska förhållanden. Efnils medlemmar, nationella eller centrala institutioner i EU:s medlemsstater, har som uppdrag att stödja sitt (sina) officiella standardspråk genom språkforskning, status- och korpusplanering, dokumentation och riktlinjer. Dessutom har de ett ansvar att noga övervaka utvecklingen av språkanvändningen och språklig mångfald i varje land.
2. Termer som minoritetsspråk och regionalt språk är ofta ideologiskt laddade, liksom termer som nationalspråk, officiellt språk och många andra som används för att ange ett språks tillstånd eller status (t.ex. inhemskt, autoktont, etniskt, mindre använt, halvofficiellt, dialektalt, icke-territoriellt, dominerande språk). Förekomsten av ett sådant utbud av termer tyder i sig på att förhållandet mellan språk och mellan språk och samhälle är mycket komplext. Efnil avser att bidra till ökad medvetenhet om användningen av sådana uttryck och att främja en genomtänkt användning av dem i officiella dokument och inom språkpolitiken.
3. Efnil ser alla språk som jämbördiga i kulturellt avseende, och detta inkluderar naturligtvis minoritetsspråken. Efnil gör ingen åtskillnad mellan inhemska språk, invandrar- och minoritetsspråk när det gäller rätten till tillgång till kunskap och språkundervisning. I detta syfte förespråkar Efnil införandet av så många språk på skolschemat som möjligt, och uppmanar de nationella myndigheterna att anta en proaktiv strategi för införandet av minoritetsspråk och invandrarspråk i skolan och erbjuda möjligheter till utbildning i dessa språk när så är möjligt.
4. Språkgrupper som bor utanför sitt "fädernesland" eller saknar "fädernesland" skall kunna känna sig säkra på (till exempel genom bilaterala avtal när det gäller grupper med "fädernesland" eller genom lämpliga rättsakter om andra grupper) att det land där de är medborgare respekterar och faktiskt värdesätter språkliga rättigheter. Sådant förhållningssätt kan bidra till förbättrade internationella relationer, utbyte och handel.
5. Medborgarna förväntas vanligtvis ha kunskaper i ett visst språk (vanligen kallat *nationellt* eller *officiellt språk*). I några länder måste de som önskar förvärva medborgarskap bevisa sin kompetens på detta språk I några länder är detta krav tillämpligt på ett av flera officiella språk. Detta bör dock inte innebära att andra inhemska språk, som ingår i landets kulturarv, skall bedömas som mindre värdefulla. Den snabba minskningen av talare av vissa av dessa språk på sista tiden ger anledning till stor oro. Efnil uppmanar statliga myndigheter och allmänheten att erkänna de kognitiva, sociala och även politiska och ekonomiska fördelar för samhället av två- eller flerspråkighet hos sina medborgare.

6. I de flesta europeiska länder råder i dag en ganska komplicerad språklig verklighet, som till följd av bristen på tillförlitlig och aktuell statistik inte alltid är synlig. Eftersom Efnil inser villkoren för social mångfald i Europa och behovet av social sammanhållning, har det förbundit sig att främja flerspråkigt medborgarskap och att arbeta tillsammans med andra europeiska organisationer för att samla in och sprida tillförlitliga uppgifter och bästa praxis på detta område.

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European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL): Members and associate member institutions

For detailed information on EFNIL and its members see www.efnil.org

Member institutions grouped by country

Austria	***Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum*****,** Graz Austrian Centre for Language Competence
	Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur**,** Wien Federal Ministry for Education, Art, and Culture
Belgium	***Service de la langue française*****,** Bruxelles French Language Service
	Nederlandse Taalunie**,** Den Haag Dutch Language Union (Flanders and The Netherlands)
Bulgaria	***Българска академия на науките, Институт за български език*****,** Sofia Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Bulgarian Language
Czech Republic	***Ústav Českého národního korpusu Univerzity Karlovy*****,** Praha Institute of Czech National Corpus, Charles-University
Denmark	***Dansk Sprognævn*****,** København Danish Language Council
Estonia	***Eesti Keelenõukogu*****,** Tallin Estonian Language Council
	Eesti Keele Instituut**,** Tallin Institute of the Estonian Language
Finland	***Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus / Forskningscentralen för de inhemska språken*****,** Helsinki/Helsingfors Research Institute for the Languages of Finland
France	***Délégation Générale à la langue française et aux langues de France*****,** Paris General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France
Germany	***Institut für Deutsche Sprache*****,** Mannheim Institute for the German Language
	Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung**,** Darmstadt German Academy for Language and Literature

Greece	***Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*****,** Thessaloniki Centre for the Greek Language
Hungary	***Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Nyalvtudományi Intézet*****,** Budapest Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Institute for Linguistics
	Oktatási és Kulturális Minisztérium**,** Budapest Ministry for Education and Culture
Ireland	***Foras na Gaeilge*****,** Dublin (the all-island body for the Irish language)
Italy	***Accademia della Crusca*****,** Firenze (the central academy for the Italian language)
	CNR – Opera del Vocabolario Italiano**,** Firenze The Italian Dictionary
Latvia	***Valst valodas komisija***, Riga State Language Commission
	Valsts valodas aģentūra, Riga State Language Agency
Lithuania	***Lietviu Kalbos Institutas*****,** Vilnius Institute of the Lithuanian Language
	Valstybine Lietuviu Kalbos Komisija**,** Vilnius State Commission for the Lithuanian Language
Luxembourg	***Institut Grand-Ducal, Section de linguistique*****,** Luxembourg Grand Ducal Institute, Linguistic Section
	Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise**,** Luxembourg Permanent Council of the Luxembourgish language
Malta	***Kunsill Nazzjonali ta'l-llsien Malti*** National Council of the Maltese language
Netherlands/Belgium	***Nederlandse Taalunie*****,** Den Haag Dutch Language Union
Poland	***Rada Jezyka Polskiego*****,** Warszawa Council for the Polish Language
Portugal	***Instituto Camões*****, *Lisbõa*** (the institution for the promotion of Portuguese language and culture)
Romania	***Academia Româna, Institutul de Lingvistica*****,** Bucureşti Romanian Academy, Institute of Linguistics
	Academia de Studii Economice Bucureşti Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies

Slovakia	***Jazykovedný ústav Ľudovíta Štúra Slovenskej*****,** Bratislava Slovak Academy of Sciences, Ludovit Stúr Institute of Linguistics
Slovenia	***Ministrstvo za kulturo - Sektor za slovenski jezik*****,** Ljubljana Ministry of Culture, Section for the Slovenian language
Spain	***Real Academia Española*****,** Madrid Royal Spanish Academy
Sweden	***Språkrådet*****,** Stockholm The Swedish Language Council
United Kingdom	***Oxford English Dictionary*****,** Oxford
	British Council

Associate member institutions

Iceland	***Íslensk málnefnd***, Reykjavik Icelandic Language Council
Norway	***Språkrådet*****,** Oslo Norwegian Language Council