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Dominated Languages in the 21st Century: Papers from the International Conference on Minority Languages XIV

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2015

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Foreword

In September 2013 the 14th International Conference on Minority Languages was hosted by the Plurilingualism Research Unit of *treffpunkt sprachen* / University of Graz in collaboration with [spi:k] – Sprache, Identität, Kultur and Pavel Haus / Pavlova hiša. The conference was held under the patronage of UNESCO. For three days researchers from various fields discussed recent findings, research approaches and challenges with respect to the conference topic “Dominated Languages in the 21st Century”. While ICML XIV continued the tradition of ICML to focus on the minority languages of Europe, the conference in Graz also tried to expand the scenery of ICML to the study of minority languages in other parts of the world. The present volume, which is an issue of the newly founded publication series Grazer Plurilingualismus Studien, illustrates the diversity of papers presented at the Graz conference, as it contains diverse sociolinguistic topics and methodological approaches, as well as studies on minority languages from different parts of the world. The individual papers are presented in four thematic sections.

The first section *Language rights and language policy measures* is opened by Sezin Öney, who gives a critical and historical overview of language rights in Turkey and illustrates the contemporary social and political situation in terms of language diversity. Diverse forms of domination and subordination are present in the case of Turkey, but also in countries like India, which recognizes 21 languages as official regional languages. In his paper, Abhimanyu Sharma presents the unique case of India, where, despite policy measures, many languages are not under sufficient protection and are regarded as endangered. He analyses the complex linguistic situation, which causes various kinds of language conflicts, and questions Indian language policy principles. With respect to Inuit communities in northern Canada, Verena M. Hofstätter addresses prospects but also problematic challenges which have scarcely been incorporated in language policy measures, such as language promotion. Hofstätter demonstrates the correlation between officially authorising language minority rights and actual promotion. Zaira Vidau also highlights the importance of promoting language rights and sanctions. She gives an overview of language policy measures in the Friulia Venezia Giulia region of Italy based on a new national and regional frame for the protection of historical linguistic minorities. Hendrik Johannes Lubbe provides insights into language policy in South Africa with respect to the right of minority groups to receive education in their mother tongue. Based on litigation of the last three decades he demonstrates the anglicising pressure being applied by the government. The fact that language is used as an instrument for political domination and control is also illustrated by the last paper of this section. Hanna Vasilevich’s contribution, which fo-

cuses on the political discourse debating the titular language in Belarus, analyses the connection between national identity and language policy. She furthermore examines the dominant status of Russian and its impact on society and individual language use.

The second section covers *Minority language planning* in three different settings. Heinike Heinsoo and Eva Saar exemplify the functional paradigm of languages without a written standard by discussing the case of Votic and Ingrian, two highly endangered Finnic languages. The contribution provides an overview of initiatives made on the codification of small languages. Julian Maia-Larretxea and Nerea Badiola-Urbe focus on one particular feature in language planning, the organization of word order in Basque prose. The authors examine various approaches throughout the 20th and 21st century, which have been influenced by the sociocultural situation in the Basque country such as challenges presented by the existing bilingualism and the advancing globalization. In the final contribution focusing on minority language planning, Sara Brezigar proposes a framework model for the comprehensive evaluation of the status quo and developmental perspectives of national minorities in her contribution and applies this model to the Slovene minority in Italy.

The third part of this volume deals with *Minority languages in education* and is opened by Rhian Siân Hodges, who draws our attention to new Welsh speakers. While Welsh is being incorporated in school-based language revitalization strategies, language use beyond the classroom is decreasing. Therefore, Hodges's study concentrates on parents' perception of their children's language choices and shows that the relationship between language use context and family language background is significant. Devan Jagodic addresses the topic of teaching and learning Slovene as a second/foreign language among the population in the Italian-Slovene border region. The author provides an overview of the topic from historic and present-day perspectives, as well as insights into an empirical study concerned with learners' intentions, expectations, acquired skills and language use. The contribution by Lucija Čok and Irina Moira Cavaion describes a strategy which aims at providing adolescents who are learning minority languages with the opportunity for linguistic interchange with peers across the border in the Italian-Slovene border region. Since the strategy consists of virtual and live contacts, it responds to recent social challenges resulting from globalization and technological development. A different aspect of language education is covered by Felix Etxeberria. To analyse the evaluation of pupils speech production in Basque, the author reviews existing literature and compares recordings of oral tests from native and immigrant school children. His contribution intends to give impulses for further educational practices in the field of language education.

The fourth and last section assembles articles in regard of *Language attitudes and linguistic identities*. The paper by Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska highlights the correlation between language, attitudes and identity, which not only depends on each individual's decisions, but is strongly influenced by society's perception. By using ethnographic methods, the author studied young Kashubs and their views on identification with the ethnic minority, culture and language.

Speakers' choices and attitudes depend on personal views, but are further related to society and social changes. Agnes Grond and Mehmet Bozyil describe their research on language use of an extended tribal fisher family in southeast Turkey which demonstrates the development from being naturally plurilingual to the domination of Turkish. Besides analysing a corpus of spontaneous speech, the authors carry out interviews to obtain a deeper understanding of the language situation.

A similar methodological approach is used by Eva Wohlfarter when analysing speakers from the official Slovene minority in Austria who have migrated from autochthonous areas to urban settings. Her participants' reflections on living conditions and linguistic experiences in different environments indicate that the reality of autochthonous minorities is not limited to ascribed geographical areas and speakers do not necessarily associate their migration with a loss of linguistic identity.

The last paper describes an educational programme on local minority literatures in South Tyrol. Neval Berber analyses a teaching method that is concerned with identity formation and language issues within the Cimbrian minority community. She concludes that interpreting literature in a minority language is a useful tool to raise awareness in participants from both minority and majority groups in multilingual societies and enables the reflection of linguistic identities.

We believe that this volume makes a valuable contribution to the study of minority languages and we hope that it provides an interesting and informative read to scholars from various disciplines interested in the field of minority languages.

*Barbara Schrammel-Leber
Christina Korb*

LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND LANGUAGE POLICY MEASURES

Sezin Öney

“De facto rights”: Language rights in Turkey – from active repression to passive denial

Abhimanyu Sharma

Language conflicts, dominance and linguistic minorities in India

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an analysis on the basis of litigation in South Africa since 1996

Hanna Vasilevich

Belarus: Minoritarization of the titular language?

Sezin Öney

“De facto rights”: Language rights in Turkey – from active repression to passive denial

In contemporary Turkey, linguistic rights do not exist de jure as there are no “language rights”, neither recognized nor secured by the state in any of Turkey’s legal texts. Moreover, education in the mother tongue is still banned by the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası) dating from the military junta rule in 1982. Until the 1990s, there was active repression of language rights by the way of preventing and/or hostility towards the public use of local mother tongues, specifically Kurdish. This article questions how and why linguistic rights continue to be denied in Turkey’s context. In this work, there is an extensive overview of Turkey’s social, political and historical background in terms diversity of languages and approaches to languages, with emphasis over the three historical critical junctures: nation-making process, the significance of the Lausanne Treaty and the process of European Union membership candidacy. This article argues that, indeed there has been some progress achieved in terms of practices of language rights, but the changes only amount to abandonment of active repression of linguistic rights. Current state stance is passive denial of language rights with lack of legal protection of language rights, rendering them “de facto practiced” with even the most optimistic analysis. Without legal protections, political and state recognition of linguistic affiliations as “rights”, it is not inconceivable that a major relapse might occur, especially given the fact that regression towards active repression continue to occur through criminal investigations and criminal court cases.

1. Introduction

In contemporary Turkey, cultural diversity has now, finally come to be regarded as an aspect of the country’s heritage. Ironically, such a normal attitude, meaning recognition of cultural diversity, is regarded as a huge step towards democratization. Nevertheless, there is no paradigm shift, accompanied by legal securing and even, political advocacy of linguistic rights. Therefore, still, linguistic rights continue existing *de facto*; but not *de jure*. Hence, there are no “language rights” neither recognized nor secured by the state in any of Turkey’s contemporary legal texts. On the contrary, as key right in terms of language rights, education in the mother tongue is still banned

by the *Constitution of the Republic of Turkey* (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası) dating from 1982, rising doubts about the long term prospect for the freedom of local languages without further legal guarantees.

Why does Turkey refrain from securing linguistic rights?

The main argument of this work is that the lack of legal commitment evidences continuity of the old paradigm in Turkey through the ejection of linguistic rights, rather than through a transformation affirming the existence of such rights. In fact, there *is* change. The state tradition of endorsing uniformity for the sake of avoiding recognition of diversity changed its ways; the former policy of active repression is replaced by passive denial of acknowledging that language rights are actually, *rights*.

This article first presents an overview of Turkey’s social, political and historical background in terms diversity of languages and approaches to languages. There is a specific emphasis on education throughout the article, as this aspect was and is the most contested issue in case, serving as a litmus test of the general status of linguistic rights¹ in Turkey. Secondly, the article looks into changes brought by the process of European Union membership candidacy, and contemporary legislative and practical changes. This article argues that, while there has been some progress achieved in terms of practices of language rights, these small attainments are illusionary as they are not secured by any legal framework. Lack of legal protection renders language rights, “*de facto* rights” with even the most optimistic analysis. Turkey’s “*de facto*” practice is in stark contrast with most of the European Union member countries, and European countries in general, where language rights (despite any problems they might be facing), by and large, either have constitutional guarantees or have some level of legal grounding. As argued elsewhere, in European Union countries, “there is enough legal basis to say that linguistic rights form part of the general principles of law, since European states have cooperated in and signed up to conventions aimed at protecting minority languages and indeed minorities themselves.” (Urrutia and Lasagabaster 2008: 500). In fact, Turkey features as the only country in Europe, purposely blocking language rights through constitutional provisions. Therefore, whilst Turkey is not imposing “linguicide” (linguistic genocide) as argued by Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak (at least not anymore) (Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak 1995: 366–367), indirect means to render language rights “null and void” continue to exist in more indirect manners.

1 In this article, the term “language rights” and linguistic rights are used interchangeably to denote both the individual and collective rights and freedoms to prefer, speak and utilize in any form, the language or languages for communication in private and/or public.

2. The background to language rights in Turkey

Nobel Laureate Harold Pinter wrote the play “Mountain Language” in 1988, inspired by a trip to Turkey in the mid-1980s. In Pinter’s play, a soldier scolds a woman belonging to a ‘minority’: “You are mountain people [...]. Your language is dead. It is forbidden” (Pinter 1989: 11). Pinter’s play was not out of pure imagination; his ‘source of inspiration’ was the public ban the Kurdish language faced at the times of his visit. *The Law on the Publications in Languages other than Turkish* (Türkçeden Başka Dillerle yapılacak Yayınlar Hakkında Kanun) No: 2932 dated 19 October 1983 (legislated by the military rule of the 1980 coup) specifically targeted prohibiting the public use of Kurdish. This law was repealed on 12 April 1991, replaced by *The Law of Fight Against Terrorism* (Terörle Mücadele Kanunu) No: 3713. According to Article 2 of the law, “It is forbidden to express, promote or publish thoughts in any language apart from the primary official language of states recognized by the Turkish State”.

The key target of the legislation to cite the rather ambiguous term, “any language apart from the primary official language”, was to rule out Kurdish, as it did not have such a status in other states. In a similar vein, allusion to “states recognized by the Turkish State” was to prevent *de facto* recognition of Kurdish as an official, primary language of a potential future Kurdish state. Furthermore, there were publications, broadcasting (even on public channels) and education in primary languages of other states, such as English, French, and German. Turkey’s state’s fears that the public use of Kurdish would lead to development and strengthening of Kurdish national identity was one of the primary reasons for the aforementioned repression. But the authoritarian laws and domineering political attitudes towards the Kurdish language inflamed the Kurdish nationalist debates even further.

Because of the specific historical context, inevitably, the majority of the debates concerning “linguistic rights” takes the case of Kurdish as main reference point, or even as the authoritative, unique case. But in fact, all local languages other than the official language Turkish and the “Western languages” used in modern education, such as French, English and German, have been facing suppression and diminishing usage since the early days of the Republic. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the most recent version of UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* of 2010 cites 18 local languages facing danger of ‘extinction’ in Turkey. According to UNESCO’s Atlas, approximately 2,500 languages are considered as endangered; the ones listed for Turkey are: Abaza, Abkhaz, Adyge, Cappadocian Greek, Gagauz, Hértevin, Homshetsma (Hemşince), Judezmo, Kabard Cerkes, Laz, Mlahso, Pontic Greek, Romani, Suret, Turoyo, Ubıkh, Western Armenian, Zazaki.

Truly enough there has been a certain level of improvement in terms of legal amendments; as well as the emergence of public and political consciousness about

the protection of local languages. Since the 1990s, very slowly some "progressive" legal amendments finally rendering public use of local languages "unbanned" in the last decade. Kurdish received the primary political attention in terms of legal amendments, as the recognition of Kurdish ethno-cultural identity, primarily based on linguistic rights, has become the key item of public debate, especially since the 2000s. In other words, the Kurdish Question and also the protracted conflict going on since 1984, starting in the southeast of Turkey (the area mostly inhabited by Kurds) between the Turkish security forces and the armed insurgent Kurdish group Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan-PKK) has left its imprint over the general debate of language rights. Therefore, in the last decades, the PKK-military conflict determined the fate of all ethnic and linguistic identity debates in Turkey. As the fighting and related violence claimed more than 50,000 lives and 300 billion Turkish liras according to official figures in the last 30 years, the Turkish state has been primarily concerned with the dilemma of rejecting and/or accommodating Kurdish as far as local languages are concerned. Hence, historically and in contemporary times, the debate of linguistic rights was and is identified with Kurdish in Turkey.

Likewise, for a majority part of the Kurds, securing of language rights is singled out as the foremost and most crucial of their demands from the state. The PKK, and affiliated political parties, too, have been advocating the "right to language" in an ever more vocal manner for the last decade. As a consequence of this complex picture, due to the entanglement of the Kurdish Question, clashes with the PKK and the concept of language rights a conundrum exists: "linguistic rights" have come to be synonymous with "security concerns". But even before, since the foundation of the Republic, the topic of linguistic rights has come to be perceived as a matter of "national security". This is because linguistic rights were historically regarded as the first step paving the way towards 'secession' and internal ethnic strife by the Turkish state. The process of nation-building and securitization of language will be discussed in the following parts of this article.

Nevertheless, especially with the political momentum built by the European Union accession process, there has been a certain level of improvement during the 2000s regarding rights and freedoms in general, including the practice of linguistic rights. Moreover, since 2009, the peace process named as the "Kurdish Initiative" by the government of *Justice and Development Party* (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP), has led to a gradual easing of state pressure over, specifically, Kurdish. As a result of these two critical junctures leading to easement of public use in the case of Kurdish, all local languages in general benefited. In other words, once the state's "securitization" (and thus, problematization) of the Kurdish language has eroded, the general pressure over linguistic rights lessened. As of the 2010s speaking in various local languages is not regarded as a crime nor is prevented by the state. Kurdish, which has been perceived as a threat by the state for decades, is now the primary language that

receives the state's support and assistance in terms of providing of educational facilities and development of linguistic studies. Having affirmed the "progressive side", it should be emphasized that the state assistance for education in and study of the local languages is at a very basic level. This article argues that the practical changes regarding language rights in Turkey have not been legally secured, and the fundamental state and political approach towards local languages have not been essentially transformed, amounting to passive denial of language rights whereas the former approach was active repression.

2.1. Turkey's population and ethnic groups

Turkey has a multi-ethnic, multi-faith, multilingual society, quite contrary to the commonly cited stereotype that it is a country with "over 90% Turkish, Muslim population". In fact, as the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey inherited a highly heterogeneous demography. In his book on ethnic groups in Turkey, P.A. Andrews cites 47 ethnic groups (Andrews 1992). Among the public in general, the commonly cited stereotype is that there are "72 and a half" diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic groups in Turkey, the half being the Roma.²

Nonetheless, there are neither any current official figures nor identification of the ethnic groups in Turkey. The last official mapping of the country's ethno-linguistic profile took place during the 1965 census. In this census, the population of Turkey was determined as, 31,391,421 people, and of them 28,289,680 people declared that their primary language and mother tongue is Turkish. The other 'predominant' language named as mother tongue after Turkish was Kurdish, with 2,219,502 speakers. There were other censuses that gathered data on languages in 1927, 1935, 1945 and 1955 and just as in the 1965 census, Kurdish featured as the second. However, there is no official data on ethnic and linguistic groups since almost half a century. Turkey's last census was in 2013 and the population was numbered as 76,667,864 and the number of Kurds, as the biggest ethnic group aside from Turks, are said to be ranging from 7–12%, according to various unofficial sources.

All available contemporary studies and records are based on unofficial estimates and concur that the biggest ethnic group in Turkey, aside from the Turks, are the Kurds. However, among those who call themselves "Turks", there are also Albanians, Arabs, the "Balkan immigrants" (originating from Bosnia, Macedonia, Bulgaria), a range of Caucasian people who are generally referred to as Circassians, Laz, Pomak,

2 It is interesting that this stereotypical approach is followed on by the current Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who declared that he wanted the mosque that would be built in the Çamlıca Hills overlooking Bosphorus (his signature project) to have a 72.5 meter minaret.

Roma, Chechen and Tatars, as well as Kurds. Another group predominantly classified as “Turkish”, are the Roma of Turkey. They are in fact divided into three groups themselves: Dom, residing in the southern and eastern parts of Turkey, Lom are in the Black Sea Region, and Rom are mostly in western and central Anatolia and the Thracian Region (neighbouring Greece and Bulgaria).

Each of these groups has their own mother tongue and there are also subdivisions among certain groups. For example, among those referred to as “Kurdish”, there are also the Zaza, who regard themselves as a wholly different ethnic group, with a different mother tongue. But some Kurds regard the Zaza as a part of their ethnic identity. As far as the Roma are concerned, the three groups, Dom, Lom and Rom, all have their own mother tongues, Domari, Lomari and Romani. In a similar vein, Circassians, too, have two distinct languages: East and West Circassian (both of which are also called Adige); the eastern one Adıgəbzə (referred to as Kabarday) and the western one Adıgəbzə.

Aside from the ethnic groups, there are also religious ones. Turkey’s most well-known religious minorities are Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, as their rights are specifically protected as legally recognized “Non-Muslim minorities” by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. But there are other religious groups, who are non-Muslims: Baha’is, Chaldeans, Georgians, Maronites, Nestorians, Protestants and Assyrians are among those. Among the Muslim communities, there are those who observe different practices of Islam. Turkey’s Muslims are predominantly of the Sunni sect, but among the diverse sects within the umbrella of Islam are also those like the Alevi and Caferi communities. Some of these sects are characterized by linguistic diversity, as well. There are some Alevi who have Arabic, Kurdish, and Zaza as their mother tongues. Alternatively, some of the Caferi who are Shia Muslim, have Farsi and Azeri as their primary language.

2.2. Turkey’s historical-political context and local languages

As much ethno-cultural and ethno-cultural multiplicity, the Republic of Turkey inherited a “strong state” tradition from the Ottoman Empire (Heper 1987). “Strong state” tradition refers to a preference of highly centralized institutional structures and the bureaucratic intention to retain a high degree of control over communal and individual attitudes and behaviour. The *Strong State Thesis* pointed out that Turkey has a “transcendental state”, striving to be omnipresent in all aspects of its citizens’ lives. In another much cited thesis, it is also contended that “every society has a centre”, and in the case of Turkey, the centre is positioned around the state and it is strong and domineering (Mardin 1969, 1973).

Literature of nationalism theories have pointed out the symbiotic linkage between state centralization, arising of nationalism as an ideology and the process of

nation-state building (Anderson 1983, Hobsbawn 1990). Likewise, Gellner argued that nationalism is “a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent”(Gellner 1983: 1). Following the same thread, Hroch defined a nation as “a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical) and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness”. Hroch also emphasized the roles of “memory of a common past, treated as a destiny of the group”, “a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of social communication within the group or beyond it” and “a conception of the equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society” in creating a national identity (Hroch 1996: 79).

In the case of Turkey, the ideological assertion of ethno-linguistic homogeneity and the instrumentalization of the administrative centralization for ensuring national unification, have turned “language” into a primarily political matter since the early days of the Republic, founded in 1923. The “Founding fathers” of the Turkish Republic believed that they had to unify the ethnically and linguistically diverse population of the country under a homogenous Turkish identity of a monolithic nation to ensure the national integrity of the state. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader of the transformation period from the Empire to the Republic, implemented sweeping “Westernizing” political and social reforms when the new state of Turkey was founded. Some of these changes were not met with enthusiasm at least in a section of the public, as centuries old ways of living were altered in just a matter of some years (Shaw and Shaw 1977: 384–385). Consequently, there were various protests and uprisings. The most serious of them was the Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925. The Rebellion was led by both the members of the nationalist Kurdish group *Azadi* (Freedom), formed by both the former Ottoman Kurdish elite and the Kurdish militia who fought in the Turkish Independence War in 1919–1923, as well as the Kurdish religious leaders (Bozarslan 1991). This revolt was decisive in solidifying the new Republic’s stance on pursuing ‘Turkification’ policies in terms of asserting cultural homogeneity; and the diverse ethnic identities were increasingly perceived as “security threats” and “obstacles” for modernization and Westernizing reforms.

The perceived threat of the Kurdish identity was also due the primacy attributed to the language as the cement of the new nation. Therefore, the new nation demanded acculturation of all citizens and adoption of the Turkish cultural identity, refuting any submerged distinctiveness (for the importance of language in the development of the early Republican ideal of nationalism, see: Aytürk 2004). As the ideological indoctrinator of the Republic until his death in 1938, Atatürk evidenced his special interest in the Turkish language with regard to nationalism as follows: “Those who say that I am from the Turkish nation should absolutely and prior to everything speak Turkish” (Toros 1981: 39).

Primarily, legal steps were taken for asserting Turkish as the only administrative language of the new state, and later on they were supplemented with ideological contextualization, institutional framing and media-based popular campaigning. Article 2 of the Constitution of 1924 declared Turkish as the only official language of the Republic and Article 12 announced that citizens who do not speak Turkish were not eligible to become parliamentarians. While Turkish was being glorified, the use of other languages was severely suppressed. For example, the *Eastern Rehabilitation Plan* (Şark Islahat Planı), legislated in 1925 stated that: “Those who use another language than Turkish in cities, provinces, state and governmental buildings, schools, markets and bazaars [...] will be considered as violating [...] laws and will be punished” (Cemal 2003: 377).

After a period of parliamentary debate, the Latin alphabet was adopted instead of the Arabic script of the Ottoman times in 1928. The bureaucracy and the public were mandated to learn the new script in one year and for this purpose centralized national schools were opened. All the citizens between the ages 16 and 40 were required to undergo this mandatory schooling. Some municipalities even undertook drives to fine those who did not speak Turkish on the street, prior to the Alphabet Reform. In the 1930s, the popular campaign, with the slogan “Citizen! Speak Turkish” began all over the Republic with the support of the media. Simultaneously, there were efforts by the state to ‘distill’ the Turkish language, by discarding many foreign words that entered into the language mostly from Arabic and Farsi, but also from French, Greek, Italian (Aytürk 2004). These efforts were formalized by the foundation of the *Association for Research on the Turkish Language* (TDTC - Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti), founded in 1932. The TDTC’s task was to supervise linguistic research and to ‘purify’ the Turkish language through the elimination of foreign words. Languages that influenced the “Ottoman language”, especially Arabic and Persian, were perceived as symbols of “backwardness” associated with Islam (Fishman 1975: 79–80).

TDTC was renamed as *Institution for Research on the Turkish Language* (Türk Dilini Araştırma Kurumu) and finally as *Turkish Language Institution* (Türk Dil Kurumu) in the course of the 1930s. In 1934, the *Last Name Law* (Soyadı Kanunu) was legislated, mandating that everyone assumes Turkish last names, and first names that are not ‘Turkish’ were also banned. Likewise, all the district and location names that were in other languages than Turkish were changed and new names in Turkish were given.

After the initial founding period, the ideological indoctrination of Atatürk’s reforms, Kemalism, started emphasizing ethnic/cultural nationalism, alongside territorial/civic nationalism. Efforts to erect national dignity and to promote the Turkish identity took “race” oriented overtures, as well. The *Turkish History Thesis* (Türk Tarih Tezi), presented at the First Congress of Turkish History in 1932, propagated that the Turkish race is “an ancient and a magnificent race” that was mixed with other races through unremitting migrations. According to the Thesis, the gist of Turkish race was deemed as language. Subsequently, the *Sun Language Theory* (Güneş Dil Teorisi) of

1936 carried further the “national superiority” claims, proclaiming that all languages of the world originated from Turkish.

Alongside language, in relation to it, education was another subject that the Republican elite prioritized in policy-making. Early Republican years witnessed the consolidation of the place of the Turkish language, Turkish nationalism, Turkish history and Turkish culture/civilization in textbooks and the creation of the educational credo aiming at ‘making of’ loyal and Kemalist citizens true to the “national character”.

In 1946, Turkey went over to the multiparty system, but democracy was marred in the coming decades with coup d’états, and the conservative, nationalist and populist rhetoric of the main political parties. There was intense political polarization from the late 1960s to early 1980s, and public opinion became severely divided between left and right wing movements, with sporadic armed clashes erupting among the armed left and right wing militant groups, leading to thousands of deaths. Especially from the mid-1970s onwards up until the 1980 coup d’état, most of the secondary and higher education institutions were absorbed by one political ideology or another, becoming venues of violence. During all these decades, educational institutions also suffered heavily because of repressive state policies. But, the Army’s seizure of power in 1980 introduced the toughest direct grip over the educational system by institutionalizing a highly centralized and penetrating system of checks and balances. The 1982 Constitution, which is still in effect despite a number of amendments, asserted the legal illegitimacy of mother tongue education in languages aside from Turkish, and this affirmation is still in operation.

As this rough overview of the history of Republican Turkey suggests, one of the key aims of the state was to control education and to endorse Turkish as a tool for asserting the national identity. In that sense, multilingualism has also been perceived as a threat to national unity. From left wing to right, from junta rule to civilian governments, the cherishing and protection of the ‘indivisibility of the national unity’, as it has been frequently phrased in legislations, remained among the foremost targets of the state, regardless of political leanings. The Preamble of the 1982 Constitution, that is in effect as of 2015, starts as follows: “In line with the concept of nationalism and the reforms and principles introduced by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk, the immortal leader and the unrivalled hero, this Constitution, which affirms the eternal existence of the Turkish nation and motherland and the indivisible unity of the Turkish state”. All in all, although, the concept of ‘minority rights’ is an integral part of rights and freedom debates across the European Union countries, it is almost wholly absent in the case of Turkey, a candidate country.

As a result of the state’s national security concerns regarding minority’ rights, the majority of the ‘minorities’ in Turkey developed a bias against the concept of “minority” themselves. In case of the most populous minority, Kurds, there is a recurring historical argument contending that Kurds were given the promise to be the co-

founders of the Republic in 1920s, on equal footing with the Turks - hence the Kurdish political movements do not contend that the Kurds are minorities. Alternatively, some leaders of the Bosniak community in Turkey declared in 2009, that there was no need for broadcasts in their language, because they were first and foremost, citizens of “this country, not a minority”. But over time, the concept of “minority leaders” are changing, with young activists basing their arguments on international human rights norms replacing their elderly, patriarchic precedents. Nevertheless, there is still no claim for “minority status” among any of the identity groups of Turkey, plaguing the notion of “minority”. Etymologically the word meaning ‘minority’, ‘azınlık’, is driven from the root ‘az’, meaning ‘scarce’, and thus it is thought to be signifying ‘scarcity’. It was even alleged by some scholars that this play of words was employed in the early years of the nation-state, as the Republican elite sought to create a homogenous national group. (Ürer 2003). In any case, still, in Turkey’s legislations “creating minorities” is deemed as a “crime”, that is except for the case of the “Lausanne minorities”. For example, the *Political Party’s Legislation* (Siyasal Partiler Kanunu) dating from 1983, bars parties from “creating minorities”. Such draconian legal approaches trouble also the only officially recognized minorities, namely the “Lausanne Minorities”.

3. Lausanne minorities as an exception

The Lausanne Treaty purposely referred to the “non-Muslims minorities” of Turkey, providing them with a number of rights. The Lausanne Treaty was signed after World War I, on 24 July 1923 between Turkey on the one part and the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, and the “Serbo-Croat-Slovene” State on the other. It is considered as the “founding treaty” for the Republic of Turkey. During the negotiations of the Treaty, the Turkish delegation firmly insisted on the position of accepting “religious” minorities, but denying any protection mechanisms for “ethnic and linguistic” minorities. This position of the Turkish delegation prevailed over the counter arguments and, at the end, the Treaty referred only to the “non-Muslim minorities”. Though they are not explicitly named as such in the Lausanne Treaty, they are the Armenians, Jews and Greeks, the traditional groups of the Ottoman *Millet* system. However, some legal experts argue that theoretically all the minorities of Turkey are under Lausanne’s umbrella.

Lausanne minorities are the only groups having the opportunity to receive certain group rights including education in their mother-tongue. Article 40 of the Lausanne Treaty declared that:

“Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular,

they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein”.

Furthermore, the Treaty’s Article 41 states that: “As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes. The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned”.

Thus, there is a clear case that the Lausanne minorities should face no bureaucratic barriers regarding education in their mother tongue. Quite to the contrary, they should receive state assistance and funding for their schools. Although these minorities do have their own schools since the signing of the Treaty, on the whole their educational institutions lack funding, qualified teachers, and therefore the number of students wishing to attend them are diminishing. Currently, there are 23 minority schools in total: 16 Armenian schools, one Jewish school and five Greek schools (Tarih Vakfı Raporu-History Foundation Report 2013). In the 2012–2013 school term, there were 3.137 students in Armenian schools, 230 students in Greek schools and 688 students in Jewish schools. Comparing these numbers to the population might give an idea about the “dissolution” the minority communities’ cultures and existence is facing: there are approximately 50,000–60,000 Armenians, 25,000–26,000 Jews and 3,000 Greeks in Turkey. An overwhelming majority of these communities live in Istanbul, with the exception of a small community of Jews in Izmir, a couple of Greeks on the islands of Bozcaada and Gökçeada in the Aegean Sea, and a handful Armenians in Diyarbakir, Hatay and Kayseri. Almost a century ago, in the 1924–1925 school year, there were 138 minority schools around the country (Tarih Vakfı Raporu 2013).

Each of the minorities’ communities and schools has their specific set of problems: Jews’ educational institutions are the lowest in number due the community’s high preference for non-communal school because of historical reasons. (Bali 2004). Especially in the recent years, rising anti-Semitism is also cited as the foremost trouble faced by the Jewish community of Turkey. On the other hand, the Greek communities’ schools have to come to grips with the quasi-extinction of their populations.

Furthermore, the “reciprocity clause” that ties the conditions of their educational facilities to those of the Turkish minority’s schools in Greece seem to affect both communities’ institutions adversely, making the situation of minority schools in both countries tied to politics. Armenian schools have a lack of teachers and bureaucratic obstacles as their foremost problems. Additionally, state surveillance also proves to be daunting with demanding bureaucracy in issues ranging from modernization processes and repairs to curricula and close scrutiny on who may be enrolled in the schools. It is reported that prolonged procedures of inspection were applied by the state, in order to verify whether a pupil is really from a ‘minority’. In cases of mixed marriages, the procedures are reportedly, specifically protracted. On the whole, another crucial question the minority schools have to bear is the “double directorship” practice. According to Article 24 of the *Law of Private Schools* (Özel Okullar Kanunu) No: 625, enacted on 8 June 1965, “schools founded by foreigners and that have a medium of instruction other than Turkish” must have a ‘Turkish’ vice-director. Nevertheless, the vice-directors reportedly end up exercising more power than the director of the school, because of the direct command chain extending from the Ministry of Education to the community school.

4. The European Union accession process as the foremost agent of institutional change

When Turkey’s full membership came onto the agenda, the EU repeatedly voiced its concerns regarding linguistic rights alongside other issues regarding the rights of ‘minorities’ in Turkey. Most specifically, the *Accession Partnership Document* of 2001 listed the short-term and medium-term prerequisites for integration during Turkey’s candidacy period. The short term target was to “remove any legal provisions forbidding the use by Turkish citizens of their mother tongue in TV-Radio broadcasting”. The medium-term prerequisites were developing “a comprehensive approach to reduce regional disparities, and in particular to improve the situation in the Southeast, with a view to enhancing economic, social and cultural opportunities for all citizens” and to “ensure cultural diversity and guarantee cultural rights for all citizens irrespective of their origin. Any legal provisions preventing the enjoyment of these rights should be abolished, including in the field of education”.

In response, Turkey’s policy outline regarding *acquis* was publicized in the *National Programme of Turkey for the Harmonization of the European Union Acquis Communautaire* in early 2001. The stance of Turkey about linguistic rights were framed in this document as follows: “The official language and the formal education

language of the Republic of Turkey is Turkish. This, however, does not prohibit the free usage of different languages, dialects and tongues by Turkish citizens in their daily lives. This freedom may not be abused for the purposes of separatism and division”.

Committing itself to abide by these changes, the Turkish Grand National Assembly began taking a number of steps towards ‘democratization’ in 2001 by amending various articles of the 1982 Constitution, as well as repealing or changing a range of laws. Amended constitutional provisions and laws, which are of interest here, can be divided into two conceptual categories. The first category includes the legal documents concerning freedom of expression, publishing and broadcasting in languages other than Turkish. On the other hand, the second category consists of education in foreign languages and education in the mother tongue.

In the first category concerning expression and dissemination of thought, the basis of the ‘prohibition’ of certain languages was Article 26/5 of the 1982 Constitution. This Article brought the criterion of “languages prohibited by law” as one of the grounds for the restrictions. The article read, “No language prohibited by law shall be used in the expression and dissemination of thought”. Similarly, Article 28/2 also cited “prohibited language” as one of the reasons to restrict press freedom. It stated that, “Publications shall not be made in any language prohibited by law”. Reference to the “forbidden language” clause was removed from Articles 26 and 28 in October 2001 through the set of constitutional amendments foreseen by the *First Harmonization Package* (Birinci Uyum Paketi) Law No: 4709 enacted on 4 October 2001. The legal existence of the concept of “forbidden languages” was a pretext for court cases, barring public use of local languages, especially Kurdish.

On the other hand, the *Law on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Televisions and Radios* (Radyo ve Televizyonların Kuruluş ve Yayınları Hakkında Kanun) No: 3984, enacted on 13 April 1994 ruled that Turkish was the only language that could be used in the media. The mere exception for “foreign language” broadcasts could be the “languages that have contributed to the production of universal cultural and scientific works”. The *Third Harmonization Package* (Üçüncü Uyum Paketi) Law No: 4771, enacted on 3 August 2002, removed this provision from the law and paved the way for multilingual broadcasting by the addition of the sentence reading as: “Furthermore, there may be broadcasts in the different languages and dialects traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives”. However, a restrictive clause remained, stating that “Such broadcasts shall not contradict the fundamental principles of the Turkish Republic enriched in the Constitution and the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation”. Thus, with this amendment, on the one hand, broadcasting in any language became legally possible in Turkey, but on the other hand, the possibility of court cases in case of national security suspicions, was hanging over multilingual broadcasts like a guillotine.

Up to today, there are still serious obstacles for language rights in Turkey, especially with regard to education in the mother tongue. The main source of restriction is Article 42 of the constitution. The last provision of this article is as follows: “No language other than Turkish shall be taught as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education. Foreign languages to be taught in institutions of training and education and the rules to be followed by schools conducting training and education in a foreign language shall be determined by law. The provisions of international treaties are reserved.” Based on Article 42, the *Law on Foreign Language Education and Teaching* No: 2923 (Yabancı Dil Eğitimi ve Öğretimi Kanunu) enacted on 14 October 1983, also established the same principle. Until 2002, Article 2/a of this law ruled that, “Turkish citizens’ mother tongues cannot be taught in any other language than Turkish”.

Article 11/A of Law 4771, a part of the *Third Harmonization Package* with the European Union, was enacted on 3 August 2002. This amendment package altered the name of Law 2923 from the *Law on Foreign Language Education and Training* to the *Law on Foreign Language Education and Training and the Teaching of Different Languages and Dialects to Turkish Citizens* (Yabancı Dil Eğitim ve Öğretimi ile Türk Vatandaşlarının Farklı Dil ve Lehçelerinin Öğrenilmesi Hakkında Kanun). According to the amended version of this law, private courses teaching “the different languages and dialects used traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily lives” were rendered legal. But the condition that such courses were not “against the fundamental principles of the Turkish Republic enshrined in the Constitution and the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation” prevailed. Nonetheless, the provision of this same law still states that “the mother tongues of Turkish citizens cannot be taught in any language other than Turkish”.

Through this amendment, the first basic steps in education in local languages of Turkey were taken; private courses were initiated in Kurdish in 2002. But the road towards education in local languages proved to be unsteady: When university students campaigned for optional courses in Kurdish in 2001 and 2002, the *Higher Education Board* (Yüksek Eğitim Kurumu-YÖK: this board is a centralized control mechanism of the higher education institutions set up after the coup d’état of 1980) recommended university rectors to impose disciplinary sanctions on the petitioners, claiming that the right of petition was being abused in this case. In 2004, 10,538 university students petitioned at their universities asking Kurdish lessons to be provided. Of these students, 533 were imprisoned, 446 faced court cases filed against them, 3621 were taken into custody and 15 received three years of prison as they were convicted for sheltering ‘terrorists’ or committing acts against the unitary character of the state.

A court decision made by the Regional Administrative Court of Diyarbakır (the southern Anatolian town, which is predominantly Kurdish) in 2003 illustrated the various legal, social and political opinions clashing with each other in times of change. This suit was brought to court to suspend the disciplinary punishment given

to a student by his university as he petitioned for Kurdish education. The court's decision favouring the reversal of the student's punishment was a landmark. The decision cited that: "language loss can lead to the death of the nation and a language can survive only if it becomes a written and literary language", and "it must be accepted that, just as every human being has the right to life, every language has the right to life and protection [...] To create a humane universal ground to enable the survival of nations and ethnic groups, it is the duty and responsibility of all societies and it is necessary to protect the natural structure of humankind" (Şık 2003).

The court continued as follows: "There is nothing wrong in demanding education and training service from relevant public institutions or bodies that will enable the person to learn his/her mother tongue, which is one and the most important part of his/her identity and personality. It is not acceptable that such a demand would cause polarization on the grounds of religion, language, race, colour and sect". However, this court decision remained unique, with no similar decisions issued. Therefore, the decision was not treated as setting a precedent.

In that sense, domestic mechanisms, such as the court decision mentioned above did not really become common place. Instead, the EU institutions played a much more prominent role. In 2008, The European Council Decision entitled *The Principles, Priorities And Conditions Contained In The Accession Partnership With Turkey* pointed out that Turkey needed to embark on various changes regarding human rights, civil and political rights, prevention of torture and inhuman treatment, ensuring principles of non-discrimination, and securing the rights of women and children. As far as linguistic rights are concerned, the emphasis was placed on ensuring cultural diversity and "promoting respect for and protection of minorities in accordance with the Framework Agreement". In this Decision, it is also mentioned that Turkey should "(e)nsure effective access to radio/TV broadcasting in languages other than Turkish. Remove outstanding obstacles, particularly with regard to local and regional private broadcasters. Adopt appropriate measures to support the teaching of languages other than Turkish". In 2008, the Turkish government prepared another National Programme for the Acquis in response and this programme states the following: "Cultural diversity and cultural rights of all Turkish citizens have been guaranteed and the right to learn and broadcast in different languages and dialects used traditionally in the lives of Turkish citizens is ensured". Therefore, the government affirmed that it has already done its part in terms of languages.

Up to the mid-2000s, the European Union was the key agent for institutional change in Turkey. After the EU accession process waned down, there was a stalling period in terms of the democratization process, broadening the scope of rights and freedoms in general. Since 2009, Turkey has been embarking on its own path of reform for rights and freedoms. At this time, the Kurdish Initiative has begun, alongside the Alevi and Roma Initiatives for ameliorating the sociopolitical (and economic in

case of Roma) standing of these groups, who are considered as the most important parties with respect to “ethnic and religious questions” in Turkey. Of these “Initiatives”, only the one focusing on the Kurds’ problems produced some tangible results so far, in terms of ameliorating the situation of rights and freedoms of Turkey. But overall, the practical changes have not been translated into comprehensive or even significant legal amendments. Furthermore, the existing practical applications are haphazard, without the firm legal foundations and mechanisms that secure linguistic rights and freedoms.

It is noteworthy that in most EU member countries and Europe in general, the linguistic rights (at least to some extent) are secured by the constitutions and the supranational commitment for asserting that linguistic rights should be respected and secured, as affirmed by international documents aimed at protecting minority languages, and minorities rights in general. The EU institutions specified respecting and promoting linguistic diversity. Therefore, despite problems concerning linguistic rights throughout the EU countries, Turkey is singled out as a unique case in terms of denying the very existence of such rights. None of the European countries, except for Turkey, have specific legal provisions barring the practice of linguistic rights. A stark example in Europe is France, where language rights are perceived traditionally as a threat to the “indivisible unity of the state” as it is mentioned in the constitution. The same reference exists in Turkey’s constitution. However, France has amended its own constitution to give recognition to local languages in its own constitution at the Parliament in Congress at Versailles in 2008 (Oakes 2011).

Therefore, Turkey is unique in the sense of possessing constitutional clauses that actually can be utilized to prevent certain practices of linguistic rights. As mentioned before, the constitutional obstacles coupled with the lack of legal securing of language rights reflect the enduring deadlock in Turkey. Ironically, Turkey’s current Head of the Republic Recep Tayyip Erdoğan argued that “no such right, as the right to education in the mother tongue exists” in 2009. Erdoğan also contested as follows in the same speech: “My Turkish brothers cannot have education in their mother tongues even if they are subject to minority laws in Germany”.

5. The current “resolution” for language rights in Turkey: Rights practiced but not secured

On 29 July 2009, the Minister of Interior Affairs Beşir Atalay announced that the government intended to solve the Kurdish Question through “more freedom and more democracy”. This was marked as a “historical step”, as it was widely regarded as the

first solid step taken by the state to resolve the Kurdish Question. Few days later, Atalay convened the first of the workshops to listen to suggestions regarding the Kurdish Question from some of Turkey's renowned intellectuals, columnists and academics. After a series of meetings, Atalay announced that certain progressive steps would be taken to better the rights and freedoms of Kurds in Turkey. According to the government's reform draft, the Ministry of Education was also going to revise its curriculum to include Kurdish as an elective course at schools. Although official education in languages other than Turkish would not be allowed, citizens who want to learn Kurdish would be able to study the language at public schools and universities, alongside private courses allowed in 2002. The government also pledged to amend the *Law on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Televisions and Radios* (Radyo ve Televizyonların Kuruluş ve Yayınları Hakkında Kanun) No: 3984, extending the period of time when private television and radio stations are allowed to broadcast in Kurdish. Another promise of the government was to lift the legal obstacles for political campaigning in languages other than Turkish.

About five years later, by 2014, what has been *actually done* since the beginning of 2009, can be summed up as:

- On January 1, 2009, TRT-6, a 24 hour channel in Kurdish began to broadcast.
- In June 2009, the Ministry of Justice amended the *Statute on the Administration of Criminal Execution and on the Implementation of Punishment and Security Measures* (Ceza ve Güvenlik Tedbirlerinin İnfazı Hakkında Tüzük), thus permitting detainees and convicts to conduct phone conversations in Kurdish.
- In April 2010, Article 58 of the *Law on the Fundamental Provisions of Elections and the Voter Registers* (Seçimlerin Temel Hükümleri ve Seçmen Kütükleri Hakkında Kanunun) No: 298, dated 1961, which forbade "the use of languages and writing other than Turkish in radio and television broadcasts and other election propaganda", was amended and therefore, freedom to use Kurdish during elections was said to be recognized. However, the ban in Article 81/c of the *Law on Political Parties* (Siyasi Partiler Kanunu) No: 2820, dated 1983, still stands. This article titled *Prevention to Create Minorities* presents an outright ban to election propaganda in any other language than Turkish. Hence, there is an ambiguous situation prevailing as multilingual electoral propaganda is allowed by one law and banned by another.

Aside from these, the only concrete steps in terms of language rights since 2009 are in the realm of education. However, these are more practical changes rather than transforming legal amendments. For example, preventing convicts to communicate with immediate family who do not speak any other language than their mother tongue which may happen to be Kurdish in most such cases was a *prima facie* human rights violation in any case. Likewise, the key step in terms of language rights taken by AKP, was the authorization of the foundation of the *Living Languages Institute* (Yaşayan Diller Enstitüsü) at the southeastern town of Mardin's Artuklu University

in 2009. On the website of the university, the institute defined itself in quite a formal manner, as if to manifest its “state backing” as follows: “Our directorate of the Institute, as a part of Mardin Artuklu University, was founded by the Council of Ministers’ decision (2009/15597) published in the official gazette dated 01/12/2009 and numbered 27419, The Institute consists of the “Department of Kurdish Language and Culture, the Department of Syriac Language and Culture and the Department of Arabic Language and Culture”. In 2010, YÖK approved of the application of the Artuklu University, and in the winter semester of 2010, the first Master’s level courses began. In 2011, the same university started an undergraduate programme, and students are currently taking courses in Kurdish Grammar, Poetry, Folk Literature, Kurdish History, History of the Kurdish Press, Modern Kurdish Literature. Simultaneously, a Kurdish Institute was established at Alparslan University in the eastern city of Muş. At both Artuklu and Alparslan Universities, the Kurdish departments are now officially called “Kurdish Language Institutes” and the reference to “Living Languages”, which was the bypass to avoid mentioning Kurdish *per se*, is dropped. As of mid-2014, a civil society organization called *Mezopotamya* initiated efforts to found a university that will be tutoring exclusively in Kurdish. *Mezopotamya* intends to name the university “Amed”, the Kurdish name for the southeastern regional hub of Diyarbakır

Aside from Kurdish, the other ethnic mother tongue that has become both a teaching language, and the focus of linguistic study is Zazaki. An institute has been established in the eastern town of Bingöl in 2013, and courses at graduate and undergraduate levels are provided at Artuklu University. University level education in Circassian (Çerkezce- umbrella term for Caucasian originated languages and peoples in Turkey) also started at Düzce University by 2014. Laz speaking communities also demanded university level education by petitioning several universities. On the other hand, the government announced in 2010 and 2014 that, two university institutes would be established for the Romani language. Actually in 2010, an institute called *Romani Research and Application Centre* (Roman Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi) was established at the Aegean town of Aydın at the Adnan Menderes University. This centre soon ceased to function. According to my personal observation through the interviews conducted at the university, the primary reason cited by the founders of the centre was the “lack of communication with Romani communities”. The centre’s members were experts of public health, social development, sociology, but they were not actually in touch with Romani groups and had little information about their culture and problems. This centre also did not have any intention to work on the Romani language. In 2013, at the Trakya University of the Thracian town of Edirne, an institute called, “The Romani Culture and Language Research Institute” was established; nevertheless, no concrete research work or substantial work has been done so far by this unit.

Returning to the issue of a general framework of practical changes in language rights and education, new steps have been accomplished mostly at the university lev-

el. However, recently the possibility of having local languages as elective courses at “mid-school level” was also introduced. In 2012–2013, first elective language courses for “local tongues and dialects” were placed in the primary and secondary school curricula. Hence, the primary school students from 5th grade to secondary school students of the 9th grade could take electives in “foreign languages, local tongues and dialects”. Legally, this was made possible through the controversial legislative process concerning the *Law Concerning Amendments on the Primary Education and Education Law, and Some Other Laws* (İlköğretim ve Eğitim Kanunu ile Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun) No: 6287 enacted in 2012, introducing a new system for schooling, in which the levels of education are divided into three stages, each lasting for four years, therefore, the system is called ‘4+4+4’ (Education Reform Initiative 2012). This new system foresees four years of primary, middle and high school and required complete transformation of certain schools and massive restructuring for adopting the reformulated curricula. As this sweeping law was prepared without any consultation process involving neither the opposition nor the involved parties such as civil society institutions, schools, students, teachers etc. There were heated debates even leading to physical fights as it was passing through the parliament. This new law also brought important regulations regarding the linguistic rights with offering mother-tongue courses as electives starting from the fifth grade, under the title: “Foreign Languages”. On the whole, it is interesting that no specific legislative amendments were made and local languages like Kurdish are referred to as “foreign languages”, as English, French and German were already a part of the curriculum.

Starting from 2013 onwards, if 10–12 students demand mother tongue education, elective courses in mother tongues are initiated. In the first school term of 2013–2014 that the electives were offered, students predominantly opted for maths lessons, chosen by almost 900,000 students out of around 5 million. “Foreign languages” come second, chosen by around 800,000 students. The majority of those who chose foreign languages opted for English. Kurdish is the most popular “local foreign language”, chosen by around 50,000 students. In the Black Sea region, around 100 students demanded Laz electives, but there were technical problems like the availability of teachers and course books.

The process of the compilation of text books for electives has been controversial, as they were prepared without a participatory, transparent process. Eventually, when the Kurdish elective books surfaced in October 2012, there were various criticisms. On the one hand, text books of Kurdish have also included Kurdish names that have been facing bans until recently, on the other hand, they are highly stereotypical in representing ‘Kurdishness’. Parts of the text book on ‘professions’ feature only photographs of mustached dark men, and parts on ‘seasons’ show the picture of a snowman with the local folk art scarf called ‘poşu’. This type of scarf is widely used in eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey, but in this case, it was considered as

bearing “radical political significance and manifesting allegiance to terrorism”. On the other hand, it is ironic that at the very same times, a university student, Cihan Kırmızıgül, has been sentenced to 33 years in prison for ‘membership in a terror organization’ because of walking around in Istanbul with the same ‘poşu’.³ It is noteworthy that the elective course books for Kurdish are officially named “Kurmanji Dialect” and “Zazaki Dialect” books. Therefore, the state institutions still refrain from using the term “Kurdish”, which happens to be an irony in itself.

In more technical terms, Kurdish text books have been criticized for their grammatical errors. There are also elective course books prepared by the National Education Ministry in Adıge, Arabic, Georgian (Gürcüce), Laz, and “Çenaguy” and the “Kabardey” dialects of the Caucasian language of Adıge. The quality of these books did not come under close scrutiny as was the case with the Kurdish ones, as they are used by much smaller communities and have much fewer linguistic experts, except for Arabic. Arabic itself became an elective in primary and secondary schools in 2011, a year earlier than the “living languages and dialects”. Arabic was then classified alongside widely spoken international languages. There were Chinese, German, French, English, Italian, Russian and Spanish courses offered as electives, and Arabic was added in 2011. Therefore, Arabic is not officially considered to be among the mother tongues of Turkey, which are named as “living languages and dialects of Turkey” by the National Education Ministry.

On a practical level, the new education law and previous policies adopted are also criticized for causing a boom in the number of *Clerical Schools* (İmam Hatip Okulları). It is reported that the number of such religious schools increased by 90% between 2010 and 2014 (Christie-Miller 2014). Obviously, the Justice and Development government has the ability to mobilize comprehensive changes in education. But the zest in amending the legislations and devoting of resources to allow more room for religious content in education was not matched by the inclusion of more comprehensive mother tongue lessons in education, or other recognition of language rights.

As might be observed, the emphasis of whatever change achieved, is on Kurdish. Aside from starting off elective classes in local languages, the official body set up in the early years of the Republic, the *Turkish Language Institution* (TDK) printed a Kurdish dictionary in 2014. This is also a unique step in the history of Turkey, as the TDK has been concerned with no other language than Turkish throughout its history. It is also assuming “positive responsibility” on behalf of the state to protect and promote local languages.

As of 2014, private kindergartens tutoring in Kurdish and Circassian also began to emerge. They are bypassing the constitutional provision concerning “educa-

3 Cihan Kırmızıgül was released from prison in 2012, after 25 months in jail pending trial. He was subsequently sentenced to 11 years of prison, with the only evidence being his “poşu”.

tion in the mother tongue”, but so far, they are functioning without any legal problem. Alternatively, these kindergartens are examples of a “don’t ask, don’t tell” attitude displayed by the state. In other words, “allowing without support”, or “allowing by turning a blind eye”. Furthermore, aside from the constitution, various other legislations, bylaws, and provisions continue to hinder language rights, specifically limiting the possibility of any kind of education in local mother tongues.⁴ Most of the related legislation is dating from the last 50 years (even almost 80 years in case of some) prior to Turkey’s candidacy to the European Union, from the times when the country faced severe democracy problems.

There are dozens of criminal court cases and criminal investigations in areas concerning language rights other than education; for example, cases on using Kurdish in political campaigning, naming of people, in broadcasting and municipal activities. These cases appear, disappear and reappear according to the whims of local and national state officials and the judiciary. A very drastic recent example was of the criminal investigation case of a group of soldiers, who sang and listened to folk songs in Kurdish, and danced the folkloric dance *Halay*. This group of 50 soldiers from the Turkish Armed Forces are undergoing investigation as of late 2014, with the accusations of conducting “terror organization propaganda” according to *The Law of Fight Against Terrorism* (Terörle Mücadele Kanunu) No: 3713 (CNN Turk, 2014). In 2014, there were also efforts to establish private community primary schools teaching exclusively in Kurdish, in the southeastern cities of Turkey, but these schools were subject to criminal investigations and/or shut down. Such cases represent backslides towards the repression of language rights.

4 Interalias, some of these legal documents are listed below:

- “Discipline Directive for those who are not Students but are Educated in Private Education Institutions other than Private Schools” (Özel okullar dışındaki özel öğretim kurumlarında öğrenim görenlerden okul öğrencisi olmayanlarla ilgili disiplin yönergesi) dated 1992.
- “Fundamental Law on National Education” (Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu) dated 1983.
- “Law on Private Education Institutions” (Özel Öğretim Kanunu) dated 2007.
- “Law on the Teachers of Turkish and Culture Lessons in Minority Schools” (Azınlık Okulları Türkçe Ve Türkçe Kültür Dersleri Öğretmenleri Hakkında Kanun) dated 1955.
- “Law on the Unification of Education”, (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu/Öğretim Birliği Yasası) dated 1924.
- “Regulation on Discipline and Awards in Secondary Schools” (Ortaöğretim Kurumları Ödül ve Disiplin Yönetmeliği) dated 2007.
- “Regulation on Primary Education Institutions” (Okul Öncesi Eğitim ve İlköğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği) dated 2014.
- “Regulation on Ministry of National Education’s School Text Books and Education Instruments” (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Ders Kitapları ve Eğitim Araçları Yönetmeliği) dated 2009.
- “Regulation on the Opening, Closure and Naming of Institutions Connected to the Ministry of National Education” (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Kurumlara ait Açma, Kapatma ve Ad Verme Yönetmeliği) dated 1993.
- “Regulation on Private Education Institutions” (Özel Eğitim Kurumları Yönetmeliği) dated 2012.

The passive denial of language rights in Turkey is also evidenced by Turkey’s opting out of signing or ratifying international treaties and/or expressing reservations if the international document in question has even the slightest relevance for language rights. Turkey specified reservations about Article 13 of the *United Nations’ Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights* concerning the “right of education”, reserving the right to implement paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 13.⁵ These articles are on the “freedom of individuals and of organizations to found and manage educational institutions”. Turkey has reservations about Article 27 of the *UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* about the “protection of minorities” with regard to its obligations from the Lausanne Treaty.⁶ Thirdly, Turkey expressed reservations on Article 30 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, as this article refers to the rights of children belonging to minority groups.⁷ All of these reservations are said to be against the Constitution and/or the Lausanne Treaty.

Turkey did not sign the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1992 and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1995, as well as UNESCO’s *Convention against Discrimination in Education*, adopted 1960 with similar worries about the concept of “minority”.

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- 5 Turkey signed the *Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights* on 15 August 2000 and ratified it on 23 September 2003. Turkey’s reservations are as follows: “The Republic of Turkey reserves the right to interpret and apply the provisions of paragraph (3) and (4) of Article 13 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in accordance to the provisions under Article 3, 14 and 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.
 - 6 The *UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* was signed by Turkey on 15 August 2000 and ratified on 23 September 2003. Turkey declared as follows: “Unless otherwise indicated, the declarations and reservations were made upon ratification, accession or succession. For objections thereto and declarations recognizing the competence of the Human Rights Committee under article 41, see hereinafter. *Declarations and reservation*: The Republic of Turkey declares that it will implement its obligations under the Covenant in accordance to the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations (especially Article 1 and 2 thereof). The Republic of Turkey declares that it will implement the provisions of this Covenant only to the States with which it has diplomatic relations. The Republic of Turkey declares that this Convention is ratified exclusively with regard to the national territory where the Constitution and the legal and administrative order of the Republic of Turkey are applied. The Republic of Turkey reserves the right to interpret and apply the provisions of Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in accordance with the related provisions and rules of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923 and its Appendixes.”
 - 7 The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* was signed by Turkey on 14 September 1990 and ratified on 4 April 1995. Turkey affirmed as follows: “The Republic of Turkey reserves the right to interpret and apply the provisions of articles 17, 29 and 30 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child according to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and those of the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923.”

6. Conclusion

As can be observed from this odyssey into the Republican history and contemporary Turkish nationalism and politics, efforts to create a monochrome society left their imprint primarily on the legislations and policies regarding the education system. Despite the progress made concerning the use of local languages since the 2000s, language rights *per se* still remain officially “nonexistent”. As mentioned before, alongside the EU accession process, the Kurdish Initiative undertaken by the government has been instrumental in easing up the tensions concerning the use of local languages to some degree. Prior to the 2000s, the state’s direct pressure served as an obstacle barring even the mere utilization of linguistic rights in contemporary Turkey. In about 15 years, by 2015, there are some practical, “de facto” applications of language rights, especially in the case of education. But these practical applications are arbitrary, and lack any firm legal foundation. Hence, they might (and are) easily be reversed due to political wavering and arbitrary application of existing laws. On the whole, Turkey’s former stance of active repression of language rights is now replaced by passive denial, but all in all, linguistic rights still do not exist in contemporary Turkey.

Fernand de Varennes argues that: “(i)n order to have *pax humana*, peace among humans, there must be *pax linguae*: a balanced and reasonable response to the reality of human linguistic diversity” (De Varennes 2004). So far, the attitude of the state has been displaying the minimum level of responsiveness, despite taking into account Turkey’s high degree of cultural-linguistic diversity and heterogeneity. Without legal protections, political recognition, and state recognition of linguistic affiliations as “rights”, it is not inconceivable that a major relapse might occur any time in terms of “re-securitization” of local mother tongues, especially given the fact that backslides towards active repression continue to occur through criminal investigations and criminal court cases.

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Abhimanyu Sharma

Language conflicts, dominance and linguistic minorities in India

The present paper deals with the status of linguistic minorities in India and tries to give an overview of the problems plaguing Indian language policy regarding minority languages. India represents a unique case in the current global linguistic scenario, as it is the only country in the world with 23 official languages (two official cross-regional languages and 21 official regional languages). Despite this fact, minority languages in India cannot be regarded as well protected, as obvious from the high number of languages listed as 'endangered' by UNESCO. The paper looks into the various forms of domination and subordination that dictate the language policy and influence the various language communities in India, including linguistic minorities. Moreover, it undertakes an analysis of the various kinds of language conflicts prevalent in the Indian linguistic situation and examines whether the language conflicts emanate from group-specific dominance and unequal status ascriptions, and secondly, whether language is simply a secondary feature in conflicts that are mainly socially, economically and politically motivated. Lastly, the paper addresses the aspect which it sees as a highly questionable part of Indian language policy, i.e. the principle of 'rationalization', a method developed by the Government of India to take account of the number of 'languages' in India, but which has been widely criticized as a 'reductionist' policy because through the process of 'rationalization', smaller and minority languages are categorized as 'dialects' or 'variants' of the so-called major languages and are thus deprived of their own independent status and identity.

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to analyse the language policy of India with a special focus on language conflicts and linguistic minorities. India is linguistically and ethnically one of the most diverse countries in the world. It is home to more than 1.2 billion people who speak 447 different languages (Ethnologue 2014) divided into five language families, namely Andamanese, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman (Abbi 2008). A sixth language family has been proposed by Anvita Abbi, who has been noted for her work on the languages of the Andaman and Nicobar islands, based on the lexical and morpho-syntactic differences between Great Andamanese and Onge and Jarawa (Abbi 2008).

The number of languages recognized as “official languages” in India ranks as one of the highest in the world. India has 22 official languages along with English as a cross-regional “associate official language” (Ministry of Human Resource Development; henceforth as “MHRD”). It should be noted here – given the fact that Hindi is often mistaken as the “national language” of India – that in contrast to many other polities of the world, India does not make any provisions for a “national language” (details in chapter 3).

Despite a large number of languages being recognized as “official” languages, the state of protection and maintenance of linguistic diversity in India can hardly be described as satisfactory. The “UNESCO Atlas of the World’s languages in danger” lists as many as 192 endangered living Indian languages (81 “vulnerable” languages, 63 “definitely endangered”, six “severely endangered” and 42 “critically endangered”; see UNESCO 2014), whereas the Ethnologue website classifies 54 languages as being “in trouble” and 13 as “dying” (Ethnologue 2014). The number of languages already extinct as per the UNESCO Atlas is five, while Ethnologue lists 14 languages that do not exist anymore.

The first thought that may strike someone dealing with the Indian linguistic situation is why only 22 Indian languages have had the privilege of becoming official, when there are hundreds of other languages (Sharma 2013: 77). Jodhka (2014) differentiates between two kinds of diversities in India, namely “vertical” and “horizontal”, and argues that while it has been easier to accept and institutionalize vertical diversities, which include the diversities of caste and other forms of historically inherited deprivation, the accommodation and institutionalization of horizontal diversities (language, region and community) have been more challenging. This argument is validated by the high number of endangered languages in India, which is an indicator of certain languages taking dominant roles at the cost of others. It is the goal of this paper to examine such forms of domination, the language conflicts that they lead to and what consequences these forms of domination and conflicts have for the linguistic minorities.

2. Theory and methods

2.1. Terminology

Researchers have used a multitude of terms for the description and analysis of the phenomena related to the maintenance and management of linguistic diversity, and such non-uniform use has led to contradictions and vagueness. This can be shown using the examples of “language policy” and “language planning”, which are two

of the most widely used terms in this field. Shohamy (2006: 49) points out that the boundaries between these two terms are far from clear, a problem that can be understood better when one examines the opposite ways in which they have been used by Schiffman (1998) and Kaplan/Baldauf (1997). While Schiffman (1998: 18) sees “policy” as being more general than “planning”, Kaplan/Baldauf (1997: xi) consider “planning” to be the superordinate category.

The author would like to use the term “language policy” to denote concrete measures regarding the protection, maintenance and management of linguistic diversity. For broader contexts, however, the author follows Sarangi’s (2009: 2) term “language question”, which she uses to “refer to those multiple domains where language and politics interact and result in tangible historical and political outcome of a certain kind”. The term “language question” corresponds to the objective of the paper also because it, as Sarangi (ibid.) posits, takes into account the ideological power of languages and its various forms of domination and subordination.

2.2. Theory and approaches

While introducing the readers to the theories and methods used in the field of language policy, Ricento (2006: 10) posits that there is no overarching theory of language policy and planning, in large part because of the complexity of the issues that involve language in society (see also Sharma 2013: 71). As researchers and policy analysts, Ricento (ibid.) adds, we ask basic and varied questions about events in the world, and while in some cases it is possible to develop a theory or model for a specific phenomenon, designing a general theory applicable to all phenomena may not be possible.

Keeping this important postulate in mind, the author shall use the term “approach” or “approaches” instead of “theory” or “method”. Ricento’s postulate that issues involving language in society are characterized by complexity fits perfectly in the Indian case because of the diverse nature of problems that concern the language question in India. This paper focuses primarily on the aspect of “linguistic conflicts” considering the preference given to only a few languages at the cost of a large number of minority languages, as explained in the introductory sections above.

The analysis will be conducted using two observations that Schjerve-Rindler (2003: 47) makes in her article on paradigm shifts in contact and conflict linguistics. Firstly, she states that conflicts emerge everywhere where societal multilingualism translates into group-specific dominance and unequal status ascriptions (“[...] Konflikte [treten] überall dort auf [...], wo die gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeit Ausdruck von gruppenspezifischen Dominanzverhältnissen und ungleichen Statuszuweisungen an die Sprachgruppen ist [...]). Secondly, she observes that linguistic conflicts are generally socially, economically and politically motivated conflicts that are carried out using language as a

secondary feature (“[...] Sprachkonflikte [sind] sozial, wirtschaftlich und politisch motivierte Konflikte, die über das Sekundärmerkmal Sprache ausgetragen werden”).

The approach here will be to present certain cases of language conflicts in India and then to analyse if these two observations hold true for such conflicts. As Schjerve-Rindler speaks of group-specific dominances, the paper will focus on the role of different forms of domination and subordination and their role in language conflicts in India.

3. Language conflicts and the language question in India

3.1. India's self-perception and vision

Before analyzing the various kinds of linguistic conflicts in India, it is useful to examine how India perceives herself and what her position is on her social, religious and linguistic diversity. The Republic of India sees modern democratic values as her cornerstones, as one can infer from the preamble to the Constitution of India mentioned below:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity;

and to promote among them all

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation (see “Constitution of India”, bibliography)

The Indian Constitution talks of bringing sociopolitical and economic justice and equal status to all its citizens. This would imply the equality of languages, too, which is sadly not the case. The problems marring the Indian language question are described in the following sections.

3.2. Linguistic imperialism: Language conflicts and forms of domination at national level

Currently, India has 22 official languages (see 3.3.) along with English as an associate official language, but having so many official languages was not the original motive of Indian language policy. The Government of India wanted to implement Hindi as the

“national language”. However, it proved to be a contentious issue, famously admitted by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar himself, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution:

The Government of India was confronted by [...] violence and political mobilisation when it came to deciding which language would be the national language. Ambedkar confessed that at the time of the discussion of the draft constitution, no article proved more controversial than the one that dealt with Hindi as the national language. The very thought provoked outrage among non-Hindi speakers, particularly Tamil speakers who tended to regard Hindi as a latecomer on the linguistic scene, compared with Tamil which is an ancient, classical language. Moreover, to accord status to one language as the national language would be to give speakers of that language an unfair advantage in educational and employment opportunities, and to correspondingly disadvantage non-speakers of the language. (Chandhoke 2008)

The constitution refrained from using the term “national language” and tried to implement Hindi as the sole “official language of the union”, and the non-Hindi speaking states were given a time span of 15 years – starting from 26 January 1950, the day the Indian Constitution came into effect – to learn Hindi, as is clear from the following article from the Indian Constitution:

Article 343. Official language of the Union.—

(1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement: Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union [...] (see “Constitution of India”, bibliography)

This policy to implement Hindi, which was the most widely spoken language at that time, as the “national language” can be understood better when put into a broader perspective, as done by the following postulate of Kaplan (2001: 1):

While the European nations had had centuries to evolve their national linguistic models, it was assumed that the newly emergent polities could transplant and evolve similar structures in merely decades [...] additionally, since no one had ever kept an account of the actual processes and costs involved in the development of the European models, it was not recognized that full implementation of the new processes were beyond the means of what were at the time among the poorest communities in the world.

As should be clear from Kaplan's analysis, any attempts at direct emulation of European linguistic models were bound to fail. However, the interests of the states were not completely ignored because the constitution did make the provision that states could have their own language using Article 347, which declares that "on a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify" (see "Constitution of India", bibliography). Nonetheless, the problematic paradigm explained above had grave consequences in the Indian case, as it led to widespread protests in the southern states, with the Tamil language community being the fiercest opponent of Hindi:

Confrontation was pre-empted by postponing the implementation of Hindi as the national language till 1965. But by 1963 the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu assumed appalling proportions. Sections of the Constitution were publicly set on fire, and student unions and political parties joined the massive protests against the decision to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking populations. January 26 1965, the day, when the switch to Hindi was to be implemented, was marked by public mourning, hoisting of black flags, rioting, police firing, killings, and self-immolation. The central government had no option except to assure states that Hindi would not be imposed, and that they could continue to use English for official purposes. (Chandhoke 2008)

Languages, as Thapar (1967: 1686) elucidates, carry too many undefined frustrations, superstitions, fears and aspirations within them to be played around with by policy-makers who live for the moment. The Indian Government had to give in to the demands and vehement agitation of the Tamil-speaking community, and it decided not to implement Hindi as sole official language in India and amended the Official Language Act in 1967 (originally drafted in 1963) via section 3, according to which the use of English along with Hindi as the associate official language of the union was continued (Department of Official Language).

3.3. The Eighth Schedule: Language conflicts and forms of domination at regional level

The 8th Schedule is the part of the Indian Constitution listing the official languages of the state. When the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India, there were 14 languages listed in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution: Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Dogri, Assamese and Sanskrit (organized according to number of speakers, see Singh 2006:

40–41). The original aim of naming some languages in the Constitution seemed to be to prepare a list of languages to be used in administration and the expression of science and technology in independent India (Singh, *ibid.*). After the amendment of the Official Language Act in 1967, the languages of the 8th Schedule gained in prestige because the constitutional changes made them equals of Hindi.

Since 1950, there have been three amendments to the 8th Schedule: Sindhi was included through Constitution Amendment Bill No. 21 in 1967, Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali through Amendment Bill No. 71 in 1992, and Maithili, Santali, Bodo and Dogri through Amendment Bill No. 100 in 2003 (Singh, *ibid.*). As a result of these amendments, India currently has 22 official languages. Interestingly, English, which is *de facto* the most important language in India, does not feature in the 8th Schedule because it is not an Indian language.

The privilege of being included in the 8th Schedule means, as Sarangi (2009: 27) posits, that these languages acquire a certain degree of cultural capital, since they play a crucial role in social mobility. This has led to a neck-to-neck rivalry amongst speakers of various languages to get their languages enlisted in the 8th Schedule in order to achieve official status (Sarangi 2009: 28). The problem is worsened by the ambiguous nature of the criteria for a language to be included into the 8th Schedule. While Krishnamurti (1995: 10) states that “the major languages with literary traditions, having scripts of their own, and already in use in newspapers and the radio became the natural and undisputed candidates for inclusion in the 8th Schedule”, Saxena (1997: 272) argues that there are no demographic, cultural, or linguistic criteria for inclusion or non-inclusion in the 8th Schedule, and that it has evidently depended largely on the ability of a language group to influence the political process.

The lure of getting the privileged status has led to conflicts among the local languages in several states. One such example is Marwari, a language spoken in the state of Rajasthan, which has also been referred to as “Rajasthani”. The official language of Rajasthan is Hindi, but it is home to many other languages such as Mewari, Harauti, Malvi, and Dhundhari, which are officially classified as dialects of Hindi. In 2004, the Rajasthan assembly passed a resolution calling for the inclusion of the Rajasthani language in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution (The Hindu, 20.04.2004), but it led to quite a crisis-like situation, as a section of linguists, authors, academics and social activists joined hands to oppose the resolution with the warning that it might lead to language riots (The Hindu, 20.04.2004). According to Giriraj Prasad Tiwari, Chief of the *Rajasthani Bhasa Sankalp Virodhi Samiti*, the association protesting against the resolution calling for the inclusion of Mawari in the 8th Schedule, the constitutional recognition for Marwari would lead to it gaining priority over all other dialects and those speaking Marwari would have an advantage over others in education, competitive examinations and employment (The Hindu, 20.04.2004).

The case of speakers of other dialects protesting against Marwari is quite interesting, as it pursues a similar rhetoric that has been used by Tamil speakers against Hindi. Tiwari questions, for example, the imposition of Marwari onto other dialects given that it is spoken by only 15% of the state's population (Indian Express, 23.05.2007). This argument can be interpreted as being against linguistic imperialism. Moreover, speakers of other dialects see Hindi as the unifying bond among them and claim that the imposition of Marwari could lead to the disintegration of Rajasthan (The Hindu, 20.04.2004). This bears an analogy to Tamil speakers accepting English as the lingua franca of India, while seeing Hindi as an imperialistic force.

One can see in this case that the conflict is initiated because of one group trying to be the dominant regional force (social factor), and it is aggravated by economic factors (involving employment issues). Lastly and most importantly, it must be added here that the resolution for making Marwari an 8th Schedule language was taken by the assembly right before the elections in India (The Hindu 20.04.2004), which can be interpreted as the ruling party's strategy to polarize the voters and gain the Marwari-speaking voters on its side. This serves as an example of a political factor coming into play in the language conflict.

3.4. Classical languages: A “classic” case of a regional and national form of domination

Although the dominance of Hindi has been officially nullified through various constitutional amendments, it has continued to play an important role in affairs of central government. In order to gain an edge over Hindi, the Tamil community in India demanded that Tamil be declared a “classical language”.¹ Hindi could never qualify as a “classical language”, as in order to be a “classical language”, a language needs to have a documented history of 1,500 to 2,000 years and an original literary tradition (India Info 17.09.2004). Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a leading political party from Tamil Nadu, was one of the key allies of the party that came to power in the 2004 general elections and it reiterated its demand for the classical language status (Venkatachalapathy 2009: 13). Given the resounding victory the DMK had in Tamil

1 Such a categorization was met with stern disapproval from scholars, as in their opinion, decisions over such matters generally lie in the domain of philologists: “One cannot imagine a government in Europe taking upon itself to decide that Greek and Latin shall have classical status. If at all, a state may have accepted the historians’ or linguists’ view of the studies in classics and may have made out some grants for the teaching of the courses in classics. But the governments are never the decision makers of such issues. In our country it is always different. Here everything has to be decided by the political authority, the “central government.” See Desh (2008: 9).

Nadu and given the symbolic nature of the demand, it was quickly granted by the MHRD (Venkatachalapathy, *ibid.*). Thus, a new category was created which could also be seen as a new form of domination, as it made Tamil dominant not only over Hindi, but also over other regional southern Indian languages.

It is self-evident that the other Indian languages with equally old and rich literary traditions demanded this status as well. Speakers of Kannada and Telugu, which are official languages of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, respectively, applied for this status and the central government accepted their application in 2008 (Indian Express 14.08.2008). As this threatened the sense of superiority that Tamil speakers had over speakers of Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu, they protested against this move and a Tamil lawyer took the matter to court, where he questioned the expertise of the commission conferring the classical status on Kannada:

The Government has approved the proposal to grant classical language status to Telugu and Kannada, meeting the four-year old demand of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka [...] Telugu and Kannada will join [...] Tamil which [has] already been given the classical-language status. However, the implementation of the recommendation may take a while as a Chennai-based advocate has filed a public interest litigation in the Madras High Court questioning the expertise of the committee members. The PIL has requested the court to quash the decision and ask the Government to set up a new committee headed by a retired judge of the high court or the Supreme Court. Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka had been demanding this status for their respective languages ever since Tamil was recognised as a classical language in 2004. (Indian Express 14.08.2008)

It must be clear from the above example that the Tamils did not like the fact that their symbolic dominance over Kannada and Telugu would have to end. The status of a “classical language” made Tamil quite special because it made Tamil the only living classical language of India (with Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit being the others, which are dead languages). This example stands for a conflict being caused by social factors. However, it must be added that language cannot be classified here as secondary feature, as Schjerve-Rindler (2003: 47) observes. On the contrary, language becomes a tool to seek social prestige and is therefore to be understood as the primary factor in the language conflict.

What follows should demonstrate how even a linguistic conflict emanates from a complexity of several factors being intertwined. In order to get their way on a number of issues, the Tamil Nadu government would often pressurize the central government to intervene in Sri Lanka to stop the persecution of the Tamil-speaking minority there. The Government of India, having learned a bitter lesson from the strategic misadventure concerning its peace-keeping efforts in Sri Lanka (1987–1990) and more importantly because of the assassination of its former prime minister, Rajiv

Gandhi, by Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 1991, refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. In 2008, however, the conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils grew extremely violent and critical and the Tamil Nadu government put the central government under a lot of pressure (Indian Express 10.11.2008). Therefore, in order to divert the attention of the Tamil Nadu government, the central government cleared the pending cases against Kannada and Telugu and conferred on them the title of “classical languages”:

With the DMK causing a lot of trouble for the Centre on the Sri Lankan Tamil issue, the Congress found a unique way to get even. The [...] Government announced at a hurriedly called press conference recently that it was granting classical language status to Telugu and Kannada, bringing them at par with Tamil, which had been accorded this status four years ago. The move had been cleared by a Committee of Linguistic Experts a few months back, but was awaiting government decision. The Centre’s move neutralised Tamil Nadu’s advantage over neighbouring Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in this regard, and ended up causing immense heartburn in the DMK. (Indian Express, 10.11.2008)

This shows how language can be instrumentalized not only for the perpetuation, but also the resolution of conflicts. Generally, it would have taken longer for Telugu and Kannada to be granted the “classical” status, but given the nature of the political unrest, the central government decided to override the objections of Tamil speakers against Kannada and Telugu. This would be an ideal case where language becomes the secondary factor in conflicts of a sociopolitical nature.

3.5. Linguistic minorities: Dominance and assimilation

So far, this paper has analysed only the language communities that have been able to raise their voices against their dominance by other languages and have been able to offer resistance to the imperialistic moves of the dominant language groups. This section focuses on languages whose numbers are too small to influence the political process and examines if one can speak of a “conflict” in their case at all given their smaller numbers (as compared to stronger language groups like Tamil or Kannada), and if one can only speak of domination and assimilation in their case.

The situation of linguistic minorities in India is fraught with difficulties. A perfect example of the Indian Government’s neglectful attitude towards its linguistic minorities is demonstrated by the very fact that on the same website, where it declares its official language policy and presents its different language families, there is no mention of the languages of the Andaman (MHRD 2014). This is an unfortunate state of affairs and demonstrates that negligible political power amounts to negligible

recognition, protection, and maintenance (Sharma 2013: 80). Some languages were able to make it to the 8th Schedule, but this happened only after the integrity of the state was put at stake and, as Thapar (1967: 1686) describes it, India was forced to choose between “Hindi or unity”. Thus, one finds that the language policy of India, which the MHRD likes to describe as “ever-evolving”, is nothing but a mere interplay of power hierarchies and identity politics. An appropriate description of Indian language policy is given by Gupta/Abbi (1995: 4), in which they postulate that it is led by an assimilationist ideology:

Perhaps the ideology of assimilation is at the back of the ES (Eighth Schedule). Constitution makers, perhaps, felt that the only way to contain the multilingual giant was to create a short, select list of ‘major’, ‘dominant’ Indian languages which shall take over, one after the other, all public domains of education, administration and so on, and that in due course of time, the 1600 odd other languages will be submerged under these mainstream languages. The assimilationist goal [...] will swallow the small fish – the languages not included in the ES. Either these small fish will have to grow big and strong enough to fight their way into the ES or major Indian languages (Languages of the ES) will take them over.

An apt example of a “small fish” turning into a “big fish” would be the inclusion of the Maithili language, which was long considered a dialect of Hindi (and thus ignored), in the 8th Schedule after its speakers pressurized the central government for years for this cause (Sharma 2013: 80). This political move has been surprising, though, as there are two other major languages spoken in Bihar (Bhojpuri and Magahi) that are still considered dialects of Hindi despite being spoken by millions of people, and which have yet to receive official status (Sharma, *ibid.*).

The most problematic part of Indian language policy is what the MHRD describes as the process of “rationalization”, a method developed by the Government of India to take account of the number of ‘languages’ in India, but which has been widely criticized as a ‘reductionist’ policy because through the process of ‘rationalization’, smaller and minority languages are categorized as ‘dialects’ or ‘variants’ of the so-called major languages and thus deprived of their own independent status and identity (see Abbi 2009: 302). The MHRD describes “rationalization” in the following words:

Modern India, as per the 1961 Census, has more than 1652 mother tongues, genetically belonging to five different language families. The 1991 Census had 10,400 raw returns of mother tongues and they were rationalized into 1576 mother tongues. They are further rationalized into 216 mother tongues, and grouped under 114 languages: Austro-Asiatic (14 languages, with a total population of 1.13%), Dravidian (17 languages, with a total population of 22.53%), Indo-European (Indo-Aryan, 19 languages, with a total population of 75.28%, and Germanic, 1 language, with a total population of 0.02%), Semito-Harmitic (sic!) (1 language, with a total population of 0.01%),

and Tibeto-Burman (62 languages with a total population of 0.97%). It may be noted that mother tongues having a population of less than 10,000 on all India basis or not possible to identify on the basis of available linguistic information have gone under 'others' (MHRD 2014).

As stated here, the census keepers “rationalize” the returns for “mother tongues” and then group them under a certain number of languages. This policy is not just ambiguous, but also problematic and questionable considering that they do not take account of the languages that have less than 10,000 speakers. As per the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, there are as many as 80 languages in India that have less than 10,000 speakers (see “UNESCO”, bibliography). This implies that 80 languages are not even counted in the Indian census.

It goes without saying that such an assimilationist language policy driven by power politics has been highly detrimental to the smaller and minority languages (Sharma 2013: 80). According to a recent nationwide survey called the People's Linguistic Survey of India, India has lost over 220 languages in the last 50 years (Lalmalsawma 2013). Eminent linguists like Skutnabb-Kangas (2009: 1) have gone as far as calling the Indian language policies “a crime against humanity” or “linguistic genocide”.

One can see from the figures mentioned above that the real minority languages in India have deeply suffered due to the questionable language policy of India. One should speak of “language conflicts” only in cases where the language policies of the central government were met with resistance. Language groups that were too small in number to counter the assimilationist policies are gravely endangered now. Group-specific dominance, therefore, has not led to conflicts in the case of linguistic minorities, but complete subordination.

4. Conclusions

The present paper has looked at the language question in India in the context of a) language conflicts, b) forms of domination and subordination and c) linguistic minorities. The analysis was based primarily on Schjerve-Rindler's observations that a) language conflicts emanate from group-specific dominance and that b) language is a secondary factor in conflicts that are mainly driven by social, economic and political factors. The first observation holds true for all the cases except for linguistic minorities, which have been too weak a political force to challenge dominant groups and are, therefore, subjected to subordination. The second observation can be said to hold true in all the cases as well, but only with a certain revision of the basic premise, i.e. language as a prestige-constituting element should be considered a primary social factor in conflicts.

The protest of Tamils against Hindi at national level and against Kannada and Telugu at regional level, as shown in 3.2. and 3.4., is mainly driven by language as prestige-constituting element. The same can be said of language communities protesting against Marwari (chapter 3.3.), where surprisingly Hindi is seen as a unifying factor. Apart from that, all these cases can hardly be described as unilateral, as they are characterized by a combination of factors working together, e.g. the resolution for Marwari was driven by the motive of the ruling party to gain Marwari votes in the general elections, while the decision to make Kannada and Telugu “classical languages” was purely a political move to contain the Tamil speakers urging India to change its foreign policy towards Sri Lanka. If one may speak of “conflict” in the case of minorities, one can see that political factors seem to play a major role in minority languages being disadvantaged, as they are unable to influence the political process. Some scholars consider the way the language issues have been dealt with in India a success from the point of view of ‘national integration’ (Brass 2004: 370); however, from the point of view of maintenance of linguistic diversity, such a judgment can hardly be deemed realistic.

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Verena M. Hofstätter

Minority languages in the Canadian Arctic: The Inuit language and language policy development in Nunavut

In the second half of the 20th century, Inuit communities in northern Canada aimed to position themselves on an equal footing with the official-language communities of the country, English and French. After the creation of Nunavut territory in 1999 they established their own language laws. Despite their success, converting the policy specifically tailored to the political aspirations of the new territory to other Arctic regions needs further consideration. This paper addresses some promising possibilities as well as the most important challenges of language promotion in the Canadian Arctic. Comparing the legal project of Nunavut to the language situation in Nunavik, Quebec, shows that the Inuit case is a typical example for the ambiguity between officially recognising linguistic diversity and its actual promotion.

1. Introduction

*Making Canada's language policy work is critical
to making the country work.*
(Fraser 2006: 9)

Distancing itself as much as possible from the social organization in the United States, Canada has always put forward the image of a cultural and linguistic mosaic. In the second half of the 20th century many social movements, including those of the French-speaking community in Quebec, of groups immigrating from parts of the world other than Great Britain, and of Aboriginal peoples populating contemporary Canadian territory, reshaped the political and legal organization of the country. The ideology underpinning the imagery of the Canadian mosaic, originally based on the idea of unity among individuals, soon tended towards a racialized dual vision (cf. Haque 2012) as the rise of Francophone nationalism in the province of Quebec appeared to threaten the national union, i.e. the integrity of the Canadian State, in the 1960s. (Martel 1999: 16 ff.) The new political line does not only affect the relationship with French-speaking citizens, who constitute the country's most important minority group in numbers,

but also the federal policy on questions related to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In the light of the social upheavals in Quebec in particular, combined with a favourable international climate for minority issues, the federal state breaks new grounds in its language policy and evolves from a unifying *laissez-faire* approach towards a model more perceptive of particular demands. This paved the path to official policies on bilingualism in 1969 and multiculturalism in 1971,¹ and to the inclusion of the French language as well as Indigenous rights into the *Constitution Act* in 1982. The bilingual and multicultural principles still regulate Canadian cultural and linguistic diversity management today (Patrick 2012: 1).

Thus, regardless of its diversified linguistic landscape,² the country recognizes only two official languages, English and French. Official bilingualism proposes a range of language rights for so-called *official-language minorities*: these are the English-speaking communities in Quebec and the French-speaking communities in the rest of the country. In Quebec, the French language is further protected by the *Charter of the French language* (Bill 101), confirming its status as the only official language of the province in 1977. The *Charter* establishes French as the language of government, education, commerce and the workplace. As the cornerstone of Quebec's language policy, it promotes a collective view of language and identity, thus contrasting with its Canadian counterpart endorsing a framework of individual rights (cf. Cardinal 2012: 9).

Immigrant languages, also called *heritage languages*, are not entitled to any such minority rights since they have no official status nationwide. The vast majority of *Aboriginal languages* do not enjoy any official recognition either. While the Canadian Constitution addresses the "multicultural heritage of Canadians" (sect. 27) as well as the "existing aboriginal and treaty rights" (sect. 35), it remains unclear, if these also include language rights. Although the language question has always been marginalized in debating autochthonous issues, which still focus on claims to land, autonomy and jurisdiction, more recent Indigenous movements throughout the country put forward their ancestral languages for reasons primarily related to projects of identity renewal and linguistic and cultural promotion.

In this regard, legal expertise, i.e. the judgments of the courts as well as the drafting of language laws, may be considered fundamental for the development of

1 Multiculturalism, which allows for the preservation of the ancestral cultures and languages of all Canadians, including Aboriginal peoples, was confirmed by law in 1988. In the same year, the *Official Languages Act* was renewed in order to "further the development and enhancement of its official language minorities" (Cardinal 2012: 7).

2 In this article, for the most part, we want to refrain from representing linguistic diversity in numbers. In the case of Canadian Aboriginal peoples, these vary between 50 (Statistics Canada 2006) and 88 (UNESCO Atlas of languages in danger 2010) distinct languages, thus pointing to the fact that defining language in the singular and languages in the plural is always a debatable political practice.

language management in Canada. This being said, language politics and especially “rights discourses have helped to shape Indigenous linguistic, social, and political collectivities and played a key role in the struggle of Inuit for autonomy and self-determination.” (Patrick 2012: 8).

Inuit language initiatives appear in various forms in different parts of the country. This paper sets out to compare the language strategies of two Canadian Inuit regions to uncover both challenges and possibilities for northern Aboriginal peoples in developing proper linguistic policies. To this end, we will first take a look at the Inuit homeland and languages spoken in Canada (section 2.). We will then give a concise overview of language management in Nunavut (sections 3.1. to 3.3.) before comparing their political and legal strategies to the linguistic situation in northern Quebec, which, in large part, is also inhabited by an Inuit population (section 3.4.). Finally, we will offer some conclusions about as well as perspectives for language policy in specific contexts of linguistic contact in the Canadian North (section 4).

2. Presenting *Inuit Nunangat*

2.1. The Inuit homeland

*As everybody knows, Inuit are
the northernmost population of North America.*
(Dorais 2010: 7)

Most of the Canadian Inuit population lives in *Inuit Nunangat*, which translates to the Inuit homeland in the circumpolar world. In the following, we will concentrate on two settlement areas in contemporary Canada which enjoy the highest degree of political autonomy today: Nunavut and Nunavik. In both regions, Inuit account for more than 80% of the total population. Numerically speaking, this suggests that there are approximately 20,000 and 10,000 Inuit living in these areas respectively (Daveluy 2004a: 88).

Simply put, Arctic peoples lived in a kind of vacuum for a long time. For many centuries, very few members of the Inuit language group had contact with people settling farther to the south. When Europeans came to explore the Arctic lands and converted its inhabitants to Western ways of life and speech, the linguistic situation changed. In the eastern region of Nunavut and in the northern parts of Quebec, the autochthonous language, however, has been well preserved due to a less drastic impact of European settlement and the late implementation of state institutions and

wage labour. In other areas, such as Alaska, western Canadian Arctic, and northern Labrador, early systematic schooling, long-lasting bilingual practices, and the Indigenous cultures' low status advanced the demise of many Aboriginal languages in a much faster pace (Dorais 2010: 235). Despite our focus on the recent political and legal emancipation of the inhabitants of Nunavut territory, we need to keep in mind that many Inuit in Canada are still struggling for the recognition of their rights (Visart de Bocarmé/Petit 2008: 37).

This being said, the Inuit language did not enjoy any legal protection before the end of the 1960s. The recognition of linguistic rights for the Inuit population, and the drafting of concrete legal documents, is often explained by prominent identity revitalization movements and growing political claims in the 1970s, which emerged in the wake of the adoption of the Canadian multicultural strategy already mentioned before. The creation of Nunavut may be considered one of the biggest achievements of Inuit activism in Canada to date.

Nunavut separated from the former Northwest Territories, a vast land stretching from Alaska in the east to the Hudson Bay in the west, in 1999 after more than twenty years of negotiations with the federal government. As part of the Canadian Confederation, the new territory relies on a bureaucracy, a financial system and a legislation which are all modelled on federal institutions. The initial goal was to set up a proper non-ethnic, elected government that, nonetheless, reflects "the Inuit way". Due to its political status as territory in the federated Canadian state, Nunavut was given authority to issue its own laws in many domains, including language.

Since 2008 there are two language acts in force in Nunavut: the *Official Languages Act* and the *Inuit Language Protection Act*. The former states four official languages: Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun (two varieties of the Inuit language), English and French. The latter provides a range of language rights for the Inuit-speaking population. Taken together these acts help to ensure that the Inuit language remains at the centre of education, work and daily life throughout Nunavut, while, following the principles of federal bilingualism, protecting the existing rights of English and French, which are both considered official-minority languages in the territory. According to Loukacheva this situation may be characterized as "voluntary colonialism" (2007: 52).

Nunavik, on the other hand, is an administrative entity, i.e. not a separate territory, in northern Quebec emerging from the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA)* in 1975. The *Agreement* mainly focusses on restructuring health services, establishing school boards and creating regional governments for the Inuit and Cree populations of the region. There are no language-specific clauses up to date, whereas the document provides for education in the Aboriginal languages. The provisions of the *JBNQA* are further integrated in the *Charter of the French Language* mentioned before, but the Indigenous population is exempted from French unilingualism (Dorais 1978: 134). Taking into account observations on actual linguistic practices in the area (Patrick

2003, Dorais 1996), on which we will elaborate in section 3, this situation has been described as an instance of so-called “negotiated linguistic peace” (Daveluy 2004a).

2.2. The Inuit language

The Inuit language, *inuit uqausingit*, is spread over about 8,500 kilometres from the Bering Strait to Greenland. The language group belongs to the Eskaleut family and is classified as polysynthetic.³ It is divided into two major subgroups: Inuit in the east and Yupik in the west. Taken together, Inuit and Yupik are used by about 165,000 people in the circumpolar region. However, speaking Yupik does not imply being understood by someone speaking Inuit, and vice versa (cf. Dorais 2010: 236). As for the languages used in Canada, linguistic variation is said “to have been accelerated, if not provoked, by historical factors linked to the Euro-American presence in the Arctic” (Dorais 2010: 65). The Inuit language, in its narrow sense,⁴ comprises different varieties of speech. Overall, we may distinguish two basic dialects in Canada – Inuktitun and Inuktitut – closely related to the varieties spoken by the Inuit populations of Alaska and Greenland (cf. Dorais 2003, 1996; Kaplan 1990; Woodbury 1984; Fortescue 1983). There is an on-going debate about whether the former two are better qualified as dialects or as languages. The notion of “linguistic continuum” is often used in this regard (Daveluy 2004a: 85).

Although none of these varieties serve as an official form of speech, Inuktitut, which translates to “the Inuit way”, also serves as a general designation for the Canadian Inuit language (Dorais 2010: 4). In contrast to Greenland, where Kalaallisut, the language variety spoken by the local Inuit population, became the official dialect of the country at the beginning of the 20th century, the Canadian spoken languages still lack an official standard. In the course of their political organization and the construction of a national Inuit identity Inuit leaders chose to deliberately reduce this dialectal diversity in order to represent a homogeneous language community. In doing so, as we will see in section 3.1, they opted for English-Inuktitut bilingualism also promoted by international Inuit discourse.

Closely related to this is the question of classifying internal linguistic variation. Depending on whether one refers to national or international resources, one

3 Simply put, speakers of a polysynthetic language construct words according to their needs by adding lexical or grammatical suffixes based on a number of rules. This produces extended morphosyntactic constructions which are best translated by sentences in most Indo-European languages.

4 Dorais (2010) gives a comprehensive overview on formal as well as sociolinguistic aspects of language use not only in Canada, but also in Russia, the United States and Greenland.

will find different accounts of Inuit language varieties. An example may demonstrate this problem. While the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* observes eleven Canadian forms of speech (UNESCO 2010), the Canadian census only reports of five “Inuit language dialects”. In the latter case, these dialects are gathered to fit under the designation of “Inuktitut” (Statistics Canada 2006).⁵ Patrick offers at least a partial explanation for this taxonomic incongruity. When languages are described in different contexts, we experience something which, by lack of adequate words, is best depicted as the successive “absorption” of local tongues by broader varieties (2012: 7). Overlooking the fact that taxonomy is mostly irrelevant for linguistic practices on a day-to-day basis, these presumably innocent choices are fundamental to the establishment of institutional services and representation. These institutional frameworks will then, both symbolically and practically, be beneficial only to those language varieties which have been previously categorized as representative enough to be – and this is where the vicious circle begins and never ends – representable.

Although the ability to ally strategically and to put aside differences to reach a consensus (cf. Daveluy 2008: 143) is without doubt one of the key ingredients for the cohabitation of people in general, the image of a homogeneous community projected on non-Inuit has ambiguous effects on the revitalization of Inuit culture in Canada. Their languages are far from being the only Aboriginal languages struggling with conflicting discourses. Nonetheless, the Inuit case in the Canadian Arctic is a typical example for walking a tightrope between recognising linguistic diversity and its actual promotion. All too often we therefore mistake the issue of languages at risk in the plural as a general issue of language endangerment in the singular. Section 3 will address some of the questions arising from these ambiguities in relation to language policy making in Nunavut as compared to more or less recent developments in Nunavik.

3. Language policy development in Nunavut

3.1. Conflicting discourses in the circumpolar world

Before we expand on the Nunavut case in particular, it is important to understand, that Inuit emancipation movements in Canada are not only framed by national political structures but are also tied to international Inuit discourses and associations. In this regard, the creation of a pan-arctic identity is not necessarily supporting preva-

5 Unfortunately, more recent data has not been available to the author at the time this article was published.

lent descriptive terminology exploited to debate language and languages in contact. Categories such as “official”, “non-official”, “national”, “regional”, “local”, “minority” or “majority” are seldom used in international document releases. The global Inuit community considers itself a community based on linguistic and cultural cohesion⁶ instead of official or legal ascriptions to a particular territory (cf. Daveluy 2004b: 87). As far as language is concerned, Inuit leaders at the international level therefore favour a collective perspective over the support of particularities, which has proven to be fundamental to the creation of “a single Inuit political voice in the international arena” (Patrick 2012: 6). Probably one of the most salient symbolic gestures pointing to this strong, coherent self-image within state borders is the name change of the national Inuit organization from *Inuit Tapirisat of Canada* (Inuit will be united in Canada) to *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami* (Inuit are united in Canada) in 2001.⁷ In terms of language, the *Inuit Circumpolar Council* (ICC), representing Inuit around the globe, supports English-Inuktitut bilingualism in all circumpolar regions (Daveluy 2008: 142). A common bilingual strategy, however, is difficult to impose on Inuit populations living in different countries, speaking different varieties of presumably the same language, and having very different experiences with European and American practices of colonization. Far from suggesting this was the only problem, we would like to highlight one particular challenge specifically relating to language policy. As Patrick has already pointed out, the need for effective inter- and transnational communication creates a tension between the demand for a lingua franca and the maintenance of distinct linguistic and cultural practices and identities at the local level. On the one hand, the recourse to English helps to compensate deficiencies in understanding other Inuit varieties across borders. On the other hand, subordinating Inuit languages to English (or any other dominant European language) works against key goals of international Inuit alliances, which predominantly focus on strengthening so-called Inuitness in the circumpolar world, now more than ever centred on the languages of their ancestors (Patrick 2012: 7). We have already seen in section 2.2 which effects these tensions might entail for describing and classifying the linguistic multiplicity of Inuit languages.

While the image of a homogeneous (language) group has served the political project of Canadian Inuit leaders at the time, it does not properly reflect the actual living and speaking conditions of the community, which are all but uniform. The fact that the Inuvialuit, an Inuit group living at the western border of Nunavut, decided to pursue their own political objectives attests to the very real limitations of this unifying discourse.

6 This perspective coincides with the definition to be found in the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (UNESCO 1996: Art. 1).

7 See: <https://www.itk.ca/>

However, the minimization of linguistic differences coincides with the voluntaristic response to questions of socio-political and economic reconciliation of the federal government. Its romantic and idealistic ideas about indigeneity assisted the creation of a static, monolithic, and archaic image of Inuit language and culture (Daveluy 2008: 377), which further relates to concepts reproduced by Canadian legal discourse. The difficulty experienced by the juridical community of developing and implementing policies on autochthonous issues has been explicated elsewhere (cf. Hofstätter 2010: 43 ff.). In a nutshell, for Aboriginal communities adapting to Canadian court rules and participating in a Western juridical system equals to being placed in the margins of said system once again. Along these lines, we may identify a new task for interdisciplinary legal and sociological research which is no longer preoccupied with defining the contents of autochthonous rights, but overtly addresses the ideological ambiguities underpinning the confusion over the contemporary life world of the recipients of these rights.

In this respect, Nunavut certainly finds itself in a particular situation. For the first time in Canadian history, an indigenous population has legislated itself on language matters, i.e. has given its language(s) official status at the territorial level. However, due to the federal bilingual policy, Nunavut faces a very specific trilingual challenge, i.e. language rights management for Inuktitut as well as for English and French.

Embracing their new legal status, the Nunavummiut, the inhabitants of Nunavut, developed a managing strategy which exhausts the political and legal power they hold in the federal State, while respecting the limits imposed by the Canadian political system. This strategy, unique in Canada, raises several problems when we take into account what can be considered a more general goal of linguistic diversity maintenance, namely the peaceful coexistence of peoples. Hence the importance of associating the language question with the relations between linguistic communities, i.e. between “majorities” and “minorities”, in the Great North.

3.2. Managing languages in Nunavut

From the beginning, developing a proper Nunavut language plan has faced several challenges, including the mutilating effects of the unifying discourse on Inuit ways of speaking and speaking of themselves, which we have already treated in the previous section, as well as the devolution of political competencies to the territorial level, which we will consider in the following one. On the upside, however, it has put the Inuit language back on the federal map, has engaged actively in language promotion projects on all levels of public and private life in Nunavut and, last but not least, still serves as an example for future Inuit projects. We will revisit these last points at the end of this section.

In Nunavut, English is used as a second language by most of the inhabitants (cf. Dorais 2010: 249ff.). On the one hand, adopting a bilingual approach has allowed the new territory to connect to global as well as North American political and economic networks, and the Canadian political apparatus in particular. On the other hand, Canadian Arctic policy makers need to accommodate yet another form of bilingualism: namely, Canada's official linguistic duality referring to English and French. Thus, circumpolar bilingualism transforms into Canadian Arctic trilingualism taking into account not only English and Inuit languages but also French.

The recognition of French and English as official languages in Nunavut, i.e. the adoption of a trilingual policy, gives rise to significant administrative problems. In this respect, territorial linguistic legislation must provide protection for the French-speaking minority in the territory (1.4%) as well as linguistic rights for the Anglophone community (28.4%).⁸ Great portions of (financial) means and human resources are thus dedicated to languages in a minority position already highly supported, not only nationally but also locally, and regardless of their political and sociolinguistic weight outside the territory. This is pointing to the fact that minority languages which dispose of a superior legal, political and socio-economic status nationwide as well as of greater expertise on the individual level benefit more from Canadian linguistic rights discourse than do less-favoured languages (cf. Whiteley 2003, cited in Daveluy 2004a: 94). This being said, dealing with language practices in the North does not necessarily presume abandoning the trilingual model but calls for reconsidering the repartition of responsibilities when it comes to granting linguistic rights (ibid. 96).

It can be assumed that the Inuit in Nunavut seek to confirm their status as a so-called "locally limited majority" as far as their language project, fortified by a common political goal and a linguistic legislation which – at least – *aims* at conserving dialectal diversity,⁹ forges a common standard beneficial to the political and economic functions of the language (cf. Daveluy 2008: 147).

Legislation on the status and the use of their language in Nunavut has created legal texts which add to the constitutional protection in place, but offer an adapted version better suiting their community, i.e. the particular situation of speakers living in the territory. This alone constitutes a considerable advantage compared to other autochthonous groups who do not enjoy the same level of political autonomy.

In sum, the Inuit language is protected locally, i.e. within the borders of Nunavut, and can only benefit from the new norms imposed by the *Inuit Language Protection Act*. Due to the inclusion of Inuinnaqtun, this remains true for the two most

8 See Statistics Canada (2011) for the complete report on language use in Nunavut. Note that only English and French are counted as official languages in the census.

9 Remember that the *Official Languages Act* includes two Inuit dialects: Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun.

prominent forms of speech in the territory. Nevertheless, the creation of an “Inuit enclave” is based on an ideology reproducing Western conceptions of the relationship between peoples and recreating inconvenient hierarchies between “majorities” and “minorities”. This pushes them – once again – to the margins of the Canadian multi-cultural mosaic. In addition, it potentially generates a blueprint in language matters liable to be transposed to other Inuit regions without previously taking into consideration that this specific strategy is not necessarily prone to all forms of linguistic contact in Nordic regions today.

In this spirit, measures taken with respect to the Inuit languages in Canada need to address these differences in language use, including a fruitful cooperation between all language groups involved. This means, on the one hand, better information for the non-Inuit population about linguistic and cultural practices of the numerable Inuit communities in the Canadian Arctic, and, on the other hand, a self-portrayal closer to the contemporary life world projected by the Inuit themselves. Furthermore, this might involve reconsidering differentiation practices on the cultural and linguistic level, which, otherwise, only further disparities and the lack of understanding between language communities in contact.

We can conclude that, even though the situation has changed in Nunavut, officialising the Inuit language has not influenced national language policy (yet), the efforts of linguistic promotion (still) concentrate mainly on the local level and, most importantly, even tend towards the exclusion of every Canadian Inuk living outside the territory. Moreover, the territorialising effect of their identity strategy has influenced the linguistic strategy of Inuit leaders in Nunavut without sufficiently taking into account the diversity of language in use on an everyday basis.

The following section presents an alternative approach to language management in Arctic Canada, demonstrated by the sociolinguistic situation of the Inuit language in Nunavik, Northern Quebec.

3.3. Language policy in Nunavik

The language situation in Nunavik is sometimes described as a linguistic paradox. Although Nunavik disposes less political and legal powers than Nunavut, more people still speak the Inuit language¹⁰ while it competes less with other languages used on the labour market, meaning English and French (Daveluy 2004b: 5). In the remainder of this section we will explore some possible explanations for these observations.

10 Dorais, referring to the national census of 2006, opposes 70% of the Nunavut population stating Inuit as their home language to 91% in Nunavik (2010: 240). These figures, as “it is difficult to assess the exact number of Inuit speakers” (ibid. 235) in general, are to be treated with caution.

Considering the local revitalization project for Inuktitut, the goal of Nunavik compares to that of Nunavut. We have already seen in section 2 that the two, however, part in their courses of action. While Nunavut resorts to formal, i.e. legislative, means, Nunavik aims at grassroots strategies in order to reduce the tension between the desire to promote Inuktitut and the need to foster fluency and effectiveness in the dominant English and French languages for political and economic reasons. “To keep Inuktitut alive, and healthy in the face of many great challenges in the modern age” (Avataq 2009: 89), Nunavik does not take legal action but relies on a locally managed consultation process overseen by Avataq, the region’s cultural organization. Nevertheless, both cases accentuate the fluidity of the boundaries between top-down and bottom-up approaches, insofar as Nunavut also provides the possibility of local consultation, and Nunavik places emphasis on face-to-face interactions specifically with a view to, the other way around, the legal implementation of an official regional language plan (Patrick 2012: 8).

As Daveluy suggests, “Nunavut stands in a comparable state to Nunavik in some respects while differences remain” (2004a: 94). We shall refer to two main distinctions. First, the francophone population of Nunavik, in contrast to Nunavut, is not dependant on special linguistic rights, since the use of their language is already highly regulated and protected by the *Charter of the French Language*. This balances the historic predominance of English as second language in the region and has a depoliticising effect on language choice and language attitudes in general. The knowledge of Inuktitut, in this linguistic climate, is perceived as a resource on the personal level rather than a political right, or a problem (ibid. 95).

Second, we have seen that language, compared to debates between the English- and French-speaking population of the country, only plays a secondary role in negotiations with Aboriginal groups. Considering legal asymmetries between different Indigenous populations in Canada,¹¹ we may be inclined to say that the Inuit in Quebec constitute an informative counter-example to these political imbalances. Even though the agreement of 1975 between the federal and provincial governments and the autochthonous communities in Nunavik has been negotiated on the base of

11 The Canadian Constitution differentiates between First Nations, Inuit and Métis. While the former, still legally specified as “Indians” from time to time, comprise various aboriginal groups across Canada, the latter describes traditions formed from unions between English or French settlers and indigenous inhabitants in the mid-17th century. Despite their official recognition by law, there is no binding definition of the term up to date. Inuit are identified, and identify themselves, as persons living primarily in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and northern parts of Quebec and coastal Labrador. They have their own history, culture and language(s). Often compared to the international term “Indigenous peoples”, the general term “Aboriginal peoples”, however, does not adequately reflect neither the distinctions between the three categories, nor variations *within* these categories. (cf. CIHR et al. 2014: 111)

political and economic interests, and, therefore, does not constitute an instance of linguistic legislation in the proper sense, the complementarity of Quebec's main linguistic law (*Bill 101*) and the *JBNQA* dissolves the initial ambiguity against the fierce language policy of the province. Despite the strong assimilative tendency of *Bill 101*, its scope is considerably limited in its application in Nunavik, giving the fact that the beneficiaries of the *JBNQA*, as we have already mentioned above, are exempted from the legal provisions in force. Thus, contrary to Nunavut, there is no comprehensive legal language plan applicable to Nunavik until today. In part, this is explained by the fact that at the time the *JBNQA* was signed, self-governance for an Aboriginal people was (still) out of the question. When the health and educational provisions of the *Agreement* were included in the newly enacted *Charter of the French language* a form of "linguistic peace" was established in the region in 1977 (Daveluy 2004: 88 f.). However, there have been more recent negotiations in view of a proper regional government for Nunavik, modelled after the Nunavut example, assigned with expanded administrative authority and also endorsing an officially trilingual Inuktitut-English-French language policy (Nunavik Commission 2001). Future developments will show, whether, and how, this project will deal with the pitfalls of the legal implementation of trilingualism in Canada's North.

4. Conclusions and perspectives

The intention of this paper has been to show that establishing policies and drafting legal documents in the field of language management are not in any way simple symbolic gestures. Language revitalization efforts are vital to the building of decolonising relationships between Indigenous communities, such as the Inuit populations of eastern Canada, and dominant groups with European, i.e. English and French, heritage more recently settling on contemporary Canadian territory. Larger projects of political emancipation in the Canadian Arctic are profoundly linked to issues of language use in informal and formal contexts, tackled by top-down as well as by bottom-up approaches to language protection and promotion.

Comparing Nunavut and Nunavik has also revealed that the Inuit case is a typical example for the ambiguity between language recognition and language promotion. While both regions share the same goal of strengthening political, economic, and environmental participation at the local, regional, national, and global levels, they resort to rather different strategies. On the one side, Nunavik chooses a "consultative" bottom-up approach, which is based on community-based interaction. On the other side, Nunavut relies on a legislative top-down approach by establishing proper Inuit language laws. This latter initiative has resulted in the projection of a

homogenous language community which downplays internal variation in order to appear as a coequal partner in negotiating the concept of and conditions for linguistic and cultural diversity with two much stronger language communities, i.e. the English- and French-speaking populations of the country. The prize for the recognition of their cultural and linguistic specificity – at the national level at least – is high: “The consequence has been not only to systematically view the Inuit through their past, but also, by applying these reified cultural characteristics, to imbue the Inuit with a different and continually differentiated status within the nation” (Visart de Bocarmé/Petit 2008: 37). In the end, this does not result in the domination of one or two majority languages over one minority language but in the unequal power repartition between different *categories* of minority language groups: namely, Aboriginal language minorities and official-language minorities.

If we now reconsider Fraser’s¹² assertion on language policy quoted in the beginning of this article we understand that Canadian linguistic rights discourse is first and foremost concerned with large-scale language minorities. Thus, “[m]aking Canada’s language policy work” is (still) essentially concerned with “making the [English- and French-speaking] country work.”

Finally, we have learned that language strategies in Nunavut and Nunavik are torn between conflicting views on language and linguistic contact. Inuit struggles to become equally respected co-citizens in Canadian society develop in the see-saw of both unifying and diversifying discourses, of functional and cultural approaches, and of bilingual and trilingual strategies. This should be reason enough to call into question views on language in general as well as specific terminology labelling linguistic units which underpin these decolonising initiatives. All things considered, we may infer that language labels such as “official languages”, “official-language minorities” or simply “minority languages” need to be fundamentally revised.¹³

Reporting on her studies undertaken in northern Quebec, Patrick advances the term of “language economy”, which defines linguistic communities as “fluid social categories which, at least in part, are built on linguistic practices” (2007b: 131, translation by the author). From a slightly different point of view, Daveluy (2004a) is questioning the federal acknowledgement of responsibilities in regard to language policy, especially in the Canadian North. She refers to international conventions, such as the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights*, which introduce an alternative terminology. If we considered, as she concludes, French and English-speaking populations in both

12 Graham Fraser was announced Canada’s Commissioner of Official Languages in 2006. In 2013 his position was renewed for another three years.

13 These considerations are equally relevant to other geopolitical contexts. For an illustrative overview of the European situation, for example, see i. a. Darquennes (2010), Schjerve-Rindler (2006).

Nunavut and Nunavik as “language groups” instead of “official-language minorities”, we might be able to better accommodate actual linguistic practices in these two Inuit regions.

On this note, the search for their legitimate place next to English and French in the Canadian and the Quebecer political and juridical systems has forced the Inuit people to adopt a language – be it a proper form of speech or a particular discourse – which is foreign to them, and which is sometimes even opposed to their own concerns. The Inuit case helps us understand why “minority” language studies, which take place in highly politicized settings, is often referred to as a “mined field” (Patrick 2007b: 137). It is in this context of confusion between scientific knowledge and political – and accordingly juridical – power that the work of anthropologists, ethnologists and sociolinguists in the field is of vital importance.

In Nunavut, the right to Inuktitut may not equal the right to speak “the Inuit way” yet, but hopefully further critical and comprehensive research as well as sensible political activism on the community level will inspire new prospects for multilingual ways of life in the Canadian North.

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Online resources

- Avataq Cultural Institute: <http://www.avataq.qc.ca/>
- Justice Laws Website Canada: <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/>
- Statistics Canada: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/>
- UNESCO: <http://en.unesco.org/>

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The public use of minority and regional languages in the local administrations of the Friuli Venezia Giulia region in Italy

The public use of minority and regional languages (namely Slovene, Friulian and German) in the Friuli Venezia Giulia (FVG) region of Italy became more widespread in local public administrations at the turn of the 21st century. Provinces and municipalities gained more competences regarding the conservation and development of these languages due to the new national and regional legal frame for minority protection in Italy. The article treats the specific socio-political frame of ethnic revival and debate about the Italian nationality as well as the European legal frame of minority rights which in the 1990s supported the approval of Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy. It then presents the legal provisions concerning the public use of these minority languages. It also concentrates on the linguistic help desks for minority language services found in municipalities and provinces highlighting the main factors which have proven to be obstacles to the functioning of these help desks. The analysis shows that Slovene, Friulian and German are now the languages of use in the various forms of public communication of provinces and municipalities, but the linguistic services offered are not continuous in nature due to the project-based system of financing. In addition, only some of the local public administrations provided for minority language services though they are included in the legally recognized minority-language municipal areas as the legal provisions are not binding. Moreover, the existing minority language services often lack the appropriate promotion among the public which affects the intensity of use of minority rights by members of the minorities and speakers of minority languages.

1. Introduction

The Friuli Venezia Giulia region in Italy (FVG) is situated in the tri-border area between Italy, Slovenia and Austria. It is an ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse environment consisting of several historical national and linguistic groups, namely the Slovene, Friulian and German-speaking communities and the Italian majority. It has a special political and administrative autonomy due to its geopolitical location as a border region and due to specific related socio-economic factors. The public use of its minority and regional languages in the local administrations has recently improved

due to the development of state and regional norms on minority rights. It refers to the regulations included in Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy, and Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community. These national laws are complemented by three regional laws governing the protection of the Slovene community (Regional Law 26/2007), the protection of the Friulian community (Regional Law 29/2007) and the protection of German-speaking communities (Regional Law 20/2009). The contents of these laws express the legal principles of the protection of minorities as stipulated in Article 6 of the Italian Constitution and Article 3 of the Special Statute of the Autonomous Region of FVG, which recognizes the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region.

The Friulian language is recognized in 81% of the region's 218 municipalities (i.e. in 177 municipalities), followed by Slovene in 14% of its municipalities (i.e. in 32 municipalities), and German in 2% of its municipalities (i.e. in five municipalities). A total of 90% of all municipalities in FVG (i.e. 197 municipalities) have at least one of the recognized minority groups. The three communities differ in status, form, characteristics, structure, histories, as well as in the expression of their collective interests. They are recognized as distinct from each other on the basis of their history, language and culture. The organizations and institutions of the three minorities have an autonomous structure; their aim is to preserve each national and linguistic community as a separate entity. The common denominator of the three communities is a historical presence in the area where they live today.

The state and regional legislation concerning minority rights do not explicitly grant official language status to the protected minority languages (Slovene, German and Friulian). Moreover, the State Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities states that the official language is Italian. On account of the provisions allowing for the bilingual and multilingual operation of public administrations and a visible bilingualism or multilingualism in these languages, these minority languages have in practice acquired a status that is similar to that of an official language in the legally defined municipal areas. Thus, Poggeschi (2009: 23) speaks of the "semi-official linguistic recognition" of these languages, while Cevolin (2009: 27) uses the term "the region's own language" in relation to the definition used in the Regional Law 29/2007 for the protection of the Friulian community.

In the Italian Constitution and legislation as well as in the legislation of the FVG region, all three communities are identified as linguistic minorities, irrespective of their socio-political and socio-linguistic situation. The use of this term is controversial, as in this case the term is used by the majority nation in order to diminish the political significance of the presence of the three minorities. Consequently, the problem of minority rights is reduced to merely a problem of language, regardless of the fact that the nature of the minority is usually multifaceted and also includes the problem of political and wider social engagement. It should be noted, however, that

the term “historical linguistic minorities” has become common in Italian legislation for practical reasons as well. Such a definition is the minimum possible common denominator of all legally protected types of minorities in the Italian peninsula. Among these we can find national minorities such as the Slovene one in the FVG region, the German one in South Tyrol and the French one in the region of Valle d’Aosta; regional languages such as Friulian, Ladin, Sardinian, Occitan, Franco-Provençal and Catalan; language islands or archipelagos such as the Albanian-Arbëresh and Greek-speaking communities in southern Italy, the Croatian-speaking minority in the region of Molise and the German-speaking communities in the Alpine area in northern Italy.

2. Objective and methodology

The central research question of this article concerns the analysis of the public use of the Slovene, Friulian and German languages in relations between the municipalities, provinces and the public of FVG that has developed on the basis of the abovementioned state and regional regulations. The first part of the article presents an analysis of the legal provisions concerning the public use of these minority and regional languages. The second part of the article concentrates on the linguistic help desks for minority language services in municipalities and provinces highlighting the main factors that prevent them from functioning at an optimal level. Identification and analysis of these factors will be conducted on the basis of data collected through recent analysis and research on the public use of these languages on a regional level.

The term “public use of languages” refers in this article to spoken and written communication in regional or minority languages between individuals and public institutions taking place through various forms of communication (notifications, publications, notices, etc.), as well as to various documents and forms written in these languages. The potential users of the language services provided are primarily the members of the three communities, or more specifically, the speakers of the protected minority and regional languages, their associations, organizations and the media.

In the FVG region, in addition to the mentioned minorities, there also exist various newly immigrated communities and other historical communities that were established there during economic migrations in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, e.g. the Serbian, Croatian, and Jewish communities. They do not have specific sociopolitical objectives comparable to those of national and linguistic minorities and for this reason, they are not treated in this article.

3. The main socio-political factors that led to minority protection laws in Italy at the turn of the 21st century

The claims for minority protection of national or regional identities other than Italian in the FVG region and broadly in Italy were not generally supported by the majority Italian elite or by the Italian state and local administrations during the post-war period due to various socio-political factors.

The topic of national and linguistic minorities has not traditionally been in the forefront of democratic Italian state policies and legislation, despite the fact that Article 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Italy defines the safeguarding of linguistic minorities through special norms. Stolfo (2009: 207) underlines that the calls for the protection of their languages and communities on the part of various linguistic minorities were perceived as an expression of localism, a reluctance to accept advancement in Italian terms and inclusion into the broader society. Moreover, he argues that the recognition of minority languages and the introduction of safeguards to active policies were like questioning the unity of the nation and even its very existence.

Vidali (2011) argues that the understanding of Italian nationality began to change from the 1990s with the inclusion of the minority rights issue in national and local political agendas. Her analysis shows that this was supported by the broader revival of the intellectual and political debate regarding the Italian national identity and the role of the Italian state in contemporary society. New political powers based on a regional logic developed during this period in Italy and are embodied in the Northern League political party. According to Vidali, this led to the crisis of the Italian nation in the civic sense as the state-political unit, which originated a revival of patriotism as an ideological tool to maintain the national state. At the same time, she highlights that greater attention to the ethnic elements of regional identities and the revitalization of minority and regional languages made sense.

In the 1990s some regions began paying greater attention to the problem of ethnicity (Palici di Suni Prat 2000: 102, 2002: 102–106; Stolfo 2009: 178–179), adopting a series of laws in favour of regional languages and local dialects in the spirit of the safeguard of cultural and linguistic heritage and the conservation of local identities. However, the approval of Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy was the outcome also of the international pressure from the Council of Europe and its documents for the safeguard of national minorities and minority or regional languages (Cisilino 2004: 101–104; Palici di Suni Prat 2000: 102, 2002: 106).

The aforementioned Italian situation of ethnic revival can be compared to the European socio-political framework described by Keating (2007). He argues that in

the same period new socio-political situations, which started to concentrate their national identity mainly on ethnicity were clear, expressing a redefinition of the concepts of nation-state and sovereignty as well as in a debate about asymmetrical models of accommodating the diversity of nationally and linguistically mixed regions. Moreover, various authors defined this event as a “renaissance of progressive nationalisms” (Rizman 2001: 29), an “era of nationalisms” (Medica 2007: 78) or “micronationalisms” (Coluzzi 2007: 66–67).

4. The public use of minority and regional languages in the FVG region

According to Schneckener (2004: 23–24), the right to the public use of the minority language and its related official status at the local or regional level belongs to the category of cultural rights which “allow group members to express freely, preserve, and develop their cultural and linguistic heritage”. Moreover, the author highlights that the state must give active support to minorities in structural and financial terms in order to grant minority protection; otherwise minority rights cannot be realized. The local public administration is the decentralized expression of the state at the local level, thus the public use of minority and regional languages in local administrations such as municipalities and provinces are fundamental for the national and linguistic minorities as they create the conditions necessary for their protection and development. The present legal system of minority protection in Italy gives a leading role to municipalities and provinces in supporting national and linguistic minorities and the public use of their languages. They were the key factor in the procedures of the legal definition of the protected areas where minority protection laws can be applied. The public use of minority and regional languages is based on the principle of territoriality and thus defined on the basis of the delineations of municipal administrations if they have at least 15 per cent of the population, or one third of municipal advisors supporting the inclusion into the minority language-speaking area (Vidau 2013).

The system by which public administrations in FVG provide individuals and organizations belonging to national or linguistic minority services in minority or regional languages differs between the Slovene, Friulian and German languages. Different typologies of services in these languages can be found in municipalities as they range from those with fully bilingual staff and entirely bilingual operations to those with linguistic help desks operating mainly to support the associations promoting a minority or regional language. Bilingual or multilingual dealings in Friulian and

German are conducted mainly through dedicated services or linguistic help desks; concerning the Slovene language, in addition to dedicated services, there are also examples of municipalities employing bilingual staff and providing translation services in accordance with the system that has been in place there since before the introduction of the recent legislation in the 21st century.

Since 2001, the municipalities and provinces in legally defined areas have been introducing linguistic help desks to offer services in the Friulian, German and Slovene languages. According to Stolfo (2009a) these are dedicated services for the use of minority or regional languages in transactions between local public administrations and the public, thus providing citizens with the possibility of using their native language in oral and written form. The author argues that the main aim of the help desk is to assist other offices in their communication and contact with the speakers of the minority language. At the same time, the author says, they participate in preparing appropriate forms, notices and information materials in the protected language and provide for written and oral communication with the public. Moreover, according to his description, the linguistic help desks cooperate with schools and various associations and offer a range of activities for the promotion of minority languages in education, literature, theatre and other cultural spheres.

4.1. The public use of the Slovene language

The Slovene community in the FVG region is a border-area national minority due to the formation of state borders in the upper Adriatic area (between the second half of the 19th century and 1975 when the Treaty of Osimo between Italy and Yugoslavia confirmed the delineation of borders from the post-war period). Its traditional settlement area in FVG covers a total of 39 municipalities (Bogatec 2004). From a formal aspect, according to the list of municipalities drawn up on the basis of the Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community, the presence of this community is documented in a more narrow territory of 32 municipalities in the provinces of Gorizia (*Gorica*), Trieste (*Trst*) and Udine (*Videm or Viden*) in the areas of Benecia (*Benečija*), Resia (*Rezija*) and Val Canale (*Kanalska dolina*).

Members of the Slovene community in Italy speak both standard Slovene, which is the state and official language in the Republic of Slovenia, as well as its various local dialects or variants (Sussi 1998; Janežič 2004). Moreover, they are all fluent in standard Italian and/or its local dialects. In the province of Udine there are also examples of individuals who speak a local Slovene dialect, but due to the lack of educational opportunity in the Slovene language, are not familiar with standard Slovene. They have since been given this opportunity through the establishment of a bilingual school centre in San Pietro al Natisone (*Špeter*) which first operated as a

private school, but became part of the state school system due to Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community.

A system of Slovene-language state schools has been set up in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia and a bilingual school centre in S. Pietro al Natisone in the province of Udine. Media communication in Slovene takes place at the level of public radio and television within the regional headquarters of Italy's national public broadcasting company RAI and through various forms of print and online media. Slovenes in the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine have a network of activities, institutions and associations which focus mainly on cultural and sports activities in the framework of professional institutions or in grassroots associations, parishes and other centres (Sussi 1998; Janežič 2004). The Slovene community also has its political representatives elected to various administrative and political bodies, such as the Italian Senate, the Regional Council of Friuli-Venezia Giulia and other provincial and municipal bodies.

In compliance with the abovementioned legal provisions (Article 8 of State Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community, Articles 7 and 8 of Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy, Article 11 of the Regional Law 26/2007 for the protection of the Slovene community), the administrative and judicial authorities and companies offering public services on the basis of concessions with headquarters in the aforementioned territory of 32 municipalities in the Provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine, are required to provide the citizens with the possibility of using the Slovene language both in spoken form (either directly or through interpreters) and in correspondence, at least by means of a translation attached to the Italian text. Moreover, at the request of interested citizens, the acts and measures intended for public use that are issued on standardized forms such as documents of a personal nature, for example identity cards and certificates issued by registry offices, are to be issued bilingually. In these areas, the public administration is required to also use Slovene in public communications and official publications.

In the case of Slovene, a dual system of the public use of this minority language has been established in dealings between public institutions and the citizens. The first system applies to seven bilingual municipalities in the areas of Trieste (San Dorligo della Valle-Dolina, Sgonico-Zgonik, Monrupino-Repentabor, Duino-Aurisina-Devin Nabrežina) and Gorizia (San Floriano del Collio-Števerjan, Doberdò del Lago-Doberdob and Savogna d'Isonzo-Sovodnje ob Soči), where prior to the introduction of linguistic help desks, administrative staff had engaged in oral and written communication with the public in the Slovene language in accordance with the provisions laid down by the Allied Military Government from the post-war period, the minority rights granted by the Special Statute of the London Memorandum (1954) and from 1992 onward, in accordance with their own statutes. The second system concerns the establishment of linguistic help desks, which was a novelty for the municipalities that

had formerly not used Slovene in their proceedings. In general, municipalities and provinces began adopting this practice on the basis of Law 482/1999, which granted funding for these types of minority-language services already prior to Law 38/2001. Other municipalities started introducing the public use of Slovene in interactions with the public in 2011 with the provision of annual funding in line with Law 38/2001, such as Trieste (*Trst*) and Muggia (*Milje*) in the province of Trieste, Monfalcone (*Tržič*), Ronchi dei Legionari (*Ronke*) and Gorizia (*Gorica*) in the province of Gorizia and Attimis (*Ahten*), Faedis (Fojda), Malborghetto-Valbruna (*Naborjet-Ovčja vas*), San Pietro al Natisone (*Špeter*) and Tarvisio (*Trbiž*) in the province of Udine (Sussi et al. 2011).

4.2. The public use of the Friulian language

Friulian is an example of a European regional language that is currently experiencing a period of revitalization owing mainly to its introduction into the school system and public administration. The Friulian-speaking area covers 177 municipalities in the provinces of Gorizia (Gurize), Udine (Udin) and Pordenone (Pordenon). The legal definition of the Friulian-speaking area in FVG is evident from the list of municipalities from two decrees by the President of the Regional Council of the Autonomous Region of FVG (Decrees 412/1996 and 160/1999). This list was subsequently confirmed by the Regulations on the Implementation of Law 482/1999 (Decree of the President of the Republic 345/2001). The Friulian language environment also includes certain areas around the city of Portogruaro in the province of Venice in the Veneto region (the towns of Gruaro, Teglio, Fossalta, San Michele al Tagliamento) (Vicario 2006).

Historical sources testify to the fact that the Friulian language has existed in written form for at least 1,000 years (Vicario 2006). It is a Romance language that has been influenced by various languages with which it came into contact throughout history: by pre-Romance languages, such as Gaelic and Venetic, by Germanic languages such as Gothic, Langobardic and German, and by Slavic languages (Vicario 2006). Modern Friulian comprises four basic dialects and the standard language with its official script. The latter has been developed on the basis of the literary tradition of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, which was based on the dialect spoken in central Friuli.

There are numerous cultural associations active in the field of the valorization, preservation and development of the Friulian language and culture mainly in the field of theatre, music, film and literature (Cisilino 2006; Janežič 2004). Media available in the Friulian language include various print and online media, as well as a private radio station. To a somewhat lesser extent, radio programmes in this language are also present in the regional headquarters of Italy's national public broadcasting company RAI for FVG. Moreover, Friulian can also be heard in various private local radio and television stations.

The use of the Friulian language in dealings between public administrations and the public is legally stipulated (by Articles 7 and 8 of State Law 482/1999 on the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy, by Articles 6 and 8 of Regional Law 29/2007 for the protection of the Friulian community). It applies to all local public administrations, their dependent structures and public service concessionaires in the legislated area comprising a total of 177 municipalities within the three provinces of Gorizia, Udine and Pordenone, which are required to ensure spoken and written use of Friulian and its use in communication with the public. Regional Law 29/2007 for the protection of the Friulian community establishes an instrument for the provision and management of the language protection policy for Friulian, that is, the General Language Policy Plan (GLPP). The language policy for the Friulian language focuses on the standard variety of the Friulian language and script, even though different dialectal varieties are in use among its speakers. This plan regulates the use of Friulian in fields such as education, media, public administration, social activities. After it is put into action, it will require each public institution (the region, local public administration offices and public service concessionaires) to adopt and follow their own language policy plan, which will have to be compliant with the GLPP and renewed every five years. The proposal for the language policy plan is currently being developed by the Regional Agency for the Friulian Language (Agjenzie Regionâl pe Lenghe Furlane–ARLeF). According to the standard procedure, it must then be approved by the President of the Region, upon consultation with the Regional Committee responsible for the public use of Friulian.

Prior to this law, the public use of Friulian had been stipulated by Regional Law 15/1996 for the Friulian language and culture, which allowed the municipalities, provinces and other local institutions operating on the basis of the statute to make provisions within their statutes for the preservation and development of the Friulian language (Cisilino 2000, 2006). The public use of Friulian before 2001 had thus been limited to certain municipalities in the Friulian-speaking area, but was on no account systematized.

4.3. The public use of the German language

German-speaking communities live in a total of five municipalities in three areas within the province of Udine, namely in Sauris (Zahre) and Timau (Tischlbong) in Carnia and in Val Canale (Kanaltal) near the Austrian border. While these communities relate partly to German as their language of reference, some of them also continue to use their local dialects of German origin. In this case, we can therefore speak of the process of revitalization of archaic dialects as elements of a particularly relevant regional cultural and linguistic heritage.

In regional legislation, the definition of German-speaking communities occurs in the plural as it conveys a plurality of language uses and identities. They have not developed a common collective identity as they did not participate jointly in the process of the German nation-building process and in the creation of the Austrian state. This was the case with the German population living near the Austrian border in Val Canale, which (similarly to the Slovenes) acquired the status of a border minority due to the placement of state borders in the twentieth century. Following the plebiscite of 1939, the majority of this population then moved to the Austrian side. Val Canale is a highly multilingual area where one can even find cases of quadrilinguality (in German, Slovene, Friulian and Italian) (Kravina 2004; Janežič 2004). In the 1990s, German became part of the regular curriculum of primary schools in a variety of formats that provided for multilingual instruction together with Slovene and Friulian. The German dialect spoken in this territory belongs to the family of Carinthian dialects and was also traditionally influenced by standard German.

In terms of linguistic and identity features, the two remaining German-speaking communities in the municipality of Sauris and in the village of Timau have similar features with the other communities in the Alpine region of northern Italy where languages of German origin such as Cimbrian, Mocheno and Walser are spoken. The variant of German spoken by these communities has preserved the archaic features from the period of their original settlement in this area since the thirteenth century. The respective dialects spoken in these towns belong to the language group of Southern Bavarian German dialects (Protto 2004; Unfer 2004). Since the early 1980s, the towns of Sauris and Timau have been known to incorporate their local German dialects into kindergartens and primary schools in addition to Friulian and Italian. According to Protto (2004) and Unfer (2004), the members of younger generations have a mainly passive command of these two dialects, and older people still speak them. The dialects are used primarily within the family circle and in the workplace, in shops, in church and in public places.

Val Canale and the towns of Sauris and Timau have various cultural groups, associations and parishes which are actively engaged in the valorization of the local culture and language and which occasionally publish various publications in German and in the local German dialects.

The public use of the German language in relations between the public authorities and the public is legally prescribed (by Articles 7 and 8 of State Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy and Articles 5 and 6 of Regional Law 20/2009 for the protection of German communities). For the most part, the stipulated language rights follow the contents of the other two regional laws. It is thus established that in the Autonomous Region of FVG, in the province of Udine and in legally defined municipalities inhabited by the German-speaking population, oral and written use of the language of the German minority shall be made possible. The

official acts and forms used by the local institutions, intended either for communities or individuals, may be bilingual. Within the legally specified territory, the regional and provincial offices and their dependent institutions provide the public, especially the minority, with information also in German. At the same time, these institutions also guarantee the publication of their communications in German-language periodicals. The law also provides for the establishment and functioning of linguistic help desks in the aforementioned local public institutions.

5. Unresolved questions concerning the linguistic services for minority and regional languages in the FVG region

There are a considerable number of municipalities and provinces which have introduced language services in regional or minority languages since 2001. From the data available at the office for minority languages (*Servizio corregionali all'estero e lingue minoritarie*) of the Autonomous Region of FVG, in 2013 linguistic help desks for Slovene-language services were operating in 19 out of 32 municipalities as well as in the Provinces of Trieste and Gorizia. In the same year in the Friulian-speaking area there were linguistic help desks for Friulian-language services in 41 out of 177 municipalities as well as in the Provinces of Gorizia, Udine and Pordenone. According to the data regarding German in the province of Udine, in 2013 there were five linguistic help desks in all the municipalities of the German-speaking area. This created a core public structure of local administrations which ensures the public use of Slovene, Friulian and German on an everyday basis (Vidali 2013). At the same time, not all the municipalities in the Slovene- and Friulian-speaking areas apply the legal provisions concerning the linguistic help desks, as these legal provisions are not legally binding.

From the interviews conducted in 2011 with the staff members of the Slovene, Friulian and German linguistic help desks at various municipalities and provinces in the FVG region, a picture emerged of some weaknesses concerning the financing of these linguistic services. Indeed, the number of these linguistic help desks depends on the amount of the allocated resources which are provided on a project-based system of funding by Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in Italy (from 2001 for Friulian and German and from 2001 to 2010 for Slovene) and Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community (from 2011) (Vidali 2013). This amount is defined on a yearly basis and it has, in the last decade, shrunk by 75% under Law 482/1999 for the Friulian and German (Janežič 2011: 90).

The project-based funding system does not enable public administrations to cover the costs of permanently employed staff (Sussi et al 2011, Vidali 2013, Vidali 2014). This therefore raises the question about the staff members who work on linguistic help desks and who are employed on fixed-term contracts. As they are often the only or one of the few employees who are fluent in a regional or minority language, this would mean that the linguistic service is dependent mainly or exclusively on their presence. In the intermediary periods, when such funding is not available, the operation of the activities aimed at protecting and promoting the minority language comes to a halt. Moreover, this affects the quality of these services and the possibility of the suitable long-term employment of staff fluent in a minority or regional language. The situation is different in those municipal and provincial administrations where project funds are complemented by their own resources, as this guarantees the continuity of the public use of minority and regional languages in public relations. This is the case in the province of Gorizia, which in addition to a linguistic help desk, also has its own service for linguistic identities with permanently employed staff for conducting proceedings in Slovene and Friulian. There are also the already abovementioned Slovene-Italian municipalities in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia employing bilingual staff and providing translation services in accordance with the system that has been in place there since before the introduction of the recent legislation in the 21st century.

The results of the research regarding linguistic help desks and other linguistic services in minority and regional languages in the FVG region show that it involves an active engagement of minority group members or minority language speakers in taking advantage of these public services in the minority language (Sussi et al. 2011, Vidali 2013, Vidali 2014). The existing national and regional legislation is based on the concept of minority rights as individual rights, which is why minority- or regional-language speakers must actively exercise these rights in everyday life. Therefore the members of minority groups and speakers of regional languages must be made aware of the fact that they need to request a bilingual form or document at the public administration office, because one will not be offered to them spontaneously. According to the data obtained through monitoring the launch and operation of the public use of Slovene between public administrations and the public due to Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene minority, the right to the public use of Slovene can be eroded if not used by minority members (Sussi et al. 2011, Vidali 2014). Some representatives of the public administrations who joined the monitoring argued that they will not continue to translate the bilingual forms or documents from Italian to Slovene if few or no citizens request them.

Moreover, the public administration must properly inform the public about the services and documents offered in minority and regional languages (Sussi et al. 2011, Vidali 2014). The forms and documents in the minority language must be vis-

ible and easily accessible in the offices as well as on web pages. At the same time, the linguistic help desks must be located near the other offices where citizens will complete the administrative procedure which according to the monitoring is not always the case.

6. Conclusions

Minority and regional languages at the turn of the 21st century officially entered the local public administrations in the FVG region as languages of use in the various forms of public communication. Municipalities and provinces gained the leading role within the state and regional legislation concerning the conservation and development of Slovene, Friulian and German in the legally defined minority language-speaking territories. However, these languages are not official ones, as the Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities states that the official language is Italian. Moreover, the public use of these languages is not compulsory, as the individual municipality has to decide to apply for funding available from Law 482/1999 for the protection of historical linguistic minorities or from Law 38/2001 for the protection of the Slovene community. The legislation concerning minority rights in Italy thus depends first on the inclusion in the minority language-speaking area. Secondly, it relies on the political will of the municipalities and provinces to apply for available funding or to include minority language speakers among their permanent staff in order to offer minority language services.

Some possible developments concerning the public use of minority languages in public administrations in the FVG region can be suggested. The financial sustainability of the system of public use of the minority language could be improved by changing the project-based system from annual to multi-year financing. This will thus reduce the negative effects of the interruption of linguistic help desks between the conclusion of the project financing and the next call for it. Moreover, the intensity of use of minority rights by members of the minorities and speakers of minority languages should be improved by the municipalities and provinces themselves in supporting the appropriate physical placement of linguistic help desks and promoting the services in minority languages available.

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1 In 2013 the author changed her last name from Vidali to Vidau.

Hendrik Johannes Lubbe

The right of minority groups to mother-tongue education versus the right to receive education in the language of choice – an analysis on the basis of litigation in South Africa since 1996

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, approved in 1996, after the advent of a fully democratic dispensation in 1994, declares eleven languages as official, all minority languages. Although it is specifically stipulated in the Constitution that these languages must all enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably, and further that particular attention must be paid to and support given for the advancement of the nine historically disadvantaged indigenous Bantu languages, the African National Congress (ANC)-led government has, mainly for ideologically inspired considerations, a language policy of Anglicization. Not only is little done to elevate the status and advance the use of the nine disadvantaged Bantu languages, but specifically Afrikaans single-medium schools are targeted to become either double- or parallel-medium schools. The Afrikaans speakers, mainly descendants of the Dutch settlers in South Africa (1652–1795; 1803–1806), resist this attempt at Anglicization. One way to preserve their identity is through their insistence on mother-tongue education. No similar pressure is put on single-medium English schools. Official actions taken against three Afrikaans single-medium schools, which have led to litigation, will be discussed to illustrate the Anglicising pressure exerted by the government and their use of language as an instrument for political domination and control.

1. Introduction

Conflict around the issue of language informs just about every stage of South Africa's history. Examples of ideological language planning are the policy of the Dutch East India Company in the Cape (1652–1795) that slaves could only be freed if they were proficient in Dutch, the Anglicization policy of the British occupants since 1795, the use of the language in the creation of the so-called Bantustans in the time of apartheid, and since 1996, the incremental use of English in public life. (For an overview of the historical development of the language policy in South Africa see e.g. Malherbe (1977), Behr (1988), Woolman and Fleisch 2009: 46–52.)

Webb (2006: 151) points out that the current political and bureaucratic leadership seems to have a language policy of Anglicization, using language as an instrument for political domination and control, and for the construction of particularly culturally homogenized communities with particular views, beliefs and values. This ideologically inspired aim poses a threat to linguistic and cultural diversity. One group to resist this attempt to Anglicization is the Afrikaans speakers. One way to preserve their identity is through their insistence on mother-tongue education. However, single-medium Afrikaans schools are targeted to become either parallel- or dual-medium schools (Afrikaans and English) to also accommodate learners who wish to receive their education through the medium of English. No similar pressure is put on single-medium English schools. In practice there is a tension between insistence on the education of minority groups in their mother-tongue, and access to education in a language of choice, mainly English, for the majority of learners. Official actions taken against three single-medium schools, which have led to litigation, will be discussed to illustrate this point.

In the first section the language stipulations in the South African Constitution, hailed as one of the most progressive constitutions worldwide, will be discussed for an understanding of the argumentation in the various court cases. Because the notion ‘mother-tongue education’ plays such an important role the advantages of the concept are discussed in the second section. Here also the role of ideology is touched upon. The third section contains an analysis of the official steps taken against Afrikaans single-medium schools. Conclusions to be drawn out of the case will then be discussed.

2. Discussion of relevant sections in the Constitution

Section 6 of the Founding Provisions of the Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) bears reference to language. Section 6(1) declares eleven languages as official. These eleven languages are all minority languages. The languages are Afrikaans, with its roots in Dutch, the language of the first colonizers (1652–1795; 1803–1806), and spoken by 13.5% of the population as their first language, English brought by the British colonizers (1795–1803; 1806–1910), and spoken by 9.6% as their first language, and nine indigenous Bantu languages which include, inter alia, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana, and which are spoken by respectively 22.7%, 16.0%, 16.7% and 8.0% of the population as their first language (Census 2011). Section 6(3) states, with reference to the official languages:

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

Up until 1994, with the advent of a new democratic dispensation, South Africa had only two official languages, English and Afrikaans, and thus the further stipulation in section 6(4) of the Constitution that ‘all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably’. The normative directive in section 6(4) to treat all languages equitably is a break with the past where the directive for the use of English and Afrikaans, the only two official languages, was equality:

Equitable treatment is treatment that is just and fair in all circumstances. Those circumstances include a history of official degeneration and neglect of indigenous languages. Equity may therefore require that the language that FCs [Final Constitution’s] 6(2) terms historically diminished in use and status receive particular attention and support from the state (Currie 1998: 37.5).

The notion ‘parity of esteem’ provides that every official language would reach the status to be a constant and visible medium of official communication, and forbids language domination and hierarchization, as well as official monolingualism (Currie 1998: 37.6; Du Plessis and Pretorius 2000: 520).

Alongside the notion ‘parity of esteem’ of official languages, the notion ‘equality’ is elaborated on in section 9. After a long history of discrimination and inequalities it could be expected that the notion ‘equality’ would be addressed. Specifically section 9(3) refers to language and culture:

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against any one on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

In a discussion of equal education opportunities, section 29 of the Constitution is of importance. This section was one of the last hurdles in the negotiations to be overcome (Malherbe 1997: 91–95; Ebrahim 1998: 215–216; Heugh 2002: 462; Heugh 2003: 7; Malherbe 2004: 12, 20). The African National Congress (ANC) was in favour of an education system that provides equal and non-racial opportunities for everyone, one that would wipe out all inequalities of the past, while the ruling National Party wanted to protect the existing separate schools for the different language groups to bargain for a constitutional right for single medium schools. A compromise was reached in section 29(2).

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single-medium institutions, taking into account:

- (a) equity;
- (b) practicability; and
- (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

Although single-medium educational institutions do not constitute a guaranteed right, the right to education in a preferred language is unequivocally guaranteed in the Constitution. In order to ensure effective access to, and implementation of the right, the possibility of single medium institutions is explicitly mentioned, which means that this alternative must always be considered. In fact, Malherbe concludes:

Whenever they [single-medium schools] are found to provide the most effective way to fulfil the right to education in one's preferred language, single-medium institutions should be the first option (Malherbe 2004: 22).

For an alternative interpretation of section 29 see Woolman and Fleisch (2009).

Single-medium educational institutions are synonymous with mother-tongue education, and in the next section the advantages of mother-tongue education will be discussed.

3. Advantages of mother-tongue education

The term *mother-tongue*, like many other terms that come into play in language planning, is ideologically loaded (Phillipson 1992: 39ff.). Specifically in South Africa, as a result of opposition to implementation of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953, and the amendment thereof, Act No. 90 of 1979, the notion 'mother-tongue' has become stigmatized. Criteria used by Phillipson (1992: 39) to determine one's mother-tongue are origin, function, proficiency, association with and identification by others, as well as the question whether the language is the mother-tongue of (one of) the speaker's biological parent(s). UNESCO defines the mother-tongue as:

The language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication (quoted by Kamwangamalu 2004: 226).

Advantages of mother-tongue instruction, especially in the initial stages, are discussed by, inter alia, Spolsky (1986), Pattanayak (1988), Cummins (1989), García (1997), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Moodley (2000) and Bamgbose (2000). Specifically South African circumstances are taken into consideration by e.g. Murray (2002), Heugh (2000, 2002a, 2003a, 2003b), and Desai (2003). Empirical studies in South Africa by e.g. Heugh (2000), Bloch (2002) and Plüddemann (2002) show that initial teaching

through mainly English resulted in subtractive multilingualism. A consequence of this state of affairs is that a great percentage of South African's language competence in their mother-tongue, as well as their second dominant language, is not up to standard for formal education and the demands of the modern labour market. In international numeracy and literacy tests, South African learners constantly underperformed; actually they are at the bottom. The 2008 Competitive Report of the World Economic Forum listed South Africa as no 132 out of a total of 134 countries (*Sunday Times* 8 March 2009, p.11). Apart from the cognitive, social and psychological advantages of mother-tongue education the educational advantages and the empowerment of its speakers is not to be ignored:

[T]he right to education in one's preferred language is also particularly relevant for the achievement of equal educational opportunities. It may, in other words, be argued that the right is yet another instrument through which equal educational opportunities should be pursued (Malherbe 2004: 20).

But in spite of the directives in the Constitution to treat all languages equitably and to pay particular attention to and support for the advancement of the historically disadvantaged indigenous Bantu languages, as well as the advantages of mother-tongue instruction, the ANC-led government apparently targeted Afrikaans-medium schools and educational institutions in an effort to compel them to become either dual- or parallel-medium institutions with Afrikaans and English. An important reason for the advancement and promotion of English is ideological. Cobarrubias (1983: 63–66) distinguishes two main types of *language* ideologies, viz language assimilation and language pluralism. Underlying these two types of *language* ideologies are two *general* ideologies, namely homogeneity and nationalism respectively (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). The basic assumption of language assimilation/ homogeneity is that a single identity marker is conducive to nation-building. Differences in a community are regarded as being dangerous and centrifugal in nature whereas the 'ideal' community is 'monolingual, mono-ethnic, monoreligious, mono-ideological' (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 195). The ANC's thinking on language matters is based on homogeneity, while the mother-tongue education advocates' outlook is based on nationalism.

In the case of Afrikaans, a further unfortunate ideological perception comes into play. Because of Afrikaans' association with the apartheid policy of the previous political dispensation, it is perceived as a language of oppression, whereas English is regarded as the language of struggle against, and liberation from the system (Ridge 2000; Perry 2004; Kamwangamalu 2004).

This trend towards English monolingualism is in keeping with the view of the African continent in general, and in English-dominated African countries in particular, that indigenous languages are incapable of expressing the ideals of higher civilization, and are thus of less value. This in effect leads to 'English imperialism'

(Pennycook 2000: 114) (also cf. Herriman & Burnaby 1996; Strydom 2001), leading in turn to hierarchization or linguisticism, in terms of which the resources of minority groups are regarded as handicaps (Strydom & Pretorius 2000: 113).

In actual practice the opposing views regarding the status of minority languages resulted in a tension between mainly Afrikaans speaking groups on the education of minority groups in the mother-tongue, and access to education in a language of choice, mainly English, for the majority of learners. No pressure is placed on single-medium English institutions.

In the next section, official actions taken against three single-medium schools, which have led to litigation, are discussed to illustrate this point.

4. Official steps taken against Afrikaans single-medium schools

The first case involved the Mpumalanga Department of Education which targeted the Middelburg Primary School. Until the end of 2001 this school had been an exclusively Afrikaans-medium institution. A few days before the schools closed for the summer holidays, on 28 November 2001, a member of the Department of Education instructed the school to admit twenty learners who wished to receive their education through the medium of English, in January 2002. At the reopening of the school in January 2002, after the school's power to make decisions regarding the admission of learners was withdrawn, eight learners were admitted to the school to be taught in English. It is noteworthy that they were accompanied by representatives of various political organizations. The school refused to become a dual-medium school and instituted a lawsuit. An application was made by the school to set aside a decision by the Department to declare the Middelburg Primary School a dual-medium school. The case was heard in November 2002 in the Transvaal Provincial Division (*Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education* (2002) 4 ALL SA 745(T)).

Since 1996, another two former Afrikaans-medium primary schools in the same school district had voluntarily become parallel-medium schools, and were obliged to accommodate learners who wished to receive their education through the medium of English, although another English primary school was located in the same district. Vacancies had existed in all three of these schools for the enrolment of learners who wished to receive their education through the medium of English.

The state argued that the school's admission policy discriminated against English-speaking learners. The judge, however, found the argument untenable in the light of section 29(2) of the Constitution, already quoted, and stated:

[E]ducation in the language of one's choice is a fundamental, upfront right, and even when a single-medium institution proves to be impracticable in the particular instance, the obligation remains squarely on the state to provide such education, in whichever way it can be justified (as quoted p. 752 (2002) 4 ALL SA 745(T)).

It was argued in Court that the main objective of the state was to rectify the perceived racial inequality and segregation of the former system of education, an important fundamental objective of both the Constitution and the South African Schools Act (Act No. 84 of 1996). In their pursuit of this objective, the Department had ignored the interests of the intended learners; and the judge explicitly referred to the ideological leitmotif of the respondents:

The attitude of the respondents suggest that they decided in principle, to do away with Afrikaans-medium schools in Mpumalanga, in spite of the provisions of section 29(2) of the Constitution and of the National Language Policy. Apparently the behaviour was not only motivated by the demands of practical necessity, but to a greater degree, by the principle that these schools must be transformed. I stressed this point repeatedly to Mr Dreyer SC [advocate for the respondents]: Ultimately, it was common knowledge that this was the approach of the respondents (p. 753 (2002) 4 ALL SA 745(T)).

With biting criticism, the judge also questioned the *bona fides* of the Department, and ordered them to pay all costs:

The respondents disregarded all the standing administrative directions which, inter alia, are there as protection of language and cultural interests which are of importance to many. They opposed the present application with might and main, although they ab initio must have known that their administrative behaviour was wrong. The attitude of the respondents disregarded the applicants' rights and their views. The respondents had no respect for the applicants' devotedness to their language and culture, and also ignored the interests of the individual learners, who became involved in the process by the actions of the respondents (p. 756 (2002) 4 ALL SA 745(T)).

However, in spite of these arguments, the judge rejected the application of the school to set aside the decision of the Mpumalanga Department of Education to declare the school a dual-medium school. In his judgement he stressed section 28(2) of the Constitution, which states:

A child's best interest is of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.

Furthermore, the judge was of the opinion that this section established a fundamental right which trumped the linguistic and cultural rights of the schools' Afrikaans-speaking learners.

If the learners were turned away, the best interests of the learners would be affected. These interests included, for example, the fact that the concerned school was the best school in Middelburg, academically as well as in respect of its sport and cultural activities. Forced removal would possibly have a negative impact on the learners, because they might feel rejected, and also because close friendships with classmates had already been formed. Furthermore, the school was in close proximity to their homes.

However, the judgement could not be interpreted as a blueprint for all future applications, in terms of which they would be likely to receive the same judgement. The judge stressed the fact that if the application had served before him on the day on which the “contentious decision” had been taken, “I would not have hesitated to put aside the decision. Now, ten months later, this path could not be followed without damaging the minors” (p. 756 (2002) 4 ALL SA 745(T)).

Ironically, the repeated attempts of the Department – and the likelihood of future attempts if the application succeeded – comprised one of the reasons why the application was rejected:

There is a further consideration which compels me to reject the application. It is clear that the first and second respondents, since 1996, with evident disregard for administrative stipulations, have been trying to change the first applicant to a dual-medium school. Mr Dreyer [for the Respondents] admitted that most probably the first and second respondents will continue with their efforts if this application succeeds. It is in nobody’s interest to expose the applicants and the learners to the process (p. 756 (2002) 4 ALL SA 745 (T)).

A similar case occurred in February 2005 when the Governing Body of the Mikro Primary School approached the Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division to set aside steps taken by the Western Cape Minister of Education, who had declared the school a dual-medium school (*Governing Body of Mikro School and another v Western Cape Minister of Education and others* [2005] 2 ALL SA 37 (C)).

Since the founding of the school in 1973, it had been a single-medium school with Afrikaans as the language of instruction. In December 2004 (on the day before schools were to close for the summer holidays), the Department had directed the school, under threat of sanction, to admit certain learners to Grade 1 at the start of the first term of the following year, in January 2005, and to provide instruction to them in English, the language chosen by their parents. On the day on which the public schools reopened, two senior officials accompanied 21 learners wishing to receive their education, with English as the language of instruction, at the Mikro Primary School. As in the previous case, another primary school, a parallel-medium school (using both Afrikaans and English as the languages of tuition), is situated in the same school district.

It is, in fact, only some 1,200 metres away from the Mikro Primary School. Here, too, as was the case in the previous application, the other school was not filled to capacity; and it could easily have accommodated the 21 learners.

In his sentence, the judge referred to the judge's decision in the *Primary School Middelburg* case, which stressed the best interests of the learners, emphasising section 28(2) of the Constitution, which provides for '[a] child's best interest [to be] of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child'. A governing body, however, enjoys a certain constitutional right – just as the school does – viz., the right to administrative justice. In this case there was a "tension" between the two elements and one element did not necessarily override or "supersede" the other. It was a matter of striking a proper balance between the two. Although the best interests of the 21 children were of paramount importance, another principle was at stake here, namely the "value of legality", that is, "the simple principle that the State must obey the law". The judge stipulated:

That it is a principle which is so fundamental and so important in any civilised country that it must be only extremely rarely, if ever, that the rule of law can be 'held hostage', as Mr Osborne [for the applicants] puts it, to the best interest of children. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how it could ever be in the best interest of children, in the long term, to grow up in a country where the State and its organs and functionaries have been elevated to a position where they can regard themselves as being above the law, because the rule of law has been abrogated as far as they are concerned. It could be cogently argued, I think, that a court which, by its orders, exposed children to the risk of growing up in such a place would be doing them a greater disservice than a court which merely ordered that they be removed from one school and placed in another, equally acceptable to their parents, and only a short distance away (p. 56 [2005] 2 ALL SA 37 (C)).

In the light of the history of the matter, the judge was concerned that in future the same conduct on the part of the Department might be repeated (p. 55 [2005] ALL SA 37 (C)) – a concern that, in fact, turned out to be justified, when the concerned Education Department appealed to the highest court against the whole of the judgement sentence, in terms of which they were ordered, *inter alia*, to place the aforementioned 21 learners at another suitable school or schools on a permanent basis.

The appeal was heard in the Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa (case No. 140/05) in May 2005 and sentence was delivered on 27 June 2005. The Supreme Court of Appeal upheld all the decisions taken by the Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division. The Court disagreed with the Department's interpretation of section 29(2) of the Constitution, to the effect that everyone has the right to receive education in the official language of his or her choice *at each and every educational institution* where this is reasonably practicable. The judge pointed out that if this were the correct interpretation of section 29(2), it would mean that a group of Afrikaans learners would be

entitled to claim the right to be taught in Afrikaans at an English-medium school immediately adjacent to an Afrikaans-medium school which was not completely filled to capacity, provided that this group of Afrikaans learners could prove that it would be reasonably practicable to provide education in Afrikaans at that school. Since the right in question extends to “everyone”, such an interpretation would also imply that boys have a constitutional right to be educated at a school for girls, if this is reasonably practicable (p. 21 case No. 140/05).

According to the Appeal court, the right to receive education in the official language or languages of one’s choice is a right against the State; and section 29(2) recognizes various reasonable educational alternatives available to the State to give effect to this constitutional right, including single-medium institutions. In the view of the Court, this is a clear indication that in terms of section 29(2), everyone has a right to receive an education in an official language of his or her choice at a public educational institution, to be provided by the State if this is reasonably practicable. This does not imply, however, that the right to be so instructed at each and every public educational institution should be subject only to the criterion of reasonable practicability. It follows that the learners in question had a constitutional right to receive education in English at a public educational institution, provided by the State, if reasonably practicable; but even if it was reasonably practicable to provide such education at Mikro Primary School (the second respondent), they did not have a constitutional right to receive their education, in English, from the second respondent [Mikro Primary School] (p. 21 case No. 140/05).

In addition, sections 6(1) and 6(2) of the South African Schools Act came under close scrutiny. According to the judge, section 6(1) authorizes the National Minister of Education him-/herself, after consultation with the Council of Education Ministers of the nine provinces, to determine norms and standards for language policy in general in public schools; but it does *not* authorize the Minister of Education him- or herself to determine the language policy of a *particular* school, nor does it authorize him or her to authorize any person or body to do so (p. 22 case No. 140/05). In terms of section 6(2), it is the function of the governing body of a public school, subject to the Constitution, the South African Schools Act and any applicable law, to determine the language policy of that particular school.

By admitting learners, or instructing the principal to admit learners, in a manner that was contrary to the admission policy of the school, the Department was substituting its own admission policy for that of the school. In so doing, it was acting unlawfully, as it did not have the power to determine an admission policy for the school (p. 28 case No. 140/05).

Regarding the stipulation in section 28(2) of the Constitution, namely that the interests of a child are of paramount importance, the Court found that a case had not been successfully made out in corroboration of the claim that it would be in the best

interests of the learners to receive their education at Mikro Primary, instead of at another institution (p. 30–31 case No. 140/05).

In light of these, and other reasons (not discussed here), the appeal by the Department was dismissed with costs.

The third example stretches over nearly a decade and actually could be characterized as a saga. It dates back to the end of 2001 when the Mpumalanga Department of Education instructed the Afrikaans-medium Hoërskool Ermelo (HE), as well as the Middelburg Primary School (already discussed), to become parallel-medium schools (Afrikaans and English) in January 2002. When HE rejected the instruction the school's governing body was dissolved and the principal dismissed. The dissolved governing body litigated and the result was that the principal was re-instated and the school remained an Afrikaans institution (*Schoombee and others v MEC for Education, Mpumalanga and another* 2002 4 SA 877 (T)).

A day before the opening of schools for the new school year in 2007 HE was again instructed to accommodate learners who want to be taught in English. The main events concerning this action in 2007 were:

- The obtaining of an interdict by the Governing Body on 2 February 2007 whereby the court suspended the school's new parallel-medium policy (*Hoërskool Ermelo & others v Departementshoof van die Mpumalanga*[2007] ZAGPHC 4 (2 February 2007)).
- Interference by the national Minister of Education to declare the abovementioned judgement null and void.
- Setting aside of the judgement by a full bench of the North Gauteng Supreme Court on 13 February 2007.
- After a further exchange of depositions the substantive application was set down for hearing in September 2007.
- The judicial battle between the HE and the Department was also not settled in 2008 and continues in 2009. In 2008 the school was ordered to accept 95 grade eight learners who want to be taught in English. When the school refused the head of the school was suspended by the Department and replaced by an official of the Department.

When judgement was delivered in 2009 the appellant's (HE) application for an order to review and set aside the decisions reached by the Supreme Court was denied, while the application for leave to appeal was dismissed. The appellants subsequently obtained leave from the Supreme Court of Appeal. In March 2009 the Supreme Court of Appeal delivered judgement (*Hoërskool Ermelo and another v Head, Department of Education, Mpumalanga, and others* 2009 (3) SA 422 (SCA)). In its judgement the Court found that this case is not primarily about language policy at schools, but rather about the principle of legality and the proper exercise of administrative power (par. 3). In its

eagerness to change the language policy of HE since 2001, the judgement continues, the Department did not take into consideration that the right to receive tuition in English in a public educational institution is a right against the State and not a right against each and every public school, as was already pointed out in the Mikro appeal case (par. 14). Furthermore, whatever action the Department took that involved the school, it had to comply with the principle of legality, and steps taken by the Department in this instance failed in this respect (par. 15–31). The appeal was therefore upheld and HE remained an Afrikaans-medium school.

Not satisfied with the judgement the Department approached the Constitutional Court (*Head of Mpumalanga Department of Education and another v Hoërskool Ermelo and Others 2010(3) BCLR 177(CC)*). This court also found that the Department acted unlawfully and in breach of the constitutional principle of legality (par. 89). Given, however, the need to accommodate more learners who wish to be taught through the medium of English the court made further orders “that are just and equitable” (par. 95). On the one hand the school must review its language policy (par. 98–102), and on the other hand the Department must report to the Court within a fixed period of time the likely demand for English places, and must set out the steps it has taken to satisfy this demand for an English or parallel-medium high school in Ermelo (par. 103–105). The applicants (Department) had to pay the costs (par. 105–106).

5. Comment

Two general conclusions can be drawn out of the three cases of litigation, viz that actions taken by education authorities are politically inspired, and that wrongful actions were condoned.

Actions taken by different education authorities against governing bodies and Afrikaans single-medium schools were unprofessional, even hostile. This shows that the determining motive behind the actions was politically inspired, and not a desire to act in the best interests of the children. In the Middelburg case, the respondents (education authorities) even admitted it. That the motive was political is shown by the fact that all these schools were good functioning public schools, in contrast with a majority of dysfunctional public schools. An analysis of the grade 12 examinations of 2005 shows that 80% of South African schools were dysfunctional (Taylor 2006), another reason for the poor performance of South African learners in international numeracy and literacy tests as shown earlier (par. 3).

The political motive mentioned above is transformation, and according to it all public institutions must be representative of the population make-up, i.e. whites, blacks, so-called coloureds and Indians.

Furthermore, the message conveyed through the conduct of the authorities is that such behaviour eventually pays off. The authorities were criticized by the courts and were punished with a cost order, but in the last instance they got their way, and the lesson they learned is that wrongful actions create *fait accompli*.

6. Concluding remarks

The foregoing exposition has revealed that, in terms of the requirements of section 6(4) of the Constitution which states that all official languages enjoy parity of esteem and be treated equitably, the government is not fulfilling its mandate. Not only is, on the one hand, pressure being placed on Afrikaans-medium schools and educational institutions to become either dual- or parallel-medium institutions, but, on the other hand, very little is done to elevate the status and advance the use of the disadvantaged indigenous Bantu languages.

A concern among supporters of single-medium institutions is the emphasis on the constitutional value of equality of educational opportunities at the expense of two other constitutional values, namely dignity and freedom, as explicitly mentioned in section 7(1) of the Bill of Rights, dealing with 'Rights':

This Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

In the same way that the equality principle must be interpreted within the Constitution as a whole, with reference to all underlying values, the human dignity and freedom of each individual is also recognized, along with the diversity of the South African society.

Section 1 of the Constitution, which contains the underlying values of the Republic, refers to human dignity, the achievement of equality, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. Diversity is recognized in the Preamble and in section 6, through the recognition of eleven languages as official languages, while religious freedom and language and cultural rights are protected in sections 15, 30 and 31. At the same time, provision is even made in section 235, for the self-determination of communities within the Republic.

Equality, which is strongly emphasized, cannot be separated from human dignity and freedom, and therefore cannot be equated with 'uniformity', but should rather be interpreted to mean 'of equal worth' (Malherbe 2004:12). In order to ensure that everybody's dignity and equal worth will be respected and upheld, citizens have the right to enjoy the freedom to be themselves.

This right of people to be themselves, including related rights pertaining to education and culture, is provided for in the Constitution on an essential basis of justice, reasonableness, equity and fairness. Obviously this right is subject to the supremacy of the Constitution (including related obligations and duties), and the rule of law. The State and related governmental authorities are accordingly bound and appropriately enjoined, to “respect, promote and fulfil the rights of the bill of Rights” (Malherbe 2004).

However, because of adherence and propagation to an ideological viewpoint of assimilationism/homogeneity, as discussed in par. 3, the term “nation-building” is seen as synonymous with oneness, as illustrated on the one hand in the education policy where admission is absolutized at the expense of Afrikaans speakers’ right to single medium institutions, and on the other hand through the neglect of the indigenous Bantu languages in education. Language rights guaranteed in the Constitution are violated by officials who elevate admission as the most important criteria. The danger is that these steps could give new content to the Constitution whereby:

The values of human dignity and freedom being sacrificed for the sake of a view which equals equality to uniformity, instead of the three values being applied in harmony to enhance the equal worth of people (Malherbe 2004: 22).

The universal quest for equal educational opportunities poses as much of a challenge to balance and harmonize the values of dignity, equality and freedom, as to respect and accommodate people’s “otherness”. The goal must be to build a nation, in this case the South African nation, *on* -and not separately from – its diversity (Malherbe 2004: 12).

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Hanna Vasilevich

Belarus: Minoritarization of the titular language?

As a result of Soviet policies in Belarus, based on the cultural proximity of the nation to Russia and backed by the Soviet ideologized historical canon of a common “old-Russian people concept”, a significant portion of the titular nation’s representatives were subjects of increasing adaptation of the Russian language not only as their second, but also as their first language. Independent Belarus had to adapt to the new realities of the language policies when the titular language became an element of the political debate. The mild nationalization policies that had been implemented soon after independence were aimed at expanding the titular language’s role – it was proclaimed the sole official language of the country while Russian enjoyed the status of the language of interethnic communication. As a result of a controversial 1995 referendum, Russian was granted equal status to Belarusian which de facto meant the curtailing of the nationalization policies and return to the pre-independence status quo. This paper seeks to examine the status of the titular language in Belarus arguing that it can be described as a national symbol in the shadow of politicized abnormal bilingualism dominated by the Russian language, which has been determined by the country’s Soviet past.

1. Introduction

In Central and Eastern Europe, language is usually perceived as “an authentic symbolic code embodying the unique inner experiences of the *ethnie*, ... [which] remains a vital symbolic realm of authentication and vernacular mobilization” (Smith 1995: 66). Furthermore, as Schlöpfli notes, the ethnic factor remains one of the most important political issues and “language is universally interpreted as the innermost sanctum of ethnicity” (Schlöpfli 2000: 116). Therefore,

[l]anguage is widely regarded as the central if not indeed sole boundary marker. There is a widespread assumption that a nation, in order that it can call itself a nation, should have its own language (Schlöpfli 2000: 118).

This creates a framework that provides a measurement for the strength of national identity through the issue of language.

Among all non-Russian titular nations of the former Soviet republics, Belarusians were usually referred to as the nation with “the lowest level of native language loyalty” and with the highest level of acceptance of Russian as their second or even first language (Ioffe 2008: 3). Thus, the current language situation in Belarus is often seen as proof of the nation’s alleged denationalization or weak identity. This assumption was summarized by American expert Potocki (2002: 146):

[...] if Belarus was one of the most economically advanced republics, it was also the most backward in terms of national and civic identity. Today, although more than three-quarters of the country’s population is ethnically Belarusian, most people speak Russian most of the time. Belarus was the most Sovietized and conservative of the USSR’s republics.

The same logic when measuring the national identity through the usage of a titular language is used by Ioffe (2012) who states, “after more than twenty years of statehood, Belarusians have not developed a distinctive national identity”. However, these conclusions by Potocki and Ioffe are in fact interpretations of the current Belarusian situation from the angle of closed possibilities.

At the same time, in the case of Belarus, the acceptance of Russian as the first language by a significant portion of the country’s population does not mean the rejection of the Belarusian language and lack of knowledge thereof. Moreover, the Belarusian population’s embracing of the Russian language does not imply the adoption of Russian ethnicity or identity. In other words, the division of the Belarusian population into a Belarusian-speaking and a Russian-speaking fraction is not linear, as it collides with numerous and multiple situational identities and includes everyday interplay of two distinct, though close languages.

Hence, Ioffe and Potocki portray the current state of affairs but focus on the outcomes and not on the roots. In other words, their focus on the current linguistic situation in Belarus represents the answer to the question *what events contributed to the current status quo?* However, such a setting fails to observe the situation in a wider historical perspective in order to provide the answer to the question *why has this linguistic situation emerged?*

This article discusses the situation of the Belarusian language in Belarus which can be viewed as a national symbol in the shadow of a politicized abnormal Belarusian-Russian bilingualism when the latter language dominates largely as a result of the country’s Soviet past. The paper discusses the consistency of the linguistic policies introduced by the Belarusian authorities, analyzes the political debate on the language issue and its impact on the society, as well as providing scenarios for the expansion of language usage in everyday communication.

2. The Belarusian language in the late USSR

During the 19th and 20th centuries the situation of the Belarusian language significantly varied from official prohibition to its promotion by the authorities. Nevertheless, the Belarusian language has always been one of the most important cultural markers of Belarusian identity and the nation's distinctiveness. According to the last Soviet census conducted in 1989, 77.9% of the Belarusian SSR population declared Belarusian ethnicity and 74.5% of the BSSR's entire population identified Belarusian as their native language (Belarusian: *rodnaja mova*) (O narushenii lingvisticheskikh prav korennoy natsii Respubliki Belarus, n.d.).

These official data should be viewed through the prism of the developments of the Belarusian language in post-war Belarus. The four post-war censuses organized in the Belarusian SSR demonstrated that the number of ethnic Belarusians with a Belarusian mother tongue was high but nevertheless declining: 93.2% in 1959, 90.1% in 1970, 83.5% in 1979 and 80.2% in 1989 (Ioffe 2003: 1014). Simultaneously, the number of persons of all ethnic groups who lived in the Belarusian SSR and declared Russian as their mother tongue grew from 13.7% in 1959 to 28.3% in 1989 (Smaliančuk, n.d.). Thus, the percentage of those actively using the Belarusian language had constantly been decreasing. Moreover, the Belarusian language faced a degree of creolization and spreading of the mixed Belarusian-Russian vernacular called *trasianka* (Trusaŭ 2013).

This decline can be explained through the persistent post-war discrimination of the Belarusian language by the Soviet authorities (O narushenii lingvisticheskikh prav korennoy natsii Respubliki Belarus, n.d.). As a result, the image of Belarus as the most Sovietized and Russified Soviet republic was created. Within this approach, the Belarusian language was perceived by outsiders as a colourful folkloristic attribute, but not as a dominant language of everyday public communication (Vasilevich and Kaścian 2010: 240).

Active promotion of the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication in the USSR contributed to the shrinkage of Belarusian language usage in the Belarusian SSR, particularly in the sphere of education. The position of the Belarusian authorities in this regard can be explained through the scope of opportunities they had. It was formulated by Khrushchev in 1956 during his visit in Minsk as "the sooner we start speaking Russian, the faster we shall build communism." In the case of Belarus, this formula was accompanied by the Moscow policies aimed at rapprochement of the nations and the Belarusian Soviet historical canon which saw all pre-Soviet state formations on the territory of today's Belarus as foreign. Belarusian-American historian Zaprudnik (1987: 17) summarizes the Soviet linguistic policies towards the Belarusian language:

[t]he approach towards the Belarusian language as a second-class language less suitable for different spheres of life is the result of economic reality, cultural policies and the imperial nature of the Soviet federation.

As a result, the relationship of the Belarusian Soviet authorities with Moscow was largely measured through their political loyalty which also embedded language usage (Zaprudnik 1987: 17). Thus, according to the Belarusian poet and diplomat Hienadź Buraŭkin, any support for the Belarusian language expressed publicly could have caused the Soviet central authorities to immediately remove Piotr Mašeraŭ, the head of the Belarusian SSR Communist Party, who enjoyed significant popularity among the BSSR population (Korsak 2012: 97). Therefore, Mašeraŭ channelled his support of Belarusian culture in the protection and promotion of Belarusian creative intelligentsia. Hence, the attitudes of the Belarusian authorities can be interpreted as an attempt to find a lesser evil under the scope of opportunities provided by Moscow. As a result, the policies pursued by the Belarusian SSR authorities could be described as a gradual switch from ethnic and linguistic nationalism towards an economic one, latent usage of the national language and preservation of the national culture.

Consequently, the language issue became the first of three major milestones of the Belarusian national movement in the in 1980s (Urban and Zaprudnik 1993: 111). The first public manifestation of the emergence of this movement directly touched the language issue, when 28 Belarusian intellectuals addressed an appeal to the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev on December 15, 1986 emphasizing the role of the Belarusian language as “the nation’s soul, the highest manifestation of its cultural identity, as well as the basis for its full-fledged spiritual existence” (ibid.: 109). The appeal contained a demand to adopt new language legislation which would protect the status of the Belarusian language (ibid.). The authors of this appeal underscored the direct connection between the existence of a national language and the survival of a nation. This presented as an interrelated combination of outcomes – decline of the language results in degradation of culture followed by disappearance of the nation. It therefore complies with Smith’s formula when language serves the role of cultural marker which is embodied in the public culture, which in turn allows the distinction between “them” and “us” and thus serves one of the core elements of every nation.

The first letter was followed by another open letter to Gorbachev signed by 134 persons who represented different strata of the Belarusian society dated June 4, 1987. This public appeal defined the Soviet national policies towards Belarus as Russification and was supported by the BSSR Union of Writers (Snapkoŭski 2000).

In other words, the preservation of the language and restoration of its status was the main matter of concern for Belarusian intellectuals and newly emerged cultural and then political organizations. As Belarusian historian Snapkoŭski (2000) notes, the general public opinion in the society had been changing in favour of the additional legal protection of the Belarusian language status which subsequently resulted into adoption of the law “On languages in the Belarusian SSR” by the republic’s Supreme Council on January 26, 1990. As Belarusian linguist Zaprudski (2000)

emphasizes, the emergence of this law was a result of a wider popular discussion in which more than 20,000 people participated. As a result of these efforts, the law was characterized by its protective approach towards the Belarusian language by recognition of the threat of the language existence (Zaprudski 2000). The Belarusian language was granted the status of the sole state language; the Russian language became the language of interethnic communication. The law did not regulate the use of languages in private life. In some spheres the changed public functions of Belarusian were not to be implemented immediately but within three to ten years (Zaprudski 2000).

One can conclude that the first public manifestations of the democratic movement in the 1980s in Belarus were based on the demands for the protection and promotion of the Belarusian language. In other words, the Belarusian language and serious concerns about its future were brought into the discussion by Belarusian intellectuals, being a consolidating factor for the Belarusian national movement on the eve of the Soviet collapse. Hence, the language issue became the key factor that served as the main cultural marker of the nation's distinctiveness and was applied within the existing scope of opportunities available at those times.

3. The legal status of the Belarusian language in the Republic of Belarus

The law "On languages in the BSSR" adopted in 1990 recognized Belarusian as the sole state language of the Belarusian SSR and, consequently, of the Republic of Belarus. This status was also confirmed in the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus adopted on March 15, 1994. Art. 17 secured the Belarusian language with the status of state language, whereas the freedom to use Russian as the language of interethnic relations was guaranteed by the state. Moreover, Art. 50 ensured the right to use one's mother tongue and choose the language of communication as well as freedom to choose the language of upbringing and education. The same provisions as listed in Art. 50 of the constitution as well as rights to use one's native language in communication, media, publishing and the religious sphere were foreseen by the law "On National Minorities in the Republic of Belarus", adopted on November 11, 1992.

Thus, at the dawn of its independence, Belarus had developed its language-related legislation which established the following hierarchy:

- Belarusian as the state language,
- Russian as the language of interethnic communication, and
- minority languages, although none were specifically mentioned.

However, the outcome of the 1995 referendum changed this *status quo* since the Russian language was granted equal status to Belarusian. Thus, Art. 17 of the constitution was changed as follows: “[t]he Belarusian and Russian languages shall be the official languages of the Republic of Belarus”.

There are different explanations for the referendum results. Some scholars, like Grigory Ioffe, see the re-introduction as a natural process, so the 1995 referendum “legitimised the actual linguistic situation” (Ioffe 2003: 1031). Others, like the French scholar Goujon (1999: 666), argue that

[...] the 1995 referendum, which appealed to the sovereignty of the people and provided citizens with an illusionary choice ... [A]ll the conditions were arranged to incite citizens to answer positively to the question of equal status between the Russian and Belarusian languages. In addition to the propaganda against the supporters of Belarusian language, the way in which the question was formulated and the persistence of Soviet patterns of representation in the language area militated toward a positive (yes) vote.

Goujon (1999: 666) further claims that the position of the Lukashenka’s government was to condemn the linguistic policies of 1991–1994 and portray them as “designed to discredit Belarusian people” so that

[...] the 1990 Language Law was presented as being imposed from the top largely by Popular Front members, without any consideration of the “opinion of the people.” The program linked to the realization of law was denounced because of its constraints, i.e. the fact that it forced people to speak Belarusian.

Regardless of the reasons behind the logic of each voter, it can be stressed that the issue of language was highly politicized and directly linked with the party of the Belarusian Popular Front (BNF). To emphasize this direct connection, the Belarusian language was often labelled as “*beneefaŭskaja mova*” by its political opponents in the mid-1990s, i.e. the language used by the members of the BNF (Goujon 1999: 666).

According to the former Belarusian MP Navumčyk (2013: 8–10) and the former judge of the Belarusian Constitutional Court Pastuchoŭ (2000), the 1995 referendum was inconsistent with the Belarusian constitutional law for contextual and procedural reasons. Furthermore, according to Pastuchoŭ (2000) the formulation of the question on the “equal status” of the two languages was legally illiterate, since it can be interpreted solely as a confirmation of the real linguistic situation in the society, as Ioffe notes. However, “equal status” can also rather be explained as legal recognition of the *de facto* parallel use of two languages in Belarus which does not presume granting the Russian language with the status of the state language and hence the referendum results did not have to lead to the constitutional changes.

Nevertheless, despite different interpretations of the 1995 referendum, the practical implementation of its results “marked the beginning of the officially sponsored reversal of 1991–95 achievements in the language sphere” (Ioffe 2003: 1031). After the referendum the numerous policies were adopted in the compliance with the statements made by president Lukashenka (Narodnaja hazieta 1995), who publicly disparaged the Belarusian language and encouraged a wider use of Russian:

People who speak Belarusian can do nothing else but speak Belarusian, because in Belarusian one cannot express anything significant. The Belarusian language is a mean language. There are only two great languages in the world – Russian and English.

Thus, such discouraging statements induced the process of a latent Russification that were embodied into 1998 amendments to the Language Law. This encouraged the unequal practice of bilingualism in Belarus as

[...] the stipulations concerning use of the Russian language were added by two conjunctions: "and" and "or." The new version of Article 7 declares, for example, "Acts from the higher organs of State power and administration are adopted and published in Belarusian and (or) in Russian." This law does not protect the equality of language because it does not require the official documents to be published in both languages (Goujon 1999: 667).

This implies the inconsistency of the newly amended Language Law with the Constitution which stipulates the equal status of two languages and therefore presumes the obligation of the state to issue all its official documents in both languages so that both language versions have equal validity.

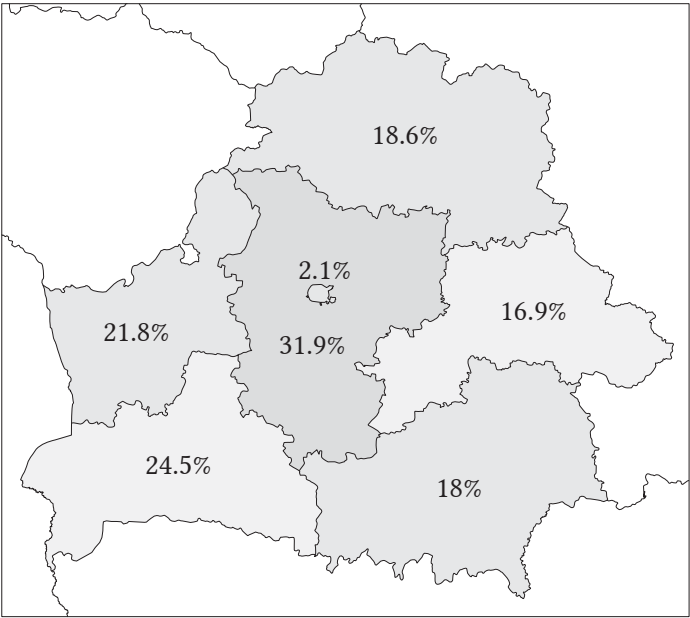
4. Outcomes of the 1995 referendum and education policies

Following the outcomes of the 1995 referendum, the second half of 1990s was characterized by significant changes in the educational sphere. Thus, the number of first-year pupils enrolled into the classes with Belarusian as the language of instruction dropped from 68.5% in 1992–1993 to 28.7% in 1997–1998 and 16.7% in the year 2008–2009 (O narushenii lingvisticheskikh prav korennoy natsii Respubliki Belarus, n.d.; Tumar 2009). The following table illustrates this trend:

	1992–93	1993– 94	1994–95	1995–96	1996–97	1997–98
City of Minsk	48.3	58.6	58.0	19.5	11.0	7.3
Brest Region	76.0	79.7	79.5	37.0	31.0	27.3
Viciebsk Region	58.1	65.5	62.3	28.9	26.0	25.3
Homieĺ Region	72.3	75.7	82.8	26.1	23.0	22.1
Hrodna Region	82.9	87.5	86.9	61.4	50.0	44.1
Minsk Region	86.9	92.6	91.3	67.8	61.0	52.9
Mahilioŭ Region	53.0	72.8	65.1	25.8	23.0	23.0
Total	68.5	75.3	76.0	37.9	33.0	28.7

Table 1: Percentage of first year pupils in primary schools in Belarus with Belarusian as the language of instruction (Source: O narushenii lingvisticheskikh prav korennoy natsii Respubliki Belarus, n.d.)

Similarly, the percentage of pupils enrolled in secondary education in schools and classes held in Belarusian decreased from 69% in 1994 to 19.1% in 2010–2011 (Tumar 2009; Infagrafika 2011).



Graph 1: The regional breakdown of secondary education in Belarusian in 2010–2011 (Infagrafika 2011).

Thus, the education system which Belarus largely inherited from its Soviet past is characterized by the actual dominant position of the Russian language. Therefore, it is necessary to refer to the Belarusian domestic legislation on education. The Code of the Republic of Belarus "On education" (2011) declares both state languages as the main languages of upbringing and education in the country (Art. 90.1). At the same time, the equality of the Belarusian and the Russian language is emphasized as one of the pillars of state policies in the field of education (Art. 2.2.9). In addition, citizens are provided with the right to choose one of the state languages as the language of upbringing and education, whereas the state declares its participation in creating the conditions for its citizens to exercise this right (Art. 90.1). Furthermore, the question of language of training and education is determined by the founder of each educational institution or an individual entrepreneur eligible for educational activities (*ibid*). Nevertheless, regardless of the language of instruction, both Belarusian and Russian are compulsory subjects at school (Art. 90.3–4).

However, despite this declared equality, no actual choice in fact exists. For instance, in the third-largest Belarusian city, Mahilioŭ, with a population of over 350,000, there is just one child enrolled in a Belarusian-language class. A more or less similar situation can be observed in most Belarusian cities where the Russian language is by default the language of instruction at secondary schools. In practice this means that in order to send their child to a Belarusian-language kindergarten or school, parents have to submit a request to the relevant education authorities, which is time-consuming and not always effective.

5. The language situation according to the national censuses

The abovementioned legal framework and state policies in the sphere of education require closer attention to the two national censuses conducted in Belarus in 1999 and 2009 with regard to the linguistic aspects. These language-related questions are summarized in the two following tables.

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>1999 Census</i>			<i>2009 Census</i>		
	Belarusian	Russian	Language of own ethnic group	Belarusian	Russian	Language of own ethnic group
Belarusians	85.6	14.3	-	60.8	37.0	-
Russians	9.1	90.7	-	2.8	96.3	-
Poles	67.1	16.2	16.5	58.2	33.9	5.4
Ukrainians	14.3	42.8	42.9	7.9	61.2	29.2
Jews	17.1	77.0	5.4	9.1	86.1	1.9
Total	73.6	24.1	81.9	53.2	41.5	59.9

Table 2: Breakdown of the Belarusian population according to mother tongue (Source: Perepis naseleniya 2009, 2011: 318)

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>1999 Census</i>			<i>2009 Census</i>		
	Belarusian	Russian	Other	Belarusian	Russian	Other (incl. two or more)
Belarusians	41.3	58.6	0.1	26.1	69.8	4.1
Russians	4.3	90.7	0.0	2.1	96.5	1.4
Poles	57.6	37.7	4.7	40.9	50.9	8.2
Ukrainians	10.2	83.6	6.2	6.1	88.4	5.5
Jews	3.8	95.7	0.5	2.0	95.9	2.1
Total	36.7	62.8	0.5	23.4	70.2	6.4

Table 3: Breakdown of the Belarusian population according to the language most commonly spoken at home (Source: Perepis naseleniya 2009, 2011: 355)

The 1999 census provided quite discrepant numbers between native language and most frequently spoken language. While nearly 74% of the Belarus population indicated Belarusian as their mother tongue, only 37% spoke Belarusian at home; among the titular nation the number of those who speak Belarusian as their primary language at home was 41%.

The results of this census revealed the increasing number of those who consider themselves ethnic Belarusians and those who declare the Belarusian language as their mother tongue. This trend can be explained by the facts of the country's independence and a limited and rather slow Belarusianization in 1991–1994. However, it is difficult to evaluate the impact of those policies taking into consideration the 1995

referendum and consequent policies introduced by president Lukashenka. Although only 37% of Belarusians reported that they use the Belarusian language in a daily life, such a low level can be partially explained by language politicization and the words of Aleh Trusaŭ, former MP and the head of the Belarusian Language Society, who stated:

A Belarusian ... doesn't speak Belarusian, he keeps silent the Belarusian way, but when a proper leader comes along, the Belarusian will start talking. (Ioffe 2003: 1035)

The next census of 2009 demonstrated that the percentage of the titular nation had further increased, though the percentage of those who considered Belarusian as their mother tongue and those who use Belarusian as the primary language in the daily-life had decreased (53% and 23% respectively) (Vyniki pierapisu 2010).

Both censuses demonstrate that the number of persons who speak Belarusian as their first language in daily life is disproportionably lower than the percentage of citizens who consider Belarusian their native language. At the same time, such a linear comparison is insufficient since it does not embrace the methodological changes in interpretation of the respondents' answers. There are at least three issues to be discussed with this regard.

First, during the 1999 census a mother tongue was a subject of voluntary choice and largely resembled the Soviet approach with a symbolic linkage between the ethnic background and the language. On the contrary, during the 2009 census the mother tongue was interpreted as the language learned first in early childhood. Such a formulation implied merely one single answer and referred rather to a codified vernacular. Moreover, this clarification was advocated by the state as that which fully complies with international standards of linguistic studies. At the same time, such an approach raised criticism of its accuracy. The critics argued that each human being can change their views throughout his/her life which makes the measurement proposed by the census incorrect.

The second aspect is the so-called *trasianka* factor. The *trasianka* is a mixed way of speaking which embraces a very large diapason of a vernacular speech ranging from a predominantly Russian pronunciation with elements of the Belarusian language to predominantly Belarusian vernacular with elements of the Russian language (Lukašanec 2011). However, neither of the censuses normatively recognized *trasianka* as something different. Hence, it is often the issue of personal perception and political situation to identify *trasianka* with Belarusian or Russian. The last census showed somewhat confusing results on the number of Belarusian speakers mostly in the eastern parts of Belarus. There, the population of the neighbouring areas speak a very similar vernacular but still the official census results showed different numbers of the Belarusian speakers in the adjacent districts. For example, in the Mahilioŭ region in the district of Čerykaŭ there are 38.33% Belarusian speakers, and 66.46% Belarusian speakers in the adjacent district of Krasnapollie. This discrepancy can hardly

be explained other than by different interpretation of the same vernacular – hence, it is up to the population or the local authorities in charge how to interpret *trasianka* in the census lists. Indeed, the popular vernacular differs greatly from the written standard of the literary language and, as the director of the Language Institute of the National Academy of Sciences Aliaksandr Lukašaniec admits, Belarusian is often identified just with the literary language. However, in reality the varieties of Belarusian encompass two literary standards (official variant and the so-called *Taraškievica*) and a huge variety of popular vernaculars. Moreover, *trasianka* is considered a part of this popular vernacular (Lukašaniec 2011). Hence, it is the issue of interpretation as to what should be treated as the Belarusian language. Should one apply a wider definition, the number of Belarusian speakers may be quite high whereas if one uses a traditional “narrow” definition, the number of Belarusian speakers on the everyday basis may be quite low. Lukašaniec assumes that this variety of the Belarusian language may potentially be used as a wider basis for the development of the national languages to secure the scope for the fully-fledged functioning of the national language within the Belarusian society (Lukašaniec 2011).

The third issue is the politicization of the language. It encompasses both internal and external issues. The former is viewed as a source of the fight against the opposition. The latter refers to the politics pursued by President Lukashenka. As long as he sought closer cooperation with Russia, the Belarusian language was very much side-lined. However, after the process of integration significantly slowed down due to active Russian policies aimed at the introduction of the Russian ruble as a single currency in the Belarusian-Russian Union State which, according to many analysts and observers, could lead to the loss of Belarusian sovereignty, Lukashenka had changed his rhetoric regarding the Belarusian language. In December 2010 President Lukashenka (BelaPAN 2010) stressed that

[d]uring the centuries two close languages peacefully and fruitfully coexisted on our land – and thank God they got along this way. And none of them suffered. We preserved from destruction the unitary Belarusian literary language and did not allow it to be turned into a weapon of political confrontation and discrimination.

Furthermore, he also promised that neither forcible Belarusization, nor any Russification would occur in the country. Lukashenka argued that this “is a conscious choice of the Belarusian nation (*narod*) which is based on the assumption that “the recognition of Belarusian and Russian languages complies with the historical traditions and current linguistic situation in the country.” (BelaPAN 2010). Thus, the state had started declaring its support to the Belarusian language under the legally recognized bilingualism.

At the same time, a growing interest of society in the Belarusian language has been observed for a number of years. A number of bottom-up civic initiatives aimed

at the promotion of the Belarusian language emerged. They started as informal Belarusian language groups, like *Mova ci kava*, *Mova nanova*, *Movavieda*, etc. and within quite a short time grew and become available and popular not only in the capital but nearly all bigger cities. As American linguist Curt Woolhiser (2014: 15) points out,

[...] a great deal more has to be done to help build and sustain networks of “new speakers,” that is, adult learners of Belarusian, not only in Minsk, but in other cities as well. In order to encourage adult learners to join the community of Belarusian speakers, there have to be adequate opportunities not only for adult language learning (for those with only passive knowledge of the language) but also active language use [...] Judging from the public response to th[ese Belarusian language] initiative[s], informal, free courses of this type might be a very effective way of expanding Belarusian-speaking networks in the cities.

6. Conclusion

The Belarusian language is a real means of communication for a considerable part of the Belarusian population, even though it still lacks the fully-fledged fulfilment of this function as the majority of the Belarusian society uses Russian (Lukašanec 2010). However, the Belarusian language also enjoys the role of a heritage with symbolic meaning which is used on special occasions such as state holidays and festivities. This *status quo* is recognized by the state.

Nevertheless, the authorities emphasize that the Belarusian language plays an extremely important role for the representation of the Belarusian cultural space and is part of the nation's honour as well as an integral part of world culture. Furthermore, it is particularly underlined that the Belarusian language is embracing the role of “an important factor of national identity, symbolism and means of national identification” (Lukašanec 2010). However, neither Belarusian, nor Russian within Belarus can be seen as minority languages.

Another issue is that Belarusian officials recognize the difference between the *de jure* and *de facto* equal status of the Belarusian and Russian languages. Hence, it is underlined that the current legislation can still be improved so that the language of the titular nation in Belarus would not remain the second-class language in most of the communicative spheres within Belarusian society (Lukašanec 2010). To achieve this end, special attention should be paid to the explanation of the current legislation which regulates language issues.

While proclaiming the equality of Belarusian and Russian as official languages of Belarus, the Belarusian Constitution guarantees everyone “the right to use his native language and to choose the language of communication.” At the same time, nearly

all specific laws concerning the usage of language refer to “Belarusian or Russian” or “one of the official languages.” This “either-or” model does not exclude Belarusian, but it does not provide measures necessary for promoting the language, particularly in areas with insufficient language facilities, either. In other words, the “either-or” model does not do anything to change the existing *status quo*. The reluctance to change the current formulations of the specific laws to “both Belarusian and Russian” is often justified by the considerable increase in costs in the situation when the country cannot afford any additional expenditure.

Nevertheless, this *status quo* creates opportunities for the promotion of the Belarusian language which might be performed through both top-down (particularly in areas where the state declares its support for the national language) and bottom-up approaches (various civic initiatives which in the last two years have gained increasing popularity). It is possible to assume that in the case of the promotion of Belarusian language facilities changes in the country’s linguistic situation might be expected in a medium-term perspective. However, the most important step should be made by the state in changing its attitude concerning the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools, both in law and in practice. The current time-consuming and ineffective mechanism, where parents who want their children to be taught in the Belarusian language need to make additional efforts to achieve their legitimate claims - without even a guarantee that their child will be able to study in Belarusian - should be changed. This also requires a change in attitude by local authorities concerning the wider promotion of Belarusian-language education, since the decisions to open or close schools and classes are usually made by local executive committees.

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MINORITY LANGUAGE PLANNING

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From “bourgeois” to national romanticism:
Attempts at creating Votic and Ingrian written standards
in the 20th and 21st century

Julian Maia-Larretxea, Nerea Badiola-Urbe

Word order and Basque logical-discursive prose development:
Different approaches

Sara Brezigar

Avoiding the dinosaur path: An evaluation of the status quo and
developmental perspectives of the Slovene minority in Italy

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From “bourgeois” to national romanticism: Attempts at creating Votic and Ingrian written standards in the 20th and 21st century

This paper will provide an overview of the attempts made at creating written standards for the small Finnic languages Votic and Ingrian, as well as issues related to the process since the early 20th century until nowadays. Votic and Ingrian are highly endangered Finnic languages spoken by older generations only. The last speakers of Votic and Ingrian live in Western Ingria in the Leningrad Region of the Russian Federation.

The Votic written standard emerged in the 21st century and has not gained ground. There are no textbooks in Votic at all, only small-scale works of non-fiction have been published together with folklore texts, which had been written down earlier in scientific transcription. The written standard of Ingrian was used in schools from 1932–1937, and during those years only textbooks were published. The 21st century has shown signs of a reverse language shift and given new identity to the endangered language, – it is also becoming a sign of prestige to learn and speak the language, although the language is dying. In the present article, the functional paradigm of languages without a written standard will be observed through the example of Votic and Ingrian.

1. Introduction – the Votic and Ingrian population

Votic and Ingrian peoples are small Finnic (Finno-Ugric) population groups whose unfortunate destiny is tightly linked to their geographical location on the south-eastern coast of the Gulf of Finland in the north-eastern part of Russia – a territory that has been historically coveted by large countries and ravaged by wars. Over the past century, the number of Votians as well as Ingrians has steadily decreased. Both languages qualify among many Uralic languages (for example Livonian, Vepsian and most of the Samoyed and Sami languages) as highly endangered.

Year	Ingrians	Ingrian speakers %	Year	Ingrians	Ingrian speakers %
1848	18,489	?	1959	1,062	34.7
1897	13,725	?	1970	781	26.6
1920	10,595	?	1979	748	32.6
1926	16,137	?	1989	820	36.8
1939	7,700	?	2002	> 1,000	?

Table 1. The number of Ingrian speakers according to censuses data (Ernits 2007: 15)

These numbers come from different sources and it is obvious that the data of the Russian census, which is influenced by different methodological, political and psychological reasons, does not give an objective review, but it is the only available official source (Ernits 2007: 15–16). In 2012 the number of Ingrian speakers did not exceed 100 people. The practical fieldwork has shown that the number of people using Ingrian in their everyday life has dropped to less than 100 (maybe even less than 50).

The Votic population was counted in the Russian censuses of 1926, 2002 and 2010 only. The figures obtained from various researchers demonstrate the decline of the Votic language as follows:

<i>Tsvetkov (1925)</i>	7,440
<i>Iso Tietosanakirja (1938)</i>	500–700
<i>Ränk (1960)</i>	500
<i>Ariste (1960)</i>	40–50
<i>Heinsoo (1991)</i>	61

By 2014 the number of Votic speakers had dropped to five people who represent two dialect groups, in addition to four to five people who understand but do not speak Votic in their community.

According to Fishman's graded typology of threatened statuses both Ingrian and Votic languages are of status 8: "[...] most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults" (Fishman 1991: 87–88). Both Ingrians' and Votians' language skills are different. There are informants with quite good grammar and vocabulary, but have lived out of the region for many years and have quite heavy Russian accents. There are also some people who attended Ingrian schools in the 1930s, but nevertheless have forgotten even the basic language. People are often mixing languages and switching code even when speaking with the researchers who do not speak Russian well. The keywords for code-switching are firstly numbers and dates. Fieldwork serves as a tool to remind people of their native language.

One of the reasons for the extinction of the languages is the fact that the generation born in the 1920s has not spoken the languages in question with their children. The usage of minority languages was not seen as cultural richness, but as a sign for a poor command of the dominating state language. The old fear appeared during the census of 2010, when many speakers of Votic decided to register themselves as Russians. Language sociologist Joshua Fishman has considered generational language transmission as the key question for the obstruction of language shift and the vitality of languages (Fishman 1991, 1997). With Nancy Dorian we can say, that the common feature of endangered languages is the low societal position of the speakers of minority languages and therefore the forsaking of their genuine identity serves as the precondition for their societal success (Dorian 1998: 6). The last speakers of Votic and Ingrian live in close vicinity to each other. Distinguishing the relationships of the languages and dialects in the language community is complicated. The Votic language spoken in the Vaipooli dialect has often been called a mixture of Votic and Ingrian by linguists (Ariste 1968: 12, Mustonen 1883: 163, Talve 1990: 63).

2. Language and identity

Votic has always had a lower social-communicative function. In the 21st century the language has preserved only the social-cultural function, which builds connections between the last speakers of Votic, language researchers and aficionados.

Ingrian has preserved its communicative function among the ethnic group. At least for the past few centuries Ingrian has served as *lingua franca* for different ethnic communities, i.e. for Ingrians, Votians and also Finns in old Ingria in the St. Petersburg area. During the last century Russian has taken over this function. In 1925, Dmitri Tsvetkov wrote: “

The language of religion is, largely, totally unfamiliar for Votic people. 60 or 80 years ago, only 10% of Votic people could understand the language of religion (ecclesiastical Slavic language) and 50% could understand Russian. However, the times changed. [...] Now the majority of the people can understand the language of religion, Russian is spoken by everybody with the exception of the oldest generation whose Russian is poorer and who distort the language by making it sound more like Votic. [...] Recently, there has been a rapid assimilation in every sphere. Let me give an example: What happens at a Votic household, where everybody still speaks Votic, upon the arrival of a young Ingrian woman? All family members, even the older generation, switch to Ingrian.” (Tsvetkov 1925: 42–43)

Language is the primary feature of a national identity. Identity is not a static phenomenon but rather a mutable process (Hall 1990: 227). Until the end of the 20th century Votians did not have a proper ethnonym for their nation, their language was referred to by the verb *miä pajatan* ‘I speak’ (which means that my mother tongue is Votic). The Votians used sometimes also the ethnonym *ižhora* ‘Ingrian’ (Tsvetkov 1925: 45). Nowadays the ethnonym *vad’d’alain* ‘Votian’ is mostly used by people with Votic origin who do not know the language.

3. The Ingrian written standard in the 1930s

The years from 1920 to the 1930s saw the creation of many new written standards for minority languages in the Soviet Union. In the 1930s the Ingrian written standard was developed. In 1932–1937, 32 Ingrian textbooks were issued, and Ingrians as well as Votians had an opportunity to study at schools with Ingrian as the language of tuition.

The first Ingrian written standard resembled that of the Tver Karelian and Vep-sian languages – it used the Latin alphabet, and the language was based on the Soikkola dialect. A major part of the academic literature was authored or co-authored by Väino Junus, associate professor at the department of Finno-Ugric languages of the Leningrad Institute of History and Linguistics. However, the school practice showed that the speakers of the other major dialect (Lower Luga) struggled hard to understand the language. As the first Ingrian-language books were based on the language spoken in the Soikkola neighbourhood, several forms and words were not understood by the Lower Luga people. Ingrian Grammar for teachers (Junus 1936) set new rules for the benefit of the written standard and tried to consolidate the written standard that would serve as a bridge between the two dialects. Since there were not enough specially trained teachers for Ingrian schools and the fortunate period for minority languages had come to an end, the Ingrian grammar for teachers had no influence on the written or spoken language. The late 1930s were marked by the elimination of active literate people: heads of households, teachers, and creative persons, including Junus. He was arrested at the age of 31 on October 29, and was shot on November 1, 1937, having been accused of high treason (Mirenkov 2002: 208–209).

On 20 December 1937, the Bureau of the Oblast Committee of Leningrad presented a plan regarding national schools and other institutions involved in culture and education, outlining the rapid reorganization of all national schools. It was scheduled to take place before December 15 1938. The schools were to be reorganized into “conventional” schools, i.e. schools with Russian as the language of tuition. The state authorities viewed the national written standards as a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism.

All Ingrian-language schools were shut down. In 1936, the Estonian-Finnish-Ingrian pedagogical college was shut down and its principal, the head of the Finnish department and four lecturers were shot in 1937–1938 (Musajev 2003: 24).

By the time of the creation of the national written standards in the late 1920s, there were a few Votic speakers left (officially 705 people) and they could speak both Ingrian and Russian. This is obviously one of the reasons why Votic was the only Finnic language for which no one attempted to create a written standard. Some minor exceptions aside, Votic people have received school education only in Russian. In 1936–1937, some Votic children were taught in Ingrian at the Luuditsa village school.

Votic informants remember the Votic translation of a poem by Alexander Pushkin taught in school. Nowadays many elderly people can still sing it. The stanza below reveals some differences in the languages:

Ingrian written standard:

*Lumi tormi kattaa taivaan
Kattaa taivaan, kattaa maan.
Noisi itkemaan ku lapset,
Zveerin viisi ulvomaan.*

Votian translation (by Heinike Heinsoo):

*Lumi tormi katab taivaa,
Katab taivaa, katab maa.
Nõizi itkõma ku lahzõd,
zveerii viisi ulvomaa.*

*The snow-storm covers the skies, Covers the skies, covers the land.
It began to weep like children do, Like wild beasts are howling, too.*

4. Written Votic

The majority of Votic texts are translated texts. In 1874, translations of The Lord's Prayer into Finnic languages (Ahlqvist 1874) were published in "Kieletär". The Votic version reads as follows:

*Izä med'ee kumpa olet taivaiza, pühätü ölkoo nimes sinun, litši tulkoo sinu valtas,
ölkoo sinun tahtos nii maaza kui taivaiza; anna meid'ee tänänne ökapäivädnee
leipäni ja anna meile med'ee völkani anteehsi kui i müö anteehsi annamma med'dee
völgaliizile ja älä saata meitä manituhseesee a päässä meitä pahassa ku sinun on
valta i vöima i slaava igää kõikkee. (Ahlqvist 1874: 20)*

*Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come, your will be done,
on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts,
as we also have forgiven our debtors and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us
from evil. For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours forever.*

Though a literary record, it is readily understood by any reader with a knowledge of the Votic language. This text can be regarded as the first translation into Votic, the author of the translation is not known. The text is written in an understandable language and the spelling system resembles the contemporary Votic written standard adopted as the result of a search that lasted for several decades.

O. A. F. Mustonen published Chapters 2 to 6 of St Matthew's Gospel in Votic (Mustonen 1883). The translator of the text is not known, but it is written in the dialect of Vaipoole, more specifically, in the sub-dialect of Jõgõperä.

Dmitri Tsvetkov (1890–1930) was the only educated Votic man. Lauri Ketunen, professor at the University of Tartu (1919–1925), invited Tsvetkov to study in Estonian, in Tartu. With a scholarship from the Estonian Mother Tongue Society, he completed his manuscript of the Votic-Estonian dictionary (Tsvetkov 1995) whereas he had already completed his bilingual grammar (Tsvetkov 2008). Tsvetkov created an individual spelling system by adding two dots to Russian letters to designate the sounds *ä*, *ö*, *ü*. The Votic grammar and dictionary were only published posthumously. Tsvetkov's grammar, published almost a century after his death, comprises many "innovations" (which can be explained by the "big hope" for small languages in the 1920s and 1930s) – artificial morphological forms and grammatical constructions which have never existed or been used in the spoken language; the grammar does not follow the (traditional) structure of the grammars of other Finnic languages either, which would be useful since the structure of the Finnic languages is similar to some extent. Therefore the grammar is not suitable for modern academic work and it has never been used in practice. The grammar which serves for learning and revitalizing an endangered language should definitely (a) be as similar to the spoken language (dialect) as possible, (b) not comprise artificial morphological forms nor constructions, (c) be constructed in a way that the (last) speakers of a language would recognize the grammar. Yet Tsvetkov's dictionary serves as a valuable lexicon.

5. Einar Haugen's model of language standardization

Einar Haugen (1966: 931–933) has presented the model of language standardization in four steps:

Step 1: Status planning: Selection of a language. (Establishment of the language norms; the unification of language shape bases either on one dialect or sub-dialect).

Step 2: Corpus planning: Codification of a language. In this stage the grammars and dictionaries are compiled, and the fundamental principles of orthography established.

Step 3: Implementing its functions by spreading it, implementation of the changes in society. Language has to be developed to serve variable functions in different fields.

Step 4: Elaborating its functions to meet language needs. Language community has to accept the established language norm.

Languages without a written standard are characterized as very variable, language exists only in dialectal shape. In present day Votic one may distinguish two sub-dialects – Jõgõperä and Liivtšülä-Luuditsa; in Ingrian there are the Lower Luga and Soikkola dialects. In a social sense the language community is easily definable – all the speakers represent the older generation of rural (bucolic) people. And since there is no developed written standard of a language, one may speak only about the relationships between the dialects. A close contacting language can also take the role of splitting the dialects – that is the impact Ingrian has had on the Votic language: Votic dialects spoken closer to the Ingrian area have been assimilating to Ingrian and Votic as a mother tongue started to vanish. The current Votic language is strongly influenced by Ingrian.

Whether the codification of such languages is successful depends heavily on its acceptance by the population as well as its form of implementation by the government, e. g. promoting its prestige and spread, teaching the norm in school and in language courses, and so on. In the late 20th century Votic and Ingrian have (again) started with status planning and corpus planning – Haugen's postulated step 1 and step 2 – but will apparently never take the third and fourth step.

6. Standardization of Votic and Ingrian in the 21st century

During the late 20th century, in the wake of social changes, there were new attempts at re-creating the Ingrian written standard and creating the new Votic written standard.

6.1. The birth of the Votic written standard

Even these days, issues of spelling are dealt with. The published scientific grammars (Ahlqvist 1856; Ariste 1948, 1968) are based on the Western Votic dialect of Kattila (*mätši*), which does not serve as a suitable basis for the present-day written standard. The Jõgõperä dialect, the last to survive, is idiosyncratic and strongly reduced,

approaching the Estonian language in several respects. The three sub-dialects of the Vaipooe village have intrinsic differences, the major of which concern word-final vowels. A thorough overview of the modern Votic language, i.e. the Jõgõperä and Liivtšülä-Luuditsa dialects, is published in “Современный водский язык” (Markus, Rozhanskiy 2011).

Differences in dialects become evident even among the five Votic people of whom two speak one dialect and three speak another. Decisions have to be passed in many cases, for example regarding word-final vowels. In Jõgõperä, the sounds *a/ä* have often been dropped in word-final position whilst in the Liivtšülä-Luuditsa dialect the sounds *õ/e* occur in this case.

For both Votic and Ingrian the encoding has to be based on the Latin alphabet (since it suits Finnic languages better than the Cyrillic alphabet) and use similar graphemes as closely related languages. It is hard to adopt the new Latin-based spelling system for the older generation, educated in Russian and used to reading only in Cyrillic. There are problems with recognizing (for some people also with pronouncing) the graphemes *ä, õ, ü, õ*.

6.2. Votic “translation” literature

There have been cases of “translating” texts from one Votic dialect into another. For example, Dmitri Tsvetkov translated Kettunen’s texts from the eastern dialect into the Jõgõperä dialect (Kettunen, Posti 1932: 144–152). The translation as a whole shows the translator’s good knowledge of Russian and Votic and consistency in the usage of the apocopic Jõgõperä written form created by himself.

The first books using the spelling system created by Mehmet Muslimov were published in 2003 and 2004. “*Vad̄da kaazgõt*” ‘Votic fairy-tales’ are based on records by Paul Ariste (Ariste 1977) and Julius Mägiste (Mägiste 1925), and the difference between the fairy-tale books published in different years lies in the form of the dialect: The edition of 2003 is written in the original form of the dialect, recorded by the researchers, whilst the texts published in 2004 are “translated” into the Liivtšülä-Luuditsa dialect.

2009 saw the publication of “*Vad̄daa rahvaa jutud ja kaazgad*” ‘Votic folktales and fairy-tales of the Votic language’ edited by Olga Konkova (Konkova 2009), that contains fairy-tales with Russian translations. The form of literary recording has gone through numerous changes. The original Votic alphabet, short translations and thematic word lists have also been published by local activists in the newspaper *Maavätsi* (the 12th edition was published in 2013) with the main purpose of introducing the events in Vaipooe and in its vicinity, Votic cultural life and country study.

6.3. Votic original literature

The painting book “*Vad'da krazgöttavō cirja*” (Kuznetsova, Muslimov 2010), published by Yekaterina Kuznetsova in 2010, can be regarded as original literature. The painting book concludes with an alphabet that includes also the palatalized sibilants *ř* and *ṛ̌*, the affricate *tš* (*č*) is marked by *c* and *c* by *ts*.

The Votic calendar “*Vad'da päivüzikko 2011*” (Jefimova 2010) in Russian as well as Votic was edited by Tatjana Jefimova. The calendar contains word-lists. The language of the original text is mostly characteristic of the Liivtšülä-Luuditsa dialect, but one can also encounter apocopes inherent in the Jögöperä dialect. No other Votic calendars have been issued.

6.4. Written Ingrian today

The Lower Luga dialect of Ingrian is spoken by no more than 30–40 people and the number of good speakers of the Soikkola dialect is approximately the same. There are significant phonetic (e.g. gemination) as well as morphological differences between those two dialects. Although the number of Ingrian speakers is larger than that of Votians, the interest towards the written (standard) language appears to be lower.

However, a beautiful original Ingrian-language painting book that encourages to learn, play and paint – supplied by a parallel text in Russian – is “*Ižorin maa: Tuttahus*” ‘Ingrian country’, written and illustrated by Maria Harakka-Zaiceva, with Ingrian texts by Nikita Dyatchkov. The attitude towards the studies of minority languages is not yet clear in Russia, but after long negotiations, the book is being used in the day-care home of Viistinä.

Since 2011, the *Ižorin kalender* ‘Ingrian calendar’ is published annually as well, featuring weekdays and names of months in Ingrian, folk calendar holidays, ample pictorial material and thematic word lists. Over years the proportion of the Ingrian language has grown in the calendar. The calendar of 2014 is fully bilingual, containing Ingrian folk songs in Ingrian and Russian; the author of the calendar is Dmitri Harakka Zaicev (IK 2014).

The newspaper *Soikkulan mua* is issued six times a year and includes one page in Ingrian whilst the core material is in Russian.

7. Teaching materials and language courses in the original language environment

Should linguists intervene? There are at least three different opinions. First – linguists must not obstruct the vanishing of an endangered language; on the contrary, linguists have to regard language shift as a natural phenomenon (Edwards 1994, 2002). Second – endangered languages have to be carefully documented and archived before final extinction. The documentation itself may appear helpful for preserving the language, but the researchers should not have any impact on the process (Ladefoged 1992, Dixon 1997, Newman 2003). Third – researchers have to support the maintenance and development of the endangered languages, and contribute to their revival; the researchers participate implicitly or directly in the revitalization projects for endangered languages (Fishman 1991, 2001; Dorian 1993; Nettle, Romaine 2000). Lately scientists have started to support the latter opinion – the researcher must offer his/her help.

The creation of the written standard for Ingrian in the 1930s was clearly an political act, and the written standard was created by a linguist. The Ingrian and Votic researchers of later times divide into two groups. Until the 1990s the extinction of the aforementioned languages as a fact was under discussion (Mustonen 1883: 165, Ariste 1960: 223, Laanest 1986: 6). The late 1990s saw a new generation of linguists, who set maximum documentation of Ingrian and Votic as the main research purpose (for example Markus, Rozhanskyi 2011). The linguists Mehmed Muslimov and Heinike Heinsoo have also participated in the creation and implementation of the Votic written standard.

In 2006 the book “Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization” was published by Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (Grenoble & Whaley 2006). The idea of the book is to serve as a handbook for linguists, for language activists and for speakers of minority languages who are willing to work hard for the maintenance of endangered languages. Grenoble and Whaley emphasize the importance of cooperation with the language community, the contribution of the language speakers and the support of the language researchers as specialists. For Votic that model has functioned since the second half of the 1990s.

Nancy Dorian has written that the generation which has achieved a socially secure position in the community is usually the first one who starts to crave for their lost language (Dorian 1998: 5). The descendants of the last speakers of Votic and Ingrian find themselves in a similar situation. The 50-years-old generation is regretting that they have never learned (or they have never been taught) their mother tongue properly. This generation is trying to regenerate their language and participate actively in the language courses.

7.1. Votic and Ingrian language courses

Under the leadership of Heinike Heinsoo, Votic courses called *Baabuškassa vunukas-saa* ‘from grannies to grandchildren’ have been held from 2010–2014 at the Jõgõperä School and in the new Votic museum. There are many written texts, but Votic people who have learned to read and write in the Cyrillic alphabet find those difficult to read. Reading folk lyrics and singing as well as reading shorter texts (for example proverbs and riddles) have gone surprisingly well. Strong playful elements – morpheme cubes, multi-coloured cards for recognizing various people, puzzles cut into pieces, complete word cards, lexical and pictorial lottos, etc. have contributed to the learning process.

Ingrian courses are held at the Ingrian museum and Viistinä cultural centre two to three times a week. There are two groups: beginners and advanced learners. The participants are children ten to 15 years of age. They do handicraft and learn everyday activities and cultural heritage through the Ingrian language. The tuition programme has been prepared by Nikita Dyatchkov, young man of the local origin who works as a teacher at the museum. The Soikkula Association arranged courses of Ingrian for adults in the Viistinä culture hall in 2013. The lessons were held twice a week, one lesson lasted for two hours.

7.2. Votic teaching materials

In the 1990s and at the beginning of the current millennium, Mehmed Muslimov, a linguist from St. Petersburg, taught Votic to children at the Jõgõperä School. During the teaching process, he put together teaching materials, giving rise to the modern Votic written standard. In 2003–2004 Mehmet Muslimov made the study material available on the website <http://www.vatland.ru/>.

In April 2014, the publishing house КноРыс issued a Votic textbook for autodidacts. The textbook was compiled by Vitali Tshernyavski, who is a Moscow-based doctor and amateur linguist. Obviously, the biggest shortcoming of the textbook arose from the attempt to combine the Kattila dialect that has served as the basis for all the published scientific grammars (Ahlqvist 1856; Ariste 1948, 1968) and the currently spoken Luuditsa-Liivtšülä dialect. As an explanation, the author has said that the old Votic language system has been preserved the best in these dialects. Unluckily this is not the case – both dialects contain later changes that unfortunately are not the same, e.g. changes in word-final vowels and secondary gemination.

After a period of hard labour, during which written Votic has gone through a major change, it nowadays resembles the spelling system of the 1824-page Votic dictionary (VKS 2013) published in Estonia. Currently Votic is not spoken in any household because there is no point in speaking it alone, however, the same linguistic

system as characteristic of Vaipoole now forms the basis for written Votic. It is necessary to explain that the written standard is based on conventions and is nobody's mother tongue.

7.3. Ingrian teaching materials

The vocabulary collection "*Sanakirja Napurit*" for Ingrian elementary studies includes words of everyday life in four languages: Ingrian, Finnish, Estonian and Russian. The booklet edited by Dmitry Harakka-Zaytsev was published in July 10, 2013.

An Ingrian ABC-book "*Bukvari*" (the four-colour illustrated book includes 28 pages) is being prepared in Finland. It is edited by a researcher of Ingrian culture, Aira Kuronen, who is not a linguist, but represents the third generation of native speakers.

7.4. The Votic and Ingrian languages on the internet

The Votic and Ingrian languages have "moved" to the internet. Unfortunately, as Fishman said (2001: 455) "[...] community and virtual community are not the same thing at all, as far as intergenerational mother tongue transmission are concerned".

The most important website for Votic is <http://www.vadjamaa.narod.ru> (virtual museum and short overview of the Votic dialects compiled by Mehmet Muslimov in Russian). In 2012, the linguistic environment called *Vatjaa sana päivässä* 'One Votic word per day' was launched on Facebook and it had 502 users on October 28, 2014. A word or phrase is given in Votic, Estonian, Finnish and Russian.

The Ingrian language on the internet is even harder to find. Most of the materials about Ingrian (culture, traditions, history, ethnology) are available only in Russian, see for example <http://www.languages-study.com/izhor.html>. Ingrians' descendants have also created a multilingual Facebook-community called *Inkerikot*.

8. Initiatives on a micro-level

Micro-level initiatives have been considered as the most important ones, as more interest groups are involved and interested in language planning (Hornberger, Johanson 2011: 277). Ingrian language courses are organized by young Nikita Dyatchkov (who has Ingrian roots). A few examples of Ingrian literature have been published by Ingrian lawyer Dmitry Harakka-Zaytsev, and his wife who is a professional artist. Linguists have not been involved in the development of the new Ingrian written standard.

Votic language skills are kept fresh with the help of children's vocal ensembles *Pääskolinnut* 'The Swallows' and *Linnut* 'The Birds' – children who are not native Votic speakers sing Votic songs and participate in the folklore lessons. The local school in the Votic village of Jõgõperä organizes days of local studies and various performances. The local children, none of whom are of Votic origin, are introduced to the local language, culture and history. Only one teacher, Zinaida Savelyeva, teacher of gymnastics (now retired) is from Jõgõperä and can speak Votic, she is of Votic origin. Local schoolchildren have carried out studies about the Votians and Ingrians and take part in the traditional events. The vocal ensembles *Linnut* and *Pääskolinnut* (led by teacher Marina Petrova) annually attend village parties and sing Votic songs. For the pupils who perform, old traditional sets of national costumes have been made.

The Association of Votic Culture was founded in 2005, plans included: 1) a spelling-book for beginners, 2) a colouring book for children (1st part about ethnic costumes), 3) a Votic fairy-tale book with Russian translation, 4) a virtual Votic museum, 5) computer games for learning the Votic language, 6) animation films in the Votic language or with Votic subtitles, 7) a Votic calendar, 8) a book about musical instruments, 9) a DVD. As of today, computer games and animation films have proved unrealistic but the other plans will be implemented one after the other.

9. Socio-political sanctions to revive the language

The investigation of an endangered language is to some extent always a political matter, regardless whether the researcher offers help or avoids taking a hand. The usage of a language does not depend on linguistics or socio-linguistic circumstances, but in most cases on politics (Dorian 1993, Joseph 1987: 3). Present Russian politics do not favour the language and culture of minorities in the strategically important coastal region. The biggest harbour in northern Russia is being built in the ancient area of settlement of the Votic and Ingrian people.

Votic and Ingrian people are small indigenous population groups in Russia. On October 13, 2008, the Votic people were added to the list of small indigenous groups of the Russian Federation (*Единый перечень коренных малочисленных народов России*). The local newspaper wrote on this occasion: "The efforts of this tiny nation – altogether as few as 73 people – have helped preserve their traditions and language; textbooks are published and lessons in the mother tongues – though optional – are held for children [...]" (31.10.2008). Here one can detect a clear note of propaganda praising the large nation whilst paying attention also to the small one. No textbooks have been published and no lessons in the respective mother tongue

have been held or will be held as long as there are no children of Votic speaking parents at the school.

In 2009, the Ingrian language was added to the UNESCO Atlas of World's Languages In Danger as *a highly endangered language*.

10. Conclusions

For both the Ingrian and Votic languages new written standards are being developed. Despite the deep interest of Votic and Ingrian origin activists and the efforts made by linguists and researchers, Votic and Ingrian will probably not reach the third or fourth stage of the development of a written standard. Both languages barely fulfil functions other than that of an everyday communicative language, the acceptance of norms and the usage of the written standard in future are questionable.

The Ingrian written standard, which was created and in use for a very short period in the 1930s, had no influence on spoken Ingrian. There have been attempts of creating written Votic and Ingrian standards since the late 20th century but both of them can be viewed as fully developed only after the publication of at least ten works using the same spelling system. At this point, both of the written standards are in the phase of development. Many representatives of the older generation are able to read Votic texts but the younger generation will only most likely know how to write in the language – both in the case of the Votic and also the Ingrian language. When bilingual dictionaries with Russian as the original language will be issued, the circle of people involved in the languages will definitely expand since most people with Votic and Ingrian roots have shifted to Russian.

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Julian Maia-Larretxea & Nerea Badiola-Urbe

Word order and Basque logical-discursive prose development: Different approaches

This article addresses the issue of the evolution of ideas about the organization of word order in Basque prose in a period including the whole 20th century and the first decade of the 21st. The Basque language is a minority language in direct and close contact with either Spanish or French as dominant languages in each part of the whole Basque Country; the influence of English used as a lingua franca adds another element to the linguistic characterization of the Basque society and the Basque language.

Three periods with differing sociolinguistic features are analysed: 1) the first third of the 20th century; 2) the early years of the normalization issue (circa 1965 to 1990); 3) the time of maturity in Basque logical-discursive prose (on-going since the last decade of the 20th century).

Through the study of various major contributions by academics and organizations three meaningful approaches to the issue of word order in Basque logical-discursive prose are proposed: 1) the idealistic-idiosyncratic model, 2) the hasty homologation model, 3) the progressive and balanced adaptation model.

Having looked at the whole period analysed, the authors suggest that an evolution in the dominant ideas about how to organize the elements of sentences and clauses has taken place. They conclude that the progressive and balanced adaptation model is the most suited way to deal with the issue of word order in Basque prose in order to successfully face the new challenges posed by the current globalized and multilingual world where the influence of English as a third language is increasing in Basque society through a growing number of trilingual people.

1. Introduction

Minority languages face the challenge of keeping their own syntactic characteristics in a globalized world where they are in intensive contact with other languages. This is the situation faced by the Basque language (*Euskara*) in the beginning of the 21st century.

Basque society as a whole may be basically considered as trilingual, with two bilingual regions: one bilingual region of the Basque Country is in Spain, with Basque and Spanish being the languages involved, whilst the other is in France, where Basque and French are the two languages in contact (Maia-Larretxea 2012). Thus, there are

a significant number of bilingual people, either Basque-Spanish or Basque-French speakers (Basque Government 2013).

Besides, alongside the widespread of globalization there has been an increasing presence of English in Basque society over the last 20 years, mostly through its generalized introduction in the education system (Lasagabaster 2000; Cenoz & Jessner 2000). Nowadays, the number of trilingual people is increasing with English as the additional third language. Such speakers have to deal with three languages in their minds, albeit with different levels of proficiency, so that each trilingual speaker will get a personal combination of different levels of proficiency in each language (Cenoz et al. 2001; Herdina & Jessner 2002). Consequently, according to their linguistic experience, some speakers will have Spanish or French as their “strong” language with Basque being their “weaker” language; for others, Basque might be the “strong” language and Spanish or French would be the “weaker” language in their personal combination. Speaking in general terms, there will be as many particular combinations as different linguistic experiences and interactions are carried out by speakers in Basque society. Sociolinguistic features of the society will influence the real number of people in each situation. As languages are considered to be related to each other in the mind of speakers through the concept of “cross-linguistic influence” (De Angelis & Selinker 2001; Cenoz et al. 2001), some influence of this personal trilingualism on the real use of every language can be expected. As we will show later on in this article, the word order pattern is one of the features where major differences between the Basque language and the other languages in contact (Spanish/French and English) can be found. In this article, we discuss the tendencies and changes in the organization of word order in Basque during the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century, in the current bilingual and increasingly multilingual environment of the Basque society.

This article will be divided into several parts: firstly, some general features of the Basque society and language will be displayed in order to better understand the context of the issue; secondly, features of the three different periods in which we have divided this study will be shown; thirdly, three basic approaches about how to develop word order in the Basque language will be analysed; finally, we will draw some conclusions.

2. Basic features of the Basque language and society

The Basque Country is located between France and Spain: the northern part of the country belongs to France and the southern part is in Spain. Basque is a minority language in both parts; French and Spanish are the dominant languages in each part of the country.

The total number of bilingual Basque speakers aged 16 and over is about 27% of the population (714,000 bilingual people); 14.7% are passive bilingual; 58% of the

inhabitants of the Basque Country are non-Basque speakers (Basque Government 2013). Therefore, more than half of the population do not speak Basque, which is something to take into account when promoting aspects of the corpus of Basque in a multi-plurilingual setting.

Some other psycho-sociolinguistic features are also worthy of mention: 1) The Basque language is in real or virtual contact with Spanish, French and English, which are certainly very strong and syntactically highly developed languages; 2) all speakers of Basque are at least bilingual: there are practically no monolingual speakers of Basque; 3) almost 35% of the bilingual speakers have acquired the Basque language outside their homes as a second language (Basque Government 2013), which is usually related to the level of proficiency reached in the language; 4) individual trilingualism (even quadrilingualism) is increasing in Basque society, usually with English as a third language.

From a linguistic point of view, it is worthy of remark that the Basque language is very different from either Spanish, French or English. Basque does not belong to the Indo-European family; unlike Spanish and French, it is not of Latin origin either. One of the main distinguishing features of the Basque language is that Basque is a postpositional language, with no prepositions (Zabala & San Martin 2012).

As for word order in Basque, it is worth pointing out that Basque is usually characterized as an SOV language (De Rijk 1969; Laka 1996), even if recent contributions to the issue consider that an SVO order is also quite common and acceptable (Euskaltzaindia-Royal Academy of the Basque Language 2011b).

It is also interesting to take into account that the issue of word order in Basque has two dimensions, which makes it more complicated to deal with. On the one hand, word order exerts an evident influence on the communicative efficiency of the language and, on the other hand, it has a significant ideological component: The idea that the language in general (and its syntax in particular) reflects a distinctive feature has been spread and followed in the Basque Country for a long time (e.g. Ibar 1935). In this way, it has usually been claimed that “the authentic Basque way” to organize the elements is placing the verb and the subordinating morphemes at the end of the sentence or clause (Altube 1975), which in turn generates a major problem when a sentence is relatively long.

3. Three different periods of the 20th century

Three periods have been considered in this study, according to the different dimensions of some parameters related to the use of the Basque language in formal settings and, more specifically, in the educational area.

The first period covers the first third of the 20th century, until the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, a period of revival of the Basque language. The Royal Academy of the Basque Language was founded in 1919. However, the use of the Basque language was extremely limited in formal settings, except for religious purposes. There were very few people using the Basque language in formal contexts, even when addressing matters about the very Basque language itself. As a paradoxical indicator of the situation, important books and works aiming at encouraging the use of the Basque language were published in Spanish (Altube 1929; Ibar 1935). On the other hand, there was practically no schooling through the Basque language (Euskaltzaindia-Royal Academy of the Basque Language 1979).

The second period is limited to the time from the 1960s to the 1990s, covering what can be considered as the initial period of the normalization of the Basque language. Basque began to be used for educational purposes in around 1960 in the *Ikastolas* (school in the Basque language), clandestinely at the beginning, without any formal authorization at all (Zalbide 2010). It was the time when the vigorous movement for Basque language normalization began. First steps were taken to define the linguistic features of the standard variety of the Basque language (the *Euskara Batua*, the unified Basque). *Euskaltzaindia* (the Royal Academy of the Basque Language) provided the academic shelter to the movement leading to the creation of this standard variety in 1968. When General Franco's dictatorship turned into a democratic system in Spain (1978), the Autonomous Communities reached legal competences to develop new language policies and, as a result, education through Basque rapidly expanded in the Basque Autonomous Community and the Foral Community of Navarre, particularly from the 1980s. Other activity fields such as civil services and mass media experienced a growing use of the Basque language, as did general publishing in Basque (Euskaltzaindia-Royal Academy of the Basque Language 1977). As a number of professionals began to work in those formal contexts (education, civil services and mass-media), the number of people able to use the Basque language in formal settings started to grow steadily. A meaningful example of this evolution in the educational area is the following: in 1977 fewer than 5% of the teachers in state-funded schools at primary education level had proved their proficiency in the Basque language; by the academic year 2006–2007, almost three quarters of all teachers in primary education had reached the equivalent to the current C1 level of the European Framework of Reference for Languages in the Basque language (Zalbide 2010).

We shall establish the beginning of the third period at the last decade of the 20th century (circa 1990). By that time some experience had been gained in the above-mentioned formal contexts, and the Basque language had relatively spread throughout several formal settings such as mass media and many areas of the civil service. The use of Euskara increased particularly for educational purposes along

the different levels of the education system, including university (in the academic year 2012–2013 there were 2,106 Basque-speaking bilingual teachers working at the University of the Basque Country-UPV/EHU; see UPV-EHU 2012–2013). Thus, a substantial number of people enabled (and generated) an extended use of the Basque language in education; in other words, a significant number of people were dealing with logical-discursive prose in Basque on a daily basis. The Basque language had a very short tradition in that kind of prose, therefore it had to face some new communicative challenges derived from its lack of use in those areas: Basque prose had to deal with novel communicative needs, and, as a result, some problems were detected when trying to develop Basque logical-discursive prose according to the “rules” and ideas which had become predominant in the Basque Country (especially in the southern part), particularly since the beginning of the 20th century (see the idealistic-idiosyncratic approach in section 4.1.). These difficulties encountered on the way led to the discussion about the efficacy of the so-supposed model pattern to develop the Basque language in the area of logical-discursive prose. Thus, we might say that this is the time for reaching maturity in the use of logical-discursive prose in Basque: On the one hand, Euskara is becoming consolidated in these new contexts of use; on the other hand, difficulties arise and solutions are required.

4. Word order in Basque: three basic approaches

Through reviewing the literature on word order promoted in Basque during the 20th century, three main positions may be observed: a) the *idealistic-idiosyncratic* model, whose main features were formulated in 1929 (Altube 1975); b) the *in-laboratory hasty homologation* model (Rubio 2002); c) the *progressive and balanced adaptation* model (Zubimendi & Esnal 1993; Hidalgo 1995–2002 and others).

4.1. The idealistic-idiosyncratic model

The work “Erderismos” (equivalent to “solecisms”) by Seber Altube, first published in 1929, may be considered as the most representative work within this approach (Altube 1975). In this view the pattern to follow when addressing word order issues is based on a selected portion of the whole tradition. We call this approach *idealistic* because its promoters or followers have in mind an ideal model of language rather than the real one.

The supporters of this position place great emphasis on the differences in linguistic features between Basque and Spanish (this approach had much less influence in the Northern Basque Country). They celebrate the differentiating “authentic” expression of the Basque spirit in an attempt to find a way to show the particular identity of the Basque people. Thereby, linguistic features coming from other languages are rejected, and preference is given to syntactic structures and features differing from those of Romance languages in general (and Spanish in particular). We call this approach *idiosyncratic*, because its followers highlight the idiosyncratic characteristics of the Basque language as well as its distinctiveness and particularity compared to the other languages in the context.

Some relevant linguistic features of the model pattern “chosen” to be imitated are the following: 1) the “questioned element” or “informationally relevant phrase”¹ (more or less equivalent to the *rheme* in contrast with the *theme*, or *focus* versus *topic*), has to be always positioned immediately before the verb, in order to be highlighted; 2) the verb must be placed at the end of the sentence or clause; 3) subordinate clauses must be laid before the main verb, which in turn will be at the end; 4) subordinating morphemes must be placed at the end of the subordinate clause.

As a result of all these “rules” being applied at the same time, an important problem arises: the so-called “back burden” of the sentences in the Basque language (Zubimendi & Esnal 1993). The term “back burden” refers to the processing problems that arise when some key elements determinant for the full understanding of the sentence are “pushed back” towards the end of the sentence. We present an example to show the concept of “back burden”.

The contrast between the different ways to organize the elements is shown by comparing the next pairs of sentences. Firstly, in (1a), we present a (more or less) usual way to organize the elements in English, consistent with the element order organization of the Basque sentence (1b), which is one of the possible ways to organize the elements in Basque; then, in (1c) we show the same “English” sentence but, in this case, with the word order following the criteria for model construction claimed for the Basque language by the promoters and followers of this idealistic-idiosyncratic approach; finally, in (1d), we show the original sentence in Basque with its elements placed in the sequence claimed to be the best one for the Basque language by this idealistic-idiosyncratic approach.² The elements have been numbered to display the

1 In Spanish it is called “elemento inquirido”; in Basque it is referred to as “galdegaia”. For an introductory grammar of the Basque Language, see Laka (1996).

2 It is a real example taken from the book considered to be the most complete explanation of this idealistic-idiosyncratic approach (Altube 1975).

contrast; the element numbered 2 (in bold letters) corresponds to the main verb of the sentence.

(1) a. Mum₁ **told me**₂ (that)₃ tomorrow₄ she will be very busy₅ and₆ (that)₃
she won't be able to come over₇

(1) b. Amak₁ **esan dit**₂ (Ø)₃ bihar₄ lan asko dauka₅ la₃ eta₆
(Ø) ezin etorri izango da₇-la₃

(1) c. Tomorrow₄ she will be very busy₅ (that)₃
and₆ she won't be able to come over₇ (that)₃ **told me**₂ mum₁

(1) d. Bihar₄ lan asko dauka₅-la₃ eta₆ ezin etorri izango da₇ la₃ **esan dit**₂ amak₁

The contrast between the different phrase sequences in sentences (1a) to (1d) is as follows:

In English, (1a) vs (1c):	1-2-(3)-4-5-6-(3)-7	vs 4-5-(3)-6-7-(3)-2-1
In Basque, (1b) vs (1d):	1-2-4-5-3-6-7-3	vs 4-5-3-6-7-3-2-1

Some considerations must be made to help fully understand the scope of the issue:

- 1) in terms of the relative element position in the full sentence, in the first sentence (1a) the main verb is located in the 2nd position, while the same element moves to the 5th-6th place in the sentence (1c); in the Basque sentence (1b) the main verb is in position 2, against the 7th position of the same element in the Basque sentence (1d);
- 2) in terms of syllable position, in the original Basque sentence – a declarative and easily extendable sentence of 25 syllables in all – following the first element order in (1b) the position of the verb takes from the 3rd syllable to the 5th, whereas according to the second order in (1d) it takes from the 21th syllable to the 23rd: the difference in the position of the main verb is about 18 syllables. This difference means a great variation in the time for processing each sentence depending on the position in which the elements are provided to the receiver of the message;
- 3) in spite of the negative opinion about the phrase order of sentence (1b) held by the idealistic-idiosyncratic approach, nowadays this word order is quite widely accepted and even recommended by several experts, which is a clear indicator of the evolution in this field (see the *progressive and balanced adaptation model* in section 4.3.).

It seems evident that this kind of organization of elements, in which the verb and other basic elements are laid at the end of the sentence, demands longer time to process (the longer the sentence the longer the processing time) and, therefore, it is communicatively less efficient than when the verb is placed earlier in the sentence.

With regard to the acceptance level of this idealistic-idiosyncratic view in the Basque speakers community, in spite of some well-argued criticism (e.g. Villasante 1979, 1986), this approach became predominant during the early times of the normalization process, from the 1960s to the 1980s (e.g. see the opinion expressed by Mitxelena 2011 [1981]).

4.2. The in-laboratory hasty homologation model

In the issue of looking for a more efficient way to organize the elements of utterances in Basque, Rubio (2002) holds a position that may be considered to be at the other end of the spectrum, far apart from the idealistic-idiosyncratic model, because of two reasons. On the one hand, some of his proposals represent a clear departure from the actual tradition by proposing new resources for developing Basque prose; on the other hand, this approach claims for the Basque language to follow the mainstream of the most important and well developed languages in the environment of the Basque Country, placing particular emphasis precisely on promoting the development and use of some basic features common to the surrounding strong languages, such as the use of prepositions, instead of resorting to the most differential particularities of the Basque language.

Some of the ideological features of this approach deserve to be highlighted. The initial position is to consider the Basque language as an under-developed language, both syntactically and communicatively. Thereby, Basque must be urgently equated to the most important and well-developed languages that are in contact with it (Spanish, French and, increasingly, English as a third language for many citizens). Besides, the only way to face this need for equalization is by following the patterns already developed by these strong languages, because that is the only pattern proved to ensure a good level of communicative efficiency in a globalized world and in a multilingual society, in which many people may choose among several languages to fulfil their communication needs. If the Basque language is to reach a sufficient communicative efficiency, it has to follow the ways walked by the most important languages around. Rubio (2002) perceives a need for new linguistic resources that cannot be found in the Basque tradition. As delving into some traditional uses of the Basque language is deemed not enough and even detrimental for the Basque language, new resources must be proposed and developed to compete in this multilingual society in which there is a growing number of plurilingual speakers.

We would like to point out some specific linguistic features proposed by this approach. There is an obsession to reduce the back-burden because it is deemed to lead to a dead-end and disables the Basque language to develop towards what they believe to be the communicatively efficient direction. It is well-known that Basque is a postpositional language with no prepositions, but, unlike in the case of the idealistic-idiosyncratic approach, the postpositional nature is not a feature to be fostered or promoted, because logical-discursive prose develops “towards the right side” of the sentence in all communicatively advanced languages. For that improvement to take place, there is a need to develop a prepositional system for the Basque language, in order to increase its capability to make longer and more complex sentences through the use of prepositions as introductory elements that enable language users to add new elements “to the right side” of the sentence/utterance. Thus, Rubio (2002) claims for producing new prepositions, following two different ways: i) using elements from the Basque language itself, and ii) loaning prepositions from English (as this is the most powerful and extended language in the world, the international *lingua franca*) and assigning them appropriate meanings. An example of the first way is to coin prepositions such as “an”, based on the location postposition marker in Basque “n”; instances of the English-based way to fabricate Basque prepositions are “in” and “on”, with some semantic values endowed by the author himself: the original English preposition “on” would bear the semantic values of both genitive and instrumental postpositions (Rubio 2002).

With regard to the acceptance and implementation of this proposal among actual speakers of Basque, this *hasty homologation model* as a whole has been criticized because of the contrived and alien nature of such proposals with no bases or references in tradition, and because of its strong in-laboratory bias undoubtedly far from real linguistic feelings of actual users of the language. Thus, although some initial ideas inspiring this approach may be deemed attractive and challenging, and some proposals and basic assumptions might also be accepted by having just a comprehensive understanding of the whole tradition, at present this general approach has very few followers and seems to be really far from being accepted by a significant number of people.

4.3. The progressive and balanced adaptation model

The developing pattern we call the *progressive and balanced adaptation* model can be placed somewhere in the middle between the extreme positions held by the defenders and promoters of the two previous approaches. This model is supported by different authors and organizations which are making well-limited proposals to attempt to solve some specific problems detected in specific uses of Basque prose.

The name of this approach derives from some basic ideas: on the one hand, it is called *progressive* because there is an aim to change previous linguistic predominant habits from a respectful position towards all the previous traditions, including the idealistic-idiosyncratic model; there is not an intention to break off previous tradition abruptly; changes must be implemented gradually, little by little. On the other hand, we call it *balanced* because they accept and seek several linguistic resources and traditions: oral and written, southern and northern, current uses and historical ones, with nuances depending on the kind of text. Finally, the word *adaptation* refers to the idea that these new proposals must be gradually applied, in a smooth way: it is about *how to modify* instead of radical changes or breaking offs.

In contrast with the idealistic-idiosyncratic model pattern, the *progressive and balanced adaptation* approach involves a less restrictive conception of tradition, in which many different linguistic features used in different parts of the country, in different periods and for different purposes (in different kinds of texts) can be used without ideological restrictions. Tradition must be analysed to select the most suitable features to be applied, partly depending on the kind of text to be constructed; tradition does not start in the 20th century; northern tradition must be taken into account as well as southern language uses, instead of thinking and acting as if the speakers in Spain were the only ones to be taken into consideration; tradition must consider all the resources used in Basque regardless of their linguistic origin, leaving aside constraints against some specific features because of their affinity or relationship with other languages. Regarding this issue, the Royal Academy of the Basque Language shows a broad-minded position towards the whole Basque tradition (Euskaltzaindia 1986–2011a).

Besides, emphasis tends to be placed on real communicative efficiency rather than on an ideal conception of the language. This ideal thinking of the nature of the language held by the *idealistic-idiosyncratic approach* may lead to seeking for features that only appear in Basque, thus rejecting some real linguistic characteristics of actual users, and therefore, removing the real use of the language from the “grammatical” model promoted by language-rulers, and finally, taking the risk of discouraging actual speakers through undermining their self-esteem (Villasante 1986).

Some specific linguistic features of this approach are clearly in contrast and opposition with some ideas of the idealistic-idiosyncratic approach. Among others, we would like to note some of them: 1) the idea of a “questioned element” in all sentences as a constant feature is under discussion and challenged; 2) there is an attempt or intention of moving the verbs towards the “left side of the utterance”; a tendency to provide the verb “as soon as possible” in as many sentences as possible; 3) there is a trend to locate the subordinate clauses after the main verb of the sentence; 4) there is also the aim to move the subordinating morphemes towards the left part of the clauses and sentences, just to provide the receiver with the key-elements he/she needs for processing the message as soon as possible, in an efficient way.

Regarding the possibility or probability of this approach to be accepted and promoted by the Basque speakers, a significant number of followers, coming from and working in several fields related to the Basque language, seems to support it. Contributions for this general approach are being provided in all the domains of use that have been deemed determinant along the whole normalization process. Thus, contributions coming from different settings can be noticed: from the educational, cultural and academic area (Alberdi & Sarasola 2001; Kaltzakorta 2007; Amuriza 2010; Euskaltzaindia-Royal Academy of the Basque Language 2011b), from journalism and mass-media contexts (Zubimendi & Esnal 1993; BERRIA 2006), as well as proposals coming from the active area of civil services of the general public administration (IVAP-EHAA 2003, 2005) and the core field of translation from and into Basque (Hidalgo 1995, 2002; Aristegieta 2009).

5. Summary and conclusions

In order to carry out this study we have taken into account three different periods throughout the 20th century, which differ according to their different sociolinguistic features and the dimensions of the use of the Basque language in formal settings in general, and in the educational area in particular. The period analysed covers the whole 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

Three different approaches dealing with the issue of word order (or phrase-order) in Basque sentences, and some main features of each one of them have been brought up in this analysis. These approaches have been named respectively the *idealistic-idiosyncratic model*, the *in-laboratory hasty homologation model*, and the *progressive and balanced adaptation model*.

The approach called *idealistic-idiosyncratic* has been dominant in the early times of the normalization process (from the 1960s to the 1990s), due to the influence of the major work by Altube in 1929, published again in 1975 (Altube 1975). This was the model mainly followed over the early times of the normalization process of the Basque language, starting in the 1960s and highly widespread since the beginning of the 1980s. Meanwhile, Basque began to face new communicative needs in which a well-developed logical-discursive prose was needed (educational contexts, mass-media and civil services).

However, as Basque began to be widely used in real communicative settings following mainly the idealistic-idiosyncratic pattern, some problems concerning this prevailing model arose. Practitioners in different fields began to realize that a stiff application of the rules attached to this view could be detrimental for a convenient development of Basque prose.

As a consequence, attention was focused on obstacles for development and, in this context, the concept called “back-burden” of Euskara emerged (first formulated by Zubimendi & Esnal 1993). In this way, some features that were deemed idiosyncratic and specific began to be seen as not so desirable and even trouble-making for prose development. Therefore, instead of being perceived as a major specific feature to be fostered and promoted, the back-burden began to be challenged, and gradually various proposals have been presented in order to avoid some of the problems derived from that back-burdened condition of Basque prose.

Meanwhile, on the opposite end of the idealistic-idiosyncratic approach, a drastic approach has also been submitted, in order to make the Basque language develop rapidly in the same direction as the best developed major languages in its surroundings. This general approach, full of concerns for the future of the Basque language in a society of plurilingual Basque-speakers, was exposed in 2002 (Rubio 2002) for the first time. The aim of the proposal is to get the Basque language ready to overcome its presumed underdevelopment from both syntactic and communicative points of view. However, the acceptance of the core assumptions and solutions of this approach by the Basque speakers community seems highly improbable at present, due to the high degree of artificiality of several particular proposals.

Through the study of the whole period analysed an evolution may be perceived concerning the word order in Basque prose: from the predominance of the *idealistic-idiosyncratic approach*, presented before the Spanish Civil War and re-taken as a model pattern in the early times of the great normalization issue, held by Basque society over the third part of the 20th century, towards a progressive shift into positions that may be deemed as belonging to the trend we have called the *progressive and balanced adaptation* model at the last decade of the 20th century. It seems that there is a spreading agreement about the necessity for reducing the back-burden in the Basque prose (Maia-Larretxea 2014).

Out of the three different approaches for Basque prose development, the *progressive and balanced adaptation* as a whole seems to be the most appropriate response, this assumption being based on two general considerations: the need to develop a functional language to cope with the new communicative demands of the Basque language, and the expansion of trilingualism in Basque society. Trying to delve into linguistic isolation of the Basque language would make it more difficult for people to join the minority language speaking community, whilst highly artificial proposals for language development do not help to unite the community of Basque language users linguistically.

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Sara Brezigar

Avoiding the dinosaur path: An evaluation of the status quo and developmental perspectives of the Slovene minority in Italy

As a starting point the author proposes a framework model – the »model (framework) for the comprehensive evaluation of the status quo and developmental perspectives of national minorities« (CEM). The model is based on the premise that a national minority can be thoroughly examined by analysing its characteristics, developmental challenges and opportunities in six areas of its life, namely language, education, cultural activities (including sports and other leisure activities), media, political participation (inward and outward political participation) and economic activity (including spatial issues). CEM suggests that the status quo of national minorities (in the six fields already mentioned above) and their developmental perspectives can be affected by key contextual factors – of social, political, economic, legal or other origin. The output of the model is represented by four spectra (clusters) of strategies and actions that can be undertaken to improve the developmental perspectives of the national minority under scrutiny. By means of a mixed-methods model of research the proposed model provides an opportunity to both assess the impact of intervening variables and examine the challenges and developmental opportunities of the national minorities under scrutiny.

In the second part of the paper the author applies the model to the Slovene minority in Italy and outlines some of the most interesting results of the qualitative study undertaken as a part of this research to widen the perspective including quantitative data on the topic if such data are available. The author concludes with a brief explanation of the four clusters of developmental perspectives – creating a minority-friendly environment, strengthening the core of the community, enlargement of the linguistic community and self-promotion of the community in the wider environment.

1. Introduction

This paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the status quo and developmental perspectives of the Slovene minority in Italy. As a starting point it proposes a framework model – the »model (framework) for the comprehensive evaluation of the status quo and developmental perspectives of national minorities« (referred to as CEM or simply model hereinafter).

This attempt to design and operationalize such a model stems from a need to unite and combine different approaches towards the study of national minorities that usually provide thorough, in-depth understanding of only a limited number of aspects of the life of national minorities. Such approaches offer a rather narrow view on what are the possible developmental paths of a national community as a whole, either because they focus primarily on one aspect of its existence (e.g. linguists may see the community as an inherently linguistic one, and fail to take into account other sociological factors that could heavily impact the future of the linguistic community, such as inter-ethnic tensions, or international politics, social disparison among communities, etc.), or because the findings within that field of reseach cannot predict the future of the community as a whole.

CEM is based on the premise that a national minority can be thoroughly examined by analysing its characteristics, developmental challenges and opportunities in six areas of its life, namely language, education, cultural activities (including sports and other leisure activities), media, political participation (inward and outward political participation) and economic activity (including spatial issues). The output of CEM is represented by four spectra of strategies and actions that can be undertaken to improve the developmental perspectives of the national minority.

In the first part of the paper the author will provide a short theoretical background for CEM and then proceed to a brief explanation of the model. In the second part of the paper the author will apply CEM to the Slovene minority in Italy and outline the main results of the case study.

2. Theoretical framework

A number of sciences deal with ethnic, national or linguistic minorities.¹ Researchers in the fields of linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics (and even sociology) normally focus on language and the “linguistic minority” is usually at the heart of their studies. With different models, schemes and approaches (Williams 2000, Crystal

1 The focus of this paper is on national minorities. For a full terminological explanation of national and ethnic minorities please see Žagar (1993), for an explanation of the relationship between linguistic and ethnic, please see Brezigar (2004). The minority under discussion in this paper is the Slovene minority in Italy. This minority is a classic example of a national minority that could be defined as a part of the (Slovene) nation left outside the (Slovenia's) state borders. From the point of view of the Italian legal system, the Slovene minority in Italy has been traditionally considered as a linguistic minority. However, this reductive view of national minorities in Italy has been somehow reconsidered in the past decades and from a legal standpoint the Slovene minority in Italy has been included among the so-called historical linguistic minorities – thus acknowledging that the Slovene minority cannot be simply reduced to a linguistic community (Vidau 2013, 2011).

2000, Fishman 1991, 2001, Gardner and Lambert 1972, Giles and Smith 1979, Baker 1992), with concepts such as ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977), language shift (Haugen 1953, Fishman 1991) or linguistic ecology (Haugen 1972), they examine the status quo and developmental perspectives of languages and define contextual and other factors affecting their position. Language planning (Haugen 1966, Williams 2000, Cobarubias and Fishman 1983) and linguistic policy and management (Fishman et al. 1968, Stewart 1968, Williams 2000) are frequently a major component of either linguistic or sociolinguistic approaches towards developmental perspectives of linguistic communities.

Closely related to the study of languages is the field of education. Researchers in this field develop models and methods of bilingual or multilingual education and training and second language acquisition (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 2000, Spolsky 1990, Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988, Baker 2001, Thomas and Collier 1997, Cummins 1979, Venables et al. 2014).

Concepts, approaches and theories in the field of sociology and social psychology further explain the relationship between majority and minority communities that live together (Tajfel 1978, Giles and Johnson 1981, Giles and Byrne 1982, Genesee and Bourhis 1982, Turner and Brown 1978, Milroy 1980). Generally, they approach the study of national minorities from a wider perspective that exceeds language as the fundamental factor of distinction between two communities.

Researchers in the field of ethnic studies have taken an even broader approach towards the study of national minorities and they examine relationships and conflicts among ethnic communities. Concepts such as ethnic borders, nations or nationalism (Anderson 1990, Barth 1970, Bourhis 1979, Grilli di Cortona 2003) are frequently used to explain the dynamics of a multi-ethnic environment.

To the fields of research mentioned above one has to add also others, such as economics, law, political science, demography, geography and urban planning. The liability of most theories, concepts and approaches to the study of national minorities is either their confinement to only one dimension of the existence of national minorities, such as language, education, interethnic relations or legal protection (Komac 1987), or their lack of applicability to specific tasks, such as the evaluation of the status quo or the formulation of strategies for the future. Another difficulty that most theories, approaches (and researchers) usually encounter is how to combine the macro with the micro. The macro level usually represents a natural platform to evaluate the status quo or form strategies for the development of a community, whereas at the micro level language planning or language acquisition approaches are usually evaluated. This is a long-standing challenge in the study of national minorities. Even the interdisciplinary field of sociolinguistics (understood as sociology of language, Spolsky 2010), that is concerned “with both “macro” and “micro” and with relating the two” (letter from Ferguson in Ethiopia dated 25 November 1965, in Spolsky 2010) somehow fails to propose a common ground that would connect, for example issues of syntax or language planning with “the fact that

people were willing to kill and be killed for their beloved language” (Fishman 1997: 93, in Spolsky 2010: 13), leaving its most prominent scholars tightly tied either to the field of linguistics (e.g. Ferguson) or sociology (e.g. Fishman).

The model the author proposes in this paper (CEM) aims to make a step forward in all of the three mentioned challenges, namely the micro-macro divide, the lack of applicability and the lack of a comprehensive view of the life and future of a national minority. Such a model is more an exception rather than the rule in the study of ethnic minorities.

CEM is broad enough to cover at least all the fundamental aspects of the existence of national minorities, and applicable enough to provide an evaluation of the status quo of the minority and its developmental perspectives. CEM offers a comprehensive approach towards the study of national minorities and it calls for a combination of concepts, theories and methodological approaches that belong to different fields of research. It cuts across the micro-macro divide by proposing a sociological framework and stretching it to the micro level in some areas (e.g. language, education), while at the same time retaining a macro level approach in other areas (e.g. economic activity and political participation).

3. Model for the evaluation of the status quo and developmental perspectives of national minorities (CEM)

The basic distinctive aspect of a national minority is usually its language. Language is in fact the most visible sign of difference between a national minority and (its surrounding national) majority. A great body of research on national minorities focuses on the study of language, on the contact between the minority and majority language (Stewart 1968, Ferguson 1991, 1996, Haarmann 2001, 2011), or takes language as a starting point and links the development and perspectives of the community to it (Fishman 2001, Williams 2000). Language is, therefore, the first factor that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and developmental perspectives of a national minority.

For the long-term preservation of minority languages, education is essential: It represents the main pillar of institutionalized minority language acquisition, it represents opportunities of employment in the minority language, it creates the need for books and teaching materials in the minority language (thus frequently creating a whole publishing-related (minority) economy). Education in and of the minority language allows the reproduction of language and culture, and it plays a crucial role in the ability of the community to physically reproduce itself – by creating new speakers and possibly, in time, even new members of the national minority (Brezigar 2004, 2009, 2013). Education in and of the minority language, therefore, is the second factor

that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and developmental perspectives of a national minority.

Language is both the means of transmission of culture in its broadest sense (including cultural heritage, values, etc.), and the content of culture (e.g. literature). Culture is usually the second most distinctive trait of a national minority, besides language. It incorporates its past, its values, its beliefs, its social life. Culture is, therefore, the third factor that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and developmental perspectives of a national minority.

The existence of a minority language does not guarantee the preservation of a national minority unless minority members use the minority language, too. Languages that are not used by their speakers are on their path towards extinction (Crystal 2000, Fishman 1991, 2001, Haugen 1972, Haarmann 2001). The study of linguistic rights, and especially language use in the public sphere (e.g. in dealings with the authorities) belongs to the field of the study of “language”, whereas the presence of language in the media and the impact of media on minority and majority populations requires special consideration, due to the new roles of media caused by the staggering development of ICT. Media, therefore, are the fourth factor that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and the developmental perspectives of a national minority.

A national minority lives on a given territory and tied with it are typically its economic situation and its development potential. Einar Haugen (1972) pioneered a form of linguistics which used the metaphor of an ecosystem to describe the relationships among the diverse forms of language found in the world, and the groups of people who speak them. Linguistic ecology looks at how languages interact with each other and the places they are spoken in, and argues for the preservation of endangered languages as an analogy to the preservation of biological species (Haugen 1972). If one combines Haugen’s concept with the economic activities of national minorities, the result may well be a profoundly different understanding of the minority economy: Linguistic diversity is perceived and can be used as an asset (e.g. in tourism, to give value to the territory or its cultural heritage (Crystal 2000)) or as a marketing tool (Baker 1992, 2001, 2001a, Crystal 2000, Brezigar 2004, 2009). Economic activity (including spatial issues) is, therefore, the fifth factor that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and developmental perspectives of a national minority.

If a national minority wants to preserve its own language and culture, to maintain its presence in the media and influence them, to have an impact on the territory it inhabits (and therefore to shape the developmental perspectives of the territory), it needs to participate in the decision-making processes. The sixth factor that one needs to take into account when assessing the status quo and the developmental perspectives of a national minority is, therefore, political participation in its broadest sense.

These six fields together cover comprehensively all the fundamental aspects of a national minority's existence and activities,² are closely intertwined and sometimes overlap.

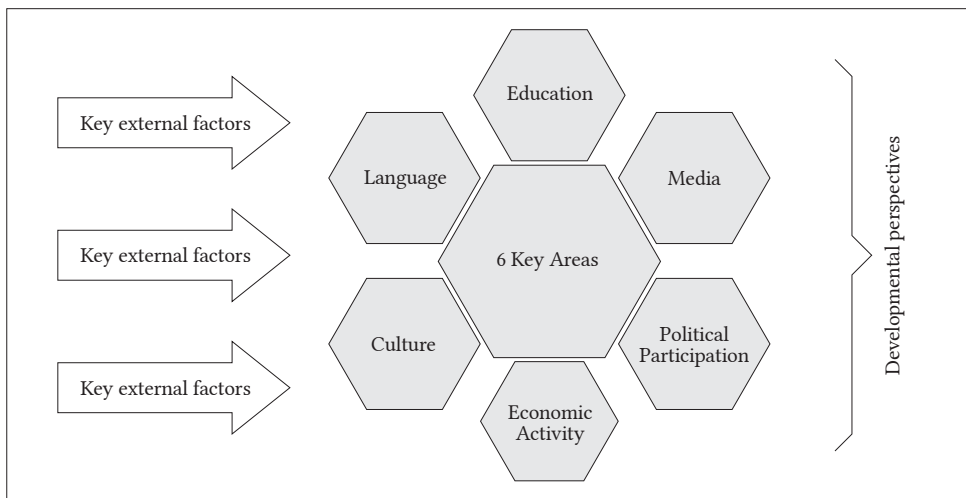


Figure 1: Model for the evaluation of the status quo and the developmental perspectives of national minorities (CEM)

CEM presumes that one examines the status quo of a chosen national minority in the six fields mentioned above. Moreover, CEM suggests that the status quo of national minorities (in the six fields) and their developmental perspectives can be affected by key contextual factors – of social, political, economic, legal or other origin. Obstacles to conducting business with a neighbouring country (kin-state for the minority), a new international agreement on cooperation in the field of education with a neighbouring country (kin-state for the minority), a flow of immigrants from third countries to an area where members of the minority traditionally reside, are just a few examples of such factors.

Therefore, one needs to evaluate both the status quo of a national minority (and therefore identify the influencing factors that stem from within the minority group), and to identify the major external influencing factors that could affect either the status quo of the minority or its developmental perspectives. Such an analysis

2 These six fields have previously been introduced as a framework for comparison in the research project Practice of Minority Protection in Central Europe (MIMI), although the six fields were conceived in a different manner. For details on the project see: <http://www.eurac.edu/en/research/institutes/imr/Projects/ProjectDetails.aspx?pid=4688> and Lantschner et al. (eds.) 2012.

provides the basis for the formation of several spectra of developmental opportunities for the national minority – therefore a practical input for policy makers on choices as well as challenges that need to be faced.

The author applies CEM to the Slovene minority in Italy as follows.

4. The case study: Slovenes in Italy

The Slovene national minority³ is settled in the northeastern part of Italy where its traditional settlement area in the region Friuli Venezia Giulia covers a total of 39 municipalities (Bogatec 2004) in the provinces of Gorizia (Gorica), Trieste (Trst) and Udine (Videm or Viden). It is a traditional national minority in the sense that it represents a part of the Slovenian nation »left over« in a neighbouring state (Petrič 1977) as a result of historical changes of state borders in central Europe. There are no official data on the number of members of the Slovene minority in Italy, but estimates from 2002 suggest that there are 95,000 members of the Slovene minority (Bogatec 2004), whereas an older, unofficial estimate of the Italian authorities suggested that there were approx. 80,000 members (Popolazioni di lingua Slovena 1994: 273).

Act 38 “Protection of the Slovene Linguistic Minority in Friuli Venezia Giulia” is the legal framework for the protection of the Slovene national minority in Italy and it directly affects the areas of language, education, culture, media, whereas the areas of economic activity and political participation are affected indirectly. It represents the formal legal framework, based on which the status quo has been assessed. In addition, other legal sources have been analysed and a partial analysis of the implementation of the legal framework has been carried out.⁴

In the application of CEM to the Slovene minority in Italy the following key external factors have been considered: Slovenia’s accession to EU, Slovenia’s entry into the Schengen area, the introduction of the Euro as the official currency in Slovenia and the increased immigration flow to the region Friuli Venezia Giulia.⁵

3 Please see note 1 for an explanation of why the author refers to the Slovene minority in Italy as a national minority.

4 This study makes extensive use of previous analyses of the legal framework and its implementation in the case of the Slovene minority in Italy (Brezigar 2011, Vidau 2013, Vidali 2011). Primary data analysis as well as legal document analysis and legal implementation analysis were conceived and carried out as an upgrade of existing research results.

5 Space constraints render it impossible to fully describe the results of the study regarding the impact of the key external factors. They will be mentioned merely in passing in the analysis of the six areas of study.

5. Methodology of the study

The study was based on a mixed methods model of research. The first part of the study consisted in the examination of basic statistical and other data (data on school enrolment, on enrolment in Slovene language courses, on the economy, on immigrants, etc.) to gain a general and up to date picture of the characteristics of the territory where the Slovene minority lives. By means of an analysis of legal and other documents the author examined the suitability of the transposition of collective and individual rights into binding legal documents and acts.⁶

The second part of the study consisted of an evaluation of the practical implementation of legal acts and an evaluation of the status quo of the minority in the six fields mentioned above. With six questionnaires (in the fields of education, language, culture, media, economic activity and political participation) more than 60 in-depth interviews were carried out (for a total of more than 100 hours of interviews):

with minority representatives from the six fields (economists, scholars, actors, politicians, journalists, etc.),

with users of services in the above mentioned fields (parents, readers of the minority newspapers, people from theatre/play audiences, etc.) and with experts in the fields.

In the next chapter the author summarizes some of the main findings of the study, primarily from the second, qualitative part of the study that offers some interesting starting points for a reflection on developmental perspectives of the Slovene minority in Italy.⁷

6. Results of the study

6.1. Language

In the field of language, CEM includes an assessment of the implementation of linguistic rights, an assessment of language use in private and public life, an assess-

6 See footnote no. 5.

7 A comprehensive overview of the results would be too long for this paper. For additional information about the results of the study see also Brezigar (2013, 2014, 2015, 2015a).

ment of the (perceived) value of language and an assessment of the effectiveness and adequacy of language planning (language code planning). Moreover, it includes an evaluation of minority language acquisition. In the next few paragraphs the author tries to outline some of the main findings of the study in the field of language.

Most members of the Slovene minority in Italy speak both standard Slovene – which is the state and official language in the Republic of Slovenia – and its various local dialects or variants (Sussi 1998 in Vidau 2013, Janežič 2004 in Vidau 2013). Only in the province of Udine there are some members who only speak a local Slovene dialect, but are not able to speak standard Slovene, since they have not been able to pursue any form of formal education in Slovene.

In the past decade the Italian majority population has shown an increasing interest in the Slovene language, the Slovene minority and Slovenia (Brezigar 2013, Jagodic and Čok 2013, Bogatec 2011). Most interviewees in this study perceive a new kind of openness towards the Slovene language and suggest that there is a connection between this positive attitude and European integration processes, above all Slovenia's accession to the EU.

Interviewees' perceptions seem to be substantiated by quantitative research on the topic. One of the indicators suggesting a more positive attitude towards the Slovene language is, for example, an increased interest in learning Slovene as second or foreign language that can be inferred from both Italian families enrolling children in schools with Slovene as a teaching language (Bogatec 2011), as well as from the increase in number of Slovene language courses for adults (Brezigar 2013, Jagodic and Čok 2013). These results suggest that three of the four proposed key external factors (Slovenia's accession to the EU, the adoption of the Euro and Slovenia's inclusion in the Schengen area) had a positive impact on interethnic relations between the two communities.

However, the study has also shown that an increase of interest in the minority language does not automatically result in an increase of minority language use. Quite the contrary: Those environments that have been traditionally monolingual Slovene (and represented an opportunity for the exclusive use of the Slovene language), such as schools or cultural and sports associations, are shifting towards bilingualism and in some cases even towards Italian monolingualism. Paradoxically, more people are able to speak Slovene, but in practice, less actually do so.

Beside the lack of appropriate integration strategies for non-Slovene language speakers, experts included in this study list the following factors as those contributing to a decrease in language use: the lack of knowledge of linguistic rights, difficulties in the application of linguistic rights (such as lack of competent personnel or problems related to linguistic planning), the non-systemic nature of the application of linguistic rights by the competent authorities (including a project-form of funding that leads to high fluctuation among key personnel), and the lack of (adequate) linguistic policies.

Finally, according to the results of this study, language has a central position in the life of the Slovene minority in Italy: even those interviewees who had not been asked questions concerning the use or acquisition of the minority language, managed to, somehow, include the topic in their answers, confirming that language has a central role in the life of the Slovene minority in Italy.

6.2. Education

The basic task of a minority's educational system is to promote and provide for the acquisition of the minority language and to educate about minority culture. In this respect the national minority education system allows the reproduction of the values and the culture of the national minority (Južnič 1983) and the reproduction of national minorities as such.

In the field of education, CEM includes a comprehensive assessment of the national minority educational system, including its effectiveness in terms of how well it supports the reproduction of the national minority; a comparison between the (perceived) status-quo (strengths, weaknesses) of the minority educational system compared to the educational system of the national majority; and finally, an assessment of the opportunities (and use thereof) provided to the national majority population to learn the minority language in the educational system.

Let us now look at some of the main findings of this study in the field of education. A system of Slovene-medium public schools (comprising kindergarten, primary and secondary schools) was set up in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia in the aftermath of WWII. A private bilingual school in the province of Udine was established in the 1970s to allow members of the Slovenian minority to learn (also standard) Slovene in a school setting. The school was subsequently incorporated into the public school system.⁸

The findings of this study suggest that Slovene-medium and bilingual education do not result in a satisfactory (linguistic) reproduction of the Slovene minority in Italy. Most interviewees expressed strong critical opinions on the monolingual schooling system in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia,⁹ pointing out that the minority educational system has not dealt adequately with the transition from teaching in the Slovene language (to mostly Slovene pupils or pupils from mixed marriages) to teaching the Slovene language (to a growing population of Italian and in some cases immigrant pupils). Experts list the following factors as those contributing to this state of affairs: a lack

8 See Bogatec (2011) for a comprehensive longitudinal quantitative data analysis on bilingual education and Slovene-medium education in Italy.

9 The bilingual school in the province of Udine has received a more benevolent evaluation, as a successful mechanism of reproduction (or revival) of the Slovene minority.

of adequate teaching skills (and some institutional support, where educators, teachers and professors could acquire such skills); a lack of linguistic proficiency standards that should be achieved by children at various stages of education; a lack of teaching aids and materials for teaching Slovene to pupils who are not familiar with the language.

On the other hand, educators pointed out that the minority lacks a strategic approach towards educational issues and towards a proper integration of non-Slovene speaking children into Slovene-medium schools.

6.3. Culture

In the field of culture CEM includes a comprehensive analysis of how the field of culture is organized, run and financed, what kind of infrastructure is available, what the main activities are, which language is used during those activities, what the participation rate of members of the majority population as both the co-creators and spectators/guests of minority cultural events is, and activities. The following paragraphs outline some of the most interesting findings of this study in the field of culture.

Slovenes in Italy have established a large and comprehensive network of institutions and associations that support mainly cultural and sports activities. Some of these are carried out in the framework of professional institutions or organizations, whereas others take place in grassroots associations and parishes.

Cultural activities (in the broadest sense of the word that includes also sports activities) are organized in a two-tier system *sui generis*: Some areas within the field of culture are common to the whole minority (e.g. sports), whereas others are ideologically separated and duplicated. There are, for example, »leftist« and »catholic« music schools, choirs, boy-scouts, publishing houses, etc. Interviewees unanimously emphasize that such a duplication is outdated, especially if one considers the following factors: Firstly, the decreasing number of Slovene minority members on the territory and therefore »a lack of Slovene-speaking people that could participate in cultural activities and lead them«, as one of the interviewees explained; secondly, the fact that such duplication is maintained also in fields where ideology is or should be irrelevant (e.g. music school, publishing); and thirdly, the current economic crisis that calls for a better allocation of decreasing financial resources.

The *modus operandi* of the minority in the field of culture is perceived as harmfully conservative. The minority tends to support existing activities, especially those with a long-standing tradition, and channels little resources to new initiatives. The end result of this attitude is a repertoire of cultural activities that is too frequently perceived as obsolete, and, more importantly, unattractive for young members of the community.

Similarly, by not acknowledging the fact that Italian-speaking pupils join associations and activities (as well as schools) that were traditionally monolingual Slovene,

the minority fails to deal with the integration of non-Slovene speakers and to manage this process. The current »laissez faire approach« results simply in the »loss« of minority members who wish to perform activities with their Italian peers (and therefore join Italian sports and cultural clubs and activities) or in the systematic transformation of Slovene-speaking environments into Italian-speaking environments (by including non-Slovene speakers into Slovene sports and cultural activities and clubs).

Although interviewees nearly unanimously agree on the challenges in the field of culture, there is no predominant vision among them on which path would lead in the right direction. Some of them advocate for a “smaller, but more Slovene” network of associations and activities, others point out that the key to a solution is in a better integration of non-Slovene speakers through a managed process, whereas still others point to more subtle issues, such as a lack of linguistic policy, a lack of a human resources policy, a lack of an overall minority strategy for the future.

6.4. Media

Minority media usually address national minorities.¹⁰ An important function carried out by minority media is usually associated with the support for the preservation of the national minority. In this regard, minority media maintain the values and culture of the national minority, educate readers and viewers on topics of particular interest to national minorities, and promote activities of the national minority. Moreover, (minority and mainstream) media can foster good inter-ethnic relations and promote the integration of national minorities.

In the field of media, CEM includes an overview of media in the minority language, their ownership, financial (in)dependence from the leadership of the minority, local and state politics; when (and why) minority members choose media in the minority and when (why) in the majority language; what kind of presence does the national minority have in the majority media; to what extent the national minority uses new electronic media for the transmission of news and linguistic skills to younger generations? However, in the next few paragraphs, the focus is placed on only a few extremely interesting findings of the study.

As regards the exposure of the members of the Slovene minority in Italy to media in the minority language, it should be stressed that a Slovene-speaking public radio and television channels have been established within the regional headquarters of Italy's national public broadcasting company RAI. Moreover, the Slovene minority has a daily

10 For a preliminary overview of the role of media in relation to Slovene minorities please see Grafenauer and Munda Hirnoek (2013).

newspaper and various other printed and online media (Vidau 2013, Medvešek 2009). Although most interviewees suggested some sort of rationalization in the field of culture, the same position was not held in the field of media. Apart from stressing the need to minimize fixed costs by merging publishing houses, professionals and media creators warned that different media have different target groups that are not reached by other minority media. This is a view that was generally agreed on by all the interviewees, with some of them even suggesting that the media space should be expanded.

A recent study of the images of Slovene minorities in the mainstream media space in Slovenia (Grafenauer and Munda Hirnoek 2013) suggests that in printed media minorities are usually associated with problems, tensions and conflicts, whereas events concerning minority culture, sports and economy are frequently overlooked (Grafenauer and Munda Hirnoek 2013, Bošnjak 2005), as suggested by previous research on the topic (Beltram 1986, Beltram et al. 1988, Susič 1986, Makarovič and Rončević 2006, Sekloča 2008, 2009). Similarly, interviewees in this study perceive mainstream media in Slovenia (and the Slovene state and politics) as not interested in the minority. Some of them point out that mainstream media in Slovenia perceive and/or depict the minority mainly as a source of problems and tensions (for the Slovene state), rather than an asset: “like somebody that needs to be helped and supported, rather than somebody that could contribute and enrich,” explains one of the interviewees. As another interviewee put it, it is awkward for minority members “to feel always as a burden”.

However, when asked about the presence of the Slovene minority in the Italian mainstream media, the opinions of experts were less critical, with a hint of self-criticism. This was rather surprising, since minorities usually do not appear in mainstream media, and when they do, they are often represented in stereotypical and alienating images (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005). One of the experts highlighted that local Italian media accept the Slovene minority as a normal part of life in this area. Another suggested that a more prominent role of the Slovene minority in Italian mainstream media is hindered by both the lack of knowledge of the Slovene language among Italian journalists, and (sic!) by the minority itself that “has a long-standing history of being a rather closed community, and does not want to be integrated,” explained the expert. Nonetheless, further research is needed to explore this rather surprising view on the inclusion of the Slovene minority in mainstream Italian media and to investigate the images of the Slovene minority in Italian mainstream media.

6.5. Political participation

In the field of political participation, CEM includes an assessment of a national minority’s participation in the decision-making processes at local, regional and national levels; an assessment of the mechanisms aimed at ensuring such political participa-

tion; an assessment of how the minority is organized and its ability to act unified vis a vis (state) political authorities. In the next few paragraphs the author focuses on the most salient findings of the study in the field of political participation.

The Slovene minority has political representatives elected to various administrative and political bodies, including the Italian Senate, the Regional Council of Friuli Venezia Giulia and other provincial and municipal bodies (Vidau 2013). These representatives are politically active either in Italian majority parties (especially in those of the centre-left, and to a lesser extent in the centre-right parties) or in the Slovene ethnic party – Slovenska skupnost (Vidau 2013). The challenges faced by the Slovene minority in the field of political participation are similar to those detected in the field of culture, since in both fields the conservative nature of the minority is most evident. Among interviewees the dissatisfaction with the leadership of the Slovene minority runs high, with a widespread feeling of despair and an already ingrown feeling that nothing (more) can be done. On the other hand, politicians and representatives of the minority emphasize that the minority (as a community) does not have a decision-making system in place and that decisions can be made only with the consent of all parties involved. The study has shown a clear need to establish a new decision-making system that would allow faster changes, would be more indifferent to one's personal interests, and that would ensure the respect (and inclusion) of all views within the community.

Another interesting finding in the field of political participation echoes the views on the closed nature of the community as explained in the chapter on media. The ties between the Slovene minority and the centres of power at the national level in Italy are rather weak, since such ties are mostly nurtured by elected politicians that do not represent the minority (and its interests) as a whole. Their allegiance is divided between the national minority and the political party they represent. One of the interviewees pointed out that “in Rome, no one knows our community and its leaders,” and suggested that the Slovene minority as a community does not build ties with centres of power in Italy, and leaves the task to the currently elected politician and his political agenda.

The ties of the minority with centres of power in Slovenia are much stronger, suggesting that the Slovene minority in Italy still considers itself primarily a part of the Slovene nation, left out behind Slovenia's borders, rather than an important and active part of the Italian state.

6.6. Economic activity

Solid economic foundations have an important impact on the life of a national minority, its activities and how the environment perceives it. The prestige of the language in the environment, for example, is closely related to the economic status of its speakers or the economic status of visible minority representatives (Giles et

al. 1977, Baker and Jones 1998). Solid economic foundations can support cultural organizations, top athletes, choirs, media projects and other activities throughout the complex mechanisms of tax incentives, grants and scholarships. With sound financial foundations the minority could sponsor high-profile cultural events and major sports events or award talented students (and, indirectly, develop and train human resources that would lead educational, cultural, sports and other activities within the minority).

In the field of economic activity, CEM includes an assessment of the economic situation of the national minority and its activities vis a vis both the majority population and the needs of the minority; an assessment of the extent to which the national minority exploits its national background, language, culture or territory as a form of unique selling proposition (USP); an assessment of the economic integration of the national minority in the country where is settled, as well as the strength of its economic ties with the kin-state; an evaluation of the use of the minority language in workplaces. I'll now briefly outline the main findings of the study in the area of economic activity.

From an economic point of view, the Slovene minority in Italy is a fully integrated community.¹¹ Its economic activities, the economic and social status of its members are comparable to those of the majority population. An exception is agriculture and agriculture-related activities (such as farm tourism), since Slovenes used to own most of the rural territory where the minority lives.

In most cases the Slovene minority and its economic entities have not taken advantage of their language or culture as an added value or as a way to differentiate themselves in the market, as some other minorities have successfully done (Brezigar 2004, 2007, 2009, Baker 2001a). For example, in the field of agriculture Slovene farmers seek their niche with quality products or their "organic" production, but they do not use marketing approaches that would add value to their products and services by linking them to the minority, its culture, language and territory.

7. Conclusions

In all six areas the study revealed some challenges and offered some starting points to reflect on the future of the Slovene minority in Italy, including paths to be followed in order to avoid its gradual disappearance and ultimately its extinction. The results of

11 For a comprehensive analysis of the economic activity of the Slovene minority in Italy please see Brezigar (2015).

the case study can be sensibly integrated in four clusters of developmental perspectives, as follows:

a) Creating a minority-friendly environment

This cluster includes strategies and action plans aimed at making the environment friendlier, so the minority can prosper. It can include (and in the case of Slovenes in Italy it also does) visible bilingualism, a strategic approach aimed at a more pervasive inclusion of the minority in mainstream media or building ties with local authorities and centres of power.

b) Strengthening the core of the community

This cluster deals with the changes that a minority needs to adopt in order to evolve, to adapt to new circumstances. It rests on the premise that only a community that is able to adapt and change will be able to survive. In the case of Slovenes in Italy this cluster includes a functioning system of (political) decision-making, a restructuring in the field of culture, the adoption of measures and standards of linguistic performance for both children in the schooling system and adults attending language courses, and the establishment of an appropriate institutional and professional support for teachers and educators.

c) Enlargement of the linguistic community

(or increase in the number of minority language speakers)

Increasing the number of speakers of the Slovene language is a necessary (but not sufficient) precondition for mitigating the process of assimilation of the Slovene minority in Italy. By supplementing the »lost« speakers of the minority language with »new« ones (Brezigar 2004, 2007, 2009, 2013) we create the preconditions for the preservation of the linguistic community. All activities related to this task fall in this cluster, including, as in the case of Slovenes in Italy, actions aimed at promoting and strengthening the acquisition of minority language among the majority population, children and adults alike.

d) Self-promotion of the community in the wider environment

(context)

This cluster includes strategies, activities and actions aimed at building ties with centres of power, at promoting a minority's unique cultural and linguistic heritage and most of the strategies and actions in the field of economic activity. All of this applies to Slovenes in Italy, as well.

The four clusters of developmental perspectives represent the final output of the CEM model. So far, CEM has been a valid tool to analyse the situation of the Slovene minority in Italy, to identify stumbling blocks on its current trajectory and to

suggest some paths towards its improvement. The application of the model on other minorities, as well as its use in a comparative analysis among several minorities, could provide further insight into its validity and usefulness.

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MINORITY LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

Rhian Siân Hodges

“They come out of school and switch straight over to English”:
New Welsh speakers in Cwm Rhymni, south Wales, from a parents’
perspective.

Devan Jagodic

Between “second” and “foreign” language:
The process of teaching and learning Slovene among the majority
adult population in Italy

Lucija Čok, Irina Moira Cavaion

Virtual and live in the second language classroom

Felix Etxeberria

Evaluation of oral Basque amongst native and immigrant pupils

Rhian Siân Hodges

“They come out of school and switch straight over to English”: New Welsh speakers in Cwm Rhymni, south Wales, from a parents’ perspective

An ever present ‘lingua mundi’, English dominates an increasingly globalized world. School-based language revitalization is often tasked with tackling a dip in the fortunes of minority languages. However, many claim education simply creates new speakers who speak a “schools dialect” (Jones 1998a: 258) and avoid using the language socially (Hodges 2009). 2011 Census figures highlight a decrease of 20,000 Welsh speakers from 582,000 in 2001 to 562,000 in 2011 (ONS 2012). The linguistic map of Wales could hint at a move from rural Welsh language ‘heartlands’ to a recognition of new language communities located in industrial, urban south Wales (Jones 2010). Despite increasing demand for Welsh-medium education, heightened concern remains regarding day-to-day use of Welsh by new speakers. Non-Welsh-speaking parents are key language planning decision makers in Wales but what of their perceptions regarding their children’s actual language use beyond the classroom? What role does the Welsh language play in the daily lives of new speakers? This paper explores the social language use of Welsh by new speakers as seen by their parents. Fifty parents from various education sectors, family language backgrounds and geographic locations were interviewed within this study. This research highlights the relationship between language use context and family language background. New Welsh speakers do use Welsh depending upon location, activity and crucially, their peers. Gender and age provided interesting discussion points as parents’ perceived girls more likely than boys to use Welsh socially and primary school children the greatest language users.

1. Introduction

Minority languages worldwide are basing revitalization efforts on education and have done so for many years. Education is a key language transmission sphere and is at the heart of acquisition planning worldwide (Cooper 1989, Ferguson 2006). Indeed, education is particularly successful in an increasingly globalized world where language communities are becoming diversified through inward and outward migration

amongst other complex factors (Jones 2010). Education transmits cultural practices such as language to many from non-minority-speaking backgrounds (Wyn Williams 2003). Moreover, it can be said that education encourages the relationship between language and culture as language itself is best equip to “express the artefacts and concerns of that culture” (Fishman 1991: 22). Education can be viewed as a microcosm of a constantly adapting society (Roberts and Williams 2003) and in such is a timely topic of study.

Minority language education is producing minority language speakers at a quicker rate than the family and is often unrealistically relied upon to provide key opportunities to learn and use a minority language (Fishman 1991, Hallam and Gruffudd 1999). As accentuated by May (2013: 1) at a recent Language Planning Symposium at Bangor University:

It's almost a leitmotif that the role of education in minority language revitalization, while clearly important, is often overstated in terms of both its centrality and its reach or effects.

Moreover, Baker (2011: 61) recognizes the need for a multi-agency language support system in order to foster language survival:

Even when a child successfully learns minority language oracy and literacy skills in school, unless there is considerable support in the community ... that language may wither.

2. New minority language speakers

An increasingly apparent aspect of language planning and the sociology of education is that of the new speaker. As a result of the success of minority language education, new speakers are increasing at a quicker rate than native speakers (Robert 2009). New speakers convey speakers who lack a history in speaking a minority language. ‘New’ suggest a recent or revisited connection with the language. The term is often associated with those who have learnt the minority language outside the family home. New speakers are often linked with a specific dialect formed within the education system (Jones 1998a, Robert 2009) and are readily compared to those who have spoken the minority language since birth. In Brittany, Jones (1998b: 129) described a “new group of bretonnants, predominantly middle-class and from urban back grounds, who speak a standardized, pan-Brittany variety of Breton”. Furthermore, she emphasizes the importance of such speakers in creating a Breton identity despite their “distinction from traditional dialect speakers” (Jones 1998b: 129). Research in Galicia, Ireland (O’Rourke 2011) and Canada (Lamarre 2012) fur-

ther illustrate this topic of research and the growing field of new minority language speakers.

Paradoxically, native speakers tend to be associated with a generational history of speaking the minority language at home. Native speakers are deemed top of the linguistic, power-based hierarchy and command attention for use of an ‘ideal’ language (Chomsky 1957). These are simply two of many used to create divisions and a separatist ideology (O’Rourke 2011). They are loaded and perpetuating an ideological battleground of ownership, loyalty, history, purity, proficiency and use and according to O’Rourke and Ramallo (2011: 140):

Native speaker and mother tongue can therefore be regarded as concepts which in many ways reinforce a static picture of sociolinguistic reality.

3. Welsh-medium education in Wales

Welsh-medium education is described by Colin H Williams as, “the bedrock upon which the Welsh language movement has flourished” (Thomas & Williams 2013: 1). Williams refers to its five key functions; it is used to legitimize Welsh bilingualism, heighten the value of Welsh language skills in the workplace, reformulate identity, create sociocultural networks and is deemed an academic and social success marker for Wales’ distinctiveness (Thomas & Williams 2013: 1–2). Indeed, Welsh-medium education began in 1939 in Aberystwyth as private provision at the start of the Second World War (Wyn Williams 2003). Humble beginnings with seven first language Welsh pupils (Baker 2010) developed into substantial national provision and a great demand from non-Welsh-speaking parents (Wyn Williams 2003, Thomas 2009, Hodges 2010, Thomas & Williams 2013).

As of January 2013, there were 1,374 primary schools, four middle schools, 42 special educational schools and 216 comprehensive schools in Wales. Of those, 452 primary schools, two middle schools and 53 secondary schools are classed as Welsh-medium or bilingual schools (ONS 2013).¹ This leaves little doubt that Welsh-medium education is a linguistic powerhouse in Wales. However, the question remains regarding the use of Welsh within and beyond the education system (Hodges 2009). Moreover, questions of young people’s language use and parental perceptions are the main focus of this paper.

1 Comprehensive schools in Wales are state funded and teach pupils from eleven to eighteen years of age (19 years of age if studying vocational qualifications). Special educational schools provide tailored education for children with a broad range of learning differences and provide specialist teaching interventions and mechanisms to support pupils with additional learning needs.

Further complexities are added as Welsh-medium education covers a variety of educational provision both on a local, regional and national level. Local educational authority interpretations of policies differ and provide a barrier in creating national policies (Lewis, 2008). Primary and secondary education in Wales differs according to its geographic location (Baker & Prys Jones 2003). The Strategaeth Addysg cyfrwng Cymraeg (2010)² aims to tackle regional variations and provide a national vision for Welsh-medium education and to cement the need for Welsh to be, “A Living Language: A Language for Living” (WG 2012). Welsh-medium education, as defined by the Welsh Government guidelines states that seventy percent of teaching should be through the medium of Welsh in order to attain fluency in the language (WAG 2007, 2010). Moreover, the Education Act of 2002 also states that Welsh-medium schools should teach over half its subjects through the medium of Welsh (excluding Welsh, English and Religious Studies) (Redknap et al 2006).

Language planning in the field of education in Wales contributes to language maintenance in rural strongholds of Gwynedd and Ynys Môn. However, in anglicized, urban centres of south Wales, education is a vital revitalization strategy as many communities have low percentages of Welsh speakers (ONS 2012). Despite a 20,000 decrease in Welsh speakers between the 2001 and 2011 Census, the 2011 Census reports increases of 3,300 Welsh-speaking 3–4 year olds since 2001 (ONS 2012), largely attributable to Mudiad Meithrin³ and TWF⁴ strategies. Education is indeed having a positive impact. Fishman (1997) and Baker (2011) among many call for a multi-agency approach from family and community language spheres. Discussing the numbers of Welsh speakers, whilst useful in creating a national overview, neglects important language planning questions. Recent research reveals that English is often the preferred language of communication between peers outside formal school lessons (even among Welsh language strongholds) (Thomas & Roberts 2011; Thomas, Lewis and Apolloni 2012; Thomas, Lewis and Apolloni 2014).

Language progression is another key concern as fewer school children receive Welsh-medium secondary school education and fewer still are educated through Welsh-medium higher education (Davies & Trystan 2012). However, the establishment of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol⁵ has meant thorough investment in enhancing higher education provision through the medium of Welsh in Wales. In doing

2 Welsh-medium Education Strategy (2010) (see bibliography for further details).

3 Welsh-medium nursery provision (see bibliography for further details)

4 Transfer of Welsh in Families Project (see bibliography for further details)

5 National Welsh-medium College (see bibliography for further details)

so it is a pioneering language planning strategy and is shaping the higher education language map of Wales.

4. The Cwm Rhymni study

Cwm Rhymni is located eight miles to the North of Cardiff (Wales' capital city) and spans sixteen miles from Caerffili in the south to Rhymni in the north. Caerffili has a population of 171,972 and is one of the most densely populated counties in Wales. In terms of ethnic grouping, 98.4% of the population are white and 80.5% class their national identity as 'Welsh'. The locality is largely non-Welsh-speaking as the 2011 Census notes that 8.5% of all aged three and above are Welsh speakers (these can speak, read and write Welsh. (Caerffili County 2012):

All People aged three years and over (171,972) who:	Percentage of Speakers
Understand spoken Welsh only	3.0
Speak but cannot read or write Welsh	1.7
Speak and read but do not write Welsh	0.9
Speak, read and write Welsh	8.5
Have other combination of skills	2.1
No knowledge of Welsh	83.9

Table 1: Caerffili County Borough Knowledge of Welsh (%)

Source: Profile of Caerffili Country Borough Census 2011 (Caerffili County 2012)

The Cwm Rhymni study assesses parents' perceptions of their children's language use beyond the classroom, an under researched topic within language planning in Wales. Perceptions of language use have wider language planning implications that could shape future language use, identity and ownership of new Welsh speakers. The Cwm Rhymni study aims to provide further insight into the relationship between language planning decisions and language use by children and young people in the valley. This study hopes to ask how language use impacts upon notions of Welsh identity and the future of the Welsh language in the locality. Important questions arose, such as, is Welsh-medium education providing a false picture of the Welsh language in Wales? What of the actual day-to-day usage beyond the classroom? What is the language

of preference when speakers are outside the structure and ethos of Welsh-medium schools? Parents' perceptions are shared within this paper and it is hoped they could form the basis for further research in the field.

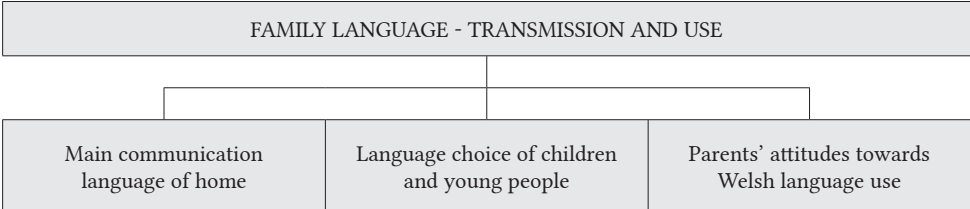
5. Methodology

Parents as key language planning decision makers were asked to share their perceptions of their children's language use beyond the classroom in Cwm Rhymni. A Weberian perspective was used to frame this qualitative research as behaviour is associated with symbolic meanings (Weber 1964). The study drew upon the theoretical underpinnings of Bourdieu's (1991) cultural and social capital, Gardener and Lambert's (1972) integrative and instrumental incentives and Williams et al's (1978) use of Watson's (Watson 1964) 'Burghers and Spiralists' theory. Within these frameworks behaviour and language in particular, has social and symbolic meanings which fit this study neatly. In order to discover more about society we need look at individual behaviour and its symbolic significance. In this case the symbolic significance attached to young people's language use according to the perceptions of their parents is at the heart of this study. Fifty parents were interviewed from all educational sectors (nursery, primary and secondary) and from different locations throughout the valley. A higher proportion of females took part in this research, possibly highlighting their role as primary carers. Parents were distinguished according to family language background; parents largely came from non-Welsh-speaking (NW) families, mixed language families (ML) and Welsh-speaking families (WL) and highlighted the 2011 Census figures (ONS 2012).

6. Primary data collection

Parents were asked to discuss their perceptions of their children’s language use within two key language transmission spheres; the family and the community, although participants were also encouraged to comment upon language use in education and future language use within the workplace:

6.1. The family



6.2. Main communication language of home

Complex and varied family language backgrounds affect young people’s language use within the family. NW and WL families mainly used English and Welsh to communicate with each other, although this was not always the case. ML families provided interesting data relating to code switching between English and Welsh and Welsh to English respectively. In terms of language socialization, within this study the mother remains the parent with the greatest influence of transmitting the Welsh language to the children, however it is the father who influences the main language of the home. For example, within ML families where the mother is the Welsh speaker, children and young people are likely to be Welsh users, however the role of the NW father remains key in colouring the main language of communication. However, fluency and confidence can affect language transmission and use at home:

There’s never been a pattern of speaking Welsh in the house; consequently they don’t speak Welsh to each other. (Interview 6:202–203, Welsh-speaking mother, ML household, children in secondary school).

According to a mother, a former pupil of Welsh-medium education from an ML background:

I speak Welsh to the girls every day, but not enough every day, it’s too easy to switch to English. But we do speak a little each day, at least, but not as frequently as I’d like. (Interview 12: 27–30).

This quotation alludes to previous research by Gruffudd (1996, 2000) and Hodges (2009) that highlights the difficulties faced by Welsh-medium former pupils in using the language beyond the education system.

6.3. Language choice of children and young people

Within NW and ML families' language use is context specific as opposed to being commonplace within WL families. For NW and ML families, there is an increased use of Welsh amongst young people if Welsh-speaking family members or friends visit the home. Within NW families less Welsh is spoken at home between siblings compared to WL families. Language courtesy is a reoccurring theme as children want to include NW parents in conversations and therefore are less likely to communicate through the medium of Welsh. "When they come home from school they don't speak it amongst themselves ... they switch off completely." (Interview 35:115–116, NW mother, children in secondary school). However, certain NW and ML parents' perceived Welsh as a secret sibling language of communication to "keep certain things private, just between the two of them" (Interview 33: 310, NW mother, children in primary and secondary schools).

Gender and age are determining factors regarding language use as the Cwm Rhymni study highlights that females from NW and ML backgrounds are more likely to use the Welsh language beyond the classroom:

... girls seem to be more switched on to the possibilities of using Welsh, whereas some boys seem to be younger in their ways and it's not seen as something cool, you know? (Interview 33:126–128, NW mother, children in primary and secondary schools)

Furthermore, age is also an important factor as NW and ML parents' perception of their children's language use is that it decreases as they get older. Children from WL families are most likely to use the Welsh language within the family home and do so regularly with parents, siblings and extended family. However, there is evidence to suggest that NW peers and a non-Welsh-speaking locality do indeed impact upon language preferences of WL siblings as some parents note the increase of social English (especially when children are of secondary school age):

I know XXX speaks English with friends on the bus and when he's playing on the yard, it just seems to be the 'done thing' ... and they'll switch back to Welsh when it's lesson time, you see? (Interview 14:300–302, Welsh-speaking mother, ML household).

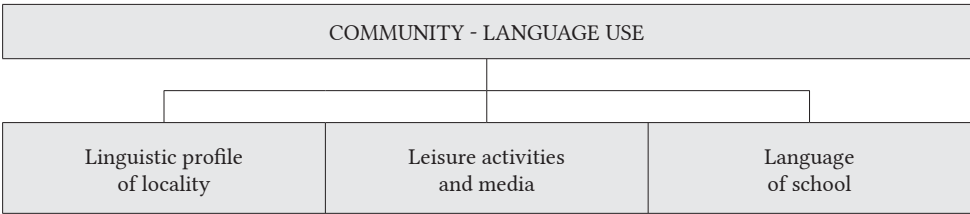
According to Cwm Rhymni parents' perceptions, language use is strongest amongst children of primary school age and a keen interest is shown amongst small children of meithrin age. Another interesting factor pertaining to males within this study is that

parents in particular refer to the relationship between boys and sport and how this has a negative effect on language use. This could refer to why the Welsh Language Commissioner is targeting the increase of young Welsh-speaking volunteers in the field of sport to create positive role models that encourage the use of Welsh in sport (Prys et al. 2014).

6.4. Parents’ attitudes towards Welsh language use at home

Baker (2011) highlights the importance of parents’ attitudes to language in order to encourage and enable further language use. Parents readily discussed their children’s Welsh language use at home; it was a topic of mutual discussion and something they often shared with other parents. The majority of parents (regardless of family language background) actively encouraged Welsh language use and almost romanticized how they longed for their children to use Welsh with their siblings or other family members at home. However, some parents did feel as if they wanted to know what their children were saying and felt excluded from conversations from time to time, “I want to know what’s going on and what they’re plotting together!” (Interview 9:105, NW mother, children primary and secondary school) Other parents longed for their children to speak Welsh outside school as “sometimes even forget they go to Welsh school because they come out of school and switch straight over to English...” (Interview 56:19–23).

7. Community



7.1. Linguistic profile of locality

All parents agreed that English dominated the linguistic and social landscape of Cwm Rhymni. English was the main communication tool and was used primarily in all social situations. Despite this, Welsh was prominent within specific social contexts and was used increasingly according to many WL parents. However, NW parents’ per-

ceptions were that the Welsh language was deemed a private language, "... if they do [speak Welsh], they don't speak it out in the streets" (Interview 4:15–20, NW mother, children secondary school).

Indeed, parents commented on specific Welsh-medium cultural and social networks at play within the valley location centred around Welsh-medium youth clubs, chapel services, Welsh-medium schools, the Côr Cwm Ni (Welsh-medium Choir) and the local Eisteddfod (cultural event). Therefore, context deemed key to social language use within Cwm Rhymni, which reflects certain language use practices at home. For NW families, holidays to Welsh language stronghold locations provided an invaluable opportunity to use Welsh in a social setting. Moreover, it was deemed almost a novelty factor that their children could use the language freely to order food and drinks or to ask directions – day-to-day tasks, parents claim not possible within the study location. This also resembles language use opportunities for NW and ML children when Welsh-speaking relatives would visit the home. A number of parents discuss their children's (often deemed new speakers) use of Welsh with native or first language Welsh speakers living locally, this was sporadic rather than naturally occurring social language use:

I hear Welsh when I visit the school and I hear Welsh with my neighbour, her son gives XXX piano lessons in Welsh. These are the only times our children really speak to anyone in Welsh outside school (Interview 22:160–163, NW mother, children in primary sector).

7.2. Leisure activities and media

Despite parents' perceptions that the Welsh language was not a regularly occurring social language, parents were aware of several leisure activities provided through the medium of Welsh for their children. Parents described the valid contributions of Menter Iaith Caerffili⁶ and Urdd Gobaith Cymru⁷ in providing extra-curricular activities through the medium of Welsh. NW parents described these opportunities as "the only time XXX gets to use Welsh outside school" (Interview 9:200, NW mother, children in primary and secondary school). Social outings where young people can use the Welsh language were also mentioned:

There's a lot more opportunity to do things in Welsh outside the school now compared to when I went to the Welsh school. It's grown a lot, which is great to see. (Mother ML household (Interview 36: 39–41).

6 Community Language Initiative (see bibliography for further details)

7 National Youth Movement (see bibliography for further details)

NW parents noted however, that their children did not always view activities as a chance to use the Welsh language socially but purely thought in terms of social activities they would experience. Despite undoubtedly positive contributions, some ML parents described Menter Iaith and Urdd's contributions as associated with education and that this would emphasize Welsh as an educational phenomenon only. Welsh-medium schools were evidently viewed as Welsh-language community centres and, despite positive work in encouraging social language use, parents were concerned these activities were often held within schools themselves. Parents with older children also described how their children were experiencing Welsh language cultural and social activities but that such activities were often based in Cardiff. Inevitably, this meant that young people would have to leave the valley location in order to experience Welsh medium culture such as nightclubs, gigs and arts-based productions. This finding mirrors research by Hodges (2009) where past pupils from Cwm Rhymni described a mass exodus from the valley to experience Welsh social activities to the full.

According to parents' perceptions, children and young people's use of Welsh media varied. Age and educational sector were determining factors within this study. Parents with children in meithrin consumed heavily in terms of Welsh medium media. They were fully aware of Welsh-medium resources provided by TWF; the Welsh Government and television shows provided by S4C (Channel 4 Wales). Parents of this age group actively encouraged listening to Welsh-language nursery rhymes in the car and watching Cyw (Chick, Welsh-medium television slot providing comprehensive, daily Welsh-medium viewing). Language background was a determining factor as WL parents described the natural viewing of Welsh-medium radio and television programmes along with the subscription of Welsh-medium 'Papur Bro' (Community papers) and national daily newspapers such as *Y Cymro* (The Welshman) and popular magazines such as *Golwg* (View). NW parents stated that their children would not readily watch S4C, especially as they grew older. However, an important discovery was that S4C often stimulated Welsh language use by NW siblings; "they'll both watch S4C and speak Welsh, because it's immediate" (Interview 25:130–131, NW mother, children secondary school).

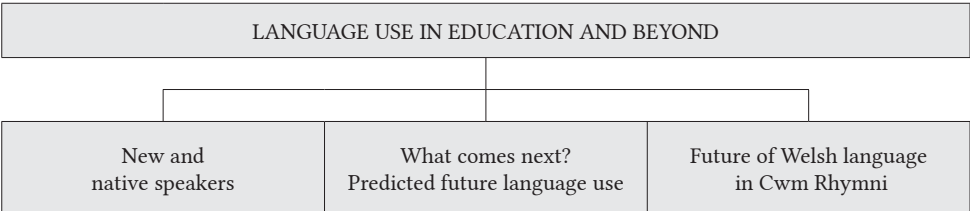
Some NW parents referred to negative views towards Welsh-medium schools in the locality. NW parents referred to some local residents as being, "anti-Welsh-school" (Interview 5: 99) and local Welsh-medium schools were often referred to not by name but by language alone. Some parents also revealed their children were referred to as "Welshies" (Interview 26:103) by local English-medium schools. Others referred to an element of separatist attitudes within the communities of Cwm Rhymni. However, the majority of parents did not view this as necessarily negative but simply children "being children" (Interview 4:105). Furthermore, parents did refer to the increased use of bilingual signage within Cwm Rhymni. Bilingualism was viewed

positively by many who wanted to “recapture our language” (Interview 4: 23) socially and referred to Welsh-medium education as a way of achieving this.

7.3. Language of school

The majority of parents (regardless of language background) recognized that the Welsh language is largely an educational phenomenon, closely associated with school. Parents refer to hearing the Welsh language near Welsh-medium schools and their surrounding areas in particular. Parents refer to children switching language as they leave the school and often as soon as they see their parents. It is almost as if the Welsh language is a “9–3:30 phenomenon” (Interview 7:63). Certain parents also refer to teachers as “social Welsh-speaking role models (Interview 7:89) and that those teachers should live and work locally to provide a Welsh-speaking locality for new speakers to hear the language regularly. Parents have deemed the social use of Welsh as “artificial” for their children (Interview 2:149) as that many had been; “embarrassed to speak Welsh outside school” (Interview 26:204).

8. Education and the workplace



Parents viewed Welsh-medium education as an important way of increasing the numbers of Welsh speakers in Cwm Rhymni. Ultimately, they associated the Welsh language with the successful schooling system. Parents in the Cwm Rhymni study viewed the Welsh language as an educational phenomenon despite important increases in social use opportunities. According to parents’ perceptions, language use within education varied according to education sector. A clear difference between primary and secondary language use was almost taken for granted by parents in this study. “When they were younger ... they spoke more Welsh” (Interview 25:130) as parents assumed younger children would be easier to influence in terms of language use. Many parents associated a lack of language use with, “rebellling against what

mum and dad have chosen for them ...” (Interview 6:57–58), almost as if the Welsh language were entwined with education, discipline and academia and something to break free from during rebellious teenage years. Such comments are all important when assessing the relevance of minority languages worldwide.

8.1. New and native speakers

The majority of young people discussed within the Cwm Rhymni study are new speakers from NW language backgrounds, thus reflecting the linguistic composition of the locality. Despite this, a small number of WL families discussing their native speaking children were included in the study. Interestingly, family language background did impact upon the experiences of pupils within Welsh-medium education according to their parents’ perceptions. According to parents, new speakers’ experiences of Welsh are often limited to an academic context, enforced by educationalists as; “... teachers say, ‘you must speak Welsh’, outside school, they don’t want to know ...” (Interview 2:124–126, Welsh-speaking father, ML background). Some NW parents’ perceptions of new speakers are that they have experienced a “culture overload” (Interview 26:248, NW mother children in secondary school) and want to move away from a culture heavily embedded in Welsh-medium education. Interestingly, certain WL parents did not feel their children were treated fairly within Welsh-medium education and that they were made to feel ostracized by new speakers from non-Welsh-speaking backgrounds. Many WL parents therefore felt this new/native dichotomy impacted negatively upon social language use of native speakers, desperate to conform to the social norm.

8.2. What comes next? Predicted future language use

Parents were asked to discuss their children’s language use within the workplace if they were currently employed in education and were also asked to discuss future language use within the workplace when their children left the education system. The majority of parents discussed how young people were already reaping the benefits of being bilingual. Many had described how their children had gained work experience and seasonal jobs using the Welsh language locally before leaving the education system. Local councils, Urdd and Menter Iaith all provided key opportunities to use Welsh within the workplace and many retail outlets were also viewing the use of Welsh as an asset to business.

Parents’ perceptions are that their children are aware of the extra opportunities the Welsh language can provide on the most part. Parents discuss the advantages their children possess over a non-Welsh-speaking cohort. However, parents’ percep-

tions of Welsh language use in the workplace gleaned mixed responses. Whilst a number of parents stated the language was very useful if staying in Wales and working in the public sector, others did not believe the Welsh language would be needed in 'British' universities and workplaces.

If they go on to university and work in another part of the UK, they'll only obtain it here won't they? If they stay in the area then I think it will stand them in good stead, but not necessarily if they are travelling further. (Interview 47:173–177, NW mother, children secondary school).

Parents also emphasized how young people viewed university as a way to rebel and experiment and therefore many chose English-medium universities despite receiving their entire education through the medium of Welsh: According to one NW parent with children in the secondary sector:

I do think a lot of young adults see it as a break away when they go to English-speaking universities, a bit of a rebellious thing to do. Let's not do it in Welsh, let's do it in English, let's break away ... (Interview 26:242–244)

However, it is pertinent to note that young people could possibly view going to university as an opportunity to broaden their horizons and not necessarily as an outright rebellion against the Welsh language or indeed their parents. Despite language progression concerns, others mentioned the increase of vocational courses held through the medium of Welsh via the local Welsh-medium comprehensive school which often led to administrative or support roles within the education system:

It's one of the only places around that does the NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) through Welsh, XXX didn't go to college to pass her NVQ 2 or 3, and she stayed on in Sixth Form and did her NVQ portfolio in Welsh. (Interview 15:164–166)

8.3. Future of Welsh language in Cwm Rhymni

Parents provided mixed responses regarding their perceptions of the future of the Welsh language in Cwm Rhymni. Many NW parents were positive about the future of Welsh, "we are bringing it back to life!" (Interview 10:39, NW mother, with children primary and secondary school) and others described the hidden infrastructure in place that will secure the future of the language locally:

Underneath the surface, there's a vibrant system in place, a lot of evening classes that people attend, there is the Menter Iaith organization that have conversational evening in pubs and things, they are constantly promoting taster courses in work, on a social level I think it's there, but I haven't noticed in a daily work level. (Interview 19:178–181, NW father, child secondary school).

However, as noted by participant, there is a need for the Welsh language to be given greater recognition within the field of work, which has been deemed a language planning poor relation by some.

WL parents maintained new speakers would persist in educating their children through the medium of Welsh but would not transmit the language to their children. However, NW parents referred to the time needed to see the development of Welsh as a first language within the locality. Parents were realistic enough to realize that Welsh for new speakers was a second language learned but were confident that their children would transmit Welsh to their children as a first language at home in years to come.

9. Concluding comments

Increasing numbers of young people in Cwm Rhymni are new Welsh speakers largely due to demand of Welsh-medium education amongst mainly non-Welsh-speaking parents (Hodges 2010, 2012). The Cwm Rhymni study highlights how Welsh is largely a school-based language and language use is dependent on family language background, language attitudes and social opportunities to use the language that often mean leaving the study location. Gender and age also emerge as interesting language use characteristics and could be useful in informing future language planning and policy developments. What this paper highlights are the language planning implications of potential new speakers dependent on language progression and opportunities beyond the classroom. However, the substantial investment in Welsh-medium higher education by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol will no doubt have a positive impact on language progression and create new speakers that actively participate in a bilingual workforce in Wales. Furthermore, if new speakers are to be users; opportunities, positive role models and extended support networks are needed to achieve this. New speakers are deemed key players in language reversal but vital systems must be put in place to encourage and foster further language use and language ownership to avoid future generations “switching straight over to English” (Interview 56:20).

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Devan Jagodic

Between “second” and “foreign” language: The process of teaching and learning Slovene among the majority adult population in Italy

The paper discusses the increasingly prominent and widespread process of teaching and learning Slovene as a second/foreign language (SSFL) among the adult population living along the Italian border with the Republic of Slovenia. In recent years, the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, where there is a rather numerous Slovene minority, has witnessed a rapidly growing interest in learning SSFL, which is evidenced by the ever-increasing number of Slovene language courses for adults. The reasons for this phenomenon are numerous: They have to do with the growing prestige of the Slovene language in light of the political and economic achievements of the Slovene state after its independence; with the wish to extend one's occupational horizons on both sides of the ever more permeable Italian-Slovene border; as well as with the desire to learn the language of the neighbouring community as a first step towards peaceful intercultural coexistence. In its introductory part, the paper presents an overview of teaching SSFL to the adult population in this territory both from the historic and present-day perspectives. The paper then presents the findings of an empirical study, which included 374 SSFL course participants. Particular attention is devoted to the analysis of the participants' reasons for learning SSFL, to their expectations upon enrolment in the course, to the language skills acquired and to the application of these language skills in everyday life. In the conclusion the findings of the research are discussed with the aim of assessing the impact of teaching and learning SSFL in regard to the potential spread and future development of the Slovene linguistic minority in Italy.

1. Introduction

Over the past two decades, the Slovene-Italian border area has undergone important geo-political and socio-cultural transformations. Events such as the collapse of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), Slovenia's declaration of independence and its subsequent entry into the increasingly connected and “boundless” European Union (EU) resulted in a number of consequences that are currently reflected at various levels of daily life on both sides of the border. The ef-

fects of the gradual abolishing of physical and mental barriers can also be noticed along the Italian eastern border zone, where after years of inter-ethnic tensions and attempts at cultural and linguistic assimilation, relations between the local autochthonous communities – the Italian majority and the Slovene minority – are finally developing into an increasingly peaceful and relaxed atmosphere of coexistence. With the exception of individual cases in the province of Udine where certain local majority entities continue to engage in aggressive politics towards the minority component, it can be claimed that the Slovene language is becoming less and less problematic in this area. Quite the contrary, in recent years a significant increase has been recorded in the interest of the majority population to become familiar with the Slovene language and culture.

The social, cultural, and psychological changes indicated suggest a possibility for a gradual exit from the difficult position the Slovene language in Friuli Venezia Giulia (FVG) has experienced since the 1920s. Suppression of the Slovene language in the period of Fascism and in the early post-war period, industrialization and urbanization, scarce opportunities for its public use and an inferiority complex on the part of its speakers are only some of the factors that have contributed to the gradual “drowning” of the minority language in the majority language environment (Jagodic 2011). The notion that the social status of Slovene in FVG is still not equal to that of Italian can be seen from the fact that the entire burden of bilingualism is still almost exclusively carried by members of the Slovene minority. It is these individuals who also speak at least one variant of the Italian language and are therefore considered bilingual, while members of the majority, with rare exceptions, usually do not even have a passive knowledge of the Slovene language. The reasons for the lack of knowledge of Slovene have to do with the fact that the implementation of institutional bilingualism is less than adequate, even though the public use of the Slovene language is regulated by several pieces of legislation arising from national and regional laws.¹ Indeed, especially in urban areas of Trieste and Gorizia the majority population has limited possibilities of coming into contact with the minority language, while the

1 The National Law no. 38/2001 fully regulates the use of the minority language in public administration, public education and toponomy, while the Regional Law no. 26/2007 further integrates the national provisions. However, the “liberal” taste of this legal framework has to be underlined, as it limits itself in establishing possibilities and opportunities for the use of the minority language, but does not impose on authorities the duty of creating a bilingual environment wherein all inhabitants would be able to use the language of their choice in most communicative situations (Brezigar, 2009).

Italian school system does not provide for learning Slovene in majority schools.²

In the period of contemporary processes of European integration, new prospects for the development of the minority language are emerging in the field of teaching/learning Slovene as a second or foreign language (SSFL). In recent years, the territory of FVG has witnessed increasingly widespread interest on the part of the majority population in learning Slovene, which is evidenced in particular by two trends: a) an increase in the enrolment of children of Italian linguistic origin in kindergartens and schools with Slovene as the language of instruction³ (although this trend has been observed since the 1980s, it has only in recent years reached an especially noteworthy dimension); b) an increase in the number of SSFL courses for adults, organized by public and private institutions. A review of the studies published to date shows that previous research has focused mainly on the examination of the phenomenon listed under a) above (Bogatec, Bufon 1996; Bogatec 2003; Pertot 2004; Strani 2011), while not much research attention has been devoted to learning SSFL among the adult population.

In light of the absence of a systematic treatment that would uniformly and thoroughly analyse the process of teaching and learning SSFL among the adult population of the entire territory of the Slovene-speaking community in Italy, the strategic project *JEZIKLINGUA*, co-funded in the framework of the Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Italy-Slovenia 2007–2013 by the European Regional Development Fund and by national resources, included among its research activities a study entitled *Teaching/Learning Slovene as a Foreign Language* conducted by the Slovene Research Institute (SLORI). The aim of this study was to examine a variety of aspects related to the teaching and learning of SSFL among the adult population of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine. The project consisted of three research phases – in the first phase, the current educational offer was catalogued and analysed, in the second phase interviews were conducted with participants of language courses, and in the third the effectiveness

2 The exception to this is certain educational institutions with Italian as the language of instruction which have in recent years been offering optional courses in local minority languages. Formally, these language courses are based on State Law 482/1999, which allows the majority elementary schools and secondary schools of level I to introduce the teaching of languages and cultural traditions of indigenous minorities. This law also provides for the co-financing of courses from a special financial fund which is, however, becoming more and more limited from year to year. At this point a pilot initiative of a certain Italian school in Trieste should be mentioned here, which in the 2010/2011 school year introduced Slovene-language courses into the regular school programme.

3 Kindergartens and schools in Italy with Slovene as the language of instruction constitute an integral part of the Italian national school system. Slovene schools differ from Italian schools in terms of language of instruction and curriculum, while the learning and study objectives, programmes and contents are in full conformity with applicable national standards.

and problems in teaching SSFL were examined on the basis of teachers' statements collected through in-depth interviews.

The paper presents a selection of results emerging from the first and especially the second phase of the research. Following a brief introductory presentation of the historical and contemporary aspects of the situation of SSFL teaching and learning among the adult population in the territory of FVG, the paper then focuses on the analysis of some of the findings arising from the quantitative survey conducted among language course participants.

2. Teaching SSFL to adults in the FVG region: A brief glimpse into the past and an overview of the present situation

The first testimonies on teaching SSFL in this region date back to the distant year 1607, when the Italian historian and philologist Alasia da Sommaripa compiled an Italian-Slovene dictionary (*Vocabolario Italiano-Schiavo*) so as to simplify the work his confreres from the Servite Monastery in Duino (Trieste) were performing among the Slovene people (Zemljarič Miklavčič, Pirih Svetina 2008). We shall, however, not look too far back into the past, as from the time of the Habsburg Monarchy until the end of World War II the teaching of SSFL in this territory was actually limited to individual sporadic attempts to introduce courses of Slovene as a subject into grammar schools of Trieste and Gorizia. For various reasons, but mainly due to the fierce objections of the local Italian bourgeoisie towards the spread of the Slovene language, these attempts proved unsuccessful; and as a result of preventing the pupils of Italian schools from learning SSFL, the majority population remained almost completely unfamiliar with Slovene, which is generally still the case today.

The first cases of teaching SSFL to the adult population were recorded in the post-war years in the territory of Trieste, where, according to the data provided by the Slovenian School Museum in Ljubljana, eight language courses were organized at that time (Gruden 2008). In the early seventies, the Italian Institution for Knowledge of Slovene Language and Culture (*Ente italiano per la conoscenza della lingua e della cultura slovena*) offered SSFL courses a bit more consistently, as a result of the efforts made by Italian-speaking citizens wishing to get to know the Slovene city component of Trieste. In the 1970/71 academic year, Slovene-language courses had almost 50 participants, most of whom were descendants of Slovene families who had for various reasons lost contact with the Slovene language. In the '80s and '90s, this institution was joined by a series of private and public administrations that were organizing

Slovene-language courses for their employees. In the mid-nineties, SSFL courses for adults finally also began to appear in the territory of Gorizia and Udine, as the educational offer in this latter region was (and still is) much more limited.

As is evident from the data obtained within the research *Teaching Learning Slovene as a Foreign Language*, in recent years the number of public and private institutions offering SSFL courses for adults has risen sharply in all three provinces covered by the study. In cataloguing the current educational offer, we recorded as many as 52 local institutions that organized at least one SSFL course for adults in the 2011/12 academic year. Among the 37 institutions that accepted the invitation to participate in the study and answered a short online questionnaire, we recorded a total of 111 courses organized in 2011/12, namely 74 in the province of Trieste, 24 in the province of Gorizia and 13 in the province of Udine. The offer of SSFL courses is ubiquitously present not only in larger cities (Trieste, Gorizia, Udine), but also in smaller municipalities, especially those where the Slovene autochthonous community is settled. The initiators of courses are mostly associations (principally Slovene), public administrations, private non-formal educational institutions, and individual companies (language schools). Virtually all these institutions offer courses in Slovene at the elementary level (A1 and A2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), while courses at the intermediate (B1, B2) and advanced levels (C1, C2) are provided by only a half or less than a third of these institutions. The total number of participants in all courses in 2011/12 was 1,372, namely 838 in the province of Trieste, 382 in the province of Gorizia and 153 in the province of Udine.

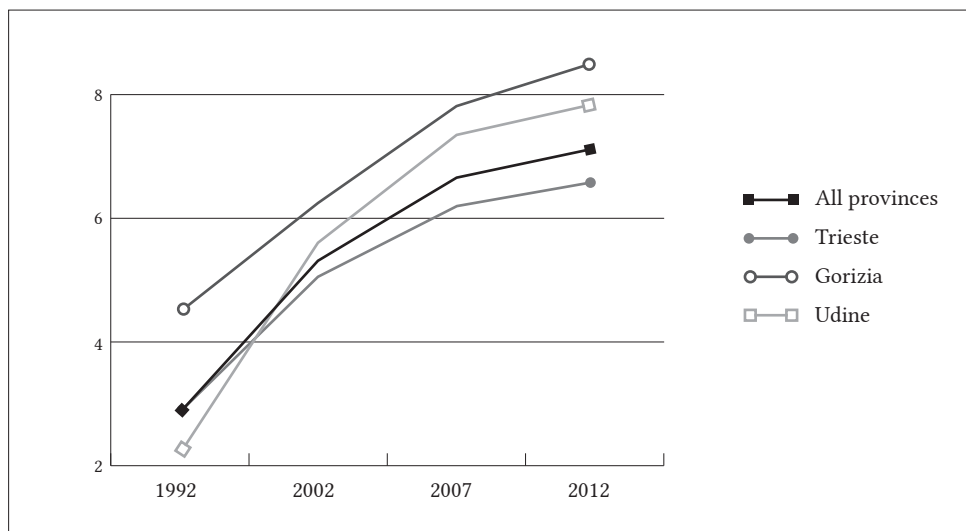


Diagram 1: The trend in the demand for SSFL courses in the 1992–2012 period (N = 35)

As is evident from Diagram 1, which shows the collective estimations of the trend in the demand for SSFL courses in the last twenty years made by officers working at institutions participating in the online survey, the interest in learning the minority language strongly increased during this period. If immediately after the dissolution of SFRY and the creation of the independent RS the demand for learning SSFL was still fairly weak (average estimation for 1992 = 2.88), it almost doubled in the next decade (average estimation for 2002 = 5.31). A rapid increase in the demand for SSFL courses was already recorded for the period before Slovenia's entry into the EU, although under the influence of European integration processes the interest was strengthened even further. Thus, in 2007, i.e. three years after the inclusion of Slovenia under the European common roof and just before its entry into the Schengen area (in December 2007), the average estimated value of the demand was 6.64. Over the past five years, the demand continues to grow and remains slightly steadier compared to previous periods (average estimation for 2012 = 7.11).

3. The survey among language course participants

3.1. Background and methodology

The following is a presentation of the results of a quantitative study conducted between April and May 2012 among language course participants in the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine. The purpose of the study was to examine the state of SSFL learning among the adult population in the territory of Italy inhabited by the Slovene community. The courses were identified on the basis of the census of the educational offer made in the first phase of the research. We then carried out a survey which included the 37 institutions that agreed to participate in the study. SSFL learners responded to a semi-structured questionnaire directly in the classroom and in the presence of a researcher. We collected a total of 374 questionnaires: 176 (47%) in the province of Trieste, 139 (37%) in the province of Gorizia and 59 (16%) in the province of Udine.

The paper focuses on a selection of the survey results which will be discussed within independent thematic chapters. Particular attention will be paid to the analysis of the participants' reasons for learning Slovene, their expectations upon enrolment in the course, the language skills acquired and the extent of the application of these skills in daily life, as well as to individual shortcomings of the current educational offer. The presentation and analysis of the results will be followed by a discussion with a summary of the findings obtained.

3.2. Data analysis

3.2.1. General information about the SSFL course participants

In terms of gender, the group of subjects participating in this study was relatively balanced – it consisted of 54% women and 46% men. The subjects' age varied between 16 and 88 years, with an average of 50 years. The majority of SSFL course participants were born in Trieste (41%), while 25% were born in the province of Gorizia and 16% in the province of Udine. The subjects' level of educational attainment was relatively high, with as many as one third having a university degree (31%) or a postgraduate (master's or doctoral) degree (4%), and with 51% having completed post-secondary studies. If we compare the level of educational attainment of our subjects with the data available on the educational levels of the entire population of Friuli Venezia Giulia between the ages of 24 and 64 years (ISTAT 2011), according to which only 59% of the population have a completed post-secondary or university degree, we can conclude that the educational level of the participants in Slovene-language courses in FVG is far above the average.

In terms of their employment status, the respondents were mostly employed in the public sector (29%) and in the private sector (18%), while the percentage of self-employed individuals was significantly lower (10%). Among the non-working population there was a significant proportion of retired persons (28%), while all other categories (housewives, the unemployed, university students, precarious workers, upper-secondary school students and first-time employment seekers) were represented rather sparingly (*Diagram 2*).

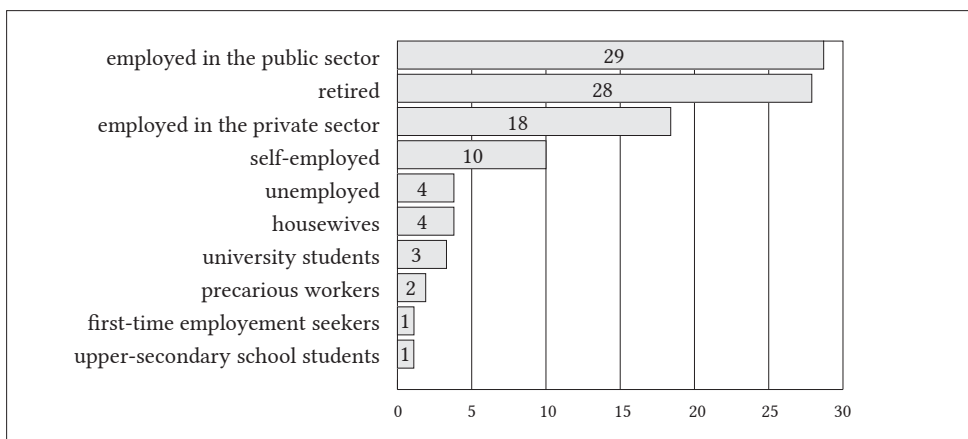


Diagram 2: Employment status of SSFL learners in % (N=369)

3.2.2. SSFL learners' language profile

The second set of questions was intended to gather information about the language-related features of course participants and their families. The results show that the respondents had several contacts or connections with the Slovene language even before entering the course. Individuals' connections with the Slovene language differ considerably, both in nature as well as in intensity.

The data on the first language of the participants (i.e., the language which they master and speak as a first language) shows what appears to be a rather weak connection with Slovene, as the vast majority of respondents (90%) stated Italian was their first language, and 5% of the respondents considered Italian to be their second foreign language. Thus, only 2% of the participants indicated Slovene as their first language and the remaining 3% indicated that both Slovene and Italian were their first languages: in both cases the participants were born to Slovene-speaking or linguistically mixed marriages.

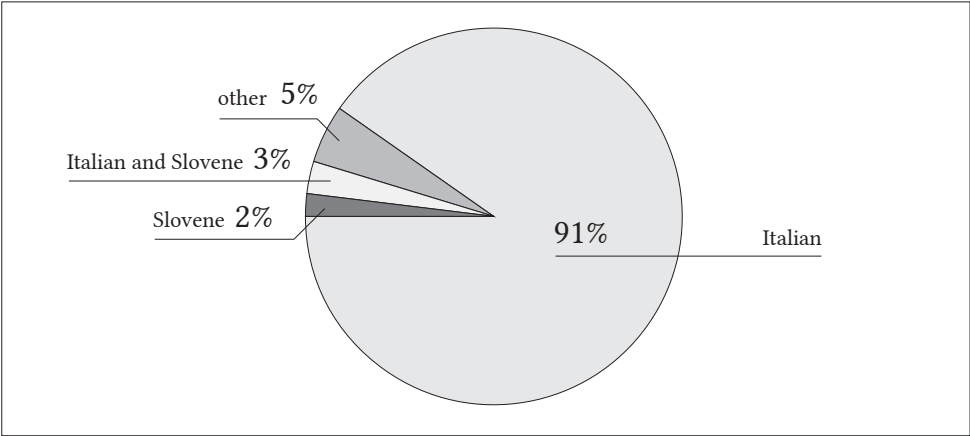


Diagram 3: The first language of SSFL course participants (N = 370)

If we analyse the linguistic background of the subjects' parents (*Diagram 4*), and especially their grandparents (*Diagram 5*), their connection with the Slovene language becomes much closer: in the first case we can see that more than a fifth of all learners (22%) has at least one parent whose mother tongue is Slovene; while in the second case, we can see that more than a third of all learners (35%) has at least one grandparent whose mother tongue is Slovene. Many of the subjects included in our study are therefore descendants of Slovene families who have over the years and for various reasons gradually lost touch with the Slovene language and apparently wish to re-establish or restore this connection with the past.

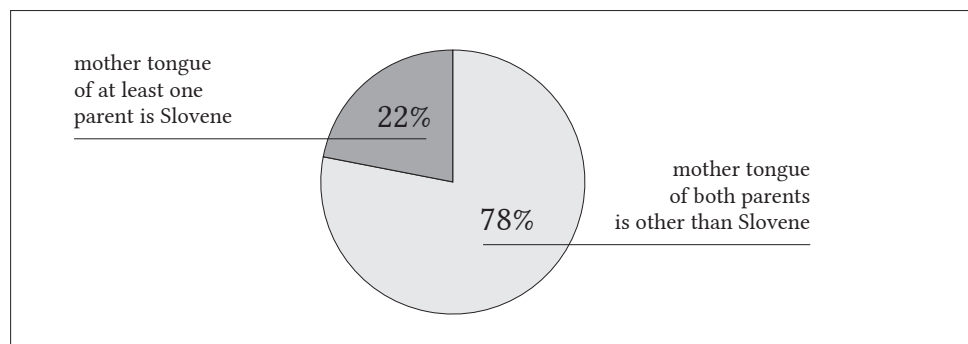


Diagram 4: Parents' first language (N = 373)

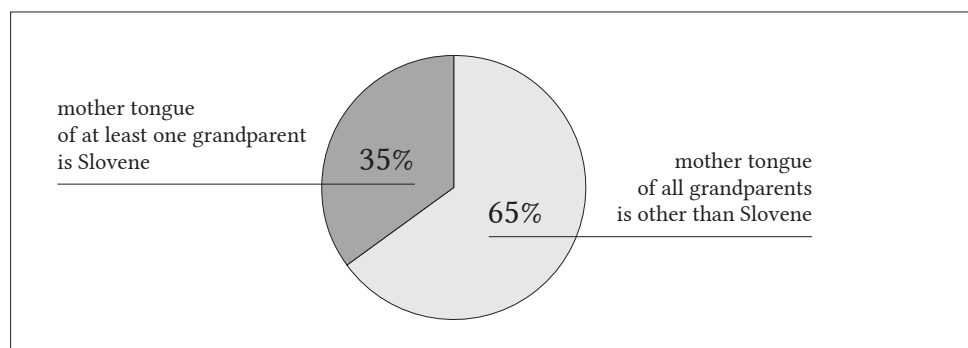


Diagram 5: Grandparents' first language (N = 372)

Subjects' previous connections with Slovene are expressed in other ways as well. For example, a total of 10% of our respondents have a Slovene-speaking or Italian-Slovene bilingual partner, wife or husband, while there are also many cases (8%) of learners who have at least one child enrolled in a preschool or school with Slovene as the language of instruction.

On the basis of the information gathered on the linguistic profile of SSFL learners presented in this section, we can conclude that the percentage of learners with at least one prior connection with the Slovene language (e.g., reflected either at the level of their first language, the linguistic origin of their parents, grandparents or partner, or the language in which their children are being schooled) accounts for almost half of the total survey group (47%).

Furthermore, the survey devoted particular attention to the analysis of the learners' attitudes toward the Slovene language and aimed to determine how they experience this language. The analysis of responses to the question "What does

the Slovene language represent to you?” (*Diagram 6*) gives a fairly clear indication of the fact that the respondents experience the Slovene language in various ways, either as a second or as a foreign language.⁴ The following answers confirm our first hypothesis, as Slovene can be perceived as “one of the languages of the territory I live in” (41%), “the language of the Slovene minority group” (18%), or “the language of my ancestors or relatives” (5%), which suggests that nearly two thirds of SSFL learners experience Slovene as a second language or as a means of communication in their immediate environment. At the same time, the remaining third of the responses should also not be neglected; these responses are along the line of experiencing Slovene as “the official language of the RS” (26%) or as a “foreign language” in general (9%) – so in both cases a language that does not belong to the participant’s immediate environment.

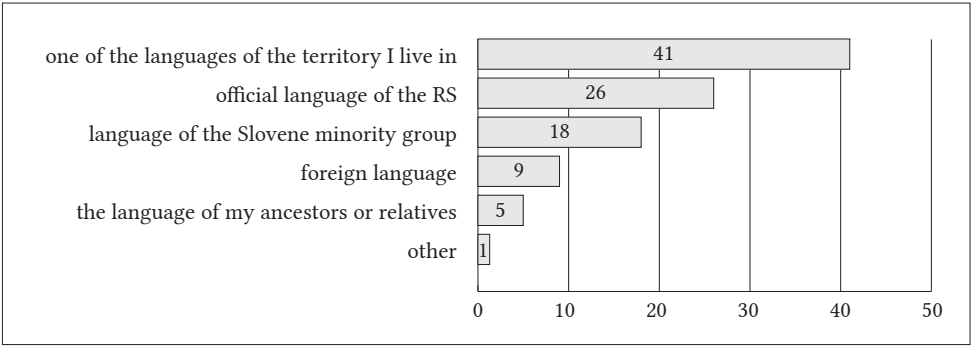


Diagram 6: Answers to the question “What does the Slovene language represent to you?” (N = 366)

3.2.3. The reasons and motivation for learning SSFL

One of the primary objectives of the study was to explore the reasons why adult residents of the studied region decide to learn SSFL. Our questionnaire listed a range of potential reasons for learning the language, of which the participants were asked to

4 Most of the definitions used in the literature or the distinctions made between second and foreign language are based on socio-demographic circumstances, i.e. the context in which the target language is being acquired, learned and taught. The term “foreign language” is usually used to denote a language that we learn in an environment where it is normally not used; this is also a language that, once learned is not commonly used in routine situations. Unlike foreign language, “second language” is the language that is one’s means of communication in parallel with one’s first language. A second language is usually learned in an environment where it is spoken, even if it is limited to specific social functions or to certain domains (Pirih Svetina 2005: 12).

choose three that they saw as the most important. The reasons given most frequently are shown in *diagram 7*.

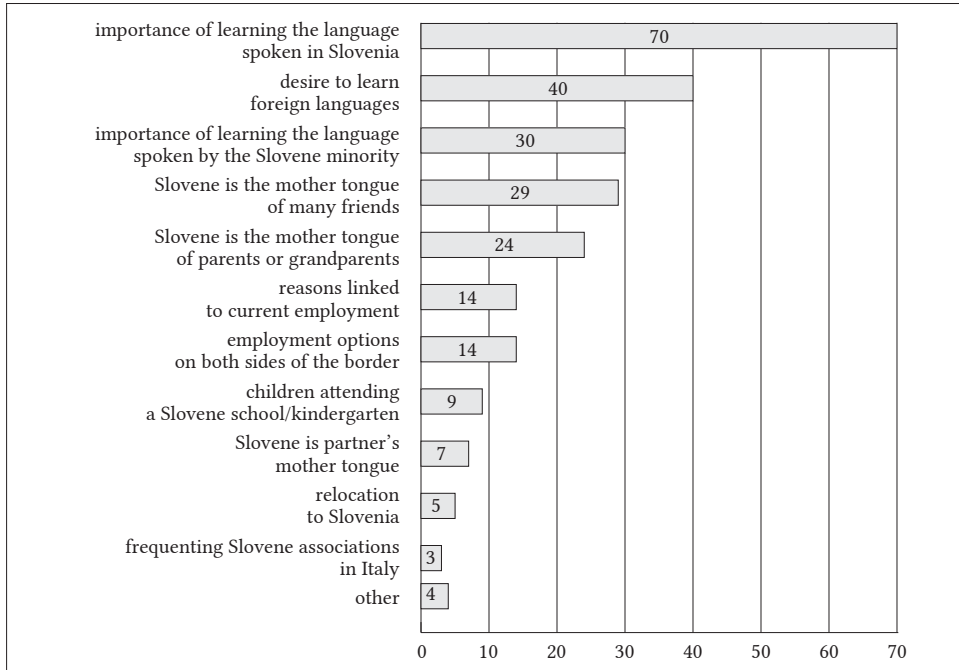


Diagram 7: Reasons for learning SSFL in % (N = 374)

As is evident from the above diagram, the majority of the learners from FVG decide to learn Slovene mainly because it is important to know the language spoken in neighbouring Slovenia (70%). On the one hand, this reason is associated with the growing prestige of the Slovene language in light of political and economic achievements of the Slovene state after its independence; on the other, it reflects a desire to learn the language of the neighbours across the border as an inevitable step towards intercultural coexistence. A comparison between the first and third most frequently mentioned reasons for learning SSFL is also very meaningful in testifying to the prevailing tendency to learn Slovene as a “foreign language”, as it shows that only 30% of all respondents highlighted the desire to learn the language spoken by the Slovene minority living in FVG.

A comparison with the previous finding offers another interesting, if somewhat ambivalent insight; while it is true that the majority of subjects experience Slovene as their second language, as they are in daily contact with it through the presence of the Slovene-speaking minority in their place of residence, it is also true that most of them decided to learn this language primarily because it is the language of the neigh-

bouring country, which after years of poor cross-border communication now enjoys a kind of revival of interest among the majority population.

The analysis of other reasons given by the respondents indicates a significant impact of the learners' previous connections with the Slovene language, as many of them decided to enrol in the course precisely because Slovene is the language spoken by their friends (29%) or relatives (24%). A reason stated somewhat less frequently, but nevertheless an important one is the impact of the so-called "pragmatic" motives for language learning: those associated with one's current job requirements (14%) or the possibility of expanding one's occupational horizons on either side of the border (14%). In all other cases, the decision to learn SSFL is closely connected with the life choices of each individual – this, for example, is the case if Slovene is the language of instruction in the schools attended by the respondents' children (9%), or the language of the state (Slovenia) which they have just moved to or plan to in the future (5%).

The respondents were then asked to indicate the extent to which they felt motivated to learn SSFL. The answers received reveal a relatively high degree of personal motivation, since as many as 61% of the respondents defined themselves as "very" motivated, an additional 36% claimed to be "quite" motivated, while only 3% of the respondents claimed to be "poorly" motivated.

3.2.4. Level of SSFL learning

In the course of this research, almost three quarters of all respondents (72%) were attending elementary-level courses in Slovene (A1, A2) – courses suited mainly for beginners. A total of 19% of the respondents were attending intermediate-level courses (B1, B2), while only 7% were attending advanced-level courses (C1, C2) (*Diagram 8*). These data, too, show that the current educational offer is rich in courses for beginners, while there is a lack of intermediate and advanced level courses.

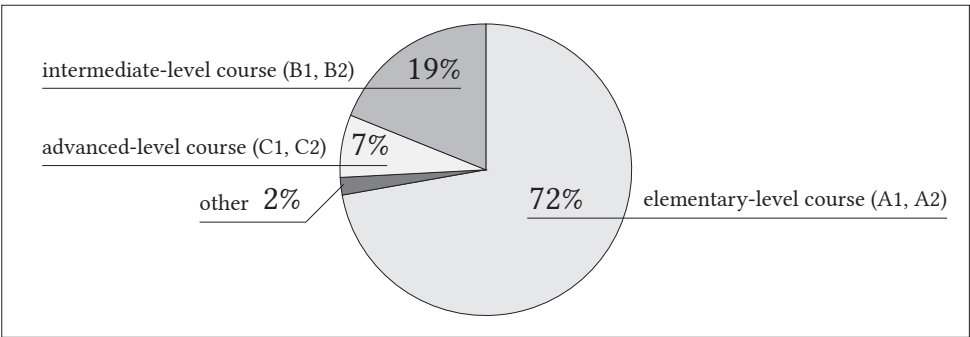


Diagram 8: Level of Slovene-language course (N = 371)

3.2.5. Expectations at enrolment in the SSFL course

Respondents were asked to indicate their expectations at the time of their decision to begin learning SSFL in terms of the level of language proficiency they wish one day to achieve. The questionnaire listed six levels of language skills according to the criteria of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (levels A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2), and respondents were requested to indicate the level of competence in Slovene they wished to achieve (Diagram 11).

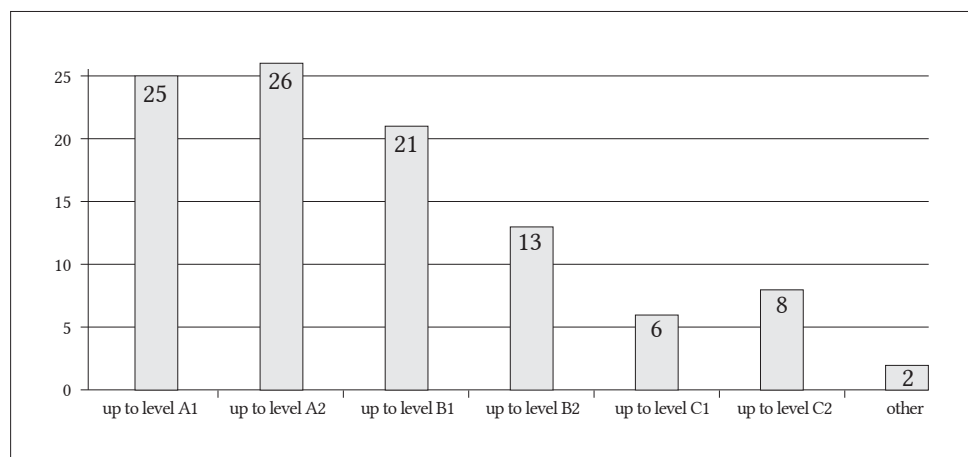


Diagram 9: Expectations at the beginning of learning SSFL according to the desired level of language proficiency in % (N = 322)

The analysis of all responses indicates a fairly clear distinction between one half of participants (51%), who would in principle be satisfied with the acquisition of language skills at the elementary level (A1, A2), i.e. the ability to understand and form simple sentences in Slovene, to engage in short daily interactions, to expand their vocabulary, etc., and the other half of respondents who wished to develop their language skills a bit further. Indeed, as the diagram shows, 34% of learners expected to develop their language skills at least to the intermediate level (B1, B2), i.e. the ability to understand and create complex texts in oral and written form, to explain and defend their positions, while the remaining 14% were even more ambitious and were aiming towards developing their language skills to an advanced level (C1, C2), i.e. to come close to the linguistic skills of native speakers, to easily participate in any conversation or discussion, to be able to use the language for professional and academic purposes, etc.

3.2.6. Language skills acquired

SSFL learners were also asked to assess their current language skills in Slovene on a scale from 1 (very poor knowledge of the language) to 10 (very good knowledge of the language). This is a self-assessment of individual language competence, and as such it is subjective. The language competence of course participants was not measured objectively, i.e. with language tests. Therefore, the information obtained should be interpreted with a certain degree of caution.

As expected according to the structure of the survey group, which consisted mainly of learners at the elementary level, the detected level of Slovene-language proficiency is fairly low (*Diagram 10*).

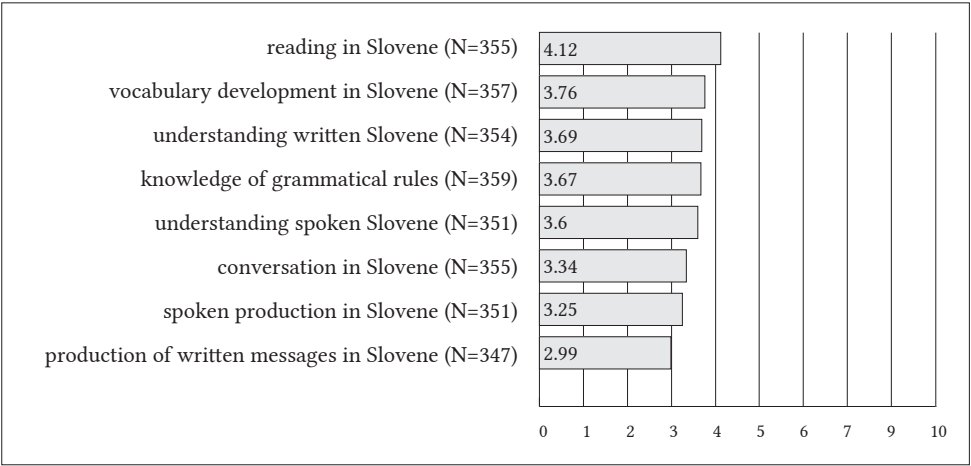


Diagram 10: Learners' self-assessment of Slovene-language knowledge gained by individual language skills (in mean values)

In all of the language skills listed, the average scores are all located well below the median of 5. Learners indicated having achieved best results at the level of receptive language skills, i.e. in reading (4.12), understanding written messages (3.69) and spoken messages (3.6), as well as in the development of vocabulary (3.76) and knowledge of grammatical rules (3.67). The lowest scores were recorded at the level of productive language skills, i.e. in the development of oral (3.25) and text messages (2.99), which undoubtedly require a greater degree of skill and experience.

3.2.7. The use of Slovene in daily life

The results of the survey regarding the application of the acquired language skills in everyday life, i.e. the use of the Slovene language with various interlocutors and in different communicative situations, seem rather discouraging. As shown in *Diagram 11*, the “regular or frequent” use of Slovene is relatively common only in interactions with the speakers of Slovene, especially if the latter are citizens of Slovenia (26%), and less so with members of the Slovene minority in Italy (15%). In relations with all other speakers listed - with family members (parents, partners, children, and other relatives), neighbours, fellow residents, close friends, other acquaintances, colleagues and partners in the workplace – the use of Slovene is much less common. Apart from the time spent in their language classes, learners clearly experience a lack of opportunity to use Slovene in everyday life. This is especially the case in the major urban centres (Trieste, Gorizia) and the whole province of Udine, where the Slovene language has been pushed out of public life and where its role has largely become confined to intra-group communication between the members of the minority community.

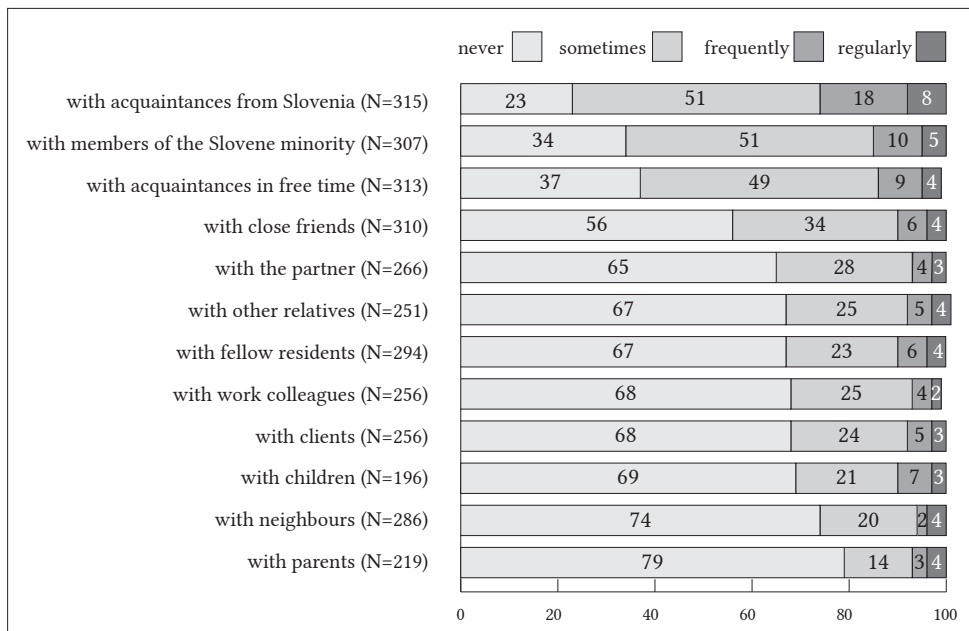


Diagram 11: Frequency of using Slovene with various interlocutors in everyday life (in %)

A more consistent use of Slovene in interactions with the citizens of Slovenia in comparison with the Slovenes in Italy is also evident from *Diagram 12*. When having

a conversation with the citizens of Slovenia, a total of 16% of the respondents use Slovene throughout the entire conversation, while 44% begin the conversation in Slovene, but due to difficulties arising from their limited language skills then proceed to use Italian. When interacting with members of the Slovene minority in Italy, only 6% of the respondents use Slovene from beginning to the end of the conversation, while 27% begin the conversation in Slovene and continue it in Italian. It is therefore quite clear that in conversation, Slovenes in Italy often linguistically adapt to majority-language speakers, even when they are aware of the fact that the latter are learning the minority language. What is also very interesting in this context is the pervasive use of English or other *lingua franca* in the respondents' communication with the citizens of Slovenia (14%), while this is not the case in their communication with the Slovenes in Italy, as the latter are fully proficient in Italian.

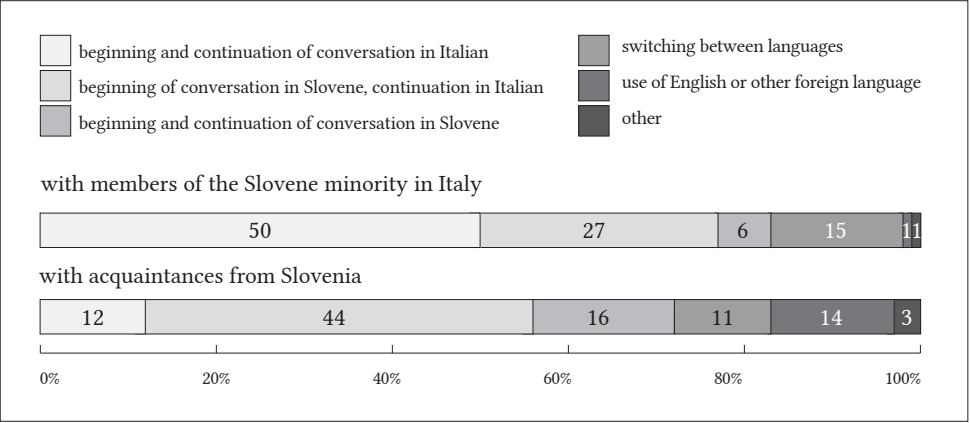


Diagram 12: Communication habits in conversations with Slovene-speaking citizens of Slovenia and Italy

3.2.8. Shortcomings of the educational offer and proposals for its improvement

We used open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire to explore the SSFL learners' views on the shortcomings of the educational offer and to allow them to give suggestions that might help organizers of language training plan and implement Slovene-language courses. Their responses can be summarized into three main categories:

- SSFL courses should include more contact hours, as many respondents complained that the duration of training was too short;
- organizers should offer the possibility for continuous learning of the Slovene language between the completion of one and the start of another course, which can be ascribed to two drawbacks: 1) some institutions do not organize

Slovene-language courses at higher levels (B1, B2, C1, C2), which means that learners are forced to end their SSFL learning prematurely; and 2) the time span between individual courses is sometimes quite long and as a result, learners gradually forget the acquired knowledge;

- at the transition from a lower to a higher level of language learning, courses should include an evaluation of the language skills acquired; in most cases such assessments of language knowledge are still not performed.

4. Conclusions

SSFL is one of the essential components of the Slovene linguistic situation and thus also of Slovene language planning (Stabej 2004). This is, of course, particularly the case in the neighbouring countries of Slovenia, where the inferior social status of Slovene compared to that of the local majority language makes it subject to particular external pressure. For the first time in history, the Slovene minority in Italy is now witnessing the possibility of gradually slowing down or even reversing the negative demographic post-war trends by attracting potential new Slovene-language speakers. As stated by Sara Brezigar in her treatise on the planning of Slovene-language learning in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia: “

*[...] A minority is likely to become extinct or to collapse if its aim is only to maintain its current members and their descendants. [...] The concept that is now finally gaining ground is that the Slovene minority group can spread: an individual who is, a priori, a member of the majority can also become a member of the minority. Among the ways in which minorities [...] can compensate for the trend of “losing” their minority-language speakers is the trend of “gaining” new speakers [...], in which the planning of language acquisition is an essential element.*⁵ (Brezigar 2004: 113–114)

In order to plan a successful language acquisition, at least three basic conditions should be met: a) that the members of the majority community are adequately motivated to learn SSFL; b) that they are improving their language competence and are able to apply it in communication; c) that they have the opportunity to use the language outside the planned contact hours.

5 Brezigar bases her theoretical assumptions on the concentric circles minority model developed by Jørgen Kühl (1997). According to this model, a minority consists of members of varying intensity, who can be illustrated by three concentric circles (the very core of the minority, its medium layer and its outer layer). The concentric circles minority model breaks the existing boundaries of the minority status and promotes a belief that the ethnic minority could “assimilate” the members of the majority.

As for the first of the conditions listed, the results of the study provide quite an encouraging picture. The analysis of the educational offer in FVG gives a clear indication that the demand for learning SSFL is growing, as in all three provinces both the number of courses as well as the total number of their participants are radically increasing. The reasons to learn SSFL are numerous - some may be of a more “emotional” or “pragmatic” character, but in most cases they are associated with a strengthened “European” orientation that is based on the premise that learning the neighbour’s language is a necessary precondition for the social integration of the cross-border and multicultural area. The motivation of course participants to learn SSFL also seems to be relatively high, which is especially true for those who wish to achieve a high level of language proficiency. It should be noted, however, that as many as half of all learners seem to be satisfied with the acquisition of language skills at an elementary level – they only seem to be interested in an initial contact with the Slovene language, but do not show the necessary motivation to one day achieve fluency in Slovene. In this regard, language planners should be particularly aware of the fact that learners need to be encouraged to continue learning Slovene even after they have completed the course at the elementary level or should define additional reasons for learning the language.

The former applies also to the second aspect of SSFL language planning, i.e. to the provision of the necessary conditions for the learners to acquire Slovene-language skills and use them in communication. The linguistic competence acquired, according to learners’ self-assessment, seems to be relatively low, especially at the level of productive language competence, i.e. in the formation of oral and written communications. A low communicative competence has a direct impact on the limited use of the language in everyday life. A certain amount of responsibility for this can be assigned to the educational offer itself, as many course providers do not offer the possibility to learn SSFL at higher levels, while assessments of language skills gained at the transition from a lower to a higher level of learning is also inadequate. What is evident from this situation is an urgent need to systematize the educational offer, for instance by establishing a centre for teaching Slovene as a second/foreign language, which would prepare and provide teaching materials, conduct teacher training, arrange for assessments of the knowledge gained, issue certification in accordance with the CEFRL criteria and also coordinate and comprehensively promote SSFL courses in the territory.⁶ Language planners must therefore plan actions that would at least partially fill this gap.

6 In this context, the *Center za slovenščino kot drugi/tuji jezik* (Centre for Slovene as a Second / Foreign language), established in 1994, can serve as an example of good practice as one of the most successful and well-known providers of a variety of Slovene-language courses in Slovenia. The Centre was created under the auspices of the Department of Slovene Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and gradually assumed a key role in the development of the entire professional infrastructure for learning, testing and certifying the proficiency in Slovene as a second/foreign language (Stabej 2004).

The third fundamental task in language acquisition planning is to provide opportunities for the use of the language outside the planned lessons or in everyday practice. In the territory under consideration, this is not an easy task, especially in the urban areas of Trieste and Gorizia and in the whole province of Udine, where the opportunities to use the language are already scarce for the members of the minority community living in this area. One of the tasks of language planners is, of course, to make SSFL learners properly aware of all the public and private situations in which the use of Slovene is guaranteed and frequent. What is also important is educating native speakers, especially members of the Slovene minority, to be more persistent in the use of the Slovene language with SSFL learners, even though they cannot speak the language fluently. For the development of language skills it is important that SSFL speakers also find themselves in communicative situations where they are forced to use Slovene for lack of other options.

To conclude, the results of our study indicate that in the present situation the acquisition of new speakers of a minority language is neither an easy nor a short-term process and that it is also far from being a straightforward one, as it requires considerable effort, investment, and planning of all the factors involved. The planning of SSFL learning for the majority population and the vision of enlarging the traditional boundaries of the minority represent a major challenge for the Slovene minority living in FVG. Above all, they bring about a significant shift from the traditional conception of ethnic communities as they require that the Slovene language be addressed and marketed separately from the issues of identity (Pertot 2007). Even though experiences of some of Europe's minorities (for instance the Basque, Welsh and Catalan) point to the success of such minority-language "marketing" models among majority members, the prospect of their transfer to the situation of the Slovene minority in Italy nevertheless encounters resistance from the more conservative powers within the same community, who, with persistent mistrust towards the Italian neighbour, seek to maintain the ethnic and linguistic "purity" of the current speakers. The future of the Slovene language in FVG is therefore closely connected with the question of priorities which should be set by the minority community itself (and thus also by the Republic of Slovenia, as the concern for the consolidation and expansion of the Slovene-language area should be, after all, a Slovene national interest), and also with the question of a rational allocation of resources in shaping the minority's own language policy. There is an increasing need for a comprehensive development vision that would allow for a conscious guiding of the Slovene minority language development towards revitalization and modernization.

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Lucija Čok, Irina Moira Cavaion

Virtual and live in the second language classroom

Since language is one of the basic discriminants of ethnic and national difference, its typology and intensity of use indicates the dimension and the quality of different cultural spaces, the success of its survival across different generations, the vitality of the language code, and its level of social attraction and status. Globalization, social and political events in Europe, especially in areas of cultural contact, have contributed substantially to radical changes to the original language map. The most radical change in interpersonal communication was brought about by computer technology – electronic mediation of contents and connections. Overall changes in society pushed policy makers and researchers to search for a new definition of the status and use of minority language. The outcome of such investigations speaks in favour of a stronger commitment in education, further development of curricula and broadening of didactics in different disciplines.

Within this context we describe a methodological proposal which aims to transform the minority/neighbouring language learning and teaching provided in mainstream primary schools of border regions into a long lasting, staunch friendship between adolescents. We call this strategy “Contact-Based Language Learning and Teaching” (Co-BLaLT), a blended programme of virtual and live cross-border contacts characterized by continuity, a systematic nature, cooperative learning, exploiting the unique opportunity of real encounters with the target language representatives.

1. Introduction

Natural diversity and cultural specificity of Europe have been preserved by the geographical knowledge and layout, historical memory and strengthened by all kinds of policies: national, regional and European. The awareness of our own past is not only an implacable resource, but also a tool for building our common European society. It is assumed that knowing and understanding cultural habits of others is a precondition for the awareness of our own identity, and for the formation of intercultural dialogue which finally leads to the creation of values. According to these values, an individual is a constituent part of a group, or a society, or a nation. The frequently emphasized importance of the awareness of who is who and where she or he belongs is relevant not only for our private life, but also for our participation in social life.

The areas where cultures, languages and civilizations meet with the historical memory are the laboratories of building Europe and the touchstones in structuring the policy of all nations' coexistence. Those areas, and especially the border areas, can transmit to other regions and environments of the world the knowledge and a new understanding of the crucial role of cultural and ethnic intertwining. Moreover, thanks to this knowledge transmission, they can prove how to solve problems of coexistence, give input to the questions of historical development, as well as to give answers to the problems regarding the formation of national and local authorities, new and old ones, provincial and central, influenced by the effects of political transformations. The process of intertwining ethnic and linguistic communities initiates interaction between social and cultural units, art and science, civil society and economy.

The notions of "national minority", "ethnic minority" and "national community" are found very frequently in legislation and are kept distinct from the concept of citizenship. However, the *de facto* situation can differ greatly from the *de jure* protection, and could turn out to be more or less favourable. The relationship between majority and minority should be considered in the light of (co-)dominance or non-dominance (*Regional and minority languages in the new Member States (CETS, 1992, 2.3.4)*). Sometimes, one language dominates all the others in public affairs and becomes even a global language as English is today. In the EU e.g., this language dominates others, despite the fact that it is not the mother tongue of the major part of the community and all member languages have *de jure* the same rights (Steinke 2007). The sense of hegemonic status of one and the marginalized (dominated) status of another language reminds us about the specific situation of family use (kitchen Italian in Australia), public use (silent assimilation of Slovene in Italy), legislation (national curricula not adapted to minority children, e.g. of Slovenians in Austria).

The terms dominated and dominant for languages could be used in descriptions of politically and socially deprived contexts, where human rights are neglected and cultural and democratic language policy systems are discriminated. The word *dominate* has the following meanings: to control something or someone, to have power or influence; to limit, keep down, determine, restrict, confine.

We are convinced that enhancing democratic approaches to multilingualism can avoid negative language trends in language policy, especially in education. Powerful strategies for implementing language use and enhancing pupils' language skills, intercultural competence, and their motivation to learn the languages of their neighbours can be the best solution. Research shows that in the teaching practice of neighbouring languages (hereinafter referred to as NL), instruments and strategies in cross-border contacts among teenagers and schools have so far been neglected in the Slovenian-Italian border region (Cavaion 2012). Here, NL suffer from a lack of prestige in the eyes of teenagers coming from both sides of the border (Furlan 2002) and the compulsory teaching of the Italian language on the Slovenian part has reached

a very low level of proficiency (Čok 2009). The lack of reference models, as well as the innovative nature of the proposed activities, urged us to start with an empirical practice. This mainly involved virtual networking and face-to-face encounters between the pupils, and went beyond the investigation about the efficacy of research instruments for analysing pupils' language behaviour in formal interethnic encounters. Changing communication in the classroom in favour of minority-regional languages would help to reevaluate the NLs' status, thus assigning them an important role within the development of social integration (Cavaion 2012).

2. Intercultural communication and dialogue

The capacity for effective communication between people and awareness of cultural differences is becoming the key element for dialogue in the civil society. In the context of the EU policy of promoting 'civil society dialogue' among members and beyond, strengthening contacts and mutual exchange of experiences in widely extended political contexts, and multilingualism and intercultural dialogue among states are the priorities of vital importance. The three main aims of the development of knowledge and understanding and promotion of multilingualism are: to encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society, to promote a healthy multilingual economy, and to give citizens the tools for understanding multiculturalism.

As a dimension of social policy, this endeavour should maintain and increase social cohesion and management of relations with other societies. Language can be treated as human capital, enabling an individual to acquire financial means and improve his or her living standard. In such cases, the desire for knowledge accumulation represents a pure linguistic motivation, the aim of which is not just to learn a second language to improve one's communication with neighbours, nor just to get to know their culture and history, or to help one get along with others. It also means that one is learning languages and exploring cultures as an investment in one's knowledge. What we are dealing with is intercultural language communication (Čok 2006), which, together with language competence and skills, is the best means of communication, from the point of view of anthropology. Yet the point at issue is not only communicating culture at a given moment, but also articulating its contents and meanings, as well as the relations between the speakers manifested through the encounter of the speakers' cultures and languages. Language communication also involves the confrontation of various realities that surround us. 'Empathic competence' – i.e. the power of identifying oneself mentally with all these realities – opens a passage to tolerant understanding of the 'Other'. During the process of growing up, when an individual develops his/her personality, two types of socialization can be

distinguished: primary and secondary. Both can be upgraded with tertiary socialization, which is much harder to achieve – if it is achieved at all. The process involves the development of the competence to assess and compare one's own experiences and values with those of other/foreign people, the turn from ethnocentrism and narrow identifications to ethno relativism, common values and the acceptance of differences existing between various groups.

3. Approaches to the feeling of otherness

Traditional teaching approaches place considerable emphasis on the artefacts of culture (in literature, fine arts, history), whereas the modern communicative approach to language teaching focuses on the selection of linguistic tools in various communicative situations and the manner of their use. Since intercultural communication can be perceived as a further stage of the communicative approach, the teaching of 'culture' nowadays also includes chapters on 'behaviour culture' (cf. Tomalin and Stempelski 1993). This perception of culture has made the differences and similarities between individual cultural environments much clearer. In order to raise our cultural awareness, we should not only observe and be familiar with differences between the given cultural environments, but also search for a means of mediation that will help us to get insight into them and to establish relations between them. Language communication is the most perfect and the easiest accessible means of transmitting culture. The knowledge of the cultural norms which are valid in other social and ethnic environments is considered a prerequisite for comparisons that eventually enable us to create our own system of values.

The comparison of different cultures should be carried out in a positive way and with emotional distance. A positively oriented consideration of cultural differences and similarities implies that the individual is no longer the centre of attention and tries to avoid prejudices that would affect his/her judgement in advance (Kramsch 1996). Intercultural language communication involves not only the knowledge of rules of linguistic communication, but also the awareness of the cultural component of these rules. The ability to distance oneself can be developed by learning the forms, approaches, behaviours and interaction effects in various cultural environments. It must be stressed, however, that the process does not involve the alteration of differences by force, or the search for general criteria and rules that would eventually lead to universal, general behaviour. On the contrary, differences should be re-valued in a way that enables each individual to retain his/her idiosyncrasies and those characteristics that determine him/her as a cultural and social being (Kramsch 1996).

When discussing cultural experience, one should pay attention to the multiplicity of accepted values and functions that an individual or social group has acquired through time. Yet individuals who wish to retain their accepted values are far from static when performing activities aimed at preserving these values. The dynamics of their memory use is complemented by their will, with which they strive to transform the world. In the process, they make use of mediational means of higher mental functions related to cultural behaviour and practices (perception and active use of intercultural language communication, formation of active and empathic relations and positions between participants in the communicative situation, use of safeguards and incentives during participation in communication, etc.) and develop the mediational means as means of communication and behaviour related to the formation of cultural memory (Cole 1996: 113). Cultural memory is developed through the elaboration of more complex 'tools of remembering' that help create a new, deeper cultural experience, which serves as a basis for the further development of relations between individuals and groups.

In education it is important to examine the implications of emphasis on culture, not just in foreign language teaching/learning, but also in disciplines comprising the curriculum of any level of instruction (humanities, sciences, arts) and within the assessment of records. The outcome of such an examination speaks in favour of a development of principles in a more appropriate evaluation of outcomes, a development of new curricula and broadening of didactics in different disciplines. If the appropriate vision can be developed among teachers, curriculum developers, researchers, and assessment specialists, school programmes have a unique opportunity to contribute to students' development of their intercultural sensitivity. The lack of stated goals and outcomes, the absence of curricular innovation, deficient assessment tools and unfocused learning strategies are some of the major reasons why a 'culture learning' approach has not been successfully included in learning/teaching. In order to overcome these deficiencies, culture learning must be placed in a context where appropriate planning can take place.

There are a few fundamental frameworks for culture-centred learning: Egan (1979) for general education development, Bennett (1993) for the development of intercultural sensitivity, Byram and Morgan (1994) and Kramsch (1993) for the inclusion of culture in the language classroom. The first two are based on the precepts of continuity, progression, and expansion of competence; they are dynamic and interact with the maturation levels of learners.

The definition of intercultural awareness, which can be considered as a mental representation, covers emotional, cognitive and dynamic areas. Within the research work of the University of Primorska (LABICUM, 2004–07) an appropriate self-assessment schedule has been proposed (Čok 2006). It covers the *cognitive area* (referring to an individual's thoughts, concepts, judgement and assessment activi-

ties), the *emotional area* (dealing with emotions and values that the individual assigns to his/her nation and national attributes), and the *dynamic area* (representing his/her aspirations to actively participate in the dynamics of occurrences related to nationality).

4. Innovation in educating for sensitivity

Recently, the researchers of interculturality have been facing new challenges. In the second half of the last century, human society was faced with a fierce, irrepressible and intensive development in the field of information and communication technologies (ICTs). This development has not only brought changes to the main areas of technology (digitization, processing, transmission, information generation, etc.), but reached also into the social dynamics of the everyday life of individuals, changing the patterns of social processes and relationships. An important role in this has been played by the area of social action, the so-called cyberspace created by ICT, which gives individuals greater freedom in terms of time or space.

According to Strehovec (2007) cyberspace is a geographically and physically unidentifiable space or a “seeming” space, which is in contradiction with the “traditional” understanding of space, because individuals do not perceive it as the entirety of the material environment in which they exist. From the sociological perspective, cyberspace is a virtual, network-based, electronically transmitted space of interest or scene for the provision of various formal and informal preferences and needs of its agents, emerging through interaction and transaction between them. On the other hand, it is also a place of communication that is accessible via the global ICT infrastructure. Due to the specific characteristics of cyberspace (non-physical entity), communication taking place inside it is regarded very differently than that of physical space.

The change in the means of mediation has also changed the focus of the message and its value, and in particular the fundamental role of the semiotic systems. From written text, focusing on the design and information, and oral communication, emphasizing dialogue and relationships between speakers, we have switched to electronic mediation, which is directed towards a technology of connections and towards a direct contact between the participants. This latter postmodern model of communication is the most abstract among the semiotic models. A text occurs in combination with several semiotic systems (spelling, typographical conventions, pictures, graphs, diagrams, etc.) and this combination is constantly being transformed as it is formed every time by those participating in communication. “The writer is not the sole author of the text but is summarizing the thoughts and expressions of others, which

makes the content “occupied” with other voices; moreover, the original writer cannot know how the meaning will be understood by others in the formation of the entire text.” (Graddol 1994: 19). The user’s actions, directed towards various connections and information, browsing and opening different windows while surfing the Internet, create a continuum between the real and the virtual world generated by the computer. In fact, the computer is both the product and the producer of a certain type of communication code, and similarly also of language and communication genres. The computer has enabled the creation of a communication space where creativity and play are boundless.

However, the social use of language, whichever language that may be, is nevertheless a fundamental prerequisite for the peaceful coexistence of people, for establishing contact through communication and for the understanding of otherness and diversity. In the virtual world, too, language remains the primary means for doing this, however, apart from national languages, one or more than one language is being established as *lingua franca*, in addition to its many varieties (slang, ethnolects and idiolects). Communication between young people spans different forms of creative communication, which is reflected in the type of virtual communication. Even though theories of language planning do highlight the social, economic and political effects of external factors on the individual’s choice and use of a particular language code, they do not include language use in virtual environments / computer-mediated communication. The choice of language and the variety of a particular language used by the individual at a given moment is not only influenced by that individual’s will and need but also by the social network of their peers and supporters, as well as their current interests and their general social sensitivity towards the community. Since in this network the individual is moving outside his national environment/space, the mutual influences of virtual communication put his national and cultural identity to a test.

Nevertheless, boundaries between different languages do exist, regardless of the fact that they are connected, between cultures, although they are in contact, between memory and historical experience, between actual events and virtual scenarios. The capability of individuals to engage in the real world is not developed in a boundless space, but in the ability to decide which are the limits that can be exceeded (Kramsch 2009: 185).

Points where intercultural dialogue fail are most often also sites of cultural conflict. We are convinced that our own culture is imperfect, but nevertheless think it is less imperfect than others, so we accept it as the best and reject others. Although no culture offers perfection and the best way of life, dialogue and coexistence of cultures where every community can find what is best for it seems the wisest, if not only solution. Multiculturalism is therefore a concept that is universal and timeless, and needs to be understood, promoted and developed.

5. Neighbouring languages taught and learnt through contacts: a strategy of innovation

In the multilingual and multicultural border area of Trieste – Italy and Koper – Slovenia we have conducted research which aimed at developing good neighbouring language (NL) teaching and learning strategies to raise awareness among primary school learners and teachers of border areas and enhance their capability to exploit cross-border contacts for the development of plurilinguistic skills, intercultural sensitivity and active democratic participation based on contextualized use of ICT tools connected with face-to-face encounters.

The principles assumed were the geographical proximity of cities where schools were located, and to potentially develop real friendships among participating pupils engaged in an alternation of virtual and real contacts with representatives of the other language group.

6. The research

The idea for the research was initiated by observing NL teaching and learning processes in mainstream primary schools of the border municipalities of Trieste – Italy and Koper – Slovenia, where, despite their vicinity and accessibility, their teaching is not as efficacious as it could and should be. An extensive study on bilingual educational models running in the Slovenian border regions (Čok 2009) informs us of the lack of opportunities to use the neighbouring language for border region adolescents, the low level of proficiency in the Italian language gained by Slovenian students, and little innovation in the teaching of Italian in the Slovenian border region. On the Italian side of the border, Slovenian language teaching lags behind, since it is at the very beginning of its introduction into the compulsory mainstream education system and not at all “well-equipped” from an organizational and methodological viewpoint.¹ Rare contacts and low quality contacts exist between the two named mainstream speech communities, both at compulsory schooling level, and in the informal so-

1 In the case of Italy and Slovenia, the NL teaching and learning has been included in special laws for minority group protection in force since 1954 in Slovenia and since 1948 in Italy. Nevertheless Slovenia has enabled compulsory teaching of Italian in all the mainstream primary schools of its Littoral area since the end of WWII, whereas Italy enables experimental teaching of the Slovenian language in mainstream primary and secondary schools in the last few years.

cialization of involved teenagers (Cavaion 2012). The sociolinguistic context of the two minority/neighbouring languages is very different, with a two-way bilingualism which characterizes the Slovene Istria border area against the completely opposite tendency of a one-way bilingualism characterising the Trieste area.

The research aimed at identifying characteristics and feasibility of the innovative actions – chosen among network-based communication exchanges like video-conference, chats, emails and real face-to-face encounters – in order to sustain the idea of contact-based NL teaching and learning in practice.

The research was conducted between April 2012 and June 2013 involving a primary school class of the municipality of Koper, Slovenia, with Italian as a compulsory subject (class Year 8/9, 24 pupils aged 14 and 15), and a first lower secondary school class in the city of Trieste, Italy (class Year 2/3, 22 pupils in 2012, 19 pupils in school year 2012/2013, aged 13 and 14) where the Slovene language is included in the school curriculum as a foreign language. Pupils can choose among three foreign languages (Slovene, German and French). The two respective specialized NL teachers and teachers of other subjects participated.²

A different level of NL knowledge was noticed, i.e. Slovenian pupils are more proficient than Italian pupils (Slovenian students are in their ninth year of NL learning, Italian pupils in their third year of NL learning). This different level of language knowledge has shown some difficulties but did not hinder the planned activities, and it enabled some space for surprising results in terms of participation.

During research time pupils were involved in diverse contact-based actions: two videoconferences, two chat sessions, three e-fora, mail and fb communications, two face-to-face encounters, two class presentations on topics shared with pupils of the neighbouring country, one autobiography of encounters. We collected the produced materials, like PowerPoint presentations, posters, chats, autobiographies as well as interviews of pupils and teachers and delivered questionnaires after specific actions (like videoconferences and face-to-face encounters).

Qualitative data analysis was applied – mainly qualitative content analysis, conversational analysis, thematic analysis and chat analysis. Descriptive statistics analysis was applied to some answers of the questionnaire delivered to pupils.

2 Teachers of the arts, geography, history, Italian and one support teacher for pupils with special needs in an Italian school; one English teacher in a Slovenian school.

7. Findings

Due to the limitations of this paper we chose to present the findings which relate to video calls, SCM-Communication and NL use among neighbouring adolescents and the face-to-face cross border meetings to show different characteristics of virtual and live experiences in NL classroom.

7.1. Virtuality: Video calls and SCM-communication

Video calls

We started the contact-based project with a whole group class videoconference sustained by literature speaking for visual contacts as a successful tool to initiate e-communication. Pupils were guided to exploit the first video call to introduce each other and the second just to exchange a few sentences with the main aim of refreshing the visual image of the “other”. During the activity pupils were not obliged to use any particular code. They could in fact either try their capability to use language in authentic communicative exchange or speak their own language as recipients were able to understand them to a certain extent, in a sort of ideal multilingual receptive environment. We collected detailed impressions with questionnaires and class discussions with the following results:

- Most pupils chose to talk in their respective NL even though a certain level of embarrassment was declared.
- Most pupils felt comfortable and curious (Slovenian, 74%), or just comfortable (Italian, 47%) and embarrassed but curious (Italian, 43%).
- Almost all pupils got precise impressions about others’ feelings (they noticed embarrassment, happiness, friendliness, quiet and lively pupils, etc.).
- Slovenian pupils stated they could notice ‘Italian personality traits’ in others’ behaviour (Italian pupils moving around the class, intervening also out of their turn, boys trying to be “interesting” to girls, etc.).
- Half of them declared they did remember the others’ physical aspect, the other half did not.

The main limitation of the video calls was non-spontaneous conversations. Pupils felt awkward and expressed the desire to have a personal video call without teachers looking at them.

Video calls, in group or between individuals, are a strong tool that need further investigation. Teachers are more interested in individual video calls as a tool which would make a difference in NL fluency development. We are convinced that video conferences can stimulate not only linguistic development but above all the capability to “see” and understand others throughout their physical expressions, they can help to preserve the image of others, since some observations of pupils showed this fact.

Chats

Chats were proposed to pupils as a tool to make them try their own readiness to use NL and as a mean for getting information about “others”. Indeed as researchers and teachers we were interested in understanding how pupils communicate if left free to choose the code, what “happens” from a linguistic viewpoint and from a social/relationship viewpoint, what cultural and intercultural reflections could arise from this kind of communication.

Two chat sessions were realized, planned to complete a contact based lesson started with the video conference. Pupils chatted in pairs or in groups of three within a protected virtual platform of the project. The task for pupils was to get as much information as they could around a topic about neighbouring country schoolmates communicating either in their NL or in L1. Some results:

- The majority of analysed utterances showed spontaneous use of the respective NL, with an increment in the second chat session (+3.3%). Mixed language utterances were very rare (about 2%), as was the use of English (2.8%).
- About 35 streams of authentic conversations were identified. 20 streams of conversation started spontaneously in the NL – mainly by the Slovenian pupils – and continued in the NL as long as their language skills permitted. Characteristic topics were: asking for a personal contact address, expressing feelings (wonder, disappointment, sarcasm, irony), searching for clarifications about the aim of the conversation, asking for explanations/meanings, talking about hobbies (online games). High spontaneous commitment was noted on behalf of both Slovenian and Italian pupils who, despite the possibility to use any code, chose to try their NL knowledge and skills.

- In both the first and second chat session 75% of chats were characterized by an even role of participants' representative of the two schools, thus informing us that higher level of mastering the NL – in this case by Slovenian pupils – does not determine more power in communication.
- Few peer-learning situations (6) and an identical number of self-correction utterances occurred, thereby confirming that chatting is a good context for self and peer learning. Nevertheless, for such situations to be fully utilized, they need to be valued and recalled in language class by teachers, even if pupils remember the fact that they corrected each other and they stated that this was useful for them.
- No cultural or intercultural reflections occurred during the chats. We, the researcher and teachers, in fact concluded that chatting is a good tool for practising language but not for collecting data or information about others due to a technical problem of multiple conversations which sometimes makes language flow and understanding the meaning difficult. However, we identified five intercultural misunderstandings in three different chat rooms which, if analysed in class, could provide opportunities for intercultural reflections.
- There were also some linguistic breakdowns, namely five. Three (3) of them were resolved by the same participants by requesting clarifications and explanations. Two (2) linguistic breakdowns were unresolved with participants just changing the topic of conversation. Linguistic breakdowns are mostly consequences of unknown words.
- Pupils collaborated very much when asking for help for technological and linguistic issues both to schoolmates and teachers.

Chats amused pupils who, when asked, said they found them useful with regards to their NL learning. There was some technical improvement in chatting with a tremendous decrease of interrupted adjacency between the first and the second chat session where actually all the conversations analysed were fluent and quite long. Nevertheless, pupils in both the first and second chat session did not use orthographic switching methods, eluding diacritics and accents. They developed a sort of imprecise language use – both NL and L1 – which was difficult to analyse from the point of orthographic correctness and which might lead us to reflect about the value and role of correct input in multilingual communication. On the other hand, chats are a suc-

successful tool making pupils using the NL in instantaneous responses to given inputs in a collaborative way, leading to autonomous learning within a formal educational setting.

7.2. Live: Encountering others in face-to-face cross border meetings

Within the scope of the research two meetings were realized in the respective participants' schools, which pupils can access by bus in about 20 minutes. The first meeting took place in the Italian school in May 2012 and the second in the Slovenian school in April 2013. Both meetings were carried out throughout the entire school morning where pupils had first a whole group session, then formed mixed groups of four or five with given activities to do (bilingual written instructions were provided). Afterwards they worked together for one and a half hours. A break and free time for pupils to socialize without teachers' interventions followed. At the end of the morning a final meeting was set up for presenting materials and results they had produced and come up with in groups. The implemented activities were: drawings, podcasts, video-recording of role-plays and sketches, creative writing, reflection on idioms. Some results of these experiences were as follows:

Striving together for achieving goals

Pupils worked together very well for completing the assigned tasks, striving to communicate and actually spending a lot of time during activities on getting to know each other as stated in the questionnaires. Interestingly, when pupils found that cooperation was possible and "easy", they connected it to openness of attitude and behaviour; when they described difficulties in cooperation, they allotted them to low proficiency of language. This was a result which we discussed in class with the focus group and which represented crucial reflection on intercultural encounters and communication.

Language use and inclusiveness

Keeping in mind the different level of proficiency pupils had of their respective NL we could observe that:

- Italian was the main language of communication.
- Italian pupils found it more difficult to communicate in Slovenian in real encounters than in virtual ones.

- Both NL teachers reported about pupils who usually are not participative in NL classroom and who, on the contrary, in this context “did their best”, as well as pupils with special needs who also found activities amusing, allowing them to actively participate.

Socialization

We expected pupils to spontaneously socialize during free time, above all in the second meeting, but to our surprise and disappointment, they did not. Many reasons could have contributed to this unexpected behaviour: Italian pupils are more shy outside their own environment, no activities to “break the ice” in terms of, for example, organized playing time, grouping not based on existing “virtual friendship” but on task activities. It was very hard to understand pupils’ behaviour, since all of them stated in interviews and questionnaires that they felt good, that it was a great morning and everything went well. When asked about socialization they were not at all critical, however, they said that a walk outside the school without teachers, and more time, for instance a whole day meeting, would have helped socialization.

Best activities

The best activities in terms of pleasure, expressiveness, NL use and knowledge of “others” were podcasts (recordings of Slovenian and Italian rhymes and tongue twisters), video recorded sketches and role-plays. Pupils who participated in these groups showed increased closeness to “others”. They for example remembered the neighbouring classmates more than other pupils, talking about them with a sort of affection. Role plays and sketches turned out to be an extraordinary tool from many viewpoints: socialization (pupils enjoyed themselves and laughed a lot), linguistics (they had to build a text together), relations (they had to maintain relationships – positive and constructive), creativity (they had to invent settings and dialogues), performance (they had to play their roles) and identity (they had to choose their imaginary identities). With sketches pupils demonstrated that they do not want to lose their national identities, they rather decided to play “with” the context of boundaries where they acted their role of pupils maintaining their linguistic identity with irony, lightness and expressivity.

New ways of assessment

An important aim the research wants to pursue is that of identifying new ways of assessing language learning, i.e. appropriate assessment for authentic language use contexts. At this stage of analysis we do not have good answers yet. Teachers noticed situations where fluency and the desire to communicate could be qualitatively ob-

served. Nevertheless, in more cases we noticed that the project triggered unexpected behaviour in pupils, often not corresponding to teachers' expectations, showing usually "weak" pupils as more committed participants, and, on the contrary, demonstrating less engagement of typical "good pupils". This initiated an important reflection on efficacy of classroom activities and the existing teaching approach.

8. Conclusions

Neighbouring language teaching and learning through contacts on the primary school level demonstrated that pupils both in virtual and real encounters have a spontaneous interest and curiosity to use their respective NL. Encountering *others* is highly motivating and thanks to a diversity of approaches and activities, gives opportunities to all pupils – even more to those who usually do not participate in classroom activities or pupils with special needs – to test their communication competences. Encounters force communication in some way and make the participants become attentive observers of "others". ICT tools help pupils build images of others, express themselves, communicate and maintain contacts. Some changes are needed for traditional NL classrooms, like new ways of assessing pupils and their linguistic behaviours which in authentic communicative contexts are not at all what was expected by teachers.

Contact-based neighbouring languages learning and teaching seems a good example of a "culture learning" approach, offering countless opportunities for interdisciplinary work, that is a potential tool for school communities to discover their level of identity awareness, sociolinguistic and cultural implications of autochthon and local languages teaching and learning in their institutes, and about the importance of building meaningful relationships with representatives of those languages. We find virtual and live NL teaching an extremely powerful strategy to understand, promote and develop multiculturalism.

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Felix Etxeberria

Evaluation of oral competence in Basque amongst native and immigrant pupils¹

We have undertaken a review of the literature on the evaluation of oral language and the difficulties this task involves. We reviewed the instruments used for the evaluation of oral Basque and drew up a methodology measuring the oral production of this language. We examined recordings of oral tests by 393 pupils from the 2nd year of primary education and 285 from the 6th year of primary education, both natives (autochthonous) and immigrants.

The results show that there were significant differences depending on the origin of the pupils, the scoring of pupils of immigrant origin being significantly below that of pupils of native origin. Comparing scores by ages, native pupils increased their score levels from 2nd to 6th year of primary education, while immigrant pupils did not change, obtaining similar levels in the 2nd and 6th years.

These results confirm those of other research carried out in the Basque Country and Catalonia and from the PISA reports.

The educational implications of these results are obvious: It is necessary to rethink educational practice in our schools so that equality of opportunities and school success amongst native and immigrant pupils becomes a reality.

1. Introduction

1.1. Historical background and aims of this research

There has been recent research on the differences between the scores in language competence in Basque obtained by native students, on the one hand, and those obtained by immigrant students, on the other (Etxeberria 2008; ISEI-IVEI 2012). This research shows that there is a greater level of competence in the Basque language

¹ This article is one of the results of the work undertaken by the "Donostia Research on Education And Multilingualism" (DREAM) research team, supported by the University of the Basque Country [GIU09/35], and the "Plurilingual skills in the school context" project supported by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation [EDU2009-11601].

amongst the former group. Nevertheless, there has been little research on differences in oral skills in Basque. Do significant differences exist between these two groups of students as regards oral skills in the Basque language? What are the trends over time?

This research analyses more deeply the possible differences between native students and immigrant students as regards oral skills in Basque. We also investigated if any possible differences remained stable, were reduced or increased on going from the ages of 6–7 to 11–12.

To this end, we provide the results of research that we have carried out with 2nd year students in primary education (6–7 years) and 6th year students in primary education (11–12 years).

1.2. Evaluating language competence with immigrant pupils

International perspective

When evaluating the level of language competence of immigrant pupils and comparing them with native pupils, we should take into account a factor that is very present in the scientific literature on the subject. Research by Cummins (2001) shows us that, since the 1980s, there has been evidence that

[...] immigrant students can rapidly acquire considerable fluency in the dominant language of society when they are exposed to this language in their environment and at school. However, despite this rapid progress in conversational fluency, it generally requires at least five years (and often a lot more) to catch up with native speakers in the academic aspects of the language.

Other authors speak of many more years for the language competence of immigrants to approach those of natives. This appears to be for two reasons: Firstly, it can be taken that L2 speakers have attained certain levels of competence at a colloquial level which enable them to function with a certain familiarity in the second language, but when we enter the academic terrain of the school, the differences are more evident. Secondly, Cummins highlights the fact that the language progress of the immigrant pupil is taking place parallel to that of the native pupil and this is why the goal to be reached is always a mobile one, an objective that is constantly advancing.

The PISA report

According to a number of reports undertaken by the OCDE (PISA) on the examination of levels of language competence, the differences between natives and immigrants have always been significant and great. The last PISA report (2009) states the following differ-

ences for reading comprehension for Spain: native pupils 488 points; pupils of immigrant origin 430 points. If the pupil of immigrant origin was born abroad (first generation), his or her average score is 426 points, while a second-generation immigrant pupil (born in the host country but to foreign parents) scores 461. In the case of the Basque Country (ISEI-IVEI. 2011c), the score for reading amongst native pupils is 499 points while that of immigrant pupils is 428 points, a difference of 71 points in favour of natives, one of the highest differences amongst the countries of the OCDE, only surpassed by Finland and Italy.

The Basque case

The differences between immigrant and native pupils have not been dealt with in many research studies related to the Basque language. In fact, the first scientific study was that undertaken by the Basque Institute for Educational Evaluation and Research, ISEI-IVEI (Luna 2011) – “Language Communication in Basque” (oral and written comprehension and expression in this language) – analysing the entire school population of the 4th year of primary education and the 2nd year of secondary education. The conclusions drawn from comparing the results for Basque are clear: Both in the 4th year of primary school and in the 2nd year of secondary school, the differences favouring native pupils were very high and significant. Moreover, the difference of 34 points in the 4th year of primary school increased to 57 points in the 2nd year of secondary school, so the comparative longitudinal results accentuated the gap existing between natives and immigrants even more. Taking into account that it was the entire school population at these levels which was evaluated (19,036 pupils in the 4th year of primary school and 18,021 in the 2nd year of secondary school), we can conclude that the longitudinal trend of the difference between natives and immigrants continued to rise from nine to 13 years.

Taking two aspects into account, the uncertainty surrounding the linguistic future of immigrant pupils is increased further. Firstly, the comparison between averages has been carried out taking into consideration on the one hand, all the school population (natives and immigrants) of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and, on the other, the immigrant population being schooled at each level (academic year). It can be assumed that if we were to compare the native population with the immigrant one, the difference in scoring would be much greater still.

Secondly, as has been shown in the research on the Basque Country (ISEI, 2011a, p. 122), not all the immigrant population in the 4th year of primary school was included in the test for the Basque language, given that 1,118 participated in the Spanish test and 1,029 undertook the one in Basque. In the 2nd year of secondary school (ISEI 2011b, p. 125) a similar thing happened: 1,170 participated in the test for Spanish but only 739 in the test for Basque. It is easy to assume that pupils who took the test for Spanish, but not Basque, had been excluded because their level in the Basque

language was so low that they would not have been able even to understand the exam paper in this language. In other words, if we compare the autochthonous population with the immigrant one in their totality, the differences between natives and immigrants in the test in Basque would probably be much more accentuated.

The Catalan case

Querol and Huguet (2010) carried out a review of the main research into this subject undertaken in Spain, pointing out that “in general, the research carried out within the State overall on the processes of teacher training in immigration contexts has been focused on questions related with academic performance and general aspects of language competence, considering the clear relationship between both aspects”.

Of the analysis undertaken by Querol and Huguet, the most important consequence is that “it is necessary to highlight the less than satisfactory results obtained by many of these pupils in terms of levels of language competence acquired and the inevitable consequences that this work has had for academic success”.

Querol and Huguet (2010) showed in their research with secondary education pupils that the natives surpassed the immigrant pupils by almost 30 points, both in the written and oral tests in the Catalan language. Also, in the Spanish language, the difference between natives and immigrants is around 30 points.

Vila (2008), in research carried out with 1,001 pupils in their last year of pre-school education (567 natives and 434 immigrants) from 50 schools in Catalonia, showed that, on the basis of oral and written tests, native Catalan pupils scored significantly higher than immigrant pupils in oral comprehension, reading and writing.

Oller and Vila (2008) analysed the results of 626 and 486 pupils of native and foreign origin respectively in the 6th year of primary education from 47 schools in Catalonia. In conclusion, for these authors, the pupils of foreign origin know less Spanish and Catalan, oral and written, than native pupils.

Navarro and Huguet (2010), in research undertaken with 121 students in the 2nd and 4th years of secondary education in Lleida (Catalonia), found that both in Catalan and in Spanish, the scores were notably lower in the case of immigrant pupils in all subtests and indices. Moreover, the contrasts were significant in all cases.

Navarro et al. (2012), in another piece of research, this time carried out with pupils in the 2nd year at secondary education, shows that there is a difference of 20 points in favour of native students in tests for the Catalan language and of 16 points in the tests for Spanish. In these investigation both written and oral tests were included.

One interesting aspect to be taken into account is reflected in the diverse research work we have been able to review – regarding the importance acquired by the “period of stay in the host country” variable.

1.3. What does evaluating oral language involve?

In the 1960s to 1970s, oral evaluation was fundamentally focused on a theoretical vision of language competence in various skills: comprehension, oral expression, reading and writing, and on its components: grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. Evaluation was dominated by the hypothesis of a single vision of quantitative analysis (Bachman 2000).

In the 1980s a critical review of this perspective was initiated and examining communicative skills, discourse creation, sociolinguistic aspects such as context, etc. was put forward. The contribution of research into the acquisition of second languages and applied linguistics was also significant. In the 1990s the same line was continued, incorporating other new dimensions, such as methodological research, qualitative methodology and the ethical aspects of evaluation.

Difficulties in drawing up oral language evaluation tests have become a repeated theme in research and the principal problem is to respond to the question of whether different tasks cause the result in oral tests to vary. Neither is it altogether clear that the graded scales of certain tests are directly similar to a high jump trial in athletics (Fulcher & Marquez 2003).

Evaluating oral language, apparently a simple task undertaken in many schools, academies, universities, institutions, companies, etc., is, nevertheless, one of the most difficult tasks that exists when evaluating languages, because oral tests are the most difficult to apply, they are the most costly, take up most time, require greater training for examiners, are the most problematic when evaluating results, and give rise to the greatest insecurity and difficulties of reliability and validity (Bachman 1998; Martinez 2008).

Research into the evaluation of oral language is relatively recent and it will probably be necessary to carry out much more research to clarify the obscure points of such evaluations (Alderson & Banerjee 2002). New contributions in psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, second language acquisition, etc., have to be considered in order to be aware of aspects such as the influence of the examiner, the relationship between the task at hand and oral production, the effect of the environment or the surroundings, the cultural context, the personality of the examinee, the distinction between grammatical correction and the level of the language spoken, etc. (Knight 1992; Wert et al. 2007).

The reliability of scoring in the oral language tests is questioned because the examiner is often the interlocutor as well, giving instructions, directing and judging all at the same time (Weir 2005; Carbó 2011). Distractions, memory, lack of attention and errors also influence this to a certain extent.

For O'Sullivan et al. (2002), the validity of a test for oral language skill is based on having a framework of reference, the tasks employed and the evaluation of the results. The conceptual framework is fundamental for the correct functioning of the

test and the ongoing improvement thereof. It has to be a conceptual framework that takes on board the many aspects or facets that have to be considered when designing a test, given that each and every one of these can affect the reliability and validity of the instrument. Some of the principal aspects are the candidate, the interlocutor/examiner, the criteria and the evaluation scales, the tasks to be undertaken, and the relationships amongst these elements.

Nonetheless, based on the best research and experience in the field of evaluating oral skills, there are effective options for measuring spoken language, when certain conditions are taken into consideration (such as being easy to apply, easy to categorize, guaranteeing reliability and validity, and so on).

2. The basis of the research

2.1. Objectives and context of our research

The principal objective of our research was to analyse the data to see if there were any differences between native and immigrant students as regards oral skills in the Basque language and to identify any trends in these differences.

Natives and immigrants

Despite the statistics and the censuses of immigrant populations, the designation and, above all, the characteristics of these kinds of pupils are not generally accepted. We talk about immigrant pupils, foreign pupils, late-enrolment pupils, and so on, but these are concepts which tend not to be comparable and the individuals making up these groups are not always the same pupils.

There are evaluation reports, such as the PISA reports (OCDE 2011), that distinguish between first generation pupils (born in another country and to foreign parents) and second generation ones (born in the host country although to foreign parents).

In our case of the Basque Country, conscious of the difficulties in defining the concept of immigrant (taking into account adopted children, the offspring of mixed marriages, socioeconomic levels, the degree of development of the country of origin, etc.), we can distinguish between two categories of students: on the one hand, natives, i.e. schoolchildren born in the Basque Country or in another autonomous community within Spain and, on the other, immigrants, born in a foreign country or children of parents who were born in a foreign country.

2.2. Immigrant pupils in Spain

Immigration is not a recent phenomenon in Spain. There are statistical reports and research from more than a decade ago indicating an annually increasing trend in the population of foreign origin. This is reflected in the schools, the percentage of their pupils varying as a result of many factors, but especially relevant is the host autonomous community. According to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, for the 2013–2014 school year (M.E.C.D. 2014), the school population of immigrant origin reached the following levels in these communities:

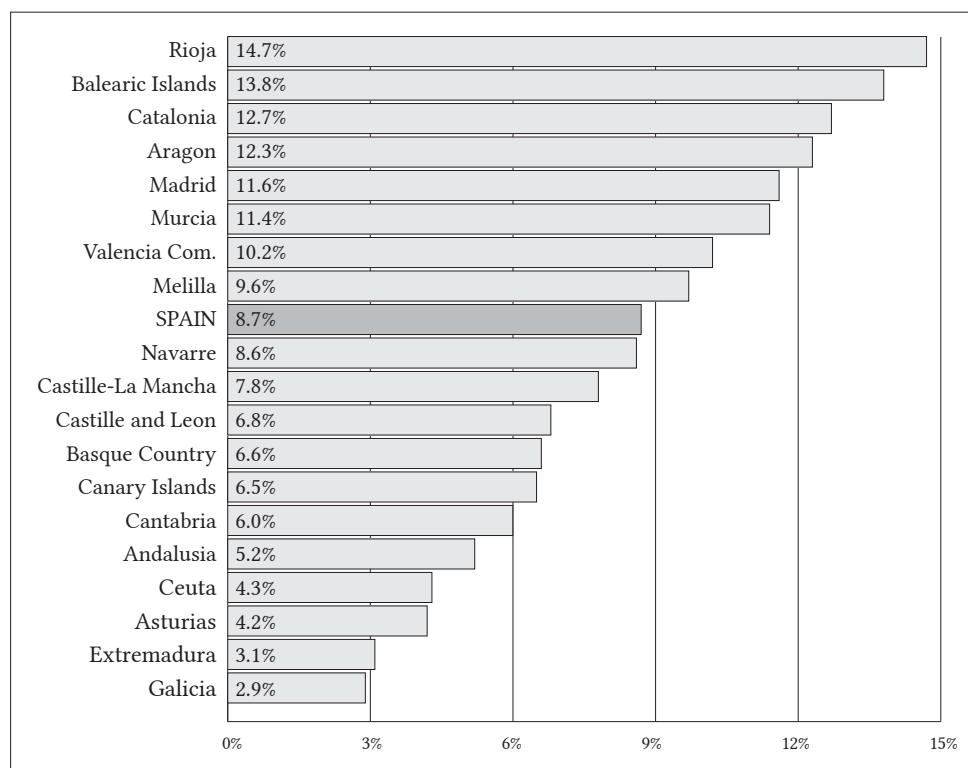


Figure 1. Percentage of immigrant students in non-university education in 2013–2014. Source: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (2014)

We can see that there are autonomous communities in which immigrant pupils are much more represented than in others: Rioja, the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Aragon and Madrid. In other cases, such as Galicia, Ceuta, Extremadura, Asturias and the Basque Country, the numbers of immigrant pupils are much lower, although even-

rything points to a continuing upward trend in the future. In the case of the Basque Country, the percentage of foreign pupils being schooled has grown significantly over the past decade, going from 0.6% in the 1999–2000 academic year to 6.6% in 2013–2014.

2.3. Countries of origin of immigrant pupils in the Basque Country

Amongst the foreign pupils in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (Basque Government 2014), the majority group comes from Latin America (39%), followed by those from the North of Africa (25%). In third place are those from the European Union (15%) and then Eastern Europe (2.4%), and finally those from Asia (11.5%).

2.4. Measuring oral Basque

In the Basque Country there are various instruments and tools for measuring the language competence of pupils and candidates. As our focus of interest is on oral language, we will limit ourselves to this terrain after making reference to bodies or institutions that use a type of test in concrete.

One of the principal common features of the various bodies carrying out the assessment of oral skills in Basque is the use of a method based on pairs of candidates and examiners, and on a dialogue amongst the pupils that enables making an assessment of the quality of oral expression. Four of the six principal bodies or institutions in the Basque Country use this methodology: HABE-AEK (Centres for Literacy in the Basque Language), the official language schools, the Basque Institute for Educational Evaluation and Research, and the Basque Government's examination for obtaining the Diploma in Basque (EGA).

Nevertheless, this type of role-play methodology is sometimes linked to the lack of response from the examinees, having to adopt the role of one of the personages in the drawings presented by the examiners, as well as in the discussion in which some examinees have to defend ideas different from their own. It is possible that this task is useful as a classroom task, but not perhaps as an evaluation one, at least not in these terms. With this methodology it is difficult to standardize or compare results from the two groups of students.

For our part, we tend to be inclined to opt for the methodology of observing images. This has become one of the most commonly used strategies in all testing and is undoubtedly supported by learning theory that considers this way as one of the most productive for developing this skill. Nevertheless, all depends on a judicious selection

of pictures. Altamiro (2006) defends the use of drawings in his oral evaluation test. They have the advantage that the conditions and stimuli are the same for all students, which enables a more reliable categorization and comparison of the results obtained.

3. Method

3.1. Instrument for measuring and variables analysed

The instrument of evaluation is a laminated card in colour, with seven pictures that tell a simple story and that the pupils first have to look at and then tell the story. It is not an exercise in memory, as the examinees may refer to the card they have on the desk to help them in their narration.

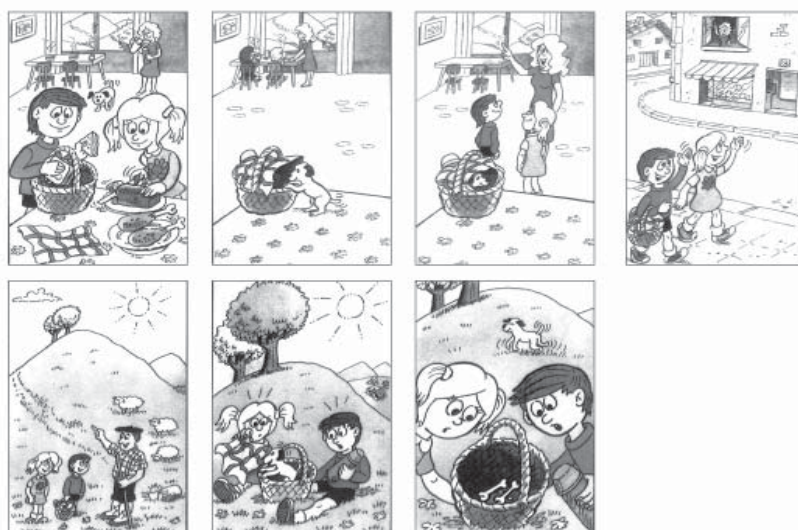


Figure 2. Laminated card used as an instrument to measure oral language skills.

Variables

- The independent variables analysed were:
- Country of origin:
- born in the Basque Country or in another (Spanish) autonomous community (natives)

- born in a foreign country (immigrants)
- Ages: 2nd year of primary education (7–8 years) and 6th year of primary education (11–12 years)
- Gender

The dependent variable (the level of oral language) was analysed according to the following subcategories:

Analytical evaluation. The sum of the five below:

- **Fluidity.** Pace, interruptions, continuity of the description, etc. are assessed.
- **Comprehension.** Greater or lesser clarity, coherence and discursive order are assessed.
- **Vocabulary.** The richness of vocabulary and the use of loan words are taken account of.
- **Syntax.** Simple or complex structures and coherence.
- **Correction.** Quantity and type of errors produced.

Overall or holistic evaluation. This is the overall impression gained on examining naturalness when speaking – intonation, stress and pronunciation of sounds, the pace, musicality and turns of the language, etc.

In reality, the first five scales examined, from fluency to correction, give an analytical perspective in which the language is assessed taking into account the different parts as well as in an overall manner and, as we indicated in the introduction to this article, carried out in various tests involving the evaluation of the spoken language.

The last scale, the overall impression, corresponds to a holistic perspective, as used in other tests. In accordance with the theoretical approaches we outlined in the introduction, an analysis of the results from a double perspective was deemed suitable: on the one hand, **an analytical vision**, with the five subscales indicated, creating, moreover, a new scale as a result of the sum of the five initial ones (fluency, comprehension, etc.); and, on the other, **the overall or holistic evaluation**, with the “Overall Impression” scale in which the examiners give their assessment in accordance with the criteria indicated.

Reliability

Cronbach alpha values between 0.70 and 0.90 indicate good internal consistency. In our case, the alpha value obtained was 0.9637 for the 2nd year of primary education and 0.9597 in 6th year of primary education, values that indicate good internal consistency (and reliability) of the test.

3.2. Procedure

The evaluation of oral language is undertaken in an individualized manner, in a room or hall made available at the school, and where the pupils are called in order, according to a list.

After noting age, year, sex, language model and the place of birth of the pupil, as well as the use of Basque with the parents, the examinee is shown the laminated card with the seven cartoons which make up the story. The examinee is directed to look closely at the story and then talk about what they see in the drawings. They are told that they may look at the card whenever they wish and tell the “story” as they see it and in their own way. A video camera is placed on the desk, in front of the pupil.

Once it is assured that the pupil has seen the sequence of pictures (usually this lasts one minute), he or she is encouraged to tell the story as they see it, *“What is happening in this story, what has happened? Tell it in your own way.”* After this invitation, the video camera is switched on. If the pupil stops or has any doubts, he or she is encouraged with phrases like *“Good, carry on ... what is happening in this story?”* When the narration is finished, the recording is stopped, the child is given encouragement and thanks and is told that the test is over and they may return to class. Remarks, if necessary, are annotated on the pupil’s sheet.

Classification of video recordings

The video recordings and the lists of the pupils in each classroom are edited and archived so that the examiners can easily analyse the oral production of pupils, ordering the expressions used according to the class lists.

The methodology followed by the examiners

The scales of oral language were evaluated by the examiners, employing the correction template (see annexe 1) and taking into account categories from one (nothing or almost nothing) to six (very good). We selected six categories, using even numbers to avoid central tendency error when measuring the results. The two evaluators, experts in this task at the AEK institution – the body charged with training and examining candidates for obtaining qualifications and accreditations in the Basque language and with many years of experience in this field. Having the recordings of each class or group at hand, they are able to see and revise the content of the stories as told by the pupils any number of times. After carrying out a particular assessment separately, they discuss their results and come to a consensus on the evaluation of each one of the pupil tested.

3.3. Participants

The 393 pupils in the 2nd year of primary school education (7–8 years) examined in this research were drawn from 18 schools in the Basque province of Gipuzkoa.

SEX			COUNTRY OF ORIGIN		
GIRL	BOY	TOTAL	Basque Country	Foreign	TOTAL
202	191	393	338	55	393
51.4%	48.6%	100%	86%	14%	100%

Table 1. 2nd year of primary school

The 285 pupils in the 6th year of primary school (11–12 years) examined in this research were drawn from 11 schools in the Basque province of Gipuzkoa.

SEX			COUNTRY OF ORIGIN		
GIRL	BOY	TOTAL	Basque Country	Foreign	TOTAL
162	123	285	239	46	285
57%	43%	100%	84%	16%	100%

Table 2. 6th year of primary school

In total 678 pupils were tested, 101 of whom were pupils of foreign origin (14.9%).

The pupils were also identified by taking into account their country of origin and the language model in which they were studying at school, Model D (totally in Basque, with Spanish as a subject).

3.4. Statistical analysis

With the data gathered, this was then computerized. After filtering the resulting data, a statistical analysis was carried out employing successive versions of SPSS (see 19 to 21).

The statistical analysis undertaken was as follows: descriptive analysis, contingency tables (Chi squared) and comparison of averages. For the comparison of averages, both parametric tests (T-test, Anova, Manova, Mann’s U test and Kruskal’s H test) were used, as well as non-parametric ones, the significations obtained being similar.

4. Results and their interpretation

4.1. Differences between natives and immigrants

Scores on the different scales, according to the country of birth of the pupil.

2 nd YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOL	PLACE OF BIRTH	N	Average	Stan. Dev.	T	P
ANALYTICAL (+ 5)	Basque Country or other Spanish Autonomous Community (natives)	352	23.22	5.849	4.24	.000
	Foreign Country (immigrants)	33	18.58	7.483		
GLOBAL - HOLISTIC	Basque Country or other Spanish Autonomous Community (natives)	353	4.56	1.253	4.24	.000
	Foreign Country (immigrants)	33	3.58	1.501		

Table 3. 2nd year of primary school

In the 2nd year of primary education (7–8 years) the scores for native and immigrant pupils differ significantly in all the scales analysed. The pupils born in the Basque Country or in another Spanish autonomous community obtain better scores than pupils of foreign origin (Table 3). The strongest difference is on the general scale, within the overall vision that the examiners have of the discourse of the pupil examinee.

Scores on the different scales, according to the country of birth of the pupil.

6 th YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOL	PLACE OF BIRTH	N	Average	Stan. Dev.	T	P
ANALYTICAL (+ 5)	Basque Country or other Spanish Autonomous Community (natives)	244	25.28	4.667	5.38	.000
	Foreign Country (immigrants)	41	18.32	8.057		
GLOBAL - HOLISTIC	Basque Country or other Spanish Autonomous Community (natives)	244	4.93	1.040	5.51	.000
	Foreign Country (immigrants)	41	3.54	1.567		

Table 4. 6th year of primary school

Also, in the 6th year of primary education (11–12 years), the scores of the native and foreign pupils (Table 5) differ significantly on all the scales analysed. The pupils born in the Basque Country or in another Spanish autonomous community obtained better

scores than those of foreign origin. Although this research is not longitudinal and does not aim to compare the scores of 2nd and 6th years, the results suggest to us that the differences, far from diminishing, increase as the age of the pupils increases. In the 6th year the differences are more pronounced than in the 2nd year. In fact, while the native pupils in the 6th year increase their score by 2.10 points with respect to the native pupils in the 2nd year, the immigrant pupils in the 6th year see their score drop by 1.53 points with respect to the immigrant pupils in the 2nd year.

4.2. Differences between girls and boys

Scores on the different scales, according to the sex of the pupil.

2 nd YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOL	SEX	N	Average	Stan. Dev.	T	P
ANALYTICAL (+ 5)	Girl	196	22.98	6.131	.52	.600
	Boy	189	22.65	6.149		
GLOBAL - HOLISTIC	Girl	197	4.51	1.300	.47	.635
	Boy	189	4.44	1.310		

Table 5. 2nd year in primary school

Although there are small differences favouring girls, neither in the 2nd year (Table 5) nor in the 6th year of primary school (Table 6) are there significant differences between the scores obtained by boys and girls on each and every one of the scales analysed with the oral test, similar scores being observed in the results for both sexes.

Scores on the different scales, according to the sex of the pupil.

6 th YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOL	SEX	N	Average	Stan. Dev.	T	P
ANALYTICAL (+ 5)	Girl	162	24.49	5.534	.72	.471
	Boy	123	23.99	6.169		
GLOBAL - HOLISTIC	Girl	162	4.77	1.182	.50	.614
	Boy	123	4.69	1.294		

Table 6. 6th year of primary school

5. Conclusion/discussion

5.1. Conclusions

Given the results obtained in our research, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. There are significant differences with respect to the origin of pupils, the scores of foreign origin or immigrant pupils being significantly below those of pupils of native (autochthonous) origin.
2. Comparing scores by age, native pupils increase their levels on going from 2nd to 6th year, while foreign or immigrant pupils remain unchanged, obtaining similar score levels in 2nd and 6th years of primary school.
3. As regards the sex of the pupils, girls and boys obtain scores similar in all the subscales of the test.

5.2. Discussion, differences between native and immigrants

Our results are very similar to those obtained in previous research undertaken in the Basque Country, as we presented at the beginning of this paper. In that research (Luna 2011), the conclusions drawn on comparing the results for Basque are clear: both in the 4th year of primary school and in the 2nd year of secondary school, the differences favouring native pupils were very high and significant. Moreover, the difference of 34 points in the 4th year of primary education increased to 57 points in the 2nd year of secondary education, so the comparative longitudinal results accentuated the gap existing between natives and immigrants more.

The results obtained for native pupils and immigrants in our research are coherent with other studies undertaken at an international level and in Catalonia. Cummins (2001) had already warned of the difficulties for immigrant pupils in approaching the scores of native pupils. This author doubts the possibilities of a concurrence in language competence between natives and immigrants, querying the number of years needed to equate the level of immigrant pupils with that of native pupils. According to this research, in the Basque context and in current circumstances, this confluence of levels would appear to be quite distant.

This supposition is confirmed in the PISA reports (2009, 2012). In the case of the Basque Country (ISEI-IVEI 2011c), the score for reading amongst native pupils is 499 points while that of immigrant pupils is 428 points (Table 17) - a difference of 71 points in favour of natives, one of the highest differences amongst the countries of the OCDE, only surpassed by Finland and Italy. We can confirm that there is a strong agreement between those studies measuring oral and written comprehension and

written expression skills, on the one hand, and the research we have undertaken with this test of oral skills, on the other.

There are significant differences, always in favour of native students, in oral skills in the Basque language and these differences do not get less over time; on the contrary, they increase going from the 2nd to the 6th years of primary school.

5.3. Educational implications and consequences for the school

The principal consequences have to do with the fact that immigrant pupils achieve much lower levels of language competence than those obtained by native pupils. It is evident that this difference is setting the pace for academic performance, as the PISA reports have repeatedly shown. We can confirm that this is nothing new and a situation that demands a response from the educational community.

These educational consequences, already found in Cummins (2001), for whom these very important differences between the level of language competence of natives and immigrants “have important consequences for various curricular and evaluation questions. In particular, these data suggest we should be looking for interventions that maintain the long-term academic progress of bilingual students instead of waiting for some “quick fix”, short-term solution with regard to lower academic performance of the students in English”.

Oller and Vila (2008) argue in favour of a similar educational policy, defending “one of the central questions in educational practice such as is guaranteeing academic, cognitive and personal development, independently of their knowledge of the school language”.

Other authors, such as Querol and Huguet (2010), also argue for taking action, as “given this confirmed and comprehensible situation, what is fundamental is to draw up practical measures and guidelines to facilitate the reduction of these gaps”.

The educational implications of such different results in the tests for language competence are obvious: It is necessary to rethink educational practice in our schools so that equality of opportunities and school success amongst native and immigrant pupils might be a reality.

6. Limitations to our research and suggestions for the future

Once the conclusions were drawn and the results compared with other research, we were able to make suggestions for improvement for future research. In the first place, we will have to take into account the possibility of extending this work to other regions of the Basque Country, such as Bizkaia or Araba, where the sociolinguistic situation is more Spanish-speaking.

Secondly, it would be interesting to undertake a longitudinal research with the same subjects, in order to observe trends in oral skills in Basque.

Thirdly, information on the country of origin of immigrant students would be interesting data to evaluate, given that results can vary according to whether the students are from a Latin, Asian, African or other country.

Fourthly, given the results of the two analyses carried out – analytic and holistic –, and having observed the high correlation between both, it would appear that

Appendix

TEST OF ORAL EXPRESSION			
	Fluency	Comprehension	Vocabulary
1, 2 (zero or very low)	Interruptions often make the discourse unintelligible.	Creates unease for the interlocutor. Repeats or gives short answers. A lot of unconnected and unfinished phrases.	Has very limited and generally inadequate vocabulary.
3 (low or bad)	Finds it hard to say what they want to express and does not always achieve this goal.	Makes pauses and has doubts which create unease for the listener. Normally needs the help of the examiner. Lacks resources to fill the gaps. Lack of coherence. Unfinished ideas. Does not use mechanisms of reference. Spanish pronunciation and intonation.	Has very limited vocabulary and requires help with Spanish.
4 (sufficient)	At times there are interruptions in the exposition but, in general, their production is comprehensible.	Has doubts when speaking, when choosing the appropriate words, when expressing the ideas and when completing the sentences. At times lack of coherence. Pronunciation adequate.	Limited vocabulary.
5 (good)	The discourse is mostly constant and the pace is good. At times there are interruptions to find words or structures or to correct the discourse.	Deals with pauses well. Understands with ease and expresses well what she/he wants to say.	Has quite a wide vocabulary and generally appropriate.
6 (very good)	Continuous discourse and at a good pace.	Makes pauses only when executing complex sentences or when going deeply into the ideas. Makes important and coherent contributions. Pronunciation appropriate for the context.	Has a wide and appropriate vocabulary. At times, when using words at a high level, they may be unsuitable?

just one kind of analysis is sufficient to obtain the same conclusions. To this end, using holistic analysis – the general impression of the examiner – is proposed, as it is much quicker and easier to carry out.

The number of years of stay in the Basque Country could also be an interesting variable to be taken into consideration in future research.

Finally, other variables such as the Socioeconomic and Cultural Index, would provide new data for a more detailed analysis of our work.

TEST OF ORAL EXPRESSION		
Syntax	Errors	Global
Uses very limited structures and makes mistakes systematically. Often utters incoherent expressions.	Makes mistakes of all kinds and is not aware of them.	<p>The naturalness the speaker has when using the language: intonation, syllable stress, pronunciation of words and letters, the oral linkers used between words, musicality, pace, using colloquial words and phrases in Basque</p> <p>Example:</p> <p>The following has occurred with some pupils: they have told the story very quickly while briefly looking at the cartoons and knowing that the interviewer knows the story. The result is that, taking into account the correction template and the different aspects of evaluating the production of these pupils, it may be relatively brief (they have used few words, very basic in general). Thus, the level of vocabulary can be valued as limited. As regards structures, something similar can happen (short phrases, lack of richness, and so we once again consider them as limited structures); and, as regards errors, they can be evaluated them as text without errors, but as simple speech. Thus, the scores turn out to be lower. But if we take into consideration the points we have indicated above, the examiner realizes perfectly that the oral level of the pupil is higher than that obtained in the previous evaluation, and has a good level of Basque. In this case, the general impression of the examiner is that the pupil deserves a higher score than that given on evaluating the distinct aspects one by one.</p>
Uses a very limited range of structures. At times utters incoherent or limited expressions. At times finds it hard to complete the sentences and also mixes ones with others. Limited production.	Some have good production but make systematic mistakes as regards correct use of language and also when employing basic level structures and forms. The errors create ambiguity. Too short.	
Uses a limited range of structures, but connects the different elements with basic linkers. Uses patterns of Spanish in the ordering of words. Uses the language well in conventional situations.	At times serious mistakes and often small (non-systematic) ones. But also there are parts which are correct. A few mistakes, but simple ones.	
Employs quite a wide range of structures. Generally produces coherent expressions.	Occasionally makes mistakes of little importance.	
Uses a wide range of structures. Employs grammar very correctly when attempting high-level structures and expresses himself or herself on everyday issues.	In general correct and does not make mistakes.	

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

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Dilemmas of identity and language among young Kashubs in the light of 21st-century cultural change

The article presents the results of field research among young Kashubs in 2012, which consisted of participant observation and interviews with young Kashubs (16–25 years old) involved in activities concerning the protection of the minority language and culture. The objective was the study of young people's views of the Kashubian world, to what extent their knowledge of the minority language is related to attitudes supporting identification with the minority, how they perceive their culture and what they would like it to be in the future.

Due to the weak intergenerational transmission of the language in the 20th century, many young Kashubs did not learn Kashubian at home. Some of the author's interlocutors learned Kashubian at school, some learned it on their own, and others cannot speak Kashubian, but make it a symbol of their Kashubian identity. When the pressure of assimilation is strong, then choice of whether or not to declare themselves as Kashub is each young person's individual decision. Whether a person decides to identify with the minority culture depends on the image of this culture. In the case of Kashubian, it is still strongly related to a folkloristic image which does not fit into the everyday life of the younger generation. Young Kashubs rebel against this stereotypical image of their culture. Being teenagers, just like any others, they do not want to be perceived as relics of the past. Nevertheless, being critical of the folkloric aspect does not mean a revolt against tradition, as it, next to the language, can be seen as a factor determining the boundaries of being Kashub in the modern world.

1. Introduction

In traditional cultures belonging to a specific community was determined by birth, blood ties and inheritance. It was confirmed by daily life: work, religion, celebrations and customs. The community constituted the only cultural context into which a person was born, raised, lived and died. The language used by the community was its only language and reflected the way of life of the people and their beliefs (Nash 1989: 10–15; Fishman 1980: 84–97). Such a situation could not last forever. The creation of nation-states with nationalistic tendencies (Brubaker 1996), compulsory education,

military service, the development of the railway, urbanization, and new media forms – all these factors have led to ongoing acculturation, and – as a result – in the gradual assimilation of weaker, minority cultures. Prior to this, the objective determinants of the cultural identity of minority participants had become progressively less clear. In postmodern societies, group membership, the language used and cultural identity, are constantly being negotiated. Membership in such a defined minority group is no longer a person's fixed destiny but an individual choice. The question of being a member of a certain group has also been relativized. To define what it means to belong to a minority culture is especially difficult for the younger generation born in the post-modern, transcultural and globalized world (Appadurai 1996; Bauman 1998).

Lack of clear ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969; Donnan & Wilson 1998), previously determined by language, costumes, customs, etc., compel the creation of new identification strategies for minorities. The first of those strategies, referring to the 19th-century romantic conception of traditional cultures as authentic, resulted in the folklorization of minority cultures. Folklorization aims to simplify the aesthetic and semantic meanings of a complicated cultural entity, to separate its elements and to reconstruct with them a new, simplified, image of the culture. Folklorization confirms the superiority of dominant cultures by connecting folklore with simple expressions, folk culture which has not managed to modernize and was not able to create a high, elite culture testifying the development and maturity of a culture (Lavoie 1986: 71–72). 'Folklorization', next to 'exotization' (Said: 1979) is the basic strategy used by dominant cultures against 'others' whom they want to devalorize. In order to underline minority differences and continuity, some traditions and customs were conserved and performed in front of the public on special occasions. One of the most important symbols of membership therefore becomes – a more or less 'authentic' traditional costume. Minority institutions maintain the invariability of customs testifying those cultures' distinctiveness.

The second strategy can be called politicization of minority cultures (Eriksen 1993). To resist, the minority must acculturate increasingly and, at the same time, resolutely look for new, distinctive elements. Minorities endeavour to develop many activities which can be understood as 'invented traditions' regarded as 'establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities' (Hobsbawm 1983: 9). To reach this objective a group can make use of the fashion for an alternative, minority lifestyle (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009) or the conventions within the political arena and human rights discourse (Bell 1975: 169). The results of these two strategies are important. Firstly, the notion of tradition and heritage has come under pressure because of the folklore. As a result the younger generation has a problem with it. Taking the example of the Kashubian culture the author would like to emphasize that the folkloristic image of this minority culture has a negative impact on young people's identification strategies. Modernization does not have to mean be-

ing cut off from tradition if it is to be understood as maintaining the symbolic connection with the past and ancestry (Shils 1981). Traditions conceived in this way can reflect the new context and become an inspiration for activities. Quoting James Clifford (1988: 14): 'Twentieth-century identities no longer presuppose continuous cultures or traditions. Everywhere individuals and groups improvise local performances from (re)collected pasts, drawing on foreign media, symbols, and languages.' Tradition is no longer a schematic reconstruction of non-existent contests but it has become an object of individual interpretation and construction of new meanings.

Young people have to think about their culture and in the way that it has to be preserved. In this sense, participation in a minority culture can be considered attractive because of the possibilities of self-realization, lifestyle or political ambitions. Unfortunately, according to different research (sociolinguistic and anthropological), this option is rarely chosen (c.f. Wyman 2012; Morris 2010; Nicholas 2011). That is why young people's attitudes toward the minority language and culture as well as their image and the possibility of creating them, can be of crucial significance for the planned revitalization strategies and the projection of these strategies into the future. In this article the author examines the dilemmas of young Kashubs relating to their cultural belonging, minority language use and their attitude to folklore and tradition. The objective of this research was to investigate young people's views of the Kashubian world and their opinions about the folkloric 'model' of the Kashubian culture as well as ideas of how to change it and how to attract culturally indifferent young people to it.

2. Methodology

The presented research is ethnographic in form (Wolcott 1999) and consists of field work carried out among Kashubs in 2012. It is based on a tripartite phenomenological interview model combining life history with focused in-depth interviewing and participant observation (Seidman 2006: 56). This research refers to the domain of language and cultural attitude (Baker 1992; Garrett 2010) and to the sociologically and anthropologically formulated issue of cultural continuity and change (Tönnies 2001; Giddens 1991; Castells 2010). In Kashubia the author carried out 30 semi-structured interviews with young Kashubs (16 to 25 years old). The interviews were based on a questionnaire but during the conversation questions were profiled correspondingly to the particular interlocutor, his/her interests, education, experience, etc. The respondents can be divided into two main groups. In the first there are pupils from two high schools where the Kashubian language is taught and a few teenagers participate in some forms of organized Kashubian culture. The second group is of young

people who are engaged in Kashubian life. Some are involved in voluntary services in Kashubian associations and organizations (Kashubian students clubs, political organizations, cultural associations, etc.); others are studying the Kashubian language at university. The remaining people questioned are committed to different aspects of Kashubian cultural/language life.

The respondents belong to a group of people identifying openly with a minority culture. Obviously, it is not a representative group of the younger generation of Kashubs in which the majority are not interested in cultural/ethnic affairs. However, we can assume that these people could create an elite who would actively maintain the Kashubian culture and language in the future. The future of the Kashubian language could therefore depend on their opinions, choices and observation of the reality. The fieldwork results comprise the self-representation of a chosen group of people connected to the Kashubian culture and its language and not the representative opinions of young Kashubs as such. Although, the respondents do not come from the Kashubian milieu they come under the same language ideologies and observe the attitudes of their peers closely. Yet, what they present is based on 'ideologies and beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and categories and about the implications of belonging to them' (De Fina 2006: 354). They represent an interesting – even if not 'objective' point of view concerning the problems of their generation. In addition, the research carried out has a background in long-term field work in Kashubia, in participant observations and taking part in different forms of events, cultural projects, meetings and lessons in high schools. The quoted words of the respondents can be treated not only as particular opinions but as a point of view of young engaged Kashubs.

3. Sociolinguistic context

To understand the present situation of the Kashubian language, the attitudes of young Kashubs concerning their language and culture and their willingness to identify with it, we should first look at the wider perspective of European collateral languages where we can identify languages and cultures in similar situations: Scots vs English, Low German vs High German, Occitan vs French, Latgalian vs Latvian etc. The distinction here is that they belong to the same language family as the dominant language and therefore were treated for a long time as a patois of the official state languages and suffered a great deal because of the language ideologies of their times. These languages still function today under different names (regional languages, dialects, languages of ethnographic groups, etc.). Many of them, but not all, are now protected. For a long time they did not have a standard version and the people asso-

ciated with these languages did not have a strong consciousness of national distinctiveness (Wicherkiewicz 2005, 2014; Joubert 2011). Their uncertain status results in identification problems and the lack of awareness of many people poses the question of whether to even protect them. The following is a closer look at the Kashubian language in particular.

Kashubs today are western Slavonic people living in northern Poland, in the vicinity of Gdańsk. According to the statistics, there are up to 500,000 Kashubs and people of mixed, Polish and Kashubian descent. However, most Kashubs declare a double identity: Polish and Kashubian (Synak 1998; Porębska 2006; Mazurek 2010). There are many reasons for this. Kashubian belongs to the same language family as Polish and for many years was treated as a dialect of the Polish language. Up until the last few decades Kashubian had mainly existed as an oral language and could be heard in many local variants (Treder 2011: 76).

Despite the growth of the Kashubian intelligentsia in the mid 19th century and its efforts to standardize the language, Kashubian did not gain a higher status and Kashubs did not manage to create a supra local community (Anderson 1983). The 20th century was a difficult time for Kashubs who found themselves on the border between two hostile nations: Poland and Germany. After World War II the communist People's Republic of Poland proclaimed itself mono-ethnic and – as a result – a monolingual state and Kashubs lost their chance for language recognition. In that immediate future Kashubian culture could exist only as part of Polish folklore and Kashubs were considered as being an 'ethnographic group' (Wicherkiewicz 2011: 148).

The public use of the Kashubian language was forbidden during this period and children were punished, reprimanded and ridiculed for using it in schools. During the communist era in Poland the inter-generational transmission of the Kashubian language was greatly weakened. Today only 80,000 people use the language in everyday life and 40,000 declare they use it regularly (Mordawski 2005: 51). Research conducted by Jan Mordawski has pointed out that only a very small percentage of children are raised with Kashubian as their first language. The younger generation Kashubs living in small villages still have some knowledge of Kashubian from home usage (as the first language of their grandparents and sometimes parents), from their milieu (they can hear it on the streets), but they cannot and – most of the time – do not want to speak Kashubian themselves. Those few who speak it are creating a linguistic Polish-Kashubian blend, often not aware of what they are doing.

During the communist period and under the pressure of the communist People's Republic of Poland the Kashubian culture was rapidly assimilated into the Polish culture. The existence of the Kashubian culture which was distinct from the Polish culture was denied by the system. Folklorization was part of a plan to marginalize minorities in communist Poland and to make them invisible (Łodziński 2010: 23).

Nevertheless, the situation of the Kashubian language began to improve with certain positive changes following the collapse of communism in 1989. Kashubian organizations began to develop and to act for the preservation of the Kashubian language and the Kashubian ethnic community. The rights of Kashubs gradually gained a legal status¹ and Kashubian was turned from a rejected dialect into a state-protected regional language with many measures aimed at preserving it: Kashubian can be used in churches; Kashubian-language signs and street names have appeared; Kashubian has been included in the school education programme in the region (although unfortunately not as a language of teaching nor even as a required subject for every child, but as a foreign language taught three hours per week at the formal request of parents); in some localities Kashubian is recognized as an official language in which Kashubs may settle their administrative affairs; courses have been organized for Kashubian language teachers and for public officials and Kashubian has appeared in the new media (press, radio broadcasting and in a very small measure, TV) (Obracht-Prondzynski 2007: 29–31). There are some Kashubian language web sites, chats rooms and forums. Although still not many people use Kashubian on the internet, we can observe an increasing presence of this regional language in the virtual world (Dołowy-Rybińska 2013: 125–127). The Kashubian language commission has been created and the process of language standardization is progressing quickly.

To a certain extent a fashion for ‘Kashubianness’ has developed over the last decade. Kashubian is present all across Kashubia: on bilingual signs, plaques, names of objects, restaurants, shops, and on every possible souvenir made for tourists. An increasing number of Kashubian events have been organized: picnics, regional meetings, open days in villages and towns. They are supported with Kashubian symbols and have an important significance in reinforcing the collective identity (Billig 1995): flags, costumes, music, and Kashubian cuisine. All these are identified with the word: ‘Kashubian’. Through the education system, young people with no connection to the Kashubian language and culture in their homes are able to learn something about it. We can also observe that a small but determined group of young Kashubian activists have started to campaign in the cultural and/or linguistic domains, others have a political approach. Their opinions concerning Kashubian culture and language constitute the main part of this article.

1 In the first Polish ‘Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language’ (2005) and then in the ‘European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages’ (ratified by Poland in 2009).

4. The dilemmas of young engaged Kashubs

4.1. Being a young Kashub

The situation of the Kashubian language, its low prestige and the reputation of being the simple language of the rural parts of this region of Poland and of uneducated people, which existed almost until the end of the 20th century, had a negative effect on Kashubian teenagers. Not only did most of them not have the opportunity of getting to know the language at home because their parents did not want to burden them with the knowledge of this ‘unnecessary’ language, but even those children who knew Kashubian associated it with fun, with ‘performing’ in the world of adults. As a result, young people who remained in the more rural areas did not feel the need to transmit Kashubian to their children:

Sometimes we speak Kashubian at home. I respond in Kashubian but my younger brothers don't. The same with my friends: We don't use Kashubian unless we wanted to say something funny or when we pretended to be adult. For us Kashubian was the language of jokes. My friends who stayed there do not want to speak Kashubian and do not want their children to speak it because in their opinion it's just a nuisance in life. (interview with M23F²)

In those situations, the measures undertaken at the beginning of the 1990s aimed at the revival of the Kashubian language and its standardization had to be combined with campaigns promoting the language and with combating the stereotypical perception of this language which regrettably exists to this day. A very important role in changing the status of the Kashubian language and its perception has been played by its entry into schools. Unfortunately, the education of young Kashubs encounters numerous problems (e.g. the lack of qualified teachers; few lessons; Kashubian lessons considered as extracurricular; standardization and existing differences between home and school language). Nevertheless, if we take into account that most of the educated Kashubian families had been culturally and linguistically assimilated (into Polish culture and language) during the second half of the 20th century, then a part of the younger generation will not be conscious of its Kashubian roots and school therefore comprises their first connection with Kashubianness and is a point of departure for them to reflect on their identity:

2 Identifying: symbol given to the speaker, age, gender: [F]emale / [M]ale.

Has the fact that you had to learn Kashubian forced your Kashubian identity? (NDR)
My Kashubian identity started there. Then I started to question myself if I am Kashub or Polish. In my case thinking in Kashubian categories about myself started thanks to school. (interview with T19M)

There are not many Kashubian native speakers amongst young language activists. This is related to the fact that Kashubian has been maintained more successfully in small communities, villages living mostly from agriculture. Here Kashubianness is therefore treated either as something taken for granted, there being no point in thinking about it, or as a burden which could perturb a potential future career. The results of this research have revealed that most of the people engaged in the protection of the Kashubian language and culture, and young Kashubian activists, become members of this milieu by accident. An engagement in minority issues depends usually on whether a young person meets someone who arouses his/her 'ethnic spirit' (a teacher, animator, neighbour, etc.) and whether he/she finds him/herself in a group for whom participation in the minority culture is an important issue; whether together they create a community of practice (Wenger 1998) based on participation in minority life. These observations have been confirmed by research relating to the participation of young people in civic and/or community life. The research points out that the greatest influence on young peoples' decisions are the attitudes they acquire at home, participation in youth organizations and friendly relations with people already engaged in civic life (Caraveo et al. 2010: 142). One of the young leaders of the Kashubian national movement told the author about his first contact with the Kashubian language:

What was the beginning of your Kashubian language learning? (NDR)
This interest started in school. I was a good pupil and my teacher proposed that I take part in a competition of knowledge about the Kashubia region. I went there rather to get a good mark than for any other reason. But I started to be interested. Before, I associated the Kashubianness only with family, that when we went to my aunt, people there would speak with a different accent or that my grandfather watched a 20-minute programme every week on Sunday. For me Kashubianness was only this. And suddenly I realized that we have all our history (...) I became so interested that I decided to learn the language despite not having an opportunity at school. I did it by myself, through the internet. (interview with A20M)

In fact, there are not many young people in the Kashubian movement with Kashubian as their first language. Even though they try to use it during meetings and like to talk about the importance of maintaining it by using it in everyday life, in reality, this aspect of Kashubianness is not so straightforward for them:

My native language is Polish. Even if I try to drive it out from inside me, it is hard because thinking in Kashubian is not easy. Even for someone who was born here and

lives as a Kashub. I try hard to look at what happens in Kashubia from the Kashubian perspective, but I still have problems with it. (...) I see that I think about many things in Polish, and I use Kashubian only to express those things. I would like to change, but I admit: It is hard. (interview with C21F)

The difficulty of speaking Kashubian in everyday life can also be found in the case of those young Kashubian native speakers and learners living outside Kashubian communities. When the entire environment is Polish-speaking, using Kashubian is treated by many people as an assertive manifestation of political ideas, such as imposing Kashubianness on others. This kind of treatment of their language and culture is deeply rooted in the Kashubian consciousness, as Kashubs had to hide their identity for many years and treated their language as a tool of communication only in closed family circles and within groups of neighbourhood friends. As a result, it is difficult to find Kashubian speaking interlocutors who are from outside the Kashubian activist milieu (recruited from Kashubian language learners):

In which situation do you have a chance now to use the Kashubian language? (NDR) Well, unfortunately, not in many day-to-day situations. It is a language which is spoken by not many people I meet on the street. For example, I have never used Kashubian in a shop or in customer services. [I use it] in situations when I know my interlocutor speaks it. (...) with people I have met as Kashubs and we talk from the beginning in Kashubian. Because it is normal that Kashubs speak Kashubian with each other, isn't it? (interview with P19M)

The answer to the author's question what it means 'to meet someone as a Kashub' was to meet someone at organized Kashubian meetings. Only during these occasions, in a closed group, people from outside speaking Kashubian will be accepted and even 'lionized'. In contrast, in family life the contrary was more in evidence. Kashubian-ness was hidden, its importance belittled. Children were 'protected' against it by their parents. This is why not many young people identified with it:

I was brought up in a Kashubian family. Both parents Kashubs, and grandparents as well, but ... In my case it was a 'frozen' identity, it had no significance. If someone asked me if I was Kashub, I would probably say yes, but without conviction. My parents and grandparents spoke only Polish to me. (interview with A20M)

4.2. Young Kashubs' attitudes to culture

As a result of Kashubian culture policy and a strong folklorization of it, both during the times of communism in Poland (as a result of a deliberate policy) and after (as a way of keeping the distinctiveness of the Kashubian and Polish cultures),

young people have a rather simplistic image of it. Often young Kashubs told a similar story when asked about their first ‘conscious’ contact with the Kashubian culture:

I think it was when I went to an orchestra competition and there was a Kashubian group performing. There were only old ladies on stage, in those costumes and they started to sing. I didn't know at all what language they were singing ... Only after did I find out that it was Kashubian. And I was skeptical about this, because I couldn't understand it at all. I thought that it was a language for old ladies who only crochet, sitting at home and nothing else.

How old were you?

U: About 6–7.

So, your first contact with the Kashubian culture ...

U: ... was like ‘oh dear!’. Because there were no young women, no girls and I thought that Kashubian must be like that.

And that image remained till high school?

U: I guess so. It was so orthodox for me. So: This is folklore, ok, we don't have to go back to it, they can live like this, but I don't need this. I think it was something like that. (interview with U18F)

This folkloristic image of the Kashubian culture revealed that many young people who have some contact with it (through school, cultural organizations, participation in groups, contests, celebrations, etc.) do not necessarily have an emotional contact with it. They associate Kashubianness with something ‘performed’ before spectators. At a prescribed moment, on stage, in front of a commission, an assembly of people, to be seen/heard speaking Kashubian, reciting a poem, singing, is well regarded. This Kashubianness can be further emphasized by wearing a traditional costume as a symbol of belonging to a group. However, leaving the stage means automatically switching to the Polish language, taking off the costumes, and let's forget about Kashubianness, and even to have a laugh at it. As a young Kashubian activists admits:

Young Kashubs make beautiful speeches about how their grandparents and parents suffered because of their language oppression and that we can now use it openly, that it's great, etc. And then I approach this person and start to speak Kashubian to him and he says: ‘Don't mess about, why are you speaking Kashubian? We can speak normally’. I hate this kind of hypocrisy and complexes. (interview with A20M)

The policy of folklorization has been oriented toward the minimization of the significance of Kashubs in the eyes of Poles and of minority members as well. They were made to believe that being Kashub was tantamount to being a relic of the past, to backwardness, in some cases, to recalling old times. Despite more than 20 years of measures undertaken to rehabilitate the Kashubian culture, many young people still are ashamed of their provenance and do not want to speak Kashubian. This is because Kashubianness

is in the general imagination related most of all with folklore. This is also the image that most young Kashubs have. This results in their perception of participation in the Kashubian culture and in a commitment to it. A young Kashubian language student confesses:

Whenever I meet new people, especially from other parts of Poland, but from here as well, and I say that I am Kashub, I can see in their eyes that they perceive me as someone straight out of an ethnographic park. Of course I think that our folklore is interesting, colourful, etc. but for our times ... it does not harmonize with our times. So I think that we have to make the Kashubian culture more up to date. (interview with B24F)

4.3. Kashubian culture – folklore or tradition

It is clear that young Kashubs do not want to be associated with relics of the past. They are just like any other teenagers living in the modern world. They could identify with Kashubianness if it fitted into their lifestyle. But this folkloristic image is so deeply rooted in their conscious (and unconsciousness) that even young Kashubian activists are often not able to answer the question: What is contemporary Kashubian culture? When they start to think about it, the first thing that comes to mind is that it is something that relates to folk culture. However, they link the Kashubian folk culture with its modernized aspect:

The Kashubian culture is all these elements that differentiate us from other cultures. So, up till now, it has been most of all the folk culture. Those folk songs which are sung sometimes in new arrangements – are interesting and worth listening to. This folk culture, which is as important as the older heritage elements, matches our new trends well. As the Kashubian embroidery on t-shirts or on some home utensils (towels or something). All this fits in well into our modern world. (interview with I22F)

Young people are looking for a modern Kashubian culture to confront the ‘artificial’ folklore (as they perceive it), which has been imposed on Kashubs. Yet, they do not want to be cut off from those Kashubian traditional and cultural values which seem to be a part of them and fit their world view:

[Kashubianness is] attachment to the family, yes. I don’t want even to talk about those artificial Kashubian traditions, the rites, we are learning a lot about now. For example no one in my village has ever heard about ‘Kite Beheading’. No one did it. And now it appears that it is an old Kashubian custom and must be performed at every rural event ... What else? Attachment to God and to the land (...). (interview with H24F)

We can observe that young people are looking for an adaptation of the Kashubian culture to modernity in adapting traditional, folk Kashubian culture elements to new forms. They are trying to bridge the gap between what folk is, functioning in the stereotypical

way of thinking of the Kashubian culture, and the requirements of the modern world. On the one hand, it can demonstrate a 'reflectivization' of tradition, of bringing it out of its fixed framework in which it has been functioning. It presents the possibility of being inspired by it and using it in a new context and new way (Giddens 1991). On the other hand, though, the existence of such references testify to how hard it is for young people to imagine the existence of such a culture behind these schematic concepts. Nonetheless, if Kashubian culture is to be interesting for them, they need some form of stimulus to make them realize that it is a living entity and it is not just folklore.

Many people think that Kashubian is something to be ashamed of. They don't have any incentive which would make them realize that this is cool. They speak in Polish all the time and meet old people only who speak Kashubian and don't have any reason to be interested in this language. If they meet someone young, interesting, modern person who would talk to them from a stage in Kashubian, it would force them to think that, man, it's cool and it's cool to do something with it. (interview 23M)

To make the Kashubian culture attractive to young people, there is a need for measures and stimuli to make them realize that Kashubianness can be 'cool' and that they can openly identify with it. Colin Baker acknowledges that the attitude of the contemporary community to a minority language remains positive only if the cultural practices are constantly revised and modernized. He considers that there is a need to create diverse forms of culture: 'A menu restricted to language lessons in school is a diet for a few. The menu needs to include a constant re-interpretation of minority language cultural forms. Minority language discos and dating, minority language rock bands and records, minority language books and beer festivals become as important as traditional cultural forms.' (Baker 1992: 136). Kashubian culture does not have to lose its connection with tradition to remain attractive. It must, though, adapt tradition to its more modern self. Otherwise, young people will not take the chance of entering it and to internalize with it: hence, to identify with the culture.

4.4. Is there an 'authentic' Kashubian culture?

The folkloristic presentation of the Kashubian culture as well as presenting the Kashubian language as one which can possibly function only in rural areas, its traditional environment, has driven the younger generation from it and keeps them at a distance. The culture that is presented is therefore not their own culture but a product of a by-gone age:

The Kashubian language and culture (...) is shown most of all as a kind of ethnographic park. And young people have a feeling that it is like a history lesson: it was like this in the past, this is how the life of our grandparents looked like, so it doesn't

concern us. We can watch it, maybe even be interested in it, but it is not a part of our lives. Kashubianness is not advertised as something that could have a direct influence on young people. (interview with A20M)

The Kashubian language faces the same predicament. This language can be treated mostly as a symbol of Kashubian identity, above all by those who have learnt it in school or just have a passive knowledge of it from home. Nevertheless, it is difficult to feel an emotional relationship with this language. It is only when an individual using it independently finds a deeper relation with it, that he or she will use it in their own way. When they do not have to accommodate to the language, but the language accommodates to them:

I think I started to feel Kashubian when it began to fit me. Because before, when we had to learn it at school, we were only repeating it. Only, what had been written, fixed forms. We learnt songs, poems written by someone. But then I started to sing in a band. And talking to the audience, for the first time I used Kashubian words. It was what I wanted to say at that moment. Completely spontaneous. And I guess the process of conscious thinking of Kashubs started then. About Kashubianness, as we say. (interview with O24F)

The sine qua non condition of using the Kashubian language is its internalization; the condition of identifying with the Kashubian culture – the feeling that it is ‘authentic’. Here there is a need to indicate that the term ‘authenticity’ as regards a minority culture, is used in a specific way. It means only the subjective sentiment of individuals, that something is and can be their culture, and not as the repetition and reconstruction of models existing in the past (Clifford 2004: 156). In that case, how can today’s young peoples’ Kashubian culture function as ‘authentic’? The author would now like to quote the statement of a 22-year-old man.

P. did not learn Kashubian at home or in school. His father – despite a lack of knowledge of Kashubian – became engaged in Kashubian cultural life. While still in primary school the boy started to perform with Kashubian folk dance groups, where he entered the milieu of people who were strongly involved in the protection of Kashubian culture and language. From the beginning of his studies P. was drawn into the activities of the Kashubian Students Club ‘Pomorania’ in Gdansk and now acts on behalf of the Kashubia region and its culture. During the last two years he has participated twice in short Kashubian language courses. However, because of the lack of time and a Kashubian-speaking environment (even in the Kashubian Club Kashubian-speakers are in a minority), he has not managed to learn the language and has not begun to use it.

(...) the language is the medium of all this, because thanks to it all is transmitted at home. (...) And after, there’s literature, texts in the Kashubian language, music, media. Without the language there is no chance here. All will be reduced to folklore. This has

been seen before. They indoctrinated me that there is nothing but folklore, nothing but children dancing in Kashubian costumes. Of course, in my case it has developed with age, in a sort of consciousness, but in most cases it stays at the level that we are ordinary Polish people, but we can dance, have our folklore, we can go to festivals and that's it. But it has no influence on normal life. And the point is that it should influence it. It would be nicer and more normal for us to listen to the news in the Kashubian language, to talk in Kashubian with our friends, to read books in Kashubian. It would be just great. (interview with P22M)

This young activist who does not speak Kashubian claims that it would be 'nicer and more normal' for Kashubs (including him) to use Kashubian in their day-to-day lives. This indicates that young people need a form of proof of being Kashub. For obvious reasons they cannot find it in the folkloristic culture. The Kashubian culture with which they would like to identify must be modern and adequate to support the reality around it. Nevertheless, it should differ somehow from its surrounding, dominant, Polish culture. One of the distinctive elements, which can be adapted to the new circumstances and at the same time in an expressive way demonstrate its distinctiveness, is the Kashubian language.

(...) it is quite clear that [Kashubian culture] is developing progressively. (...) it functions (...) in the internet, it touches the best of the modern world. (...). Increasingly elements of Kashubian culture are being used in modern design and in addition it has influenced development. The Kashubian language itself is not the same as it was 20 years ago. There are new terms and many things are translated into Kashubian, most of all connected with technology. This culture is modern, but (...) it should spread wider. For example, we can have menus in our phones and GPSs in Kashubian, in computer games. Things we have used for years but they still do not exist in the Kashubian culture, in the Kashubian language. Because if these kinds of things do not exist in the Kashubian language, they are automatically outside the Kashubian culture. Therefore, when they are in the Kashubian language, we think: yes, this is Kashubian. (interview with J21M)

Unfortunately, not many young people – who have had little or no chance of acquiring Kashubian – can identify themselves with Kashubian culture on parity with the Kashubian language. The question arises – and this concerns not only Kashubs but many minority groups trying to revitalize their languages: If culture is reduced to language, does it have a chance of surviving and developing outside a narrow group of language activists? A certain apprehension related to living in a transcultural world prevails. To what extent can the minority culture adapt yet still be itself in a recognisable form and not become just a copy of the dominant global culture (Denis 2001: 22–23). It is an irrational, existent anxiety. It relates to the contested boundaries of a minority cul-

ture and its visibility which under the pressure of the dominant culture could, without protest, disappear. This anxiety is heard in the words of young engaged Kashubs also:

I think that [the Kashubian language] is important, but we have lost our traditions, our culture, somewhere. It has all been reduced to the minimum of the language. It shouldn't be like this. It is important to discover our culture from the beginning. We just have to concentrate on the fact that Kashubian and Kashubs are not only the language, but there is culture, history, tradition behind it. Today the ritual life is disappearing; we have no idea what the 'empty night' or 'stag night' will bring. Today we put pressure on language and grammar and we are losing very important things. (interview with C21F)

5. Conclusion

The dilemmas faced by the character of the Kashubian culture in this century along with the role and position of the Kashubian language are of deciding importance for its future. If language is separated from the cultural context it would not remain a community language and only functioning as such can it be assured of its existence. During the past few years the situation of the Kashubian culture and language has changed: The language has been standardized, it is taught in schools, and functions in the media. There are increasing numbers of Kashubian meetings, festivals and anniversary celebrations. Kashubs organized themselves before the National Census of 2011 to put forward their Kashubian ethnicity. All these undertakings have gradually changed Kashubs' attitudes to Kashubianness. In some circles being Kashub has become fashionable. It distinguishes people, provides support in peer-groups and defines one's place in the globalizing world. Nevertheless, it is a very niche fashion. Few people from the younger generation use the Kashubian language actively in their civic life. Only the milieu of those engaged in its protection make use of the Kashubian language.

To attract young people who could be interested in Kashubian activities, organizers endeavour to think of new formulas involving the Kashubian culture. As the ethnic boundaries between Polish and Kashubian culture are rather flexible today, maintaining the Kashubian culture requires a definition as to what it is and a fresh look at the reconstruction of its cultural borders. Until recently, these existed in a folkloric approach. The young generation, therefore, born after the collapse of communism and brought up on television and the digital media, cannot identify with it.

This study, based on the statements of young engaged Kashubs, points out the dilemmas of the younger generation of Kashubs which are related to their linguistic identity. As most of them are not native speakers of Kashubian, they have to learn this language to become fluent and be ready and willing to use it. Those who are

able to do this treat the language as a symbol of their belonging to this culture. Born and raised in different communities with different attitudes to the language, young Kashubian campaigners try to overcome the stereotypical view of the regional language as being a patois. They try to modernize it. The language in fact adapts well to modernity and confirms in a straightforward manner that a person using it is linked to the minority culture. That is why, where the minority language functions as a basic tool of intercommunity communication, it is easier for young people to differentiate between what is the minority and what is the dominant culture. Unfortunately, where the intergenerational transmission has been weakened and the younger generation does not know the minority language, reversing language shift can be done only by the younger generation finding their own, individual place in the minority culture.

And this is not easy today. The statements of young engaged Kashubs have revealed that the apparent dilemma: Tradition or modernity must be reformulated. Young people have a need to have a connection with the past, to the heritage of their ancestors, to feel that the culture they are acting out is somehow distinct from their surrounding world. But they have a need to change the stereotypical image of their culture and language and to find a new *modus operandi* for the elements of tradition which still have an important place in the commonly held image of a group. The younger generation is living just as other people of their age and they do not want to change their way of life, their values and behaviour. Young people do not want to live in an ethnographic park, or to be treated as oddities. The folkloristic image of a minority culture still in existence has had a very negative effect on the willingness of the younger generation to feel attached to this culture. This is why the basic activity undertaken by young activists is to adapt some aspects of a minority culture to our new world technologies, to new currents in the arts and to novel applications. They will have to demonstrate that the Kashubian language can function without difficulty in the new media and projects in young people's everyday lives. This presence and function can be a sign for other, ethnically undecided young people, that their culture and language are up to date and can facilitate their identification with it.

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Agnes Grond & Mehmet Bozyl

The languages of the Tigris fishers in Diyarbakır: Language use in a plurilingual environment

This study investigates the language use of an extended tribal fisher family in Diyarbakır/ south-east Turkey. The biological diversity of the Tigris River furnishes this family's livelihood. The 150 speakers are members of four generations, showing the language shift to be a long-lasting process. Our research focus is on a corpus of spontaneously produced spoken language in different domains. Since a plurilingual setting is typical for eastern Turkish society, the majority languages of the corpus are Kurdish and Turkish, with Arabic and Aramaic being the minority languages. To illustrate the influence of environmental changes on language use, the analysis focuses on the lexical shift to Turkish as a consequence of the ongoing dam constructions along the Tigris River and the subsequent dramatic impact on the biological habitat.

In the second phase of the research we conducted interviews about the family members' language and education biographies to obtain deeper insight into the nature of the main factors leading to language change. The aim of our study is the reconstruction of the development from a Kurdish-based plurilingualism in the 1960s-1980s, to an early Turkish-Kurdish bilingualism in the 1980s and 1990s, to the domination of Turkish, with a remarkable reduction in the number of children who fully acquire Kurdish as an L1 (from 2000 onwards).

1. Main questions and research design

This paper will present the first phase of the research, which is a case study about the development of the language use and the repertoire of an extended Kurdish tribal family living in south-eastern Turkey. Kurdish is a cover term for a group of closely related West-Iranian languages and dialects. The largest groups of Kurdish speakers live in Turkey, Iran and Iraq, but there are also similar communities living in Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Lebanon and Turkmenistan. A group of at least one million speakers live in western European countries. The estimated total number of speakers varies between 15 and 25 million (Strohmeier/Yalçın-Heckmann 2000; Haig/Matras 2002; Ammann 2004). Approximately 150 members of the family investigated in our study are speakers of Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji).

Since the Kurds lack a state of their own, the status of Kurmanji varies according to the country of their dwelling. In the countries of the former Soviet Union (especially in Armenia and Azerbaijan) the use of Kurdish was relatively non-restrictive. The efforts to compile a description of the languages spoken in the various areas of the former Soviet Union led to extended research activities on behalf of Kurmanji (Haig/Matras 2002: 9). However, Kurmanji did not appear in the official domains and in the educational system: The language was restricted to the family areas with mainly spoken language use. In the Autonomous Kurdistan Region (Iraq), the most widely spoken Kurdish languages (Kurmanji and Sorani) are official languages. They are used in all ranks of the educational system from basic education up to university classes.¹ In Turkey, however, the use of Kurmanji has been restricted for decades (Haig 2004; Derince 2012; Grond 2014).

This non-appearance of a language in the public concerns of a country has massive effects on its speakers. As a consequence of the Turkish language policies, Kurmanji (in Turkey) can be regarded as at least ‘definitely endangered’ according to the *UNESCO Vitality and Endangerment Framework*. According to the *UNESCO Vitality Assessment*, the main factor in reviewing the vitality of a language is the transmission from one generation to the next one. The vitality of a language is measured on a six-degree scale. ‘Definitely endangered’ correlates to the third level of endangerment which means that “the language is used mostly by the parental generation and up” (UNESCO Ad hoc Expertgroup 2003: 8). According to other factors leading to language shift such as the absolute number of speakers, the proportion of speakers within the total population and the shifts in domains of language using Kurmanji can even be classified as: ‘severely endangered’ or ‘critically endangered’. ‘Severely endangered’ is the second grade of endangerment because only a minority speaks the language. ‘Critically endangered’ is the first grade of endangerment when the language is used only in a restricted number of domains, as is the case in Turkey (UNESCO Ad hoc Expertgroup 2003: 9–10). A common conclusion is that a society at this stage has a plurilingual setting and most children no longer acquire the language fully as their first language.

Languages have a strong and complex impact on identity, communication, social integration and education. The reasons to abandon such a strong attribute of identity are always external. Internal characteristics like structural depletion should

1 It is very important to emphasize this point since there is a highly emotional discussion in Turkey on the efficiency of Kurmanji in domains other than familiar. The following episode referred to by Vahap Coşkun (n. d.: 2) is typical for the prejudices against Kurmanji in Turkey: “Kurdish is not an adequate language; an education of good quality cannot be done in this language. If it can be, it’ll be to the disadvantage of the Kurdish people.” In one of the workshops, a bureaucrat of the Ministry of National Education that had been working among Kurdish people for many years said, “You can express your love to someone in Kurdish. However you cannot teach mathematics to someone in Kurdish.” I asked him whether he had done any research on the Kurdish language structure. He replied that he had not conducted such research but had reached this conclusion based on his observations.”

be seen as resulting from an ongoing language shift, and not as the reason of language abandonment. In recent discussion papers possible reasons given for language shift and language death are factors such as natural catastrophes (earthquake, famine), war and genocide, political repression or cultural/economic dominance. They are considered as the main causes for language shift. (Austin 2011: 5)

Nancy Hornberger and Ellen Skilton-Sylvester (2003) describe these correlations between the general conditions in society as a whole and the individual language biography in plurilingual societies in the continua-model of biliteracy. Their works on reading and writing acquisition constitutes a framework to describe plurilingual contexts, development, and media. The model consists of four dimensions, which are divided into three continua. The social dimension determines the next dimensions. External factors determine individual language biographies. The continua model reflects the power relations in a society in which one end tends to be considered as more powerful than the other, e.g. written development over oral development (Hornberger/Skilton-Sylvester 2003: 38–39).

Since Kurmanji in Turkey has been subject to repression from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 onwards, the pressure on its speakers to give up the language has been relatively high. The policies of assimilations from the Turkish part are also the reason for the fact that there are very few empirical studies on the language use in the minority areas of Turkey. The most important data sources are the *Köy Envanter Etüdları* (Nestmann 1977) from the 1960s and the very detailed compilations by Peter Alford Andrews (1989).

The prime research questions of our study are:

- What is the development trail of the language use in the family over a longer period (four generations)?
- Which domains are the most concerned about the language shift?

This investigation is an explorative case study on the language use of a Kurmanji-speaking family in Diyarbakır. Since about 150 probands are members of four generations the study is also a pseudo-longitudinal study. The continua model by Hornberger/Skilton-Sylvester forms the theoretical background for the study. This model allows the inclusion of both the societally determined factors and the individual language development into the analyses. The survey tools are guided interviews with impulses for extended narrations. The interviews were conducted in Kurdish or Turkish according to the probands' preference. The subject of the study can be regarded as relatively delicate since the probands are in opposition to the monolingual ideal of the Turkish state in nearly every sub-area of the investigation. For this reason, the interview data was complemented with data on language use taken from active participant observation. Similar to the studies by Wagner (1993) and Maas/Mehlem (2004) in Morocco, a test on the atti-

tudes towards the involved languages was added to the data collection. The attitudes regarding the individuals' languages deliver insight into a society's linguistic status. It can provide information about the importance of the different languages within a society.

2. The sample

The probands belong to an extended tribal family with members of four generations. The self-designation is *malbat* (Kurmanji: family, home, ownership) or *aşiret* (Turkish: clan, tribe). The *malbat* comprises about 500 persons. 142 agreed to an interview.

Born between ²	male	female	total
1930–1945	3	5	8
1945–1965	7	8	15
1960–1990	31	25	56
1980 onwards	27	36	63
			142

Table 1: The sample

The family originally comes from the central Mardin District near the Syrian border. In the 1950s a considerable part of the family moved from the Mardin district to the Diyarbakır district and settled both in the city of Diyarbakır and in the surrounding villages Bismil and Cınar.

After the resettlement, they could acquire fishery rights to cover their own needs and sell any surplus. These fishery authorizations were not organized by government-related institutions, in fact they seem to date back to the old feudal system of the previous Ottoman period and they were executed by the fishing clans themselves (interview 67, 2nd generation, male). The river Tigris provided the livelihood for the family and their management of this resource can be described as sustainable with a fixed quantity of removal, with fishing seasons as well as close seasons to support the regeneration of the fish stock. The rhythm of life is determined by the fishing seasons, which are negotiated and controlled by the different clans themselves:

The malbat [clan] controls our waters. We don't allow people from other cities or villages to catch fish in our waters. If they take our fish we can't nourish our families.

2 In our sample some members of the forth generation (nieces) were in fact born before those of the third generation (uncles), hence they overlap.

We care for our fish, we don't catch them when they are with eggs. If the foreigners come with presents to our reis [head], we let them catch fish as much as they need for themselves (interview 75, male, 2nd generation, male).

3. First results

3.1. Language planning and access to the educational system

Among the abovementioned causes for language shift (natural catastrophes; war and genocide; repression and assimilation; cultural/political/economic dominance) the third and fourth category seem to be the most powerful factors leading to the abandonment of Kurdish in the case of this family. For this reason, we concentrated our first analytical steps on the following external factors: first, language planning and educational policies on the part of the Turkish government, and secondly, environmental changes that can withdraw the subsistence of the community and their influence on the language use and the repertoire of the speakers.

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, its government started a radical programme of nation building. Ethnic diversity was considered a threat to the new state and the Kurdish group as the largest minority constituted the main danger. Since language is a prominent attribute of ethnic identity, the Turkish language reform advanced to the centre of attention of Atatürk's reforms. The language reform is a fine example of what is called 'language planning'. The Turkish language mainly was subject of corpus planning whereas the Kurdish language, like the other minority languages in Turkey, underwent sanctions of status planning with the aim of the sole use of Turkish in the Republic of Turkey. This policy is characterized by a lack of overt formulation, by indirect or masked reference. This policy is referred to as *invisibilization*, a term that was coined by Haig (2004: 122). Haig splits this policy of non-appearance into three phases:

- 1930–1940: From the 1930s onwards the speakers of Kurdish underwent periods of *physical assimilation* (deprivation of the basic survival needs; resettlement of non-Turkish persons into dominantly Turkish areas). Despite mass resettlement and massive military defeats the Kurdish culture and language remained undeniably alive.
- From 1940 onwards: *virtual assimilation* (systematic neglect of the existence of Kurdish especially with the formulation Turkish only instead of Kurdish; replacement of non-Turkish personal and place names). In our interviews we

often found statements like the following:

We are Kurdish, but they don't accept us. They say that we are something else, maybe Turkish or even Armenian but not Kurdish. Yes, sometimes they call us a kind of Arabic. (Interview 7, male, 1st generation)

- From 1940 onwards: denigration (acceptance of Kurdish with simultaneous denial of positive attributes). A typical reaction to the policy of *denigration* is to keep one's own ethnicity secret:

When I go to Istanbul, I don't speak any Kurdish. When I speak Kurdish there, they think I am smuggling drugs. (Interview 132, male, 4th generation)

The military coup on 12 September 1980, opened a new period in Turkey's minority and language policy. The new constitution came into effect on 9 November 1982 and imposed a strict regulation on language use in the public domains. The so-called language prohibition law No. 2932 states in Article 3:

Türk Vatandaşlarının anadili Türkçedir. (The mother tongue of Turkish citizens is Turkish.)

a) *Türkçeden başka dillerin anadili olarak kullanılmasına ve yayılmasına yönelik her türlü faaliyette bulunulması,* (Any kind of activity concerning the use as well as the dissemination of a language other than Turkish as a mother tongue is forbidden.)

b) *..Türkçeden başka dille yazılmış afiş, pankart, döviz, levha ve benzerlerinin taşınması, plak, ses ve görüntü bantları ve diğer anlatım araç ve egereçleriyle yayım yapılması, Yasaktır.* (The carrying of posters, banners, markers in meetings and demonstrations, etc., the broadcasting of audio or video files and similar documents is forbidden.) (T.C. Resmî Gazete Nr. 18199 dated 22 October 1983).

The use of Kurmanji was completely restricted without being mentioned overtly. The constitution defined Turkish as the only mother tongue of all Turkish citizens and the use of any language other than Turkish was forbidden. Thus the military government went one step further than the previous attempts of assimilation: The use of Kurdish in public was criminalized. Although the law banning language usage was repealed in 1990, it is still effective with regard to the language use of the younger generation. At least three nuclear families belonging to the *malbat* changed their language directly after the passing of the law in the early 1980s. The language change was so radical that the brothers and sisters born after 1983 were brought up with Turkish whereas the brothers and sisters born before 1983 were still brought up with Kurdish. This immediate and radical reaction to the law banning language usage of languages other than Turkish gives an idea of the governmental pressure imposed for linguistic unification.

There is a strong relation between the governmental activities in the field of language planning and in the education policies. Since the modernization in all areas of life of the Turkish rural population was central to the framework of Atatürk's reforms, plenty of education initiatives were established, especially in the rural and minority areas like e.g. the *halk evleri* (literally 'people's houses', translatable as 'community centres'). The *halk evleri* offered courses in the fields of reading/writing, (Turkish) language music, literature, drama, health and handicraft. Furthermore they established 761 libraries and reading rooms all over the country (www.halkevleri.org.tr/). At present the initiatives in the fields of alphabetization and education are carried out by the *Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı* (Mother Child Education Foundation), which is part of the UNESCO (www.acev.org) and UNICEF. However, the education efforts developed very slowly or not at all.

The same hesitant development is being seen in the area of compulsory schooling. The schools established in the course of Atatürk's reform process had to compete with the traditional *madrasahs*.

The status of the minority language in the school system plays an important role in status planning policies. In the Ottoman period the *madrasahs* provided access to literacy and education, especially in the Kurdish region, to large parts of the population. The main subject of instruction was the Koran and Arabic as its language, but the language of instruction was Kurdish and reflections and discussions were done in Kurdish. Thus, the *madrasahs* could ensure an access to written Kurdish and to the literary tradition of the mother tongue of large parts of the population. The closing of the *madrasahs* as part of Atatürk's reforms and their replacement by a public school system with the only language used being Turkish constituted a deep break for the education situation of the rural minority population. After the school reform the schooling rates sank considerably all over the country (Tanilli 1984). From the 1980s onwards, compulsory school attendance reached larger parts of the Kurdish population as a consequence of the military presence and the development of governmental infrastructure in the course of the PKK conflict (Uzun 1999).

The initiative *Haydi kızlar, okula!* (Come on girls, let's go to school!) carried out by UNICEF, the Turkish government and Turkish as well as international NGOs is a prominent example of the governmental educational attempts. The main aim of this campaign is to increase the compulsory schooling of girls in the rural areas which are mostly inhabited by minorities. According to the Kurdish position, the campaign's main aim is to achieve governmental control of Kurdish social and cultural domains (Derince 2012: 28) As long as the school system is connected with governmental control, loss of language and culture, the success of education attempts will stay modest:

I always try to speak Kurdish with my children. The school didn't help us. They told us: 'Go to school, it will fix your future.' Before this school, we had our language; after this school we even lost our language. Anyway, there isn't any job here, why should we allow them to take our language? (Interview 138, female, 3rd generation)

The following table gives an overview of the school attendance of the interviewed family members:

	Madrasah		Elementary School		Secondary School		High School		University	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
<i>1st gen.</i> (born 1930–45)	2 (66.67%)		1 (33.33%)							
<i>2nd gen.</i> (born 1945–65)	2 (28.57%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (42.68%)		1 (14.28%)					
<i>3rd gen.</i> (born. 1960–90)	7 (22.58%)	15 (60%)	23 (74.19%)	17 (68%)	7 (22.58%)					
<i>4th gen.</i> (born 1980 –)		13 (36.11%)	27 (100%)	32 (88.89%)	15 (55.55%)	13 (48.15%)	3 (9.68%)	1 (2.78%)	1 (3.7%)	
<i>Total</i>	11 (16.18%)	29 (39.19%)	54 (80.41%)	49 (66.22%)	23 (33.82%)	13 (19.12%)	3 (4.41%)	1 (1.35%)	1 (1.47%)	

Table 2: School attendance (includes also school years without graduation).

As can be seen from the table, the level of education is continually rising over the generations. This finding is consistent with other data in the field of school attendance in the region. Strohmeier/Yalçın-Heckmann (2000: 241) refer to an elementary schooling rate of 87% for men and 66.4% for women in 1990. This schooling rate stays approximately constant during the 1990s.

In our sample we found two noteworthy developments: On the one hand we can find a replacement of the madrasahs by the elementary schools in the course of the second to the fourth generation, on the other hand the figures reveal a considerable increase of elementary schooling in the course of the third and fourth generation. This in comparison with other data from the eastern Turkish region (e.g. Strohmeier/Yalçın-Heckmann 2000; Grond 2012) relatively high schooling rate can be explained by the difference between urban and rural areas. Suburban Diyarbakır is characterized by a high density of elementary and secondary schools. This proximity of schools seems to facilitate the decision to school children. Therefore, most incidents of dropping out of school do not occur in Diyarbakır, but rather in the surrounding villages.

Finally, we can find a correlation between gender and schooling rate: The schooling of girls is significantly lower and their dropout rates are significantly higher than boys. This finding corresponds to the results by Derince (2012). Being a girl means having less access to literacy and education. Currently, when boys leave the madrasahs in favour of the elementary schools, the madrasahs stay the only possibility for girls to come into contact with written language and regular lessons. The girls, in particular,

experience pressure from two domains: the governments that is trying to ensure the control over the families by schooling, and the community that is defying this control by not sending the girls to school. For the individuals it is very difficult to overcome this situation as demonstrated by the slow educational progress made by girls.³

3.2. Environmental changes

The 1980s were not only characterized by the successful implementation of public schooling in the Kurdish-speaking areas, it was also a period of serious changes in the environment due to ongoing dam construction in the regions. In 1983 the first of 22 planned dams was opened, the Atatürk Dam.⁴ Climate changes in the region were blamed on dam construction. The family was especially concerned about the dramatic decline in fish species:

Before the dam we had so many fish in our rivers. shah, sring, beni, shebout, bahrat, bahran – we could catch all of them. We never went hungry, we could even sell what we didn't need. After they built the deve gecidi barajı [2009] we could not see them anymore. Some years later we saw zazan and yayın, not any other fish. (Interview 13, male, 2nd generation)

The UNESCO expert group emphasizes the strong correlation between biological and linguistic diversity. Traditional societies are characterized by a profound knowledge of the surrounding ecosystems, which has been accumulated in the interaction between them and their environment (UNESO Ad hoc Expertgroup 2003: 8).

The changing of the biological habitat made it increasingly difficult to cover the clan's basic needs. Consequently about 25 persons migrated to the surroundings of the west-Turkish cities from 2000 onwards. For the speaker community that means a severe loss of competent speakers.

With regard to the development of the repertoire, it can be mentioned that the traditional Kurdish terms concerning the fish stock and catching techniques have been replaced by Turkish terms for the newly arrived species and techniques not only in the younger Turkish-speaking generations but also in the older ones who usually conserved the Kurdish language.

3 This strategy for an educational system is often 'exported' in the case where a family decides to migrate. As it could be shown for Austria, the religious associations (corresponding to the madrasahs in Turkey) organize courses for women. These courses provide basic literacy knowledge with traditional teaching strategies. The women's evaluation of the courses shows that they consider them suitable learning spaces with learning methods familiar to them. But the courses are not considered for the next generation (Grond 2014, forthcoming).

4 For further information see GAP (wikipedia)

We thus conclude that the 1980s constituted a break in several aspects: The denigration of Kurdish and its speakers was one of the most effective instruments of language planning; the attendance of governmental organized education, which developed its full effects from the 1980s onwards; and the changing of the livelihood had dramatic consequences for the language use even in the domestic domain.

3.3. Attitudes towards the involved languages

The test about language attitudes shows the following findings:

		Kurdish	Turkish	Arabic	English	other
Most beautiful language	1 st gen. 1930–45	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)		
	2 nd gen. 1945–65	7 (46.67%)	5 (33.33%)	3 (20%)		
	3 rd gen. 1960–90	19 (33.93%)	29 (51.78%)	5 (8.92%)	2 (3.57%)	1 (1.78%)
	4 th gen. from 1980	12 (19.04%)	44 (69.84%)	2 (3.17%)	4 (6.35%)	1 (1.59%)
Most important language	1 st gen. 1930–45	5 (62.5%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (37.5%)		
	2 nd gen. 1945–65	6 (40%)	5 (33.33%)	2 (13.33%)	2 (13.33%)	
	3 rd gen. 1960–90	18 (32.14%)	27 (48.21%)	6 (10.71%)	5 (8.92%)	
	4 th gen. from 1980	18 (28.57)	35 (55.55%)		8 (12.7%)	2 (3.17%)
Preferred language	1 st gen. 1930–45	7 (87.5%)		1 (12.5%)		
	2 nd gen. 1945–65	13 (86.67%)	2 (13.33%)			
	3 rd gen. 1960–90	25 (44.64%)	29 (51.78%)	1 (1.78%)		1 (1.78%)
	4 th gen. from 1980	23 (36.51%)	39 (61.90%)		1 (1.59%)	
Most comfortable language	1 st gen. 1930–45	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)			
	2 nd gen. 1945–65	12 (80%)	3 (20%)			
	3 rd gen. 1960–90	26 (46.42%)	30 (53.57%)			
	4 th gen. from 1980	5 (7.94%)	56 (88.89%)		1 (1.59%)	1 (1.59%)

Table 3: Attitudes towards languages

Consistent with the findings in the field of school attendance we find a remarkable reduction of Arabic-preference from the first to the third generation. This is exactly the period of the replacement of the madrasahs by the elementary schools. At the same time we find an extension of the linguistic spectrum towards European languages, especially English. The good results of Turkish in the aesthetic category ('most beautiful language') can be explained by the dominant position of Turkish in the school system and appear similarly in the study of Maas/Mehlem (2004) in Morocco.

The question 'most comfortable' language shows a very clear development towards a dominance of Turkish. The most comfortable language to express oneself is the language one can speak most competently. Only 7.94% of the fourth generation declare Kurdish to be their most comfortable language.

These results are in opposition to those of the question 'preferred' language. 36.51% of the probands answered they prefer Kurdish. This might be a reaction to the new purism against Turkish in the young generation (under the age of 30) which is connected to the emergent Kurdish mass-media and nationalism as part of the PKK conflict. Especially in the diaspora we find efforts towards the standardization of the Kurdish language, the development of written materials and teaching concepts. These discussions and attempts reach the Kurdish minority in Turkey via television and radio broadcast from Europe and over the Internet. Among the younger probands (born after 1980) we can observe a tendency to revitalize Kurdish at least in the domestic domain. In the interview responses demonstrated very clearly that shifting language did not bring economic benefits or education success, taken into account that most of the probands did not finish even compulsory education and only one person could achieve university access.

The difference in the results between preferring a language and speaking it most comfortably reveals the effects of language planning policy in Turkey. Therefore we can conclude that language policies from both sides, from the Turkish as well as from the Kurdish part, are factors of influence on the speech of the younger Kurdish generation.

4. Outlook

In this table we illustrate the correlations of the findings mentioned above:

	<i>Activities in the area of language planning</i>	<i>School attendance</i>	<i>Environmental changes</i>	<i>High Kurdish- competence (‘most comfortable language’)</i>
<i>1st gen. (born 1930–45)</i>	physical assimilation (1930–40)	madrasah	resettlement to Diyarbakır, acquisition of fishery rights 1949	7 (87.5%)
<i>2nd gen. (born 1945–65)</i>	virtual assimilation (1940–)	madrasah		12 (80%)
<i>3rd gen. (born 1960–90)</i>	denigration (1940–)	madrasah/ public school	opening of the Atatürk dam 1983	26 (46.42%)
<i>4th gen. (born 1980 –)</i>		public school	from 2000: migration to west-Turkey	5 (7.94%)

Table 4: School attendance, changes of the environment and their impact on language competence

The first and the second generation evaluate their competence in Kurdish as relatively high. Languages other than Kurdish are acquired corresponding to the requirements of daily life and its demands. The first generation for example is reporting economic contacts to the Christian population of Diyarbakır. Some members of the first generation acquired some Aramaic in order to deepen these contacts. In the third generation, we can find the consequences of the language planning policies: Virtual assimilation and denigration reduce the use of Kurdish remarkably even in the domestic domain. In this context, we have to interpret the subjectively reported decrease of Kurdish competence. The parents of the third generation have in many cases opted for Turkish as the family language. The environmental changes over the course of the dam construction show their effects on the linguistic behaviour: On the one hand we can find a lexical shift from Kurdish to Turkish, especially in the field of fishery, on the other hand the community is losing competent speakers because of their resettlement to western Turkey. So we can state that the Kurdish competence of the fourth generation is only a receptive one in the best case.

In this area a lot of further analysis would be very fruitful, such as a comparison of the results of biological findings on the development of species diversity with the observations of the Tigris fishers.

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Eva Wohlfarter

Language ideologies in an urban space: Linguistic experiences of Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna

This paper¹ aims to highlight the dynamics of Austria's autochthonous minorities and to illustrate that the common, rather static conceptualization in media and scientific representations is no longer accurate. Taking Austria's Slovene-speaking minority as an example, this paper focuses on the situation of Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna from a linguistic point of view. Thus, besides the characterization of this group and its living conditions in Vienna, nine autobiographical narratives are analysed, in which Carinthian Slovenes living in Vienna reflect on linguistic experiences in both Carinthia and Vienna. With selected methods of Critical Discourse Analysis and approaches from the analysis of narrative identity, the narratives are examined for dominant language ideologies in Carinthia and the influence they continue to have in Vienna. Altogether, the autobiographical narratives show that the reality of autochthonous minorities does not end at the borders of the traditional areas of settlement and that even the urban, multilingual environment of Vienna offers new perspectives and possibilities, also in a linguistic sense, for Carinthian Slovenes.

1. Introduction

Austria's six acknowledged autochthonous minorities are usually perceived as rather static entities living in their traditional areas of settlement, where they can claim their constitutionally guaranteed rights. This implicit assumption, however, does not reflect the reality of many minority members any more, as not only the example of the Burgenland Croats shows: Speaking their own variety of Croatian, this minority is based in the economically underdeveloped region of Burgenland and already started to commute to urban centres decades ago (Baumgartner 1995: 57). As a result, the estimated 12,000 Burgenland Croats in Vienna have several organizations and their own kindergarten (Council of Europe 2000: 4).

1 This paper is based on my master thesis (Wohlfarter 2014).

Carinthian Slovenes, who are resident in the southernmost part of Austria, are similarly more mobile and flexible than scholarly descriptions and medial representations usually depict. With a few exceptions (Obid 2013, Ogris 2009, Vavti 2012, Vavti 2013, Zupančič 1999, Zupančič 2013), Carinthian Slovenes are usually characterized as mostly bound to the three valleys of Rosental / Rož, Jauntal / Podjuna and Gailtal / Zilja, that is to say, to their traditional areas of settlement in southern Carinthia. On the other hand, whenever Carinthian Slovene media report about those having decided to live beyond the borders of this province, they eagerly emphasize the exceptional bond those people still have to their hometowns or villages. This kind of characterization might be the expression of a deeply held wish: that their migration is not equivalent to turning away from Carinthia and the minority.

Altogether, it can be said that Carinthian Slovenes outside of their home province form a rather under-researched group, even though Zupančič (1999: 153) describes their migratory movements as “[...] one of the most fundamental characteristics of Slovenes living in Austria”.² They might form a rather small group – their exact number is impossible to obtain, but estimations point to fewer than a thousand (Statistik Austria 2003: 102) – yet their migration to Vienna and other urban centres of Austria is nevertheless statistically relevant for the Slovene minority in Carinthia (Reiterer 1996: 154).

In addition, their internal migration raises a variety of interesting and highly topical questions: What does it mean to move from a mostly rural minority region with all its political and sociolinguistic complexities to the urban metropolis of Vienna, a city of 1.7m with various cultural and linguistic backgrounds? How do language attitudes, especially towards Slovene, change in the multilingual environment? And which challenges are faced when it comes to raising children bilingually?

This paper aims to answer at least some aspects of these questions by analyzing nine narrative language biographies from 2013, in which Carinthian Slovenes of three different generations reflect about their linguistic experiences in both Carinthia and Vienna. To amplify perspectives, the importance of Vienna for Slovene speakers and specific Slovene-speaking places in Vienna are described. In addition, two expert interviews with long-standing observers of Austria’s minority politics, Dr. Cornelia Kogoj and Prof. Gero Fischer, are analysed. It should become clear that the term “internal migration” might be much more complex than seems at first sight (Reinprecht / Weiss 2012: 14).

2 All originally German or Slovene citations are translated by the author.

2. On the relationship between Carinthian Slovenes and Vienna

The urban agglomerations of Klagenfurt, Graz and Vienna have always played an important role for Slovene speakers in Austria. Klagenfurt, which lies on the very edge of the autochthonous minority region, clearly constitutes the cultural, economic and political centre of Carinthian Slovenes with its Slovene and bilingual institutions (Reiterer 1996: 216). Graz and Vienna, however, lie far beyond the traditional area of settlement, and this goes along with different living conditions and fewer possibilities to claim their specific minority rights.

The city of Vienna has attracted Slovene speakers for centuries, who come to study and work and so contribute to the development of the capital (Schellander / Obid 2010). However, neither Vienna nor Graz has seen the emergence of a stable Slovene-speaking minority who would transmit the language to succeeding generations. So, Zupančič (1999: 114) concludes: "The presence of Slovenes in both cities is above all the result of constant settling and continuous assimilation."

The three cities are still important centres of reference for many Carinthian Slovenes: While Klagenfurt with its bilingual and Slovene educational institutions is especially relevant for pupils, Graz and Vienna are attractive because of their opportunities for work and study.

About two thirds of those leaving their home return later in their lives to Klagenfurt or other areas in Carinthia, while one third stays away permanently (Zupančič 1999: 151). Some authors, as Vavti (2013) for instance, rate this development as a threat to the vitality of the minority in Carinthia and raise the argument that Carinthia should be made more attractive with respect to education and job opportunities (Vavti 2013: 158f). Zupančič (1999: 151), on the other hand, stresses that the network of Carinthian Slovenes living in Austria's urban agglomerations is of great importance for the existence and the maintenance of the minority, especially as Carinthian Slovenes living outside of Carinthia are usually well educated and economically wealthy.

3. Institutional support for Slovene speakers in Vienna

In comparison to other autochthonous minorities in Vienna which can at least refer to some of their own institutions – an example is the private schooling association Komensky, which offers bilingual education in Czech / Slovakian and German –, Carinthian Slovenes mostly lack adequate infrastructure. This absence of structures is especially remarkable when contrasted with Carinthia, where an abundance of cultural, economic and political organizations is active. Thus, the main meeting points are the *Club of Slovene Students in Vienna* (Klub slovenskih študentk in študentov na Dunaju, KSŠŠD) and the *Slovene Scientific Institute* (Slovenski znanstveni institut, SZI). The KSŠŠD was founded in 1923 by Carinthian Slovenes and still organizes cultural and political activities as well as socializing events, which makes it a popular venue especially for students. Additionally, the KSŠŠD shelters the largest Slovene library in Vienna (KSŠŠD 2013: 71). The SZI is mostly a point of reference for Carinthian Slovenes beyond their studying period and is relevant to those raising their children bilingually, as the SZI is currently the only institution in Vienna offering language classes for Slovene-speaking children (BMUKK / Garnitschnig 2013: 20). Unfortunately, the SZI had to declare bankruptcy in December 2014.

Besides the KSŠŠD and the SZI, a few other institutions may be of importance to Carinthian Slovenes living in Vienna: First, there are the students' dormitory and hotel *Korotan*, a church offering weekly services in Slovene, and the first foreign cultural institute of Slovenia called *SKICA*. Another institution is the *Austrian Centre for Autochthonous Minorities*, which was founded in 1984 as an umbrella organization with the aim of representing all of Austria's autochthonous minorities and in which the interests of Carinthian Slovenes are covered by the *Council of Carinthian Slovenes* (Narodni svet koroških Slovencev, NSKS) (Klemenčič / Klemenčič 2010: 356–358).

4. Experts' view on Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna

Dr. Cornelia Kogoj, general secretary of the Austrian NGO *Initiative Minderheiten* (Initiative for Minorities), reflects in a semi-structured expert interview (Atteslander 2008: 125) on the situation of Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna: As the different living conditions in Vienna give rise to new perspectives, the contention about topics like

identity and language is also different, so that Dr. Kogoj accordingly recognizes a high level of self-reflection and ethnic consciousness among minority members. She also emphasizes that their migration to Vienna, at least in most cases, does not amount to a loss for the minority – on the contrary, many incentives contributing to the development of the Slovene-speaking group in Carinthia come indeed from those living beyond the borders of the province. However, political efforts concerning minority rights are mostly restricted to the autochthonous territory. Dr. Kogoj also states that autochthonous minorities in Vienna are in a marginal position, as migrant minorities are much more present and visible, while autochthonous minorities are mostly not included in actions promoting multilingualism and diversity.

Prof. Gero Fischer of the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of Vienna states in the interview that the static perception of autochthonous minorities contrasts with the image of migrant minorities, which are usually conceptualized as mobile and dynamic. Though the focus of Austria's minority politics is clearly on autochthonous minorities, they get less attention in urban centres of wide cultural and ethnic diversity. Prof. Fischer therefore does not see any chances of broadening the minority rights of Carinthian Slovenes beyond the borders of their traditional area of settlement. Moreover, the number of Slovene speakers in Vienna is too small and too scattered to establish more permanent structures. Prof. Fischer concludes with the statement that small and mostly well-educated groups like Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna should not have priority as long as the needs and exigencies of much larger and less wealthy migrant minorities are not met.

5. Towards linguistic experiences of Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna

In order to understand the linguistic experiences of Carinthian Slovenes in Vienna, it is crucial to consider the decades of conflict between the German-speaking majority and the Slovene-speaking (or rather, bilingual) minority in Carinthia, as the tensions and frictions experienced there shape language behaviour and attitudes also in Vienna.

Carinthian Slovenes look back on a history of repression which dates back to the 19th century and culminated before and during World War II, when speakers of Slovene were persecuted, dislodged and murdered because of their ethnic affiliation (Haas / Stuhlpfarrer 1977, Inzko et al. 1988). Anti-Slovene resentments and discrimination were part of everyday life even after 1945 and were often linked to the (public) use of the Slovene language – an example are the controversial debates on bilin-

gual education, resulting in the call for the linguistic separation of school children (Wakounig 2008: 311–316; de Cillia 1998: 149f.). Another highly symbolic event was the *Ortstafelsturm* in 1972, during which newly erected bilingual topographical signs were torn down by a violent mob (AK gegen den kärntner Konsens 2011: 71f.). Other parallel events like the nascent urbanization and the increase in tourism contributed to the assimilation of vast parts of the population. The mostly German-speaking kindergartens and schools additionally weakened the position of Slovene in society (Wakounig 2008). As a result, the percentage of Slovene speakers in Carinthia's population sank from one third to merely 2.5% in 130 years (Inzko et al. 1988: 36; Statistik Austria 2003: 63).

Due to massive political and societal changes in the past two decades in Europe, the almost insurmountable tensions started to relax and a dialogue was initiated, resulting in a better societal climate and an increasing prestige of Slovene (Busch / Doleschal 2008: 7). But still, the coexistence of both groups is characterized by occasional frictions. Public use of Slovene beyond the specific Carinthian Slovene organizations and domains is, even if inserted only symbolically, a highly political act and can evoke negative reactions even today (de Cillia 1998: 162).

These decades of political conflicts and the resulting societal climate are not only reflected in ambivalent linguistic experiences within individual biographies of Slovene speakers in Carinthia, but also continue to leave their mark even if Carinthian Slovenes decide to leave their traditional area of settlement. Hence, the author asked nine Carinthian Slovenes of three generations, who were raised in Carinthia and have been living in Vienna for at least some years, to tell her the story of their lives. As the focus of these autobiographic narratives lies on experiences with one's own languages and speakers of other languages, they are also called *Language Biographies* (Franceschini 2004: 123).

6. Autobiographical narratives and language ideologies

A narrative autobiography never stands by itself, as it can be localized at the interface between an individual and society (Fischer-Rosenthal 1995: 258f; Rosenthal 1995: 12). Thus, a narrative emerges out of the context of a collective group and has a cultural, ideological and historical frame as a background (Denzin 1989: 73). This concept consequently leads to the consideration that several layers of context are mirrored in the narrative as well, as Denzin (1989: 14) suggests: "And language, in both its written and spoken forms, is always inherently unstable, in flux, and made up of the traces

of other signs and symbolic statements". Hence, Franceschini (2001: 114f.) elaborated the concept of a "pluridirectional product". According to her, telling the story of one's life includes three levels of meaning: The narrated experiences have to be consistent with oneself, they are adapted to the partner of interaction and they are framed by the collective group to which the narrator feels that she or he belongs. As such, narrative autobiographies not only tell life stories, but also allow insights in supra-individual and social processes (Franceschini 2001: 115). Besides individual details an autobiography also includes collective and historical elements (Nekvapil 2004: 165). Altogether, these considerations clearly show a connection between biographical research and discourse analysis, formulated by Schäfer and Völter (2009: 178) as a desideratum of research.

Therefore, selected methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2010: 60; Pollak 2002: 39–43; Reisigl / Wodak 2009: 94) and approaches from the analysis of narrative identity (Lucius-Hoene / Deppermann 2002) were applied to the biographical narratives of Carinthian Slovenes living in Vienna. A focus of the analysis lies on how the author's interlocutors experienced the transition from the mostly rural environment in Carinthia to the urban ambience of Vienna and the corresponding changes in their linguistic environment. As the experiences in Vienna are highly influenced by events during their childhood and youth in Carinthia, the author also retraces how her interlocutors retrospectively describe the significance and value of Slovene in matters of themselves and of the larger social context.

A special emphasis lies on the analysis of language ideologies, which Silverstein (1979: 193) sees in his classic definition as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 55f.) build on this definition when they state that language ideologies are a "mediating link between social structures and forms of talk", which connects language to identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology. As such, the analysis of language ideologies relates the microstructure of communication to the broader political and economic context of power and social inequality, which may lead to macrosocial constraints on language behaviour (Woolard / Schieffelin 1994: 72).

Another definition comes from Gal (2006: 13), who sees language ideologies as labels of cultural ideas, presumptions and presuppositions which are used by social groups to name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices. Language ideologies can be found, according to Busch (2013: 81), in "metalinguistic and metapragmatic discourses, in language attitudes, linguistic practices or in the spatial regulation of language use". Such ideologies – or ideas of language and linguistic practices – are literally omnipresent, especially in a context such as Carinthia where political conflicts often are connected to language and influence language use, its evaluation and transmission in complex ways.

7. Slovene in Carinthia

The analysis of the retrospective evaluation of the role of the Slovene language in Carinthia's society reveals that the interlocutors have different approaches and experiences which reflect the sociolinguistic and political situation that pertained during their socialization. Thus, those born before 1950 associate Slovene with their family and generally with wellbeing, albeit the decision to speak Slovene in the family was tantamount to a political decision, which clearly involved a positioning within Carinthian society. Vladimir (*1939), for instance, tells the following about the linguistic ambience in his childhood:³

wir waren zweisprachig, (.) wir waren zuhause- (.) selbstverständlich- (-) äh haben wir NUR slowenisch gesprochen, (--) wir gAlt en als- (.) nationalslowenen für mehrere im dOrf, (--) aber wir waren also- (--) ä::h- (.) keine- (.) kämpferische familie. (.) und schon gar nicht also jeder einzeln- (.) jedes einzelne mitglied.

we were bilingual, (.) we were at home- (.) of course- (-) eh we spoke ONLY slovene, (--) we were cOUnted as- (.) national slovenes by several others in the village, (--) but we were- (--) e::h- (.) not a- (.) militant family. (.) and even less so each individual- (.) each individual member.⁴

The fact that Vladimir's family decided to continue speaking Slovene in spite of the repression during the National Socialist regime brought them the pejorative label "National Slovenes". This term implied several negative connotations like "Germanophobia" and "treacherous" during and after World War II (Priestly 1997: 90), which Vladimir tries to discredit by adding that speaking Slovene came naturally and the language choice had no political significance within his family.

While Vladimir and the other interlocutors of his generation discursively present Slovene as a natural family language, those born between 1950 and 1980 mostly associate Slovene with political convictions, historic events and partly also with moral pressure. Miran (*1957), for example, tells us the following about the role of the Slovene language in his family:

3 The transcribing conventions correspond to those of GAT (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem), taken from Lucius-Hoene / Deppermann (2002: 310–312): . ; - , ? intonation (strongly falling, falling, constant, slightly raising, strongly raising); (.) (-) (--) (---) pausing (less than a second); (2,0) pausing (length in seconds); SILbe main accent; vokAl secondary accent; : :: :::: prolongations; g=fühl contractions; <<sehr schnell> > different voice quality in utterances; ((lacht)) laughing; (ha) particles of laughing.

4 The English translation corresponds in terms of word order and use as much to the original as possible.

und zwar es war NIE, (-) NIEMALS eine debatte darüber ob slowenisch oder nicht, (-) und ob das gut is oder schlecht, (.) das war gesetzt;

in fact there was NEVER, (-) NEVER a debate if slovene or not, (-) and if that's good or bad, (.) that was given;

Miran states that the decision to speak Slovene in his family was not one to question or even criticize, which is also reflected in the impersonal constructions in this passage. Later, he explains that this special position of Slovene was grounded in historical events which even decades later continue to influence language choices: His mother was one of the 917 Carinthian Slovenes deported in 1942 by agents of the National Socialist regime for being “public enemies” (Entner 2010: 20); two of his great-uncles emigrated to Yugoslavia after the referendum of 1920, which determined southern Carinthia as definite part of Austria (Inzko et al. 1988: 67). In addition, Miran’s father was a teacher of Slovene, which along with the other factors determined the language choice in his family.

This passage also shows that the ideologization of languages in Carinthia is not one-sided: While part of the majority population depreciated Slovene in verbal and non-verbal actions in the past (and partly still does so), the minority assigned high symbolic value to the Slovene language and gave it enormous importance for its existence and identity (Wakounig 2008: 351f.). In Miran’s case, the gap between his language competences (as he perceived them himself) and the societal expectancy concerning his knowledge of Slovene – and thus his identity as a Carinthian Slovene – resulted in the laconic statement that he did not know Slovene at all:

<<sehr schnell> so bin i irgendwie aufg=wochs=n, (.) i hab g=wusst i bin ein slowene i kann nit slowenisch;> (-- äh- (.) es war mühsam;

<<very fast> this is how i grew up somehow, (.) i knew i am a slovene i don't know slovene;> (-- eh- (.) it was tedious;

Miran devalues his own linguistic competences by stating that he did not know Slovene at all or at least “not really”, which cannot be entirely true, as both his parents spoke Slovene in the family. Rather, it is an indication for an ideological conceptualization of how a Slovene like him should be able to speak and which he feels unable to fulfil because of the dominant role German played in his home village and at elementary school.

In turn, the interlocutors who belong to the youngest generation, those born after 1980, experienced Slovene as a language whose existence was threatened due to widespread assimilation. Indeed, while the interlocutors born before 1950 report about a Slovene-only environment during their childhood, where literally only the

postman, the policeman and the mayor spoke German, the youngest interlocutors belong to the last ones among their peers in their home villages who still speak Slovene.

Elena (*1983), for instance, tells us how she experienced the division of her world into a Slovene- and a German-speaking sphere:

u:::nd äh, (-) slowenisch war wie g=sagt also immer die sprache von zuhause- (.) und von::: ä::h- (---) gewissen- (--) wie soll i sagen- (-) KÄRNtner slowenischen kreisen- (.) ohne das jetzt irgendwie stigmatisierend sagen zu wollen- (--) äh und deutsch war dann halt immer die sprache der- (.) öffentlichkeit. (.) fast schon. (.) also sozialisiert ist man DEFinitiv, im DEUtschen g=wesen- (.) I zumindest;

a:::nd eh, (-) slovene was as said before always the language of home- (.) and of::: e::h- (---) certain- (--) how should i say- (-) CARinthian slovene circles- (.) without wanting to say it in a stigmatizing way- (--) eh and german was then always the language of the- (.) public. (.) already almost. (.) you DEFinitely, got socialized in GERman- (.) at least I was;

The dichotomy between German and Slovene is also reflected in Elena's narrative: While Slovene is characterized as the only language spoken at home, German is the dominant language of the public sphere (de Cillia 1998: 62). Certain "circles" aside from her family speaking Slovene are discursively constructed as standing outside the 'normal' public. As a result, Elena feels that German was the more dominant language during her socialization – even though her family only spoke Slovene at home and she partly attended a Slovene school.

This kind of language dichotomy – both languages are assigned to certain domains and evaluated differently, whereby Slovene usually is connotated with emotions, but with the clearly weaker position in society – can be found in many of the author's interlocutors' narratives. Even the multilingualism and the international experiences of the youngest generation are not able to overcome this distinction. The acquisition of the minority language Slovene in a climate of defamation and social exclusion leaves its traces in individual experiences in any case (Wakounig 2008: 351f.).

In this respect, it is no wonder that the author's interlocutors generally regard life in Vienna as very positive and often opposite to life in Carinthia. The decision to leave Carinthia, however, was only by the author's eldest interlocutor, Lucija (*1936), described as a sort of escape after the massive discrimination she had suffered during her childhood in a National Socialist labour camp and in the monolingual German education institutions. The other interlocutors emphasized the opportunities for studying and working that Vienna offered them. Only some of them had the aim of staying in Vienna for a longer period. Mostly, the author's interlocutors remained after their studies due to work or family. However, moving to Vienna usually does

not mean there is no way back: On the one hand, family ties and friendships last, and those who had children in Vienna let them spend their holidays in a bilingual environment in Carinthia. The urban environment also offers the opportunity to deal with Carinthian topics from a different perspective. On the other hand, some of the author's interlocutors return to Carinthia after several years or even decades, or take on a more flexible way of life by commuting between the two places.

8. Slovene in Vienna

The anonymity and multilingualism of the urban space are usually mentioned as advantages of life in Vienna: Both of these factors contribute to the feeling of linguistic freedom that most of the author's interlocutors experience. Dunja (*1972), for instance, concisely summarizes what life in Vienna means to her:

und das war schon? (.) stadtluft macht FREI? auch; (.) auch auch sprachlich. (--) ja- (.) plötzlich war es nichts mehr- (.) nichts besonderes mehr und nichts- (.) wofür man scheel angeschaut wird, (--) wenn man NICHT, deutsch gesprochen hat;

and that was? (.) urban air makes you FREE? as well; (.) also also in a linguistic way. (--) yes- (.) suddenly it was not any more- (.) nothing special any more and nothing- (.) for which you get disapproving looks, (--) when you did NOT, speak german;

Vienna is discursively constructed as a place where the (public) use of languages other than German is "nothing special" and therefore does not put Dunja in the focus of unwanted attention. She adds that she has never been confronted with the demand to speak German in public, commonly made in Carinthia, nor with other forms of disrespect. On the other hand, she mentions that the pressure of her parents and teachers to speak Slovene among her peers was less present in Vienna, which in turn made it easier to actually talk more Slovene than before. Altogether, Dunja states that she thinks it is easier to be a Carinthian Slovene in Vienna than in Carinthia.

Most of the author's other interlocutors share Dunja's experience: Martin (*1990), for instance, stresses how much he appreciates being able to talk Slovene publicly without any fear of negative consequences:

*und i red i red nur slow- (.) einfach daher und kaner geht mir auf die nerven und hin und wieder wirst sogar g=frogt- (.) hö? (---) was is das für a sproch? (.) sogst du slowenisch? (--) ah SO? (--) ois klor jo, (--) und i denk mir- (.) ja kamot, (--) als tschusch beleidigt bin ich noch nie wurden olta- (1,5) in wien noch nie, (--) noch NIE?
and i talk i only talk slov- (.) simply and nobody gets on my nerves and sometimes you even get asked- (.) he? (---) what kind of language is this? (.) slovene you say? (--)*

i SEE? (--) all right yeah, (--) and i think- (.) yeah cool, (--) i never got insulted as a tschusch- (1,5) never in vienna, (--) NEVER?

Though Martin was born in 1990, in an already less heated social and political climate, he still had the experience that sanctions might be imposed against public use of Slovene. All the more he enjoys life in Vienna, where people usually react indifferently towards his language choice or even show their interest. Never has Martin experienced being insulted as a “tschusch” – a very common pejorative word used to affront speakers of Slavic languages.

Even Lucija (*1936), who came to Vienna long before the beginning of larger migrational movements, experienced the capital as a multilingual city: Especially the presence of the four occupying powers (USA, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union), which controlled the city until 1955, appealed to her (Bihl et al. 2006: 554–563). The everyday discrimination she had to bear during her childhood and youth in Carinthia stopped once she was in Vienna:

u::nd- (-) in wien fühlte ich mich überhaupt nicht extra- (--) also sprachlich- (.) NICHT, diskriminiert; (-) das muss ich schon sagen. (-) in wien- (.) war das in dieser bez- (.) also eigentlich ÜBERhaupt nicht als slowenin, (-) da hat man eben einfach- (-) ä::h (-) ja, normal gelebt nicht, (.) ohne immer so mit eingezogenem rücken so herum-zulaufen,

a::nd- (-) in vienna i didn't feel at all extra- (--) linguistically- (.) NOT, discriminated; (-) i have to say that. (-) in vienna- (.) that was in this resp- (.) actually not at ALL as a slovene, (-) there one could simply- (-) e::h (-), yes, live normally, (.) move without fear of intimidation,

Life in the metropolis gave Lucija the opportunity to get to know a way of living without being discriminated and intimidated as a Slovene speaker. In Vienna, she was able to find a “normal” life she had not known before.

To sum up, in Vienna the Slovene language loses its ideological attribution and its political significance: While Slovene in Carinthia clearly forms a dichotomy with the majority language, German, it plays a rather marginal role in Vienna's multilingual environment. For some of the author's interlocutors, it is exactly this ambience that motivates them to speak more Slovene than they used to during their high school time in Carinthia. As the language choice in Vienna loses political and ideological significance, some of the author's interlocutors have developed a less burdened relationship towards Slovene. Others, however, emphasize that it is even more difficult to keep up with their competences in Slovene, because the use of Slovene is more restricted to certain domains and persons and requires a higher degree of organization.

9. Language transmission in Vienna

The transmission of Slovene to the next generation correspondingly takes place in a different setting than in Carinthia: Minority members living in the traditional areas of settlement can rely on several Slovene-speaking or bilingual organizations and institutions and, in some villages, socialization with those who are predominantly Slovene still comes naturally.

In Vienna, however, Slovene-speaking parents are mostly left on their own. Six of the author's interlocutors have raised children in Vienna and some of them already have grandchildren, but each of them had different preconditions for transmitting Slovene. While the three interlocutors of the oldest generation married Slovene-speaking partners, the three interlocutors of the next generation are married to German speakers. Still, there is no clear correlation between their partners' language and the dominant language with their children: Lucija (*1936), for instance, married to a Carinthian Slovene, also established French as a language with her two children besides Slovene; her granddaughter grew up with all three languages. From today's perspective, Lucija sees that the linguistic development in her family was due to the terrifying experiences she had with speakers of German during and after the Second World War. As a result, she replaced German with French:

also wir haben in- (.) in der familie, (-) also- (---) in der familie, (.) ja? (.) hier in WIEN, (.) praktisch- (.) NUR slowenisch und französisch gesprochen; (-- nicht, (.) also mit den kindern slowenisch oder französisch- (.) mein mann hat a:h (-) nicht französisch gelernt- (.) er er hat eben slowenisch gesprochen; (.) so dass a:h (---) ja dass ich eigentlich- (.) das deutsche aus meinem privaten leben ausgegrenzt habe. (.) nicht, (.) es war alles diese traumata von früher,

we talked in- (.) in the family, (-) well- (---) in the family, (.) ok? (.) here in VIENNA, (.) practically- (.) ONLY slovene and french; (-- yeah, (.) that means with the children slovene or french- (.) my husband has e:h (-) not learnt french- (.) he he talked just slovene; (.) so that a:h (---) yeah that i really- (.) excluded german from my private life. (.) yeah, (.) all that came from the traumata before,

With Slovene and French as family languages, Lucija could form for herself a space where she could feel protected from the German-speaking environment. But, as mentioned above, she has never suffered any discrimination in Vienna, which implies that the negatively perceived German-speaking atmosphere in Carinthia still had an influence on her in Vienna.

Sonja (*1945), in turn, speaks a Slovene dialect with her husband, but tried to speak standard Slovene with her two children:

*und wir beide sprechen auch zuhause do, (-) die haussprache ist der- (.) der dialEkt, (--)
während wir mit den kindern oba- (.) ein bisschen schriftsprache gesprochen haben;
(-) weil man(ha) von dem ausgegangen sind- (.) dass sie den dialekt in kärnten nicht
mehr hören werden, (-) ja; ((lacht))*

*and we both also talk here at home, (-) the language of this house is the- (.) the dialEkt,
(--) while we talked to the children- (.) a bit stAndard language; (-) because we(ha)
assumed- (.) that they won't hear the dialect in carinthia any more, (-) yeah; ((laugh-
ing))*

In her own family, Sonja had experienced that Slovene was slowly being replaced by German, even though parts of her family were very conscious Slovene speakers. This language shift made her think the Slovene dialect would be useless for her children, because they would not find peers to speak it with (Busch 2010: 176). Later, German also became more dominant with her own children – Sonja describes it as a challenge that there were virtually no structures which could have supported the language acquisition of her children. To counterbalance this lack of infrastructure, she even organized informal afternoons for her own children and those of befriended families in order to teach them Slovene. Anyway, German turned out to be more dominant in the communication with her daughters, but she also emphasizes that her children were able to develop a less burdened attitude towards Slovene: As many children in their neighbourhood grew up bilingually, her children thought themselves simply normal, while Sonja herself had experienced during her youth how Slovene made her an outsider.

Maja (*1972) has two children and speaks Slovene with them, while her husband speaks German. She tries to convey to them an awareness of their bilingualism and feels she would have failed if her daughters could not speak Slovene as adults. She grounds this feeling in expectations that are connected with Slovene language acquisition among the Carinthian Slovene minority:

*also ich HOB das g=fühl, (.) wenn meine KINder, (.) erwachsen sind, (.) und slowenisch
net sprechen werden donn hob i versogt. (2,5) na? (-- also des des hat jeder so im blut
mit weil; (-- mei voter- (.) mei großvoter partisAne wor, (-) und meine mutter- (.) opfer
wor von dem zweiten; also- (.) es is- (-- du kriegst es- (.) du kriegst es VOLLE wäsch
mit,*

*well i HAVE the feeling, (.) when my CHILdren, (.) are grown up, (.) and don't speak
slovene then i have failed. (2,5) hu? (-- everyone has that that in their blood because;
(--) my father- (.) my grandfather was a partisAn, (-) and my mother- (.) was a victim
during the second; well- (.) it is- (-- you get it- (.) you get the FULL load of it,*

Maja explains her fear of failure with her personal family history: While her grandfather was actively involved in the resistance against the National Socialist regime, her mother was deported in 1942 to a labour camp. According to her narrative, Maja has internalized this kind of fear so deeply that it runs “in her blood”. To prevent this, she tries to organize a Slovene environment for her children by finding Slovene speakers as caretakers and takes them to the Slovene language classes at the SZI. Maja describes the bilingual language acquisition in Vienna as a challenge, but at the same time Vienna is a place where speaking Slovene comes more naturally and is based less on a political decision than in Carinthia.

10. Summary

Altogether, the autobiographical narratives illustrate that the migration of Carinthian Slovenes to Vienna should not be seen as a threat to the existence of the minority. On the contrary, they show that it is possible to live as Carinthian Slovenes beyond the borders of the autochthonous area of settlement and to contribute in one way or another to the development of the minority. Also, their migration to Vienna is not unidirectional, as connections with Carinthia are kept alive and some even return to their home villages after some years or decide to commute between both places. Besides, the urban environment offers the possibility to deal with issues such as politics, identity or family history from a different point of view. Life in Vienna has indeed the potential for solving conflicts, like the agonizing dichotomy between Slovene and German. In summary, it should – also in a political sense – be accepted that the reality of the Carinthian Slovene minority is no longer restricted to the areas of settlement which are acknowledged as autochthonous.

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Neval Berber

A dialogic approach to teaching minority literature in multiethnic societies

In 2011 the European Academy of Bolzano developed and disseminated a teaching programme on local minority literatures (Ladin and Cimbrian) in Alto Adige/South Tyrol and Trentino majority secondary schools (Italian and German) by focusing on the educational characteristics of literary texts. This paper illustrates one particular aspect of this method of reading and interpreting the literary text by referring to the theme of identity formation and language issues within the Cimbrian minority community. It shows how reading and interpreting a Cimbrian short story from a socially and culturally sensitive perspective, that focuses on temporality, relationality and syncretism typical for the concept of identity such as theorized by Stuart Hall and relates these issues to language, can enable the majority students to reflect on the modern, fragmented, fluid and multiple nature of both minority and majority identities. In conclusion, it discusses in what way a minority literary text, when it is read in class in a way that allows us to engage in critical discussion about culture and society, becomes a valuable method to launch a dialogue and construct a bridge between the minority and the majority groups in multilingual and multicultural societies.

Over the last three decades, the need for and the importance of creating multicultural teaching programmes have been stressed in several multilingual/multicultural societies. In the United States (Ballinger 1984; Garcia 1998), Australia (Allan, Hill 1995), Canada (Johnston, Mangat 2012) and some Scandinavian countries (Biseth 2010), we have witnessed the increasing presence of teaching programmes attentive to integrating ethnic minority content, aiming in this way to increase mutual understanding and promote tolerance in multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual areas. There has been the realization that it is necessary to open up to culture of the Other in order to promote dialogue, coexistence and mutual understanding in these areas, and that schools can play an active role in similar processes. This has been a crucial issue in the reorientation of certain traditional and monolithic educational principles, according to which school programmes tended to be constructed on majority culture without taking into consideration minority groups' cultures.

In the United States, James A. Banks's intervention was the most influential in this sense. In his 1989 essay *Integrating the Curriculum with Ethnic Content: Approaches and Guidelines*, written in the flourishing context of American multiculturalism, Banks proposed a model of multicultural programme at four levels, each level being characterized by a different degree of integration of minority contents in school

programmes of majority groups (Banks 1989). In this way Banks intended to show different ways of approaching minority contents in the context of majority schools: Either contents dealing with minorities could be simply added to the already existing programmes (a method called “contributions approach” or “ethnic additive approach”), or the existing school programmes could undergo deep changes so as to allow the students to deal with minority problems, preoccupations and themes from the viewpoint of the same minority (“transformation approach” and “social action approach”).¹

By integrating ethnic contents in existing school programmes (in the light of James Banks’s multicultural theories), literature too has begun to be perceived as an educational tool able to improve and enhance mutual understanding between different linguistic and cultural groups. Minor, minority or multicultural literature is in fact nowadays considered to be an educational tool which can improve knowledge of different cultures and can enhance discussion about other people’s problems and preoccupations. For this reason, literature teaching has also played an important role in reforming the United States teaching programmes for literature, as Mindich Bieger, Dietrich and Ralph highlighted, as it is able to deepen children’s understanding for cultures that are different from their own (Bieger 1995/1996; Dietrich, Ralph 1995).

Besides, specific approaches have been developed for reading and interpreting literary texts in multicultural perspectives. In the United States, once again, probably the best work in this area has been done by Donna E. Norton, who after having tried different approaches to teaching multicultural literature opted for a five phase teaching model. According to this, scholar students should gradually approach multicultural literature, learning first about ancient literary genres belonging to oral traditions, folktales, fables, myths and legends, and then about the more recent ones such as autobiographies, historical fiction, contemporary fiction and poetry. According to Norton and other scholars who focused on educational proprieties of multicultural literature, the students thus are gradually initiated into social structures and cultural contents of the Other by learning how to approach culture and history of the Other as well as preoccupations, problems and concepts relevant for the Other (Norton 1990; Valdez 1998).

Recently, in some European national contexts characterized by multilingualism, literary scholars have been also advancing interesting proposals in relation to literary education imbued with intercultural elements. The Slovene scholar Nives

1 Banks’s model of multicultural programme has been further developed in: Banks J.A./McGhee C.A. (eds.), 1989. *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon: 189–207. Banks, J.A. 1995. *Multicultural education: Historical development, dimensions, and practice* in J.A. Banks/C.A. McGhee (eds.), 1995. *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, Macmillan, New York: 3–24.

Žudič Antonič, for example, has highlighted the important role literature can play in the “frontier” region, in the educational processes involving intercultural dimensions as in the case of the Slovene Littoral characterized by Italian-Slovene bilingualism which she examined. Advancing an interactive didactic model of teaching literature, Žudič Antonič suggests an analysis of the literary text from the cultural perspective, which introduces students and teachers to a form of critical dialogue in the process of reading of the minority literary text – referring in particular to the Italian minority within the context of Slovene schools of the Slovene Littoral. An active confrontation with the voice of the author, in the classes based on interactive workshops intending to involve the students actively in the discussion, would be able to initiate a form of dialogue between different cultures inhabiting the zone of the Slovene Littoral, also promoting deeper understanding between the Slovene and the Italian communities. This can also occur through the choice of literary texts which are culturally and geographically close to both students and teachers (Žudič Antonič, Malčič 2007; Žudič Antonič 2012).

Taking into consideration similar developments in the field of multicultural education as well as the involvement of multicultural literature in the processes of transformation of school programmes, a project was launched at the European Academy of Bolzano in 2011 that aims to encourage the knowledge of two ethno-linguistic minorities of the region, the Ladins and the Cimbri, among young people from the Trentino and Alto Adige regions belonging to Italian and German linguistic groups, hoping to thus promote the intercultural dialogue between ethno-linguistic majorities and minorities.

The Alto Adige/South Tyrol-Trentino, a frontier region that for a long time belonged to the Habsburg Empire and became part of Italy only after the First World War, is an area with its own ethno-demographic characteristics. Due to the presence of a large German-speaking population, the two provinces of this region (the province of Trento and of Bolzano) obtained a high level of administrative autonomy within the context of the Italian state after the Second World War, forging specific legal norms for the protection of the local minorities. In the region, besides the two linguistic majorities (German-speaking population and Italian-speaking population) with their respective school systems, there are three other officially recognized minorities (Ladins, Mochens and Cimbri).

With this context at the background, the Institute for Specialized Communication and Multilingualism at the European Academy of Bolzano (EURAC) proposed first to develop and then to disseminate in Alto Adige and Trentino secondary schools a teaching programme on Ladin and Cimbrian literature in particular, by focusing on the educational characteristics of literary texts. In the process of creating didactic units, priority was given to the method of literature teaching, thus placing great importance on “how” to teach in the classroom in order to efficiently promote dialogue

between majority and minority groups of this Italian Region. Here, the author would like to illustrate a proposed teaching model that promoted reciprocal understanding and acknowledged cultural and linguistic differences of minority groups, while simultaneously avoiding the reduction of the Other to a simplistic cultural model and enhancing an intersubjective me-you relationship between the individuals.²

According to the author's thesis, a 'socio-cultural' method of literature teaching is able to activate "relational reason", a special reason able to stimulate relationality and intersubjectivity between the majority and minority members. It is also in step with recent developments in European cultural policy that have stressed the limits of multiculturalism, which promotes cohabitation of culturally different groups without necessarily promoting mutual understanding and knowledge. This teaching method aims to promote a type of interculturalism instead of multiculturalism, and, instead of cohabitation, some sort of relationality and dialogue between majority groups (Italian-speaking population and German-speaking population) and minority groups (Ladins and Cimbrians).

Bakhtin and his followers have stressed the importance of studying language and language expression by referring to the social context. According to these theories every single word always interacts with the context from which it originates (both linguistic and social) and can therefore have different meanings depending on where it is positioned (Bakhtin 2001). In the field of literary studies this particular perspective has contributed to spreading the idea that views the literary text as a product of the social context from which it originates. In this sense every literary text can be considered in dialogue with the socio-linguistic context in which it is situated, whereas cultural and social instances which are innate to literary text can be perceived in its language, form and themes. The literary text, thus, as a product of an ethno-linguistic group, is characterized by cultural and social elements characterizing this particular group.

In opposition to classical methods of teaching literature in which the approach is to reconstruct the development of writing in prose or in verse from its origins to the present through a historical lens, this teaching method originates from a deep awareness of the socio-cultural nature of the literary text. Consequently, this method aims to bring to light socio-cultural instances inherent in the text in order to activate "relational reason" and to promote intercultural dialogue. In this sense this method is in step with instructional approaches of some post-Marxist American scholars influenced by Freireian theories that since the 80s have been promoting "critical literacy theory" according to which the practice of literacy is not simply a means of attaining

2 This teaching model has been illustrated in detail in N. Berber. 2013. *La letteratura per conoscere le minoranze*. Bolzano/Bozen: EURAC.

literacy in the sense of improving the ability to decode words and syntax. It should rather aim to improve the students' ability to interact with the text, to think about it critically and flexibly, empowering them to understand how texts are trying to influence them culturally and socially and in their self-perception (Cadero-Kaplan 2002).

The reading of the text from the socio-cultural perspective, which aims to promote intercultural dialogue in The Alto Adige/South Tyrol-Trentino, is in line with the above discussed pedagogical approaches. Using our proposed method of teaching, the literary text would be read from a socio-constructivist vantage point in order to promote intercultural dialogue in an Italian region and to raise awareness of some of its minority languages and cultures and of their social prestige. In the author's opinion, this is possible through a variety of modern post-structuralist approaches to a literary text that rely on theories developed in the field of socio-linguistics, anthropological and cultural studies. These theories focus their attention on the issues of identity, on the language-identity relationship, on discourse analysis and on topics of relationality, alterity and ethnicity.

This approach is not interested in the history of literature. It does not focus on philological aspects of the text, on literary movements and on nature of literary genres. It is not intended to reconstruct relations between literary texts or to perform formal text analysis. It is an approach that can be called "socio-cultural" for it privileges the text-society interconnection and promotes critical thinking on the society drawing on the text and on social implications of the text.

In light of such considerations of the method of teaching minority literature, it was judged opportune to base discussions in the classroom on two themes in particular. The first one is the formation of minority identities, whereas the second one is the relation between language and the processes of identity formation.

The starting point for such discussions in class was the conceptualization of identity in light of the constructivist, cultural and anthropological theories. For at least two decades these theories have been opposing the ideas of identity as a stable structure located in the human psyche or being formed through fixed social categories. Identities, as has been recently demonstrated by scholars, are to be considered intersubjectively achieved social and cultural phenomena which do not precede discourses circulating within the society, but which emerge from them.

Stuart Hall is very likely to be considered the leading figure in the field of post-structuralist cultural studies, having highlighted that identities are not to be seen as single unified entities but as fragmented, multiple and multi-layered constructs owing to different "discourses", social practices and positions, often opposing and intersecting, out of which they arise. Identities, according to Hall, are subject to radical historicizing and can be placed within a constant process of transformation and change. Hall's viewpoint is thus in strong opposition to every essentialist and nationalist position that conceives identity as a strong and stable nucleus of the indi-

vidual self (or of the collective) that stays the same from the beginning to the end and throughout history, while stressing the historically and socially situated nature of this concept (Hall 2002).

In light of such considerations on identity formations, studies in the field of socio-linguistics, linguistic anthropology and social psychology have recently linked the concept of identity to that of language. Language has been studied as one of the means by which to construct identities as relational phenomena, socially and culturally constructed, that originates and circulates in the contexts of local discourses characterized by interaction.³ If identities have a fragmented, multiple and multilayered character, due to the discourse from which they arise, languages are able to recall this phenomenon in all its complexity.

We thus assume as a starting point that each identity group, the minority one included, is constructed among others thorough its language, i.e. that language and identity are two interconnected phenomena. During the process of studying and reading literary texts in class it was also important to encourage secondary school students to reflect on the characteristics of the language used by the authors belonging to the minority group and on their way of dealing with the theme of language in their works, in order to better understand the temporality, relationality and syncretism typical of the minority identities. Concretely, it was stressed that language related issues can be considered useful tools for highlighting that identities of two minorities in question are not:

- atemporal data, isolated from the social processes and with little or nothing to do with history
- data arising in isolation, without interaction with what is Other of Self
- culturally “pure” and uncontaminated data

Even if the studied texts were written by Ladin and Cimbrian authors who write either in Italian or in German, thus not in their native languages but in the languages of the two majority groups of the region, the objective was to focus on lexical, syntactical and grammatical characteristics of their texts in class which would allow to develop discussions on the two identities in question.

During each class session, it was thus considered very important to provide not only literary issues regarding the two minority communities, but also the linguistic ones. For this reason, the historical developments of the Ladin and Cimbrian languages, above all in the contemporary age, and the multilingualism characterising the two geographical contexts within which the two communities are found, were

3 See two introductory chapters “Locating Identity in Language” and “Locating Language in Identity” of the book *Language and Identities*. 2010. Llamas C./Watt D. (eds.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press:18–39.

considered two topic issues. Recent standardizations of both languages were objects of discussion during each workshop offered by the experts on the two minority literatures in question, whose intention was to discuss not only the positive effects that these recent events have had on the development of the language and of the community's cultural life, but also on the complex and problematic issues, as for example the capacity of the literary language which arises out of standardization to preserve and spread minority languages that originally were committed to orality.

The everyday contact of Ladin and Cimbrian with the majority languages of the region and the effects of globalization on the local realities, both on oral and written language, conferring to the community an unavoidably multilingual character, were constantly in the background of each class discussion. Finally, each of these historical and linguistic aspects was discussed in relation to ample

identity issues. In this way it was important to show how complexities regarding the language, together with other social, cultural and political factors, produce modern identities, dynamic and multiple entities, either of them being majority or minority, local and ethnical or national, male or female, and so on.

As a consequence two unavoidable questions have arisen: What occurs with identities when languages spoken by the minorities of the region are involved in the ample processes of historical change, and in what way are language and identity interconnected in the contemporary age and in the broader contexts characterized by multilingualism, where the local minorities live? In order to deal with the theme of minority identity from the viewpoint of the language, it was necessary to each time contextualize the latter by examining its characteristics for the specific case of the studied author, as well as the relationship with the language that emerges from the text.

Due to its innate characteristics, the minority literary text fits particularly well into literary analysis that is conscious of the reciprocal relations between text and context, as we could observe during our school workshops.

In their famous essay *What is a Minor Literature?*, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari maintain that minority literature springs into life out of the fundamental desire, which is a typical characteristic of minority groups, to remain a minority and to affirm points of view that are not those of the majority to which they relate, in order to avoid classifications, interpretations, or what the two philosophers call "territorializations", according to the canons which have been set by the dominant culture (Deleuze, Guattari 1975).

In their reading of the work by Franz Kafka, who according to the two philosophers is to be considered representative of the "minor" literature, i.e. the literature which is not of a minor language but the literature a minority produces in a majority language, the two philosophers show how Kafka's work is a rhizome which does not crystalize into a unifying form but expresses itself through a proliferation of different

lines of growth. It is thanks to the peculiarity of its structure that Kafka's texts do not conform to the majority interpretations, thus affirming the minority viewpoint. The specificity of the cultural context out of which minority literary texts arise is what makes a minority text not interpretable according to the codes of the dominant literary models. In the case of

Kafka, it is that of the Prague's Jew, who writes in German of Prague affected by a strong coefficient of de-territorialization.

The de-territorialized language is also the first of the three structural characteristics of the minor literature, according to Deleuze and Guattari. The language of a majority, which becomes the language of expression of the minority group, is converted to its own use, imbued with lexical, syntactical and grammatical characteristics which are normally not in use in the majority community. The characteristics acquired by the majority language in a text written by an author belonging to the minority mainly depend upon the culture and the language of the minority in question.

The second characteristic of the minor literature pointed out by Deleuze and Guattari is the political value of the individual matters. Everything, as Deleuze and Guattari point out, in the minority literature is "political", comprising the individual issues of the characters. Whereas in "great" literatures, the question of the individual (familial, conjugal, etc.) tends to be connected to other, no less individual questions, and the social milieu serves as environment and background, in the national minority literature every individual matter is immediately plugged into the political.

The third characteristic is that everything has a collective value, meaning that what is expressed in a minor literature does not regard just a single individual but the entire community to which it belongs.

The strong dependence on the cultural context of the language used by a minority author, the political values of the individual matters and the collective character of the minority texts, are all characteristics and structural elements which determine a strong presence of cultural and social instances within the minority text, making it particularly apt for analysis that carefully considers the values and the socio-cultural, as well as political, instances involved.

Specifically, the author would like to illustrate this method of reading and interpreting the literary text by referring to the theme of language and identity formation in the Cimbrian community of the Trentino-Alto Adige region. Reading and interpreting the Cimbrian text, from the socio-cultural perspective, for example, that focuses on temporality, relationality and syncretism typical for the concept of identity from the language viewpoint, can in the author's opinion enable the students to reflect on the process of formation, on the character and on the modern, fragmented, fluid and multiple, nature of the identity of this minority group in particular.

Who are the Cimbri of the Trentino-Alto Adige region? It is a very small community that nowadays counts 300 people, almost all of them living in Luserna/Lusérn, a small mountain village located near Trento. The community speaks a Germanic language from the eighth century CE that only in the twentieth century got the current denomination i.e. “Cimbro/Zimbar”.⁴ Besides the language, the community also owns a rich cultural heritage including a written and literary tradition (Bidese 2010). The latter is also closely related to the recent process of standardization of the Cimbrian language, which occurred in 2006, when an official grammar and orthography for the Cimbrian language were adopted. As also this recent standardization of the Cimbrian language, which has certainly strengthened the Cimbrian identity as is known today, shows, it is an identity which needs to be observed in the context of recent regional and provincial politics.

The protection and enhancement of the local linguistic minorities, the Cimbri, the Mochens and the Ladins in the context of South Tyrol/Alto Adige, occurred simultaneously with the protection of the autonomous status of the provinces of Trento and Bolzano. In this sense it is possible to say that developments in local policy regarding the protection of the minority rights and the consequent flourishing of the minority communities’ cultural life occurred simultaneously. Today’s Cimbrian identity thus needs to be studied within the context of these social and political variables. Therefore, during our workshops too, we thought it necessary to introduce students to these specific socio-political data so as to provide them with tools necessary to critically think about the collective identity issues from the perspective of the Cimbrian community case study.

Our reflection on the Cimbrian identity and language, which was launched in the classroom by analyzing a very recent Cimbrian short story, also highlighted other interesting aspects regarding this community’s life. Before beginning with the analysis of the short story, majority students were provided with some important information regarding the Cimbrian language, Cimbrian traditions that are still relevant in Luserna, and the development of the Cimbrian literature through centuries, in particular relating to its passage from oral into written form. Developments in provincial politics regarding the protection of minority rights and the consequent flourishing of the minority communities’ cultural life were also mentioned. During our workshops interactive learning was favoured, trying to thus actively involve the students in class discussions.

After this socio-historical introduction, a recently written short story by Cimbrian author Andrea Nicolussi Golo entitled “The Story of Katerj” was read in

4 For more details on these issues, see Luserna-Lusérn (Comunità cimbra del Trentino), in Prezzi, C. (ed). 2004. *Isole di cultura*. Luserna: Centro documentazione Luserna: 79–87.

class.⁵ Even though this story was written in Italian (the most used language within the Cimbrian community, whereas Cimbrian is a prevalently oral language acquiring a written tradition only very recently) and not in Cimbrian, so it is not possible to talk about a Cimbrian text in the Cimbrian language, we chose it as it in our opinion deals with the Cimbrian identity in an original, innovative and pedagogical way. Our choice was also justified by the enlightening analysis of the minor literary text by Guattari and Deleuze according to which one of the characterizing elements of the minor text is the fact that it does not arise from a literature written in a minor language but from a literature written in a major language and for this exact reason it is capable to affect the majority language with a high coefficient of de-territorialization.

Golo's Italian can be classified as a "de-territorialized" language. Difficulties in class to interpret certain forms of expression used by him, at either lexical or syntactical and grammatical level, were due to the influence deriving from Cimbrian. Besides regularly using Cimbrian syntax, Golo also resorts to Cimbrian words while writing in Italian. For the latter, he sometimes provides his readers with translations into Italian, and at other times tends to use long paraphrases in order to explain their meaning. Elsewhere, he moreover chooses to entrust the translation of the text to the reader. If the latter understands Cimbrian, he/she will also capture the meaning of single words or entire phrases; if, on the contrary, this does not happen, the meaning of the text will remain intentionally ambiguous. The Italian in Golo's writing is thus a hybrid language, which contains traces of Cimbrian, imbuing the text with semantic uncertainties that make it de-territorialized and difficult to fit any classification.

Golo's story is centred on the main character named Katerj who was "born woman" in Lusern town at the beginning of the 20th century but who "lived as man" during the First and the Second World War and during the years of the modernization of Italy that arrived with capitalism and consumerism after the Second World War. Katerj, as Golo says, "a woman in man's body" is more a ghost than a human being, and instead of dealing with male or female identities aims to represent political, social and cultural ambiguities/uncertainties of the Cimbrian community of Lusern, through those which are the topic moments in the history of this community in the course of the short century. Golo in fact writes "This is a long and pacific story of Katerj [...] but it is also a story of all those people whom I encountered during my life leaving a sign."⁶ (Golo 2010: 10)

In particular, besides the negative effects of the two world wars on the Cimbrian community, this short story also analyses the trauma that the transformation from

5 A. Nicolussi Golo. 2010. *La storia di Katerj*, in *Guardiano di stelle (e di vacche)*. Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine: 10–46.

6 All translations from Italian into English of the short story by Andrea Nicolussi Golo are by the author.

being subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to becoming subjects of the Kingdom of Italy represented for the community. How the community felt after this passage is outlined by Katerj: "It was one morning, in 1937, that Katerj heard for the first time in her life that it was necessary to choose between being Italian or German. What a silly thing is this she shouted [...] everybody knows that we are Luserner." (Golo 2010: 39)

On a metaphorical level, ambiguities in Golo's language and in the gender definition of his main character who was, as Golo writes, "woman or man depending on how you looked at her, and on how she woke up in the morning" (Golo 2010: 10), also deal with difficulties relating to the history of belonging of the Cimbrian community. In 1937 the Cimbri had to choose between being Italians and Germans, even if they did not feel they belonged to either of these two communities. They rather identified with a language of Germanic origin that was not German but Cimbrian, and with cultural traditions of their native town Lusern. During the second half of the 20th century, this community discovered the identity named "Cimbrian", which came into being thanks to regional and provincial politics and to special legislation aiming to protect minority groups, and was further strengthened by the recent standardization of the Cimbrian language, but continued to contain elements and the character typical of a frontier, syncretic, identity.

Our interactive workshops held in classes at Italian and German language secondary schools showed that a discussion in class on minority identities and languages, in this case on the Cimbrian identity and language, was also able to launch a discussion on one's own identity and language and consequently to assess the presence of the same "ambiguous" elements and of the same complexity and syncretism for the majority group. In both Italian and German secondary school classes it was possible to assess with the students that language and identity complexity, as well as syncretism and fluidity, are not only the minority group's characteristics but that they characterize every ethno-linguistic identity independently of its political status. Besides, it was also possible to determine that identities, even if they in theory do have the same fluid and multiple meanings, are in practice profoundly different, due to different social, cultural and historical conditions out of which they originate.

And why is the dialogue important in all this? The socio-cultural approach that was adopted for the reading of literary text in class is an approach that originates from the dialogue. It is the dialogue between the literary text and its context that was highlighted by Bakhtin to allow us to read the text from a socio-cultural perspective.

In a more widely accepted sense, the dialogue is also what is stimulated by this socio-constructivist reading of the literary text. In our case, the dialogue between the majority and minority groups becomes an intercultural dialogue. It focuses not only on the differences between the two groups but also on what makes the two groups that share the same geographical territory and share a big part of their historical heritage similar. Concluding, the minority literary text, when read in class in a way

that allows us to engage in critical discussion about culture and society, becomes a valuable method to launch a dialogue, construct a bridge, between the minority and the majority groups in multiethnic and multilingual society.

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