

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



WORKING PAPER

**THE EUROPEAN UNION
AND
LESSER-USED LANGUAGES**

**Education and Culture Series
EDUC 108 EN**

This document is published in English only.

This Report has been drawn up by the CIEMEN (Centre Internacional Escarré per a les Minories Ètniques i les Nacions) on behalf of the Directorate-General for Research of the European Parliament.

The authors: Messrs. Joan Becat, Dimitris Christopoulos, Jarmo Lainio, Marc Leprêtre, Peter Nelde, Pdraig O Riagain, Antoni Strubell, Constantinos Tsitselikis, Jaume Vernet, Sergi Vilaró, Aina Villalonga, Nico Weber, Peter Weber and Glyn Williams.

Sr. Miquel Strubell, Director of the Humanities programme, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain (Report Co-ordinator).

Responsible official: Ms Pernille Winther, Principal Administrator
Directorate-General for Research
Tél.: (352) 4300-22688
Fax: (352) 4300-27720
E-mail address: DG4-sociale@europarl.eu.int

Manuscript completed in July 2002.

Paper copies can be obtained through: Publications service
Tel.: (352) 43 00-24053/20347
Fax: (352) 43 00-27722
E-mail: DG4-Publications@europarl.eu.int

Luxembourg, European Parliament, July 2002

The opinions expressed in this document are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament.

Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised provided the source is acknowledged and the publisher is given prior notice and sent a copy.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



WORKING PAPER

**THE EUROPEAN UNION
AND
LESSER-USED LANGUAGES**

Education and Culture Series

EDUC 108 EN

07-2002

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
--------------------------------	----------

PART ONE: THE EUROPEAN UNION AND LESSER-USED LANGUAGES

Chapter 1: An outline of initiatives taken at EU level to support minority languages over the last ten years

1. Introduction	22
1.1. An overview of relevant EU programmes.....	27

Chapter 2: The Community Action in favour of regional or minority languages in the EU. An evaluation of the projects funded, with particular reference to the reasons for their success or failure

2.1. Community Action in favour of the regional or minority languages in the EU: background.....	34
2.2. The calls for proposals under budget lines B3-1006 and B3-1000.....	35
2.3. EU co-funded projects, by fields of action and Member State.....	37
2.4. Evaluation of projects co-funded by the EU under budget lines B3-1006 and B3 1000, and examples of good practice.....	38

Chapter 3: Proposals and considerations on the way forward for the European Commission, in the light of the European Court of Justice judgment of 12 May 1998

3. Introduction.....	50
3.1. The current issue: European concern about language diversity	52
3.2. Language pluralism and culture.....	53
3.3. The general bases for a European language policy.....	58
3.4. Conclusion.....	64

Chapter 4: Conclusions and recommendations	66
---	-----------

**PART TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES
IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EU: GREECE, SPAIN,
FINLAND, FRANCE, IRELAND, LUXEMBOURG, UNITED KINGDOM**

Introduction	72
1. Greece	74
Introduction	74
Albanian	75
Aromanian	76
(Slavo)Macedonian, Bulgarian	77
Pomak	78
Turkish	80
2. Spain	82
Introduction	82
Aragonese (Fabla)	83
Asturian (Bable)	84
Basque.....	86
Catalan	90
Galician	94
Occitan	98
Portuguese.....	100
Tamazight (Berber).....	101
3. Finland	103
Introduction	103
Romany	104
Sami	106
Swedish	108
4. France	111
Introduction	111
Basque.....	112
Breton.....	114
Catalan	116
Corsican	118
Dutch.....	119
German.....	120
Occitan	122
5. Ireland	124
6. Luxembourg	127
7. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	131
Introduction	131
Cornish.....	132
Gaelic	133
Irish	135
Scots	137
Welsh	139
General references	142

Annexes	147
Annex 1: Distribution of projects funded by budget lines B3-1006 and, later, B3-1000, by project type and Member State, 1995-2000.	147
Annex 2: Examples of good practice. Details	149
Annex 3: Other material associated with the conclusions and recommendations of the Report	164
Annex 4: Declarations made by EU Member States at the time of ratifying or signing the Charter	167

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PART ONE: THE EUROPEAN UNION AND LESSER-USED LANGUAGES

Chapter 1

Over 50 autochthonous groups in the EU speak other languages than those spoken by the majority of each State's population. Nearly 40 million citizens speak such languages, which have different legal statuses and social and demographic strength; some have in the past faced vicious ideological attacks.

The term 'minority' refers to the social group or community that share the language, but not to the language itself. In some transfrontier cases the 'minority' language is an official language of the EU.

Integration may threaten variety, accelerating homogeneity. Because variety is essential for creativity, policies are needed to avoid economic, cultural and linguistic side effects of integration. Languages and the communities that speak them must be seen as an opportunity for Europe, not as a problem. They can often act as bridgeheads, old peripheries becoming new cores.

Through six Resolutions, the European Parliament has called on Member States and the Union itself to take appropriate measures to respect and protect both regional and minority languages and ethnic minorities. A budget line (1983-2000) and the foundation of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages were direct results of its position.

To cope with linguistic diversity, the Council established the rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community in 1958. The Union's "official and working languages" are the valid languages of the Accession Treaties, other than Irish. Not all EU institutions use all these languages internally. Nevertheless, the EU devotes over €700 million a year to manage linguistic diversity inside its own institutions: translations, interpretations and terminological research. Yet coping with linguistic diversity goes beyond the official status of particular languages.

However, despite lip-service to the value of cultural and linguistic diversity which the *Charter of Fundamental Rights* states must be respected, most actions to date target only national languages and cultures, and ignore the so-called minority languages and cultures, though many display a high rate of social and cultural creativity and can contribute greatly in a context where diversity is seen as an asset.

The Parliament has an *Intergroup for Regional and Minority Languages*, composed of MEPs belonging to different minorities. It seeking ways of improving Union support for minority languages.

Several studies have been prepared for the Commission and the Parliament on the situation of minority language groups, a prerequisite for any well-designed action. The most recent overarching report was the *Euromosaic* report (1996).

The 1996 Report was funded through a budget line established at the insistence of the European Parliament in 1983, and maintained until 2000. Since 2001 lesser-used languages no longer have their own budget line, and support for them can only be requested within existing programmes. The Commission has yet to propose a

multiannual programme, despite an announcement made in 1999. This explains the commissioning of the present Report.

The gathering and processing of information from the Commission, through either officials or documentation, including websites, revealed that a number of programmes, though not designed specifically with minority languages in mind, are or should be open to such projects.

The evaluation of the 1995-1999 Socrates programme (for Community action in education) stated that minority languages played only a marginal role.

The Lingua Action in the Socrates programme (for the promotion of language learning) still excludes the regional or minority languages, other than Irish and Lëtzebuergesch, though particular attention is paid to the development of skills in the six 'less widely used' and 'less taught' official Community languages.

The Lingua Catalogue covers materials for teaching and learning 10 official languages, and Irish, but not Lëtzebuergesch or the other non-official languages of the Union. Lingua does however co-fund ALTE, the Association of Language Testers in Europe, which include Catalan, Irish and Lëtzebuergesch authorities.

The IC Compendium 1999 of projects concerning integrated language courses (ILC), to help university students learn other European languages, excludes all minority languages, as do the Intensive Language Preparation Courses, for 'Lesser Widely Used/Taught Languages' at tertiary level.

Until 2000, language training for Erasmus students and professors involved in exchanges envisaged both the official languages of the Union, and other languages used significantly as languages of instruction in higher education, such as Welsh, Basque and Catalan.

The Comenius Action supports school projects involving regional and minority languages, though Comenius Language Projects exclude minority languages. One project created in-set modules and materials for training pre-school staff in Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh and Frisian. In Catalonia, Comenius and NetDays projects often include materials in Catalan.

The Multilingual Information Society programme (MLIS, 1995-99) promoted the linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. A number of projects involved minority languages, such as the MELIN project for putting Irish, Welsh, Catalan and Basque language resources on the Internet, and the DART project, which developed a browser tailored for Breton, Irish, Welsh and Scots Gaelic. The MLIS programme 'Final Evaluation' underlined 'a cultural/political rationale to support minority languages and their continued use in the EU [which] is especially important given policies towards closer integration and the enlargement of the EU'.

One objective of the new e-Content initiative is to promote cultural diversity and multilingualism in digital content on the global networks, and to make European firms more competitive through customisation. Action Line 3 has supported "Minority Newspapers to New Media", a project to develop innovative products and increase market penetration.

MEDIA Plus encourages the development of the audiovisual industry. The Media II Programme Mid-term Evaluation Final Report stated that: 'Public support must take into account the natural handicap of the small countries/markets for products with high

fixed costs. ' Films in Catalan produced with EU support include the award-winning *Krampack*.

The Culture 2000 Programme promotes cultural diversity by encouraging co-operation between countries. Until recently, language activities in cultural programmes benefited only the six smaller official EU languages, plus Irish and Lëtzebuergesch. But 'regional or minority languages' appear in Culture 2000 support for literary translations; and book translations to and from them have over the years received EU support, unlike the former Aristeion literary awards for creation and for translation, for which they were not eligible.

Structural funds (regional funds - FEDER - and the European Social Fund) have funded projects such as 'Culture for a better quality of life', in South Wales, including an annual festival with Welsh performances, and a Welsh language association; or the Tí Chulainn Centre in South Armagh, which organises courses including Irish language, music, song, etc.

In the field of Research and Development, some Human Language Technology projects include non-official languages alongside official EU languages, e. g. the PAROLE project and SIMPLE, which included the official EU languages and Catalan.

Minority-language-linked projects (though not language courses as such) can also be funded through Leonardo da Vinci (the programme for vocational training), the Youth programme and Tempus (the Trans-European programme for higher education).

The 2001 European Year of Languages, a joint Council of Europe-EU programme, covers "the official languages of the Community, together with Irish, Lëtzebuergesch, and other languages in line with those identified by the Member States". Some projects included minority languages, e. g. in Asturias (Spain), France, Italy, Austria, Ireland and Wales (UK).

Very few projects promote or use minority languages in many programmes. Many proposals are doomed because of the required scale of the project and/or group: in most EU programmes several partners have to co-operate internationally which, in the case of direct support for particular minority languages, is rarely possible. Budgetary requirements of many programmes are also beyond the reach of most minority communities.

Chapter 2 describes Community Action in favour of regional or minority languages in the EU. It includes an evaluation of the funded projects with particular reference to reasons for their success/failure.

The Union's Action in favour of regional or minority languages and cultures was a tangible example of the general principle of the protection of linguistic diversity. Budget line B3-1006 was established at the insistence of the European Parliament in 1983, and maintained until 1998. It grew from €0.1M in 1983 to €3.5M in 1993, remaining fairly stable thereafter. It covered the essential needs of several organisations pinpointed by the Parliament (EBLUL and the Mercator centres, see below) and supported specific, normally one-year, projects. Following the Court of Justice Judgement C-106/96 of 12 May 1998, the budget line was suspended, because of the lack of a legal basis. In 1999 and 2000 (through B3-1000) funding continued as a pilot scheme to support the promotion of 'lesser used languages and cultures'. But the last

Call for Proposals was published in September 2000 and the Commission has yet to present a proposal for a multiannual programme, despite earlier announcements. This largely motivates the present Report.

The European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) is a tightly woven European network, working as disseminator and consultant, co-ordinator and lobby.

Mercator is a network of three research centres, in Ljouwert (Fryslân, The Netherlands), Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain) and Aberystwyth (Wales, United Kingdom). They collate reliable, objective information about minority languages in the EU, in education, language legislation, jurisprudence and policy, and the media.

The main objective of the Community Action in this field was to reinforce the European dimension of activities for promoting regional and minority languages and cultures. Until 1998 the Action supported a high number of relatively small projects (except for the three Mercator Centres and EBLUL). In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, activities with political or statutory aims were excluded.

Targeted languages were living, autochthonous languages traditionally spoken by part of the population of an eligible country (not dialects, artificially created or immigrants' languages). Projects involving languages eligible in other Community programmes, such as Romany, were often re-directed. Proposals regarding official EU languages spoken by a minority in a given state were eligible; in educational projects they had low priority, as they could apply to Lingua. About 40% of applicants were public bodies, universities and research centres. Most of the rest were cultural associations, foundations, centres and heritage trusts. Commercial companies were not eligible.

From 1994 to 1998, nearly 850 of the more than 2,000 proposals received support (160-180 per year). Average grants were €20-30,000.

Guidelines for the application form on the DG web site, the setting up of a permanent guidance service by the DG and EBLUL, the publication by EBLUL of *A Guide to Budget Line B3-1006*, and significant improvements in the application form itself, raised standards.

The aim for 1999-2000 was to support a smaller number of large scale projects, which could ensure a higher impact on the minority languages targeted and would make closer monitoring feasible. The EU contribution was to be €50-150,000, and 2-year projects could be funded. 78 projects were funded in 1999 and 36 in 2000. In 2000, the total budget of the 233 proposals was €56.6 million, and €26.7 million were requested.

EU funding was curtailed to 50% of expenditure. Projects could involve: language resources, language skills, direct language promotion, social and economic aspects of language, media and new technologies, and culture. Up to 60% of grants went to the field of education and related areas, while culture hardly ever surpassed 15%. Projects from four multilingual States (Spain, France, Italy and the UK) were usually the most numerous.

For this Report a general evaluation was made of a wide range of activities funded through budget line B3-1006. Many of the less successful projects seemed to be piecemeal once-off projects dissociated from an overall strategy or established priorities. 15 case studies are highlighted as examples of good practice, illustrating the 11 main features of these projects: financial mobilising effect; multiplier effect; extrapolation; action research; networking; employment opportunities; experimental

and innovative methods; European dimension; multi-annual support; cross-border projects; and new technologies.

Chapter 3 puts forward proposals and considerations on the way forward for the European Commission, in the light of the ECJ judgement of 12 May 1998.

All EU institutions have acknowledged that both linguistic and cultural diversity needs to be respected, protected and/or promoted. Any international organisation needs to limit the number of languages with which it works, but this is a separate issue. The exclusion in other measures of any European language spoken autochthonously goes (by definition) against the diversity principle and finds no legal grounding in the Treaties. Indeed, some Actions are specifically limited to the Union's official languages (with, on occasion, Irish and/or Lëtzebuergesch) on grounds which are considered unwarranted and unjustified.

Whether or not explicitly mentioned in the relevant articles of the Treaties, language (given its transversal nature) is an indissociable element in many areas of Union activity: administration, consumer affairs, information and communication technology, the media, the circulation of workers, education and cultural industries. Thus, the Decision on the European Year of Languages, based on Articles 149, 150 and 151, is not limited to the official EU languages, and all languages "must be recognised to have equal cultural value and dignity".

Despite the widely varying treatment of minority languages in the 15 Member States, in the absence of a specific provision conferring powers in linguistic matters (other than a statement regarding its official and working languages) the Union is not entitled to establish directives, and the Union's language policies generally coexist with other Union policies. However, the promotion of linguistic diversity finds no basis within the Treaties to exclude from programmes languages not chosen as official EU languages.

The Report endorses the DG Education & Culture's stated view that the promotion of minority languages is of general Community interest, and that Art. 149 provides a suitable legal base for supporting regional and minority languages, as it does the promotion of other languages. However, the Council's claim that this article apportions Member States sole responsibility for linguistic and cultural diversity within their territory is based on an erroneous reading of the article, and is dismissed. Significantly, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity are clearly differentiated in Art. 149.

The view is rejected that actions regarding the promotion of linguistic diversity fall exclusively or even largely in the field of culture, as defined in Art. 151 (for which Decisions require unanimity in the Council). Only if no policy suits a particular action can it be classed under culture: thus it was judged that the MLIS programme was a question only for industry, and not for culture as well. Cultural policy is highly generic, and thus subsidiary to other more specific policies.

Various Treaty articles establish that the Union will support and supplement the action of member States in the relevant fields. Such support can be given by European promotion action, through subsidies. The principle of subsidiarity allows the Union to act both when Member State measures are ineffective and insufficient, in areas of shared responsibility. The Parliament resolved in 1994 that the Community should promote the action of member States where the protection of these languages is

inadequate or non-existent, and afford them offered legal protection and financial resources.

Nevertheless, in addition to existing Community actions, and the adaptation to the principles of linguistic and cultural diversity of some existing actions, a specific action based on a variety of Treaty articles would require not only a valid budget line but also a base act, which has yet to be formulated.

Chapter 4 puts forward conclusions and recommendations. It is recalled that as the Union devotes considerable resources to the translation, interpretation and terminology of only some European languages, it is not neutral with regard to other languages, and thus cannot remain inactive. Languages excluded from the information society run the risk of marginalisation, as the Council has pointed out.

Decisions in the Union are taken by the representatives of the governments of the member States, through the Council. Their positions with regard to regional or minority languages vary greatly, and at least one Member State has been taken, successfully, to the European Court of Human Rights on such issues.

The Report endorses many recommendations already made by the Parliament, and underlines the present favourable context: the acknowledgement of the need for active measures to promote and respect cultural and linguistic diversity; the forthcoming enlargement; and the Parliament's increasing powers.

A three-pronged approach is proposed in the Report, with regard to existing programmes, a specific multi-annual programme, and other measures.

As to existing programmes, and given that all language communities share some of the needs of mainstream linguistic communities, linguistic exclusion should be removed from programmes and actions such as Lingua, Leonardo da Vinci and Comenius. Others, especially entailing IST and HLT, call only for large-scale projects and in practice exclude projects on demographically smaller languages, for which no allowance is made.

The admissibility of projects involving languages other than the official EU languages, in programmes that do not exclude language-related projects, should be highlighted in the calls. No legal basis exists for limiting to EU official and working languages (with or without the addition of Luxembourgish and Irish) programmes designed to protect, support or promote linguistic diversity.

A Multiannual Programme is called for, to address the specific needs of minority languages, underlined by the success of budget line B3-1006. Various articles of the Treaties provide the legal bases; there is no need, either legally or on the basis of projects funded hitherto, for the programme to be classified as strictly cultural. Such a programme should cater for the differing needs of certain categories of language communities. Those language is an official language of a neighbouring kin-State basically require EU support for transfrontier co-operation in many fields. Other languages need EU support for initiatives to meet needs not suitably addressed in other programmes, including terminology development. The programme should foresee 100% funding for the parts of any project that specifically promote pan-European co-operation and dissemination. The general proportion of EU funding for such projects

should be higher than hitherto: many small communities cannot match subsidies, even for quite modest projects.

A special, simplified procedure, perhaps managed by local bodies, should cater for small-scale projects.

Action research should be clearly earmarked: comparative research to help different communities to share tools, ideas and experience; and local, interstitial research to help identify a community's needs and those of its language.

The final set of recommendation covers a range of issues. Firstly it is felt that both EBLUL and the Mercator centres should continue to receive A-line budget funding, in order to consolidate their rich networks covering Europe. Special funding should facilitate co-operation between regional language planning bodies.

The many examples of good projects funded by the EU should be widely disseminated, especially via the web, so as to foster contacts and further co-operation at the European level.

The Parliament is encouraged to devote serious attention to other Union initiatives, which unwittingly threaten lesser-used languages. Thus, the planned TV convergence directive, which would make public TV channels have to be funded without recourse to advertising revenue, could render TV channels in Welsh, Irish or Catalan (for instance) enviable. The needs of competing languages justify special treatment for broadcasters addressing their products to smaller linguistic markets, as the Commission seems to have conceded recently.

It is suggested that the Parliament devote more attention to the plight of several minority language groups and their cultural leaders, from a human rights perspective.

The extension of mechanisms used to allow Irish and Catalan to be used in occasional plenary sessions of the Parliament, to the other languages spoken indigenously in the EU, would be a gesture of great symbolic significance, without undue costs.

At the end of the report a distinction is proposed between internal working languages (which could be limited for most purposes to 2 or 3 languages) and languages of service to Europe's citizens. The latter would include present or future official languages, and also 'regional' or 'minority' languages. This could be a response to linguistic diversity in the EU.

The second part of the publication is a separate report, giving an overview of the minority language communities in seven Member States of the European Union, namely Greece, Spain, Finland, France, Ireland, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom . It highlights the fact that the lack of legal recognition, in some cases, means that the data is often scant, unreliable (not to say biased) and outdated.

In selecting the minority language communities, the criteria defined in Art. 1 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages have been applied: they are "languages that are: (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants [...]". But the border between official languages and their dialects is often fuzzy.

PART TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES
IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EU: GREECE, SPAIN, FINLAND, FRANCE,
IRELAND, LUXEMBOURG, UNITED KINGDOM

GREECE. Greece gained independence in 1830-31, and expanded territorially until 1947. In its territory Turkish, Albanian (Arvanítika), Aromanian (Vlach), Romani, Bulgarian, Armenian and Judeo-Spanish were spoken. These languages have had a turbulent history, largely related to the Balkan wars and changes in international borders. The report includes sections on Albanian/Arvanítika, Aromanian/Vlach, (Slavo)-Macedonian and Bulgarian, Pomak and Turkish.

Because of massive ethnic resettlements, civil wars, Nazi extermination and rampant assimilation policies, the remaining Albanian, Aromanian, Romany and Slavic-speaking communities are quite small, and all speakers are bilingual. Only the Turkish-speaking Muslim population in Western Thrace is both sizeable (approx. 85,000) and, thanks to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) signed with Turkey, enjoys a degree of official recognition, particularly as regards education and religious rights: it has many primary, and two secondary, schools in Thrace, as well as two religious seminars, with 8,500 pupils in all. Yet there is no official use of Turkish. Transfrontier relations work at the grassroots level: audiovisual and printed media are picked up in western Thrace; some Turkish-speaking Greek citizens attend universities in Turkey.

The Greek authorities do not acknowledge the existence of linguistic (or any other) minorities, other than the Muslims, and this explains why censuses since the 1950s have contained no linguistic data. It is estimated that less than 5% of the present Greek population probably speak such languages. The official position is of tolerance, at best. Other than the Turkish minority, the others are suffering a rapid language shift, the elderly being orally proficient in, and users of, these languages, while the younger generations are monolingual. The languages are excluded from education, and literacy is virtually unknown.

Due to the forced urbanisation of the Vlachs from the Pindus mountains after World War II, the towns of Metsovo and Livadi Olimpou are the only remaining sizeable traditional Vlach settlements. However, cities such as Trikala have considerable numbers of Vlach residents, descended from the forced resettlers. Vlach songs are occasionally broadcast on local radios, and there are exceptional musical performances in Vlach in cultural festivals.

More recent population movements have paradoxically given a new lease of life to Arvanítika in some rural areas, where agricultural workers from Albania now work: the Greek Arvanítika-speaking farmers have regained a function for the language.

Greece's legal order now includes provisions, which could cover minority languages: the International Convention on Children's Rights (in 1992) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in 1997). However, it has yet to ratify the Framework Convention on National Minorities (signed in 1998) and has not signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Two court cases involving minority rights have drawn the attention of the European Parliament.

Confusion over the names of languages is symptomatic of diglossic situations where there is a dominant language ideology. This affects south Slavonic languages spoken along Greece's northern border. Speakers refer to (Slavo) Macedonian and Bulgarian, though many avoid actually choosing a word at all, to avoid hostile reactions. A magazine, *Zora*, was founded in 1993, and Greek firms now publish songs and texts in Macedonian, using Greek or Cyrillic scripts.

Pomak-speakers are in a curious situation. As Muslims, they were not forced to migrate in 1923. However, Muslim schools (to which they are entitled to send their children) are basically for Turkish-speaking pupils, so Pomaks are subjected to a continuous language shift, towards not Greek, but Turkish. None are literate in Pomak.

SPAIN. Spain is the most multilingual country in Western Europe. Nine lesser-used languages are spoken by about 10.5 million people, i.e. 26% of the total population. They are Arabic (in Ceuta), Aragonese, Asturian, Basque, Berber (or Tamazight, in Melilla), Catalan, Galician, Occitan and Portuguese.

The 1978 Spanish Constitution and the regional Statutes of Autonomy define the legal status of languages. Spanish is the official language of the State, and other languages are official in their autonomous communities as laid down in the Statutes. This affects Catalan, Basque and Galician, in 6 of the 17 regions; all six have official departments responsible for language promotion and regional legislation to protect and promote the language. Aragonese, Asturian and Occitan have varying degrees of regional recognition; many speakers of the first two claim they speak a Spanish dialect. Arabic, Tamazight and Portuguese have no legal status. The lack of reliable and accurate information about Arabic in Ceuta, in itself an indicator of its status there has made it impossible to write a report on Arabic.

Spain ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in December 2000, and it came into force in August 2001.

In terms of legal recognition, social support, language promotion policies and structures, demographic strength and presence in the audio-visual media and in public and private organisations, Catalan, Galician and Basque stand out above the other six cases. All three are spoken beyond the borders of a single "autonomous community". All are compulsory subjects in primary and secondary schools. They are used as media of instruction to varying degrees, Catalan in Catalonia taking pride of place. The regional Parliaments use Catalan and Galician freely (in Catalonia, almost exclusively) and the local and regional authorities also do so. Catalan enjoys less political support in Valencia, though the basic legal framework is similar: and the social movement for its use in schools there is as strong as anywhere.

Four of the regional authorities have TV channels solely (Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia) or largely (Valencia) in the relevant language. All four have satellite digital channels and run radio stations in the language. There are one Basque daily paper and about seven Catalan dailies, as well as several bilingual papers and many magazines. Annual book production is high: 7,300 in Catalan, 1,200 in Galician, and 1,100 in Basque. All three languages, and especially Catalan, enjoy considerable Internet presence and have developed much of the human language technology needed for software development.

In 1988-89 the Parliaments of the Balearic Islands and Catalonia petitioned the European Parliament to declare Catalan as an official language. This being beyond the powers of the Parliament, a 1990 Resolution called on the Council and the Commission to include the language in a number of activities and programmes. The same was requested for Galician.

The first of a number of calls by social movements, especially in Catalonia, for central government to incorporate linguistic diversity into some of its activities (stamps, bank notes, driving licences) has just been heeded: identity cards are now bilingual. The Senate and the Congress, and the Supreme and Constitutional courts, are essentially monolingual bodies. Documents in Catalan have been returned to their senders by central government bodies. Central budget provisions for the autonomous communities make no allowance for the existence of a specific official language in them. Much work needs to be done to instil into the Spanish-speaking majority the value of multilingualism and to overcome prejudice, stereotypes and ignorance as regards the other languages spoken in Spain.

FINLAND. Finland (pop. 5.2 million) won independence from Russia in 1917, having been part of the Swedish kingdom until 1809. It has three main minority language communities: the Finland Swedes (297,000 speakers), the Roma (10-13,000) and the Sami (formerly Lapps, 6,000–6,900). Finland has ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. 65 of the Charter's articles in Part III apply to Swedish, and 59 to Sami. Part II also applies to the Roma. The 1922 Language Act and the Sami Language Act are under review. The Research Institute for the National Languages of Finland has sections for Finnish, Swedish, Sami and Romani.

Swedish-speakers have a privileged constitutional position, Finnish and Swedish enjoying equal legal status as the national languages (1919 Constitution). Swedish is referred to as the lesser-used national language. Towns are bilingual when an official language is the mother tongue of over 3,000 inhabitants (or 8%). This entails Finnish-Swedish and, in the far north, Finnish-Sami. Swedish-speakers have lived along the coast since the 11th century. 389 towns are officially Finnish speaking, 42 are bilingual (Finnish predominates in 20 towns and Swedish in 22), and 21 (including all 16 in the Åland Islands) are Swedish-speaking.

The Finnish Broadcasting Company (FBC) has to treat Finnish- and Swedish-speaking citizens equally. 9% of programmes are broadcast by Finland's Svenska Television. Two TV channels (one regional, the other a local cable TV) broadcast in Swedish. Swedish TV programmes and news are broadcast daily. Nation-wide and regional radio stations broadcast in Swedish. The national Swedish-language radio stations total c. 290 h, and the regional radio 70-h, per week. There are 14 Swedish-speaking newspapers and about 150 specialised magazines. 470 books are published annually in Swedish, and over 80 are translated into Swedish. A full range of educational and other services and cultural activities is available; many receive State support. There are many Swedish-medium primary, secondary and tertiary schools and colleges. Links with Sweden are numerous, but the status of Swedish, which partly depends on the majority Finns being fluent in it, is being hit by the spread of English in Nordic co-operation.

Only older Roma now have an extensive command of traditional Romany, which is transmitted orally. Since 1990 an Advisory Board for Roma Affairs monitors the welfare of the Roma, and promotes their language and culture. The Romany Language Board is responsible for policy decisions. Though they enjoy constitutional rights, of the c. 1,600 school-age children, only 200–300 study Romany. Romany is present in some media: weekly news broadcast on national radio, and two magazines. There is a Roma theatre, and several singers/musicians are popular among the majority. The Gospels were published in 1970-71. Romany carries symbolic value, and attempts to revitalise raise interest. But prejudice in society, though waning, is still widespread: the Roma remain socially and economically disintegrated, and their language threatened.

6,000–6,900 of the 60-100,000 Samis (in northern Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia) are Finnish. About 4,500 live in the Sami homeland, the three northernmost towns. Life styles have been disrupted by mining, reservoirs, and the resettlement of some Sami and by Finn in-migration. Thanks to their constitutional right to their languages and culture, they enjoy considerable rights before the authorities and the courts. There is a 1992 Sami Language Act, and the Sami Thing monitors Sami language rights and culture. State-funded primary and secondary schools in the Sami homeland teach different varieties of the language. It is offered at three universities, and quotas are applied for Sami-speakers in teacher training. An FBC Sami radio station broadcasts c. 40 hours/week, and daily programmes are broadcast on the Sami Radio website. Sami is only sporadically present on TV. There is a Sami magazine. There are extensive cross-border contacts between the Nordic Samis, and the Nordic Sami Council works with each Sami Parliament.

FRANCE. France, whose assimilationist policies date to before 1789, coined the term ‘*langues régionales*’. The Report covers German, Corsican, Catalan, Dutch, Breton, Basque and Occitan, but it has not been possible to prepare a report on Créole, spoken in the overseas departments. These languages are not referred to in any general law or in the Constitution. The 1951 Deixonne law authorised the teaching of Breton, Basque, Catalan and Occitan, but omitted Dutch, German, Corsican and, for that matter, the Créole languages. The Ministry for National Education now has a Conseil Académique des Langues Régionales. Since a 1994 French Language Act, no text has been adopted for the protection of minority languages; and the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages is blocked. A 2001 bill on the special status of Corsican may explicitly acknowledge this language, and introduce a complete and coherent system for teaching it.

Language shift was severe in the 20th century in all cases: the numbers of Breton-speakers, for instance, slumped from 1,100,000 to 240,000 in only 50 years, though they have been stabilising since 1990. Family transmission was broken and most speakers of Breton are either over 60, or else pupils in “Diwan” or other schools. The regional, departmental and local councils now actively back Breton. In all cases, except perhaps for Corsican, there is a dramatic difference in the proportion of speakers among the elderly and the young.

The languages of many communities now have some kind of presence in schools: infant schools run immersion programmes for some Occitan (Calandretas), Basque (Ikastolak), Catalan (Arrels/La Bressola), Breton (Diwan) pupils. In general they only

cater for a small proportion of pupils. In Alsace bilingual schooling is gaining ground fast. In Lorraine, some schools follow the specific Mosellan system, with 8h a week in German. Corsican is only widely taught as a subject, while Dutch has no presence at all in schools.

Mass media are in some cases picked up across the border: Alsace and Lorraine (German), Catalan, Basque, Dutch (Flemish). In other cases (Corsican, Breton, Occitan) the only offer is local or State-run. The public media provide 17 h per week in Breton on Radio France and 90min. on France 3 TV, but the availability in Catalan is very small.

The case of Occitan is perhaps the most extreme: it used to be the language of a vast region (200,000 km²), from the Atlantic to the Alps. The golden age of the medieval troubadours has given way to marked dialectal variation: Gascon, Languedocien and Provençal are the main varieties, and a new common standard has yet to be accepted. Partial surveys of the 13 million inhabitants of the French Occitan area suggest that 15-17%, perhaps 2 million people, can speak it nowadays. Most are elderly.

Many organisations within these communities campaign for linguistic rights, and particularly for the ratification of the European Charter by the French authorities. Many of them are using the Internet to create interwoven networks of websites and organisations.

Cross-border influence is clear in the south. Language promotion in Catalonia has an impact on the Pyrénées Orientales department, where Catalan is spreading beyond traditional professions; proficiency is now required for some jobs and professional training courses. Language activity in the Spanish Basque country also influences the French Basques.

IRELAND. Until the 16th century Irish was the sole or main language used in Ireland. In the 18th century English spread from the cities into the rural hinterland. In the early 20th century the language movement was incorporated in the wider independence struggle. The newly independent state in 1922 developed a policy to restore Irish as the national language. The population recorded as Irish-speaking has risen from 18% (1926) to 41% (1,430,205 in 1996). 45% of homes in the designated Irish-speaking (Gaeltacht) areas in the west are Irish-speaking. A stable 3-4% of adults use Irish every day (53% in the Gaeltacht). The ratio of Irish-speakers in the youngest cohort (3-4 years) has been stable at 5% since the 1920s. About 4-6% of respondents speaks Irish frequently at work, while 8% report hearing Irish spoken at their workplace.

The 1937 Constitution states that Irish, as the national language, is the first official language, and that English is also official. A Ministry is responsible for Irish and runs two state boards, one to develop the Gaeltacht and one to promote Irish throughout the island.

Irish became compulsory in the education system in the 1920s: all Irish children learn Irish in primary and secondary school as a subject. Since 1970 interest in 'all-Irish' or immersion-type schemes has revived, and English-speaking areas now have over 100 schools. Galway University College offers several first-degree courses through Irish.

Though most business is in English, in court anyone may use either language, though if witnesses or defendant wish to use Irish there may be delays if the judge or counsel for either side is not proficient in Irish.

Until the early 1970s, recruitment to the state sector required a good competence in Irish. Nowadays it is required for only a few public service posts, and in practice the use of Irish in dealings with state bodies can cause delays. Irish is used in some standard official forms and documents, while bilingual street and road signage is almost universal.

A special TV service in Irish now broadcasts for about 40h per week. A national radio service broadcasts entirely in Irish, for about 77h weekly. There are two weekly newspapers and two monthly magazines in Irish.

80-100 books are published annually in Irish. Irish traditional music is very popular and Irish is widely used in concerts and folk sessions. A wide range of Irish songs is available on cassette and CD. Irish language productions in theatre or cinema are limited. Two successful festivals are associated with Irish.

Schools are under pressure to produce, in each new generation, enough competent bilinguals to replace those who leave Irish-speaking networks. While falling far short of the original policy objective, Irish remains a living language, though the number and distribution of speakers do not ensure its future.

LUXEMBOURG. Lëtzebuergesch is the everyday spoken language in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg by virtually all its 300,000 native inhabitants. As the symbol of national identity, it is generally accepted as the language of social integration and cohesion.

Luxembourg has signed, but not ratified, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Lëtzebuergesch not being officially regarded as a minority or regional language.

The gap between Lëtzebuergesch and standard German is widening as it develops from a rural dialect to a fully-fledged standard language. For centuries it has coexisted with French and German as territorial languages, the latter functioning as official, administrative languages and as vehicles of regional communication and economic co-operation. In 1984, a special language law made Lëtzebuergesch the national language, French the legislative language, and both, plus German, the administrative and judicial languages. The Section de Linguistique, d'Ethnologie et d'Onomastique of the Institut grand-ducal is a government-backed research institution. The official orthography was reformed in 1999.

Lëtzebuergesch is pivotal in pre-school; close attention is paid to language skills, especially the use of Lëtzebuergesch as a means of communication. Literacy instruction is through Lëtzebuergesch and German, to promote linguistic and cultural integration. It is used less as a medium of instruction after the lower and middle grades of primary school, and officially not at all in secondary schools. As a subject it is taught 1h a week throughout primary education and in the first year at secondary level. At tertiary level Lëtzebuergesch is only used for training pre-school and primary school-teachers.

It can and is used in the courts, especially for oral communications by defendants and witnesses. In criminal proceedings, the judge will only address Luxembourgish

defendants in Lëtzebuergesch. In civil cases, Luxembourg witnesses are questioned in Lëtzebuergesch.

According to the 1984 language law, administrative bodies are required to answer in the language of their petitioners. Oral proceedings in national and local administrations are mostly in Lëtzebuergesch. In Parliament Lëtzebuergesch and French are equally used, as they now are in all public place and street signs.

No print media in Luxembourg are even predominantly in Lëtzebuergesch. Several radio stations broadcast exclusively or partly in Lëtzebuergesch, and there is a daily evening feature on TV. Luxembourg-based Internet websites also use the language. Lëtzebuergesch is widely used in performing arts, and in all oral and written literary genres.

The traditional national job market is dominated by Lëtzebuergesch, and the international one by French. Foreign shopworkers now make efforts to learn some Lëtzebuergesch. Thanks to the rise in prestige of Lëtzebuergesch, it is increasingly used in advertising, and in marketing food or cosmetic products.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND. The report covers five language communities: Cornish, Irish, Scots, Scots Gaelic and Welsh. The languages of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are not included in the report, these territories having remained outside the EU.

English is the de facto official language of government, despite the absence of constitutional legislation. The UK ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2000, and included language issues in the Agreement signed with the government of Ireland in April 1998.

In recent years new forms of governance have been adopted, based upon a devolution process towards the historic regions; it includes their right to encompass the regional languages and culture. Responsibility and accountability has been shifting from the state to the individual and the community; centrally planned regional development has diminished, and power has been dispersed.

The legal status of these minority languages varies. Welsh has UK legislation protecting the rights of the 536,000 Welsh-speakers, and a statutory language planning board, Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Board). Welsh-medium schooling is widespread, and not only in the Welsh-speaking heartland's (some of which are being badly hit in linguistic terms by in-coming English families, attracted by low housing prices appealing scenery and good tourist services). Such schools have spread particularly in anglicised areas, where parents see them as the prime means of language production.

Irish will now be promoted jointly throughout the island of Ireland. This should greatly benefit the language in Northern Ireland, where the reported number of (mainly Catholic) Irish-speakers according to the Census (124,000) probably reflects sentiment as much as fact and where under 300 people earn their living through the medium of Irish.

The 1998 Good Friday agreement brought into the open the existence of 10,000-100,000 people who speak Ulster Scots, a language variety described as a dialect of Scots, Lallans or English. There is little more than anecdotal evidence of its use.

Scots Gaelic, which is spoken along the western shores of Scotland and, especially, on the Western Isles, has no legal status, though the local authorities devote considerable attention to providing educational services through the language for its 66,000 speakers (of which only 40% live in high-density areas).

In southwestern England, the 1,000-2,000 speakers of Cornish, a Celtic language closely related to Welsh and Breton, and recovered from extinction in the 19th century, have virtually no formal support at all, the language being taught in a mere dozen primary schools.

Welsh also stands out in the mass media, including the TV channel S4C, which has had a great effect on the prestige of the language thanks to the creation of a multitude of language-linked jobs both inside the channel and in independent producers and other services working for it. Welsh is used on many websites, and in many ICT developments.

The speakers of all these languages have at their fingertips the English language, currently the main language of the cultural industries, international commerce and research. To be able to exercise a choice, public support is needed to help cover the higher amortisation costs of producing in them.

PART ONE: THE EUROPEAN UNION AND LESSER-USED LANGUAGES

Chapter 1: An outline description of initiatives taken at European Union level to support minority languages over the last ten years

1. Introduction

Apart from the obvious existence of their national languages, EU Member States have over fifty autochthonous groups that speak other languages than those spoken by the majority of each State's population. Nearly 40 million citizens speak "regional", "lesser-used" or "minority" languages, which are constituent languages of Europe. These language communities underline the wealth of Europe's linguistic heritage. Some languages have official status, at a state or sub-state level. Others have to be promoted and respected by law. Still others are official in some States (and indeed at the Union level), yet not in others. Finally, some have no official recognition whatsoever. In the past some have faced vicious ideological attacks: Bretons, Basques and Welshmen were once likened to "half savage relics"¹.

The term 'minority' refers to the social group or community that share the language, but not to the language itself. Nothing intrinsically special about any such language can explain its predicament; indeed, in some cases the 'minority' language is in fact an official language of the European Union, for political borders do not always follow the main cultural divides. This is especially clear across stretches of the borders of Germany and Austria, which have sizeable German-speaking minority populations. In many other cases, the language is not concentrated in any other part of the world: Welsh, Sardinian, Basque and Sorbian are examples. The demographic range is enormous: from a few hundred speakers of Cornish, to over seven million speakers of Catalan².

A side-effect of integration is that it may gnaw at the edges of variety, accelerating homogeneity and creating new peripheries and marginalisation. This is not an inevitable price to be paid. Variety is essential for creativity, which is the main trump card that Europe can play on the international economic scene, so policies are needed to avoid undesirable side effects of integration, both economic and cultural and linguistic. In an increasingly

¹ 'Experience proves that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed by another; and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race, the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of the French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilised and cultivated people - to be members of the French nationality than to sulk on its own rocks, the half savage relic of past times, revolving in his own little mental orbit, without participation or interest in the movement of the world. The same remark applies to the Welshman or the Scottish Highlanders, as members of the British nation.' (John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, 1861, reed. 1946, p. 65)

<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/conflict/maclaughlin01.htm>

² More, incidentally, than speakers of Finnish or Danish, to name two official EU languages.

united Europe, to view languages and the communities that speak them as a problem rather than as an opportunity is inappropriate, archaic and undemocratic. They can often act as bridgeheads, old peripheries becoming new cores. But not all EU Member States have a forward-looking policy towards these minorities, nor do they all adhere to relevant international instruments and standards³; and this leads to a great waste of potential.

The European Parliament has repeatedly voiced its concern about the treatment of both regional and minority languages and ethnic minorities, in the Union, and has repeatedly called on both Member States and the Union itself to take appropriate, active measures to ensure they are respected and protected, for the good of diversity in Europe, to provide an environment which gives full rein to creativity and so that that all European citizens are treated equally. Some of the Parliament's Reports and Resolutions (see below) have had wide political repercussions, and the establishment of a budget line and the foundation of EBLUL were direct consequences of the Parliament's position⁴.

Several other of the Community's institutions have dealt with the question of languages used *within* the institutions and for communication with Member States. As we shall see in greater detail in Chapter 3, the rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community have been determined by the Council, acting unanimously, as laid down in Article 290 EC⁵. The Union's "official and working languages" mentioned in the Regulation are the valid languages of the Accession Treaties, other than Irish. Other terms have been used to refer to the languages to which States have given priority status as languages of official use, such as 'treaty languages', which consist of the EU official and working languages, plus Irish. However, some institutions, in practice, do not internally use all the languages referred to in the Regulation⁶. In actual fact, a non-academic distinction between official languages and working languages has developed.

The EU devotes a large sum to manage linguistic diversity inside its own institutions: translations, interpretations and terminological research for its 11 official languages cost €723 million in 1999⁷. Yet the growing attention being paid to linguistic diversity by the institutions goes beyond the official status of particular languages. The Presidency Conclusions to the Nice European Council Meeting, regarding the Charter of Fundamental Rights⁸, are paradigmatic⁹. The Charter lays down (Article 22) that the Union shall respect

³ See <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/dat/2001/ce261/ce26120010918en01250126.pdf> for the Commission's reply to written question E-0487/2001 by two MEPs, in relation to Mr. Sotiris Bletsas, a member of the Society for Vlach (Aromanian) Culture sentenced by the Greek courts on 2 February 2000 to 15 months in prison and a GRD 500 000 fine, after disseminating EBLUL publications on minority languages in Greece, published in OJ C 261 E of 18 September 2001, p. 125. The judgment was later reversed on appeal.

⁴ However, its call for a multiannual programme has yet to be heeded (see below).

⁵ This article was applied in Council Regulation no. 1/58 and its successive amendments (see below).

⁶ Many EU websites offer information only in a limited number of languages: e.g. the Regional Policy website <http://www.inforegio.org>: English, French, German, Spanish, Italian.

⁷ The recommendations of this Report would cost a tiny fraction of this amount.

⁸ European Charter of Fundamental Rights: <http://db.consilium.eu.int/df/default.asp?lang=en>. Full text: http://db.consilium.eu.int/df/docs/en/EN_2001_1023.pdf

⁹ <http://db.consilium.eu.int/Newsroom/LoadDoc.cfm?MAX=1&DOC=!!!&BID=76&DID=64245&GRP=3018&LANG=1>:

Presidency Conclusions. Nice European Council Meeting, 7, 8 & 9 December 2000: '2. The European Council welcomes the joint proclamation, by the Council, the European Parliament and the Commission, of

linguistic diversity. The European Council already underlined the importance of linguistic diversity, at Cannes, in June 1995 (in discussing issues related to internal affairs) in a general statement in the Presidency conclusions¹⁰; and shortly before that the Council (General Affairs) had made a much longer statement¹¹.

The Parliament and other institutions of the Union have stated their support for the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe. But most actions designed to date have targeted only national languages and cultures, and have ignored the existence of the so-called minority languages and cultures¹². Action has repeatedly been called for to support these minority language communities, many of which display a high rate of social and cultural creativity and can contribute greatly in a context where diversity is seen as an asset. This interest has led to various reports and to six Resolutions: the Resolution on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities of 16 October 1981 (Rapporteur: Arfé¹³), that of 11 February 1983 on measures in favour of minority languages and cultures (Rapporteur: Arfé¹⁴), that of 30 October 1987 on the languages and cultures of regional and ethnic minorities in the European Community (Rapporteur: Kuijpers¹⁵), that of 11 December 1990 on the situation of languages of the Community and the Catalan language (Rapporteur: Reding¹⁶), that of 9 February 1994 on linguistic minorities in the European Community (Rapporteur: Killilea¹⁷); and that of 13 December 2001, on regional and lesser-used European languages¹⁸. It has discussed reports and draft documents by De Pasquale, De Vries, Barzanti, Dührkop, Larive, Pack,

the Charter of Fundamental Rights, combining in a single text the civil, political, economic, social and societal rights hitherto laid down in a variety of international, European or national sources.'

Text of Charter: http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/unit/charte/pdf/texte_en.pdf

¹⁰ <http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/LoadDoc.cfm?MAX=21&DOC=!!!&BID=76&DID=54749&GRP=1235&LANG=1>

¹¹ June 12 1995.

<http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/LoadDoc.cfm?MAX=81&DOC=!!!&BID=71&DID=43589&GRP=67&LANG=1>.

These statements do not explicitly mention regional and minority languages, but nor do they specifically exclude them. Diversity does not seem to have been interpreted in a restrictive fashion, at least in early texts, though the Commission has clearly come to use it in a way that excludes regional and minority languages. Nevertheless, it is relevant to remember that Ch. 2 is devoted to the Union's action in favour of regional or minority languages and cultures by means of the B3-1006 budget line, a tangible example of the protection of linguistic diversity.

¹² The word 'minority', attached to languages and groups, is loaded¹² (it implies marginalisation from mainstream society) so in this Report we shall also use other terms which avoid pejorative overtones, such as 'lesser-used' or 'regional' languages.

¹³ Ref. A1-965/80. Published OJ C 287, 9.11.81, p. 57. <http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE18-GB.HTM>. Summaries of each Resolution: <http://www.eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2000-016.htm>.

¹⁴ Ref. A1-1254/82. Published OJ C 68, 14.3.83, p. 103-104.

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE20-GB.HTM> in Mercator data base; and Minority Electronic Resources (MINELRES): <http://www.riga.lv/minelres/ue/re830211.htm>.

¹⁵ Ref. A2-0150/87. Published OJ C 318, 30.11.87, p.160-164.

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE21-GB.HTM> and <http://www.riga.lv/minelres/ue/re871030.htm>

¹⁶ Published OJ C 19, 28.1.91, p. 42. <http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE16-GB.HTM>.

¹⁷ Ref. A3-0042/94, Report of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education and the Media on Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the European Community. Resolution published OJ C 61, 28.2.94, p. 110.

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE23-GB.HTM> and <http://www.riga.lv/minelres/ue/re940209.htm>

¹⁸ Refs. B5-0770, 0811, 0812, 0814 and 0815/2001.

http://www3.europarl.eu.int/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=CALDOC&FILE=011213&LANGUE=EN&TPV=DEF&SDOCTA=31&TXLST=1&Type_Doc=FIRST&POS=1

Bourlanges & Martin, Schiedermeier, Dury, Maij-Weggen, Hyland, Morgan, Galeote Quecedo and Count Stauffenberg¹⁹.

The 1981 Resolution called on national, regional and local authorities to take measures in education, in radio and TV, in public life and social affairs, in official bodies and in the courts. The Resolution recommended that regional funds be devoted to the support of regional and folk cultures and regional economic projects; and the Commission was asked to review all Community legislation or practices which discriminate against minority languages. The 1983 Resolution underlined the importance of the 1981 Resolution, and called upon the Commission to intensify its efforts in this area; the Commission was asked to inform the Parliament about the practical measures taken or to be taken. The Council was called upon to ensure that the principles were respected. One proposal was to set up an organisation which would represent the 30-40 million minority or regional language speakers at European level. European funding for projects began at that time. It has allowed the *European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages*²⁰ (EBLUL, see Ch. 2) to offer speakers of regional and minority languages support, advice and a voice at European level. EBLUL owes its existence to the clear vision of the Parliament, which has consistently supported its work. The 1987 Resolution regretted the lack of progress. It appealed to Member States for 'a direct legal basis for the use of regional and minority languages', a review of 'national provisions and practices that discriminate against minority languages', and for 'decentralised and central government services also to use national, regional and minority languages in the areas concerned' (para. 6). It called for the official recognition of surnames and place names expressed in a minority language, as well as the acceptance of place names and indications in road and street signs and on electoral lists. It called for provisions for the use of regional and minority languages in postal services, in consumer information and product labelling. The need for economic support was underlined, and the Parliament announced that MECU 1 would be appropriated in the 1988 budget for minority languages. It also granted the Intergroup on Lesser-Used Languages full official status in the Parliament. The Report accompanying the 1990 Resolution²¹ included a general consideration of the multilingual institutional context of Europe, before looking into the Union's treatment of Catalan. The Resolution called upon the Council and the Commission to establish (a) the publication in Catalan of the Community's treaties and basic texts; (b) the use of Catalan to disseminate public information on the European institutions; (c) the inclusion of Catalan in the programmes set up for learning European languages; and (d) the use of Catalan by the Commission's offices in written and oral dealings with the public in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands²². Finally, the 1994 Resolution endorsed previous Resolutions and urged the Member States to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe (see Ch. 4) and to enact legislation covering 'at least [...] the use and encouragement of such languages and cultures in the spheres of education, justice and public administration, the media, toponymics and other sectors of

¹⁹ Parlement Européen (Commission juridique et des droits des citoyens). *Projet de rapport sur la défense des droits des groupes ethniques établies dans les États Membres* (Rapporteur: Comte Stauffenberg):

<http://troc.es/ciemen/mercator/but07.htm#proposicio>

²⁰ <http://www.eblul.org/pajenn.asp?ID=36&yezh=saozneg>

²¹ <http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE16-GB.HTM>

²² The Commission has reiterated that these decisions are not for the Parliament but the Council and the Commission: see its reply to Written question E-1682/96 by Jaak Vandemeulebroucke, 24.6.96; answer 7.11.96, published *OJ C* 385, 19.12.96, p.23-24.

public and cultural life'. The European Council and the Commission were called on to grant further financial support to the national Committees of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) and to ensure adequate budgetary provision for the Community's programmes in favour of minority languages (non-territorial autochthonous minorities were to be included); and the Parliament called for a multi-annual programme.

The Parliament's position is further enhanced by the *Intergroup for Regional and Minority Languages*, composed of MEPs belonging to different minorities. Since 1980 it strives to raise awareness on minority issues in all political parties. Since 1983 it has met regularly, seeking ways of improving Union support for minority languages, such as the implementation of the provisions of the new *Charter of Fundamental Rights*²³. It issued clear guidelines for the promotion of regional and minority language groups within existing structures of the Union at its meeting on 14 March 2001²⁴, convinced that indirect promotion is possible in Regional and Social programmes such as *Interreg*, *Urban*, *Leader* and *Equal*, though not primarily designed for the promotion of minority languages: many regions in regions eligible for these funds²⁵ have their own languages.

Several studies have been prepared for the Commission and the Parliament on the situation of minority language groups, a prerequisite for any well-designed action. The most recent overarching report was commissioned in the early 90s. The *Euromosaic* report²⁶ (1996) aimed to place the minority language communities in the conceptual framework of the multicultural and multilingual Europe proclaimed in the Maastricht Treaty. It challenged the economic reductionism spreading through European language and cultural policies when it was written. The focus was placed on language communities, not on languages themselves. Reification of language, as if it had a life of its own outside its social group, was denounced, as was the ingenuous idea that language groups survive 'if they want to', instead of acknowledging strong economic and often social pressures for speakers of some languages to assimilate into another language group.

The report was funded through budget line B3-1006, established at the insistence of the European Parliament in 1983, and maintained in 1999 and 2000 (through B3-1000) as a pilot scheme to support the promotion of 'lesser used languages and cultures'. The Commission relates the issue of diversity to that of 'regional or minority languages'.²⁷ The

²³ Text of the Charter: http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/unit/charte/index_en.html. EBLUL made a call for Linguistic Rights in the Charter: <http://www.eblul.org/gp/call-en.htm>.

²⁴ Intervention langues régionales. Strasbourg, Intergroup for Regional and Minority Languages, 14 mars 2001, 17.45 (report: John Walsh) www.eurolang.net/newstemp10.asp.

²⁵ See map: http://inforegio.cec.eu.int/wbover/overmap/omap_en.htm.

²⁶ Individual language group reports on : <http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/>. Report published as *Euromosaic: The production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union*, European Commission, Luxembourg, ISBN 92-827-5512-6, 1996. See also <http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/>. See also article in *European Dialogue*, March-April issue 2 1997: http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/eur_dial/97i2a4s2.html.

²⁷ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin.html>: "Respect for linguistic and cultural diversity is one of the cornerstones of the European Union, now enshrined in Article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, which states 'The Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.' On the initiative of the European Parliament, which has adopted a series of resolutions on this subject, the European Union has taken action to safeguard and promote the regional and minority languages of Europe."

last *Call for Proposals* was published in September 2000²⁸. In Ch. 2 this action will be described in more detail, together with an evaluation of the projects supported. For reasons discussed below, in 2001 lesser-used languages ceased to have their own budget line, and support for the 60-odd lesser-used language communities in the European Union can only be requested within existing programmes. The Commission has yet to present a proposal for a multiannual programme, despite the announcement made before the European Parliament in 1999 by the then Commissioner-designate responsible for Education and Culture, Viviane Reding²⁹. This context explains why the Parliament commissioned this Report.

1.1 An overview of relevant EU programmes

To prepare this Report, information was collected and collated from over twenty sources, mostly functionaries in key positions of the European Commission, as well as through a widespread search for documentation, making full use of the Internet. Contributors included academics and officials actively involved in the European Year of Languages, Migration programmes Regional (ERDF/FEDER) and Cohesion Fund operations, Multilingual Information Society, Audio-visual, Media, Culture and Communication programmes, and Regional and Minority Languages.

A number of programmes, though not designed specifically with lesser-used languages in mind, have at least been open to projects involving such languages:

(1) **Socrates**: the European programme for co-operation in the field of education. Some insight into the consideration of minority languages is provided by the evaluation of the *Socrates Programme 1995-1999*³⁰. According to the evaluation³¹, the minority languages in this particular programme played only a marginal role, in the domains ‘Curriculum Development Activities’ and ‘Thematic Network Projects’³². No references to minority languages are to be found in the *IC Compendium 1999* of projects concerning Integrated Language Courses (ILC³³), designed to increase the possibility university students have of

²⁸ For general information: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin.html>. Last call published in the *OJ* on 16.9.2000 (ref. EAC/19/00): <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/mercator/formul2000/callen.pdf>. Summary: http://europa.eu.int/comm/secretariat_general/sgc/aides/forms/eac06_en.htm. EBLUL published a helpful guide for these Calls. On its website, at <http://www.eblul.org/ia/funding.htm>, the publication *How to Promote Regional or Minority Languages with the Help of the European Union*, a practical guide to applying for a grant, is available.

²⁹ ‘I intend to present to the Commission a proposal for a multiannual programme for the development of the European dimension in education through the learning, promotion and dissemination of regional and/or minority languages.’ Viviane Reding, Commissioner-designate for Education and Culture, 2.9.99. DOC_EN\DV\380\380397EN.doc, PE 230.789/rev.II, p. 20-21.

http://www.europarl.eu.int/hearings/pdf/com/answer/reding/default_en.pdf

³⁰ Programme adopted by the European Parliament and Council Decision No 819/95/EC, March 1995.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=31995D0819&model=guichett

³¹ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/evaluation/soc1.pdf>. Prepared by the Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung (Kassel, Germany; <http://www.uni-kassel.de/wz1/>).

³² <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/tnp/projects/13.pdf>.

³³ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/erascomp/activities/ilc/country.htm>.

learning other European languages. Regional or minority languages are also excluded from the so-called Intensive Language Preparation Courses³⁴ in the same programme, for ‘Lesser Widely Used / Taught Languages’ at tertiary level, though languages such as Catalan, Basque and Welsh are used for university instruction.

The Lingua Action, within the Socrates programme - especially dedicated to the promotion of language learning in the EU - did not and still does not include the so-called regional or minority languages, other than Irish and Lëtzebuergesch³⁵. The latter two languages are included inasmuch as they are official throughout the territory of the respective member States, a criterion which thereby excludes languages such as Basque, Sardinian, Welsh or Galician, which are spoken on an everyday basis by at least as many European citizens, if not (in the case of Catalan) considerably more. In the current Lingua Action within Socrates II (2000-2006)³⁶ foreign language teaching continues to cover all the Union’s official languages, as well as Irish and Lëtzebuergesch. Particular attention is paid to the development of skills in the ‘less widely used’ and ‘less taught’ official³⁷ Community languages (the ‘LWULT’ languages, defined elsewhere as being Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Greek, Portuguese and Swedish). In the earlier Lingua Programme³⁸ Icelandic and Norwegian were included, as official languages of States in the European Economic Area.

The *Lingua Catalogue*³⁹ gives detailed information about materials for teaching and learning languages: the list covers Danish (13), Dutch (14), English (11), French (9), German (6), Greek (11), Irish (3), Italian (8), Portuguese (6), Spanish (10) and Swedish (5). Lëtzebuergesch has no entry, nor, obviously, do the other non-official languages of the Union, other than Irish. We shall make a special reference to Irish at the end of this Report. Icelandic and Finnish are not on the list, despite being eligible. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that Lingua does fund ALTE, the Association of Language Testers in Europe⁴⁰, an association of institutions which produce exams and certificates of the language spoken as a mother tongue in their country or region. Among its members are institutions representing three ‘lesser-used languages’: Centre de Langues Luxembourg (CLL), Lëtzebuergesch; Direcció General de Política Lingüística, Generalitat de Catalunya (government of Catalonia), Catalan ; and Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ), Irish.

Specific mention was made, in a footnote to later editions of the Erasmus I Candidate’s handbook, to a recital in the Preamble of the Decision, to the effect that language training for Erasmus students and professors involved in exchanges could cover not just the official

³⁴ http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/ilpc/general_en.html, <http://www.ilpc.edu.mt/>.

³⁵ Lingua home page: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages/actions/lingua2.html> . Though the authors feel that the English word Luxembourgish is perfectly suitable, we shall use the term used in the official English texts of the European Union .

³⁶ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages/actions/lingua2.html> .

³⁷ The term ‘official’ for the eligible less taught languages was introduced into the new Lingua programme, so as to underline the exclusion of minority and regional languages from the language programme of the EU.

³⁸ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/lingua.html>

³⁹ <http://europa.eu.int/cgi-bin/dg22/action.cgi?langue=en&fichier=select>

⁴⁰ www.alte.org/index2.htm

languages of the Union, but also other languages used significantly as languages of instruction at university level, such as Welsh, Basque, Catalan, etc. (This Recital is the only reference that we have found in a Council document to any minority language.) The Catalan government devoted substantial funds to courses for Erasmus students; it is unclear whether universities applied for EU funding for them. In any event, no recital appears in Socrates II.

Finally, the **Comenius**⁴¹ Action, in the Socrates programme, focuses on pre-, primary and secondary schools. It supports school partnerships, projects for the training of school education staff, and school education networks, thus aiming to improve the quality of teaching, strengthen its European dimension and promote language learning and mobility. Within this programme projects involving regional and minority languages have been included, though Comenius Language Projects exclude minority languages⁴². Thus the project ‘Training courses for teachers of minority languages’⁴³ created accredited in-set modules and materials for pre-school (playgroup) staff in areas where Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh and Frisian are spoken. In regions such as Catalonia, Comenius and NetDays projects have been very successful and have usually included materials in Catalan.

(2) **Multilingual Information Society programme (MLIS)**⁴⁴: a multi-annual programme to promote the linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. This programme, which lasted up to 1999, was of considerable significance. A good example of projects involving minority languages is the MELIN project (Minority European Languages Information Network⁴⁵), designed to put Irish, Welsh, Catalan and Basque dictionaries and language resources on the Internet. It provides a centralised World Wide Web site for the provision of language resources to users of minority languages in the EU. The project was singled out in the ECOTEC evaluation report⁴⁶. Another MLIS-funded venture, the DART project⁴⁷ developed a browser tailored for minority languages based on an already existing software package, Opera. It incorporated specific terminological databases and established procedures for the localisation of the browser into several lesser-used languages: initially, Breton, Irish, Welsh and Scots Gaelic.

The ‘Final Evaluation’⁴⁸ of the MLIS programme, states that ‘There is a cultural/political rationale to support minority languages and their continued use in the EU. ICT can help in

⁴¹ <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius/index.html>

⁴² ‘Comenius Language Projects seek to promote linguistic diversity in Europe by encouraging the use of all the official languages of the European Union (plus Irish and Lëtzebuergesch), in particular those less widely used and less taught. The national languages of the EFTA/EEA countries and of the pre-accession countries participating in Socrates are also eligible’.

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius/activities/actfields.htm#language learning](http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius/activities/actfields.htm#language%20learning)

⁴³ Ref. 39170-CP-1-95-1-IE-COMENIUS-C31-COM-A3-1995-1-IE-25

⁴⁴ Council Decision of 21.11.96 on the adoption of a multiannual programme to promote the linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/1996/en_396D0664.html

⁴⁵ <http://www.ite.ie/melin.htm>, <http://www.bangor.ac.uk/cyc/melin/index1.htm>

⁴⁶ http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/el/com/pdf/2001/com2001_0276el01.pdf

⁴⁷ <http://www.eblul.org/dart/pages/en/defaulten.htm>

⁴⁸ Final Report of the Multilingual Information Society Programme (MLIS) Evaluation Study. Written by ECOTEC, Research & Consulting Limited, Brussels.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/information_society/evaluation/pdf/report1mlis_en.pdf

this respect [...]. [It] is closely related to the social cohesion argument described above. Localisation initiatives are highly pertinent to both social cohesion and cultural objectives. This rationale is especially important given policies towards closer integration and the enlargement of the EU' (p. 48). The end report (2000) recognises that MLIS improved accessibility to language resources.

(3) **e-Content**⁴⁹: one of its four objectives is to promote cultural diversity and multilingualism, especially in the languages of the EU, in digital content on the global networks, and to increase the export opportunities of European content firms through cultural and linguistic customisation. This programme to support European digital content industries replaced MLIS, and is also sensitive to language. It is part of the e-Europe Action Plan to accelerate the uptake of digital technologies across Europe and their use by all Europeans. A project accepted in Action Line 3 (Facilitating linguistic and cultural customisation of digital products and services) is *Minority Newspapers to New Media*⁵⁰ (MNM): 'Minority language newspapers throughout Europe are facing tough competition from net-based digital information services [...] which tend to be published mainly in the major languages.' It aims to implement 'innovative and economically viable product ideas to enable minority language media to increase their market penetration [...] by increasing their competitiveness across cultural and linguistic barriers. [It will involve] minority language newspapers across Europe...'

(4) **Media Plus**⁵¹: measures to encourage the development of the audiovisual industry. The budget is €400 million for 2001-2005. Positive discrimination criteria applied in the Media I programme were mentioned in the MEDIA II Programme Mid-term Evaluation Final Report⁵²: 'Public support must take into account the natural handicap of the small countries/markets for products with high fixed costs.' Films in Catalan produced with EU support include *Krampack*⁵³, which won an award at the 2000 Cannes Film Festival.

(5) The **Culture 2000 Programme**⁵⁴ aims to promote cultural diversity by encouraging co-operation between Member States and participating countries. It contributes to the promotion of a cultural area common to the European peoples, supporting cooperation

⁴⁹ 2001/48/EC: Council Decision of 22 December 2000 adopting a multiannual Community programme to stimulate the development and use of European digital content on the global networks and to promote linguistic diversity in the information society. OJ L 014 , 18.1.2001, p. 32–40. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2001/en_301D0048.html, and http://www.cordis.lu/econtent/council_decision.htm

⁵⁰ Project Reference: ECON-2000-3316. http://dbs.cordis.lu/cordis-cgi/srchidadb?ACTION=D&SESSION=59692001-9-25&DOC=20&TBL=EN_PROJ&RCN=EP_RCN:53008&CALLER=EISIMPLE_EN_PROJ, project website: <http://mnm.uib.es/pages/indice.php?lang=EN&option=NEWS>

⁵¹ Decision 2000/821/EC of 20.12.2000 on the implementation of a programme to encourage the development, distribution and promotion of European audiovisual works (MEDIA plus - Development, Distribution and Promotion) (2001-2005). OJ L 336 , 30.12.2000, p. 82–91. http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=32000D0821&model=guichett

⁵² Report undertaken by BIPE: http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/media/eval_en.pdf (1998). Quote: p. 125.

⁵³ <http://www.krampack.com/>

⁵⁴ http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/culture2000_en.html

between creative artists, cultural operators, private and public promoters, the activities of cultural networks, and other partners as well as the cultural institutions of the Member States.

The EU is aware that smaller languages need more support than larger ones, who can compete freely in the open market. Up until recently, this need had been prioritised only as regards the smaller of the official EU languages: Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Greek, Portuguese and Swedish (with Irish and Lëtzebuergesch)⁵⁵. But ‘regional or minority languages’ specifically appear in support for literary translations in Culture 2000. The 2001 and 2002 Calls for Proposals⁵⁶ state that ‘priority will be given to works written in the less widely-used European languages – including regional languages – or translated into these languages’, and indeed a number of book translations to and from regional and minority languages have over the years received the Union’s support. No reference is made to any continuation of the Aristeion literary awards for creation and for translation; the wording of that literary prize excluded authors whose language was not an official EU language: an unacceptable bureaucratic condition⁵⁷.

(6) **Structural funds:** especially Regional funds (FEDER) and the European Social Fund ESF.⁵⁸ These funds supported ‘*Culture for a better quality of life*’, a project devised by a South Pembrokeshire Partnership, and co-funded from 1994-1999. It included an annual cultural festival with performances of Welsh works and an association actively engaged in protecting the Welsh language⁵⁹. Another example is the *Tí Chulainn Cultural Activity Centre*⁶⁰ which opened, with EU support, in October 1998. It is a unique community-run project in South Armagh, aiming to foster the region’s rich cultural environment and share it with cultural tourists. Short residential courses include Irish language, music, song, etc.

(7) **Research and Development**⁶¹: some projects with EU support have included one or more non-official languages alongside official EU languages. Such is the case of the PAROLE project, funded by the 4th Framework programme, and followed up by SIMPLE, which was funded in the Human Language Technology action of the 5th Framework programme⁶². It included the official EU languages and Catalan. The final outcome will be

⁵⁵ Quoted from the Socrates 2000 evaluation report, 13.2.2001:

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/evaluation/soc11.pdf>

⁵⁶ http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/call2001_en.pdf, http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/call2002_en.pdf (OJ C 230, 15.8.01, p. 5-18)

⁵⁷ The great Occitan writer Frédéric Mistral, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1904, would not have been eligible for this European award! For the Commission’s reply to a written question put by MEP Myrsini Zorba (E-0396/01, ref. 2001/C235E/231) on the subject, see OJ C235 E, 21.8.2001, p. 196-197, or: <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/dat/2001/ce235/ce23520010821en01960197.pdf>

⁵⁸ http://www.inforegio.cec.eu.int/wbover/regions/regions4_en.htm

⁵⁹ <http://www.inforegio.org/wbover/overstor/details.cfm?pay=UK&rgo=UKL24&the=9&sto=138&lan=EN>

⁶⁰ <http://www.inforegio.org/wbover/overstor/details.cfm?pay=UK&rgo=UKN04&the=9&sto=166&lan=EN>

⁶¹ See <http://www.cordis.lu/fp5/home.html>, the ‘CORDIS FP5web’.

⁶² Decision No 182/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22.12.98 concerning the fifth framework programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities (1998 to 2002) OJ L 026, 1.2.99, p.1. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/1999/en_399D0182.html

a large infrastructure of harmonised European language resources⁶³. Machine translations projects have also included minority languages⁶⁴. Thus ICT programmes, particularly those involving Human Language Technology (HLT) can help to support minority languages and their continued use in the EU.

It appears that language-linked projects can also be funded through **Leonardo da Vinci** (the European action programme for cooperation in the field of vocational training), the **Youth Community action programme** (a programme for all young people) and **Tempus** (the Trans-European programme for Higher Education), provided they are not specific language courses.

Since 2000, a new tranche of EU programmes has come into operation. Our investigation suggests that the place of minority languages has not substantially changed, and they are not necessarily excluded from the programmes we have discussed. One merits special attention.

(8) **2001 European Year of Languages**⁶⁵. This is a joint programme, proposed by the Council of Europe and supported by the Union. The Union Decision to designate 2001 as the 'European Year of Languages' (EYL) states in Article 1 that '[...] measures will cover the official languages of the Community, together with Irish, Lëtzebuergesch, and other languages in line with those identified by the Member States for the purposes of implementing this Decision.' In the first Call for Proposals, several of the 43 accepted projects gave a place to minority languages⁶⁶. (1) The K.E.L.T.I.C. project (Knowing European Languages To Increase Communication) was co-ordinated by the Principality of Asturias in Spain, and aimed to promote foreign languages, change mentalities and break down barriers, through meetings, an international conference, publications, a web site and competitions. The themes included minority languages and cultures in the Atlantic Arc, and the project presentation was in Spanish and Asturian. (2) The Dix Mots Pour Dix Langues project was co-ordinated by the Ministère de la culture et de la communication in France. The target languages included Creole, Basque and Occitan). Ten words were to be used for six activities. The project encouraged the use of new technologies. (3) Progetto A.I.L.:

⁶³ 'The PAROLE Lexicons and Corpora will be enlarged in the framework of a number of National Projects, e.g. Danish, Dutch, Greek, Italian, Swedish, Spanish and Catalan. These national initiatives show that the goal of the language resource EC projects, aiming at providing a core set of resources to be extended with national support, is starting to be satisfied.' SIMPLE project annual report, 1999. <http://www.ub.es/gilcub/SIMPLE/reports/ANNREP99.htm>

⁶⁴ See Linguistic Diversity on the Internet: Assessment of the Contribution of Machine Translation. Final Study. Working document for the STOA panel. Luxembourg May 2000. PE 289.662/Fin.St. http://www.europarl.eu.int/stoa/publi/pdf/99-12-01_en.pdf

⁶⁵ Decision No 1934/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17.7.2000 on the European Year of Languages 2001. OJ L 232 , 14.9.2000, p. 1–5. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2000/en_300D1934.html. Other websites: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages.html>, <http://www.eurolang2001.org/eyl/index.htm>, <http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages/actions/year2001.html>, <http://www.eurolang2001.org/eyl/forum/forum.asp?LANG=EN>. Included are the data from the Special Eurobarometer survey 54 'Europeans and Languages' (see below, footnote 66)

⁶⁶ The role of the Member States in the selection procedure was considerable, thus raising questions about the coherence of criteria, given, among other considerations, that States such as Greece have not yet ratified the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. For a list of chosen projects, see <http://www.iulm.it/progettiael.htm>

Anno Lingue Infanzia was co-ordinated by IRRSAE Lombardia in Italy. Ten Italian research institutes planned conferences in ten regions on the early learning of languages (from pre-primary school onwards). The target languages included Slovenian and Friulian. (4) The **Die Rolle Der Nachbar- und Minderheitensprachen in einem mehrsprachigen Europa** project was co-ordinated by the *Universität Wien* in Austria. It consisted of a transnational conference involving teachers and experts, on 'A multilingual Europe in an enlarged EU'; and one of the three studies was on 'Minority languages in a changing world'. (5) The 'All Ireland Language Bus' toured round the main cities on the island, to promote all the language spoken, written and used in Ireland, including Irish. (6) Finally, 'Raising awareness of the advantage of Multilingualism in Wales by means of marketing and publicity materials', consisted of a series of activities to promote the study of languages, of Welsh language and culture, and other linguistic minorities and regional cultures. The benefits of multilingualism were explained in booklets for secondary students, and for adults.

The EYL website is only in the 11 official languages, and the forum has recorded considerable resentment from speakers of other European languages, particularly Catalan, on this score, as well as because of the complete omission of all but the official languages from a Eurobarometer survey on languages cited on the website⁶⁷. For some time it was impossible to upload poems identified as being in anything other than an official EU language.

Apart from a rather marginal part in the Socrates-programme and a more significant part in the now-discontinued MLIS programme, the scant proportion of projects promoting or using minority languages in these programmes is of concern, and has two main causes. Many proposals are certain to be rejected because of the required scale of the project and/or group: in most EU programmes several partners have to co-operate internationally. In the case of direct support for particular minority languages this is hardly ever possible. Secondly, the budget requirements of standard programmes are beyond the resources of minority speech communities such as the Occitans, the Sorbians or the Ladins, who are usually unable to match the subsidy, which is usually 50% of the total.

⁶⁷ Special Eurobarometer survey 54 'Europeans and Languages':
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages.html>

Chapter 2: The Community Action in favour of regional or minority languages in the EU. An evaluation of the projects funded, with particular reference to the reasons for their success or failure.

2.1. Community Action in favour of the regional or minority languages in the EU: background.

As stated above, a specific budget line, B3-1006, was established in 1983 to promote regional or minority language. The amount budgeted increased from €100,000 in 1983 to €3.5M in 1993, and remaining fairly stable up to 1998:

Year	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98
€M	0.1	0.2	0.34	0.68	0.86	1.0	1.0	1.1	2.0	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.0	4.0	3.7	4.0

The budget aimed: (a) to cover the essential needs of several organisations which the Parliament considers essential for the sector (EBLUL and the Mercator centres, see below) and (b) to support specific projects, usually with short-term funding, to promote one or more languages. Funding in 1999 & 2000 was through budget line B3-1000 (except for EBLUL & Mercator, which as institutions of European interest were co-funded through budget line A-3015). A breakdown for 1992-2000 gives the following.

(€thousands)	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Mercator Education	90	137	125	121	93	76	0	65	67
Mercator Media	40	42	63	83	94	99	0	74	67
Mercator Legislation	0	60	76	87	103	92	0	63	67
Total Mercator Centres	130	239	264	291	290	267	0⁶⁸	202	202
Study Visits Programme	84	88	98	105	117	118	100	-	-
EBLUL Dublin Office	294	316	415	522	522	397	172	-	-
EBLUL Brussels Office	289	242	289	328	328	346	228	-	-
Total EBLUL	667	646	802	955	967	743	500⁶⁹	798	797
Miscellaneous projects	1703	2615	2434	2746	2807	2991	3367	2479	2499
TOTAL	2500	3500	3500	3992	4064	3734	3867	3479	3499

It was administered by the Task Force 'Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth' which in 1995 became DG XXII. Unit A-4, responsible for actions related to linguistic competence, and open, distance adult education, managed all activities related to minority and regional languages until the DG Education and Culture was created in 1999, when a new Language Policy unit was established.

⁶⁸ This figure corresponds to the suspension of the budget line B3-1006 during the 98/99 period

⁶⁹ The European Parliament agreed to provide a reserve of €500,000 to EBLUL for the second half of 1998 on condition that the representativity of all minority language communities was increased inside the organisation.

The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages⁷⁰ (EBLUL): In the 1983 Resolution (see footnote 10), the Commission was called upon to support the setting up of an organisation to represent minority or regional language speakers at the European level. Since then EBLUL has brought teachers, journalists and professionals from many other fields, including language activists, into a tightly woven European network. Its 13 Member State committees representing local organisations and movements involve at the State level many actors with little prior knowledge of each other and virtually no record of developing common stances. Its work as disseminator and consultant, coordinator, and lobby, is acknowledged by its member organisations, by the Assembly of European Regions⁷¹, etc.

Mercator⁷² is a network of three research and documentation centres which strives to provide reliable, objective information about minority languages in the EU. It was set up after the 1986 Kuijpers Resolution and has developed in parallel with Union and Council of Europe policies for the protection of minorities, equal citizenship, the promotion of linguistic diversity, and access to the information society. Mercator-Education at the Fryske Akademy (Ljouwert, Fryslân, The Netherlands) studies education; Mercator-Legislation at the CIEMEN foundation (Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain), is concerned with language legislation and language in public administration; and Mercator-Media at the University of Wales Aberystwyth (Wales, United Kingdom) deals with the media, including the new media. They are linked electronically, meet regularly, and are closely linked on the Internet.

Following the Court of Justice Judgment C-106/96 of 12 May 1998⁷³, line B3-1006 was suspended because of the lack of a legal basis, and €2.5M was allocated annually under budget line B3-1000 to finance preparatory measures for a multi-annual programme in support of regional and minority languages and cultures for 1999-2001.

2.2. The calls for proposals under budget lines B3-1006 and B3-1000

2.2.1. Objectives and scope: The main objective of the Community Action in this field was to reinforce the European dimension of activities for promoting and safeguarding regional and minority languages and cultures. As a general strategy, during the first period (under budget line B3-1006) the Action supported as many suitable initiatives as possible. As a result, the budget was allocated to a high number of relatively small projects (except for the three Mercator Centres and EBLUL). The later procedure under budget line B3-1000 considerably reduced the number of funded projects. The Action stimulated cooperation between regional and minority language groups. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, activities with political or statutory aims were excluded. Applicants from both EU and EEA countries (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland) were eligible, though the latter two have no minority language groups.

⁷⁰ www.eblul.org/

⁷¹ <http://www.are-regions-europe.org/>. See Resolution 'Regional and Minority Languages' adopted at the First European Conference of Regional Ministers of Culture, Nyon (CH), 25-26 October 2000, proposal no. 9: http://www.are-regions-europe.org/PDF/CD-Main_Texts/GB-MinorityLang-def-CD-1000.pdf

⁷² www.mercator-central.org

⁷³ [http://curia.eu.int/jurisp/cgi-bin/gettext.pl?lang=en&num=80019487C19960106&doc=T&ouvert=T&seance=ARRET&where=\(\)](http://curia.eu.int/jurisp/cgi-bin/gettext.pl?lang=en&num=80019487C19960106&doc=T&ouvert=T&seance=ARRET&where=())

2.2.2. Languages targeted: No comprehensive or closed list of eligible languages was established, but targeted languages had to be living, autochthonous languages traditionally spoken by part of the population of an eligible country. Dialects, immigrants' languages and artificially created languages were ruled out. EU languages eligible in other Community programmes (Socrates actions), such as Romany, were often re-directed towards those programmes. Similarly, official EU languages spoken by a minority in a given state (e.g. Finnish in Sweden, and German in Belgium, Italy, France or Denmark) were eligible, though in educational projects they had low priority because they are also eligible for Lingua actions.

2.2.3. Applicants: Until 1998, legal persons were eligible to apply. Afterwards, applications had to come from organisations registered in accordance with the laws of an EU Member State or an EEA country. Commercial companies were not admissible. Given the special situation of minority languages, about 40% of applicants were public bodies (regional and local authorities), universities and research centres. The rest were extremely diversified, although most were cultural associations, foundations, centres and heritage trusts, often based on voluntary work. Their activity was mainly at the local level even though projects with a regional or international focus increased in later years.

2.2.4. Number of applications: The abundance of responses to each Call for Proposals, which increased yearly, is a crucial element to be considered as it can be a justification in itself of the need for such an Action, as well as the growing interest of organisations in working at the European level. From 1994 to 1998, nearly 850 of the more than 2,000 proposals received support. Under the B3-1000 budget line, the budgets of the 233 proposals received in 2000 totalled €56.56 million, and grants requests totalled €26.66 million.

2.2.5. Quality of applications: The general quality of the applications improved for several reasons: (a) the introduction of guidelines for the application form on the DG web site; (b) the setting up of a permanent guidance service by the DG and EBLUL; (c) the publication of How to promote regional or minority languages with the help of the European Union. A friendly guide to budget line B3-1006 by EBLUL, and a revised edition for budget line B3-1000 after 1999; and (d) the significant improvements made to the application form itself, specially since the recent distribution of the Vademecum for Grant Management, for applicants and beneficiaries⁷⁴, which has set more demanding standards. These changes helped to improve the selection procedure, but the budget did not increase, so selection had to be more stringent, given the growing proportion of well-presented applications. Moreover, the aim for 1999-2000 was to support a smaller number of large scale projects which (a) could ensure a higher impact on the minority languages targeted and (b) would make monitoring and follow-up more feasible. However, this made the exclusion of excellent but modest initiatives from the more needy language communities more likely.

⁷⁴ Published by the European Commission in Nov. 1998. 46 p.
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/general/subventions/granvade.pdf>

2.2.6. Level of funding: EU funding, under budget line B3-1006, could not exceed 50% of the eligible expenditure of each project. It was usually 15-35%, though contributions ranged from 5% for very large projects to 50% for high-priority areas. Average grants were €20-30 thousand, as the DG preferred small projects. However, budget line B3-1000 (1999-2000) was aimed at more ambitious projects; the EU contribution was to be €50-150 thousand, and two year projects could be funded. Projects of high quality and Community interest could be granted over 50% if they: a) targeted language communities with a very low language production or reproduction capacity; and/or b) involved many States or language groups.

2.2.7. Selection priorities: The following fields were eligible: a) Language resources: lexicography, terminology and grammar, archives, corpora, linguistic research; b) Language skills: language teaching, teacher training, learning tools, teaching methods, promoting bilingualism/multilingualism; c) Direct language promotion: awareness-raising, information and promotional campaigns, visual presence of the language, language planning; d) Social and economic aspects of language: the language in economic and social life, language and economic development, language and technology; e) Media and New Technologies: press, radio and TV, websites, software; f) Culture: cultural events and live arts, and literary, theatrical, musical and audio-visual production and distribution. Projects containing European dimension features were prioritised: (a) exchanges of experience, (b) creating networks of key players, (c) developing joint solutions, (d) transfer of expertise, (e) co-ordinated programmes. Five sets of basic selection criteria were applied; (a) strengthening the European dimension, (b) relevance; (c) scope; (d) innovative approaches; and (e) quality of application. Finally, priority was given to projects which aimed to raise the number of speakers of a language and/or their level of proficiency, improve their attitude to the language, and broaden opportunities for using and/or consuming the language.

2.3. EU co-funded projects, by fields of action and Member State.

The following numbers of projects were co-funded from 1995 to 2000, by Commission categories (for full tables, see Annex).

	Conferences	Education	Publication	Research	Media	Cultural event	TOTAL
1995	19	48	26	36	23	15	167
1996	17	47	24	25	25	22	160

	Education	Media	Standardisation	Cultural event	Publication	Information	Others	TOTAL
1997	105	6	15	4	5	12	14	161
1998	92	25	29	16	1	3	12	178

1999	Educational project	Teaching material & multimedia	Conferences	Information & dissemination	Others	TOTAL
	27	22	10	11	8	78

2000	Language resources	Social & econ. aspects of language	Language skills	Direct language promotion	Media, technology & culture	TOTAL
	7	5	8	6	10	36

Up to 60% of grants went to the field of education. Many projects in other categories⁷⁵ were also related to education. Many language courses were funded, with highly varied goals and target groups, including schools and teachers, summer courses, and university seminars. projects often addressed the growing need for teaching material; textbooks, teachers' guides, cassettes and multimedia material and, increasingly, audio-visual technology and computing, which became a priority category. Projects classed as Culture hardly ever surpassed 15%.

Spain, France, Italy and the United Kingdom consistently received co-funding for the largest number of projects, as expected given their multilingual nature. The change in criterion as to the number and scale of projects to be co-funded is visible: 160-180 projects received grants before 1998, while there were only 78 in 1999 and 36 in 2000.

	AU	BE	DE	DK	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	PO	SW	UK	MLB	Total
1995	3	5	4	0	20	4	47	1	7	38	7	0	1	30		167
1996	7	5	3	1	40	3	39	4	7	33	5	0	0	13		160
1997	7	3	5	2	42	4	39	1	4	28	4	0	0	13	9	161
1998	9	4	5	1	58	1	40	2	4	31	2	1	6	14		178
1999	4	1	4	2	26	1	15	0	2	12	2	1	2	6		78
2000	5	3	2	0	3	2	8	0	0	5	0	1	1	6		36

⁷⁵ 'Conferences', 'Publications', 'Research', 'Information and dissemination'.

2.4. Evaluation of projects co-funded by the EU under budget lines B3-1006 and B3 1000, and examples of good practice

2.4.1. Method: For this Report a general evaluation was made of a wide range of activities funded through budget line B3-1006. From a pre-selection of 188 projects funded in the past 5 years 62 projects were earmarked as examples of good practice, with the assistance and advice of EC officials and our correspondents. Forms were sent to the project managers, the method being an improvement on an unsatisfactory assessment of project outcomes made several years ago using documentation in DG files. Indeed it was clear from the earlier study, undertaken by Price Waterhouse, that such a small team of officials could hardly be expected to adequately monitor over 170 projects a year. At least one good example of each of the categories listed in section 2.2.6⁷⁶ was chosen from the 32 (51%) replies. The reasons for less successful projects can usually be inferred as not having displayed one or more features of the successful case studies chosen. Moreover, many seemed to be piecemeal once-off projects not apparently linked to an overall strategy or to established priorities. In other cases, the Commission has insufficient information to be able to draw conclusions.

2.4.2. Main results. No statistical analysis of the questionnaire replies was intended. Instead, several common features of these projects will be underlined, and illustrated with examples of good practice. EU budget lines B3-1006 and B3-1000 had a two-fold impact. Many managers said that their project would have been impossible without EU co-funding. In some cases the project would have achieved its objectives much later, or would have had far less dissemination or impact. Secondly, for many small language communities, EU recognition was at least as important as the grant itself: it boosted morale and self-esteem and encouraged them to continue working for their own language. Thus, though the annual budget was much smaller than that of most Programmes, the Action can be considered a success: every year from 1983 to 2000 about 150 projects bolstered Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity.

Let us now look at some examples of good practice in various fields, co-funded through B3-1006, and which, additionally, illustrate some of the main features of these projects (see Annex 2).

2.4.2.1. Financial mobilising effect. EU support has often had a multiplier effect, sometimes not expected in the proposal. Seed funding has mobilised additional resources from regional and local authorities, usually after the projects have been running for some time and they have proved themselves effective. Thus, as it is commonly thought, EU support can open doors to further financial support (see Case Study 1 at the end of this sub-section).

2.4.2.2. Multiplier effect. Most cases have a clear multiplier effect, with key players (teachers, language planners, journalists, etc.) sharing expertise (Case Study 2).

⁷⁶ (a) Language resources; (b) Language skills; (c) Direct language promotion; (d) Social and economic aspects of language; (e) Media and New Technologies and (f) Culture.

2.4.2.3. Extrapolation. The following is a good example of a project whose results have helped other language communities with similar problems (Case Study 3).

2.4.2.4. Action research. Some projects have given the authorities insight into the relationship between language and fields in which they work. A good example is a project on the presence and role of the language in economic and social life, in Case Study 4.

2.4.2.5. Networking. The EU has greatly helped in the setting up formal and informal networking. These networks have often started operating *after* EU-supported projects. As a result many minority groups with similar problems develop joint strategies in the media (Case study 5), education and youth (Case study 6) and language planning (Case study 7). Case Study 6 is a course which is not restricted to minority group membership, but appeals also to members of the mainstream European societies.

2.4.2.6. Employment opportunities. Geographic isolation hinders economic development in many peripheral regions, and directly affects young people there. Unemployment is often high, and many have to leave their homeland for education and work, with the consequent impact on their language community. Several projects have addressed these important issues (see Case Study 8).

2.4.2.7. Experimental and innovative methods. There are cases where even modest seed-funding from the EU has been applied to exciting new projects, which given their success, could well be copied in other parts of Europe (Case Study 9).

2.4.2.8. European dimension. Many projects bring together people from all over Europe to work with European partners, create new networks, increase familiarity with European issues, exchange experience and work internationally. (Case Study 10).

2.4.2.9. Multi-annual support. The piecemeal management of many projects, because of one-year EU grants that might or not be renewed, led to many projects collapsing before attaining the planned outcome and/or becoming self-funding. The Study Visits (Case Study 11) were successfully maintained on a year-to-year basis. A second example (Case Study 12) of a project which can succeed provided it receives multi-annual support is the Eurolang project, linking up media all over Europe via an agency.

2.4.2.10. Cross-border projects. Some good projects involve cooperation between neighbouring linguistic communities across international borders. An example follows (Case Study 13). In some cross-border and trans-national projects, the desired actions may be taken only on one side of the border due to differing language or education policies in the States involved.

2.4.2.11. New technologies. Many projects use information and communication technology (ICT). Case Study 14 is on a non-territorial language: the Internet is particularly useful. A second example is an action-research project that takes technology as the subject matter, linking up TV broadcasters in several countries (Case Study 15).

2.4.3. Full List of Case Studies.

Case Study 1: An organisation based in Northern Ireland, *Iontaobhas Ultach/Ultaich Trust*, has joined a consortium to develop the *Iomairt Cholm Cille/Columba Initiative*⁷⁷.

Co-funded for 2 years by the Union, from April 1998, the Project fosters support for Gaelic, developing links between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland across interstate boundaries and the sea. It aims to develop strategies and projects in which Gaelic in both countries can encourage previously isolated communities and speakers to work together in social, cultural and economic affairs. It is the first tripartite project between Scotland, Northern Ireland (NI) and the Republic of Ireland, and it is technologically innovative in the context of Irish and Scots Gaelic: the 4 offices are far apart, and they use e-mail and audio-conferences for internal communication. It is making measurable impacts in strategic geographical areas and sectors; it links isolated communities; and it is helping to rebuild personal and community esteem in relation to language. Without EU support the Columba Initiative would have not included Northern Ireland. Its initial success led to subsequent funding from the NI government in 2000-2001 and 2001-2002.

Case Study 2: A successful project co-funded by the EU was the *Mercator Conference on Audio-visual Translation and Minority Languages*. The project lasted from 15th November 1999 to 31st January 2001

The project aimed to share expertise and experience in minority audio-visual translation issues, updating specialists in the field; and to form a network for an ongoing dialogue. The Conference itself (Aberystwyth, 3-4 April 2000) had 31 participants from 7 EU states, belonging to 8 minority language communities. Many issues initially mentioned at the conference (published in the Proceedings and distributed across Europe) have been raised at other international forums, thus underlining its multiplying effect. For instance, a prize for excellence in dubbing and subtitling was discussed at the Celtic Film and Television Festival. A network of specialists was established. The European dimension was reflected in the discussion of standardisation of audio-visual translation practices across Europe. For the first time issues relating specifically to minority languages in this field were discussed at a European level.

Case Study 3: A Ladin cultural organisation, *Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites*, ran a project called *SPELL – Servisc de Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz Ladin*, with EU support (1996-1998).

A standard written form for the Ladin language, and other tools, were needed to move towards a common Ladin development policy. *SpellBase*, a comparative database of regional lexical forms for the five written varieties, was completed, and over 9000 lexical entries in Standard Ladin were compiled. The first Dictionary and Grammar for Standard Ladin were published. All available dictionaries in paper format were introduced into the database, a highly innovative step for a demographically small language. Ideologically

⁷⁷ Columba website: <http://www.calumcille.org>

diverse partners came together, and resources were found for cooperation with institutions in Austria, Germany and Italy (Salzburg, Innsbruck and Eichstätt Universities, and Papiros Editziones). This successful initiative has been extrapolated to similar situations. Specialists working on Friulian and Sardinian have decided to start similar codification and standardisation projects in the *LINMITER*⁷⁸ project, promoted by Union Latine with EU support. The *TermLeS* project, launched in April 2001, focuses on developing terminology for Ladin and Sardinian: in 18 months a set of tagged corpora will be complete. Without EU support the project would have been virtually impossible. It increased impact on local public opinion, and made it possible to incorporate scientific and minority institutions from other countries. The prestige of getting EU seed funding helped to raise funds from local authorities, which have allowed the project to continue: the Trentino-Südtirol Regional council now funds the standardisation office.

Case Study 4: A University of Wales research centre organised a project on *Tourism and Language Use in Selected Bilingual Communities in Western Europe*, which lasted from 1999 to 2001.

The project aimed to satisfy the urgent need for research to test the theory that intensive tourism and the in-migration of monolingual outsiders negatively affects the usage and reproduction of minority languages. Tourism and a decline in the percentage of Welsh-speakers in the language's heartland were directly related. Non-Welsh-speakers were settling in areas visited as tourists. The 454 p. report was widely distributed among Welsh authorities, including the National Assembly, and was reported at an international conference⁷⁹ (Aberystwyth, 28 April 2001), attended by central and local government representatives, language planners and tourism enterprises. Delegates from Wales, Ireland, Scotland and Fryslân compared the linguistic effects of tourism in each case. Its recommendations can help the authorities to protect Welsh-speaking communities, and to develop language-sensitive tourism. Without EU funding it would have been impossible to conduct fieldwork-based research and collect valuable quantitative data to test the hypotheses.

Case Study 5: The Slovene Research Institute held an international conference: *Giornali quotidiani in lingua minoritaria* through a 12-month project co-funded from October 1997. It has had two follow-ups.

The first-ever conference of editors of daily newspapers in minority languages in the EU sought to promote cooperation between newspapers. A working group prepared future work and formulated the basis of broader cooperation; and the *follow-up* conference, *Future Cooperation of Minority Dailies*, was organised by the European Academy of Bozen/Bolzano in 2000 with EU support. At the *third*, held with the support of the Balearic Islands government, in April 2001, the *Association of Daily Newspapers in Minority Language (MIDAS)* was founded. Some members are from EU candidate States. New insights were obtained: no problem has a single solution. The European dimension was given by the

⁷⁸ Linmitter website: <http://www.unilat.org/dtil/linmitter/linmitter.html>

⁷⁹ Conference website: http://www.aber.ac.uk/~awcwww/s/fforwm_ebrill_2001.html

presence of editors of over 30 minority dailies and by the creation of the network. Editors from East European countries was especially active. The network can help to make mainstream language speakers more aware of the problems of linguistic minorities and can contribute to the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe. The conferences had extensive coverage, including full-page reports; and web coverage is varied.⁸⁰ It will now focus on (a) co-operation in exchanging articles and in using new technologies, including an eContent project; (b) helping communities without a daily newspaper to set one up; and (c) joint activities to promote European policies in this domain. **Case Study 6:** A Danish organisation, *Højskolen Østersøen*, has received support (1997-2001) for its Minority Course for young Europeans active in NGOs.

Each year since 1997 young Europeans of both majority and minority backgrounds are invited to discuss issues where the experience of minorities is especially relevant: life in a multilingual, multicultural Europe. The network now has over 300 young Europeans and many NGOs. 35 minority language groups have taken part, from countries inside and outside the EU. The People website⁸¹ facilitates co-operation by disseminating news, information and project proposals across Europe. The website has over 100 visitors daily; articles are sent to a mailing list of over 800 people. Each course is followed by the continuous dissemination of young people's ideas on Europe to NGOs, politicians, media, educators in Denmark and Europe. It has introduced a European dimension into Danish non-formal education, and it is now recognised and co-funded by the Ministry of Education. The prestige of EU support and the proven success of the project have helped find new sources of support, such as regional authorities.

Case Study 7: The Basque government's language planning body led the *Network of Language Policy Agents*. It lasted for two years from November 1998, and it was planned to continue without EU funding.

The project aimed to train language planners, to create linguistic standard material in various languages and to promote co-operation agreements. A meeting was held with the heads of 7 language planning bodies, and two seminars were held to discuss toponymy (June 2000, San Sebastian, with guests from Quebec) and the promotion of the use of the language in social movements and enterprises (February-March 2001, Alava). Participants identified common ground on which to strengthen co-operation between official language planning agencies. The seminars increased awareness of the situation of minority languages across Europe, and language experts have forged stable links. The new Network of Language Planning Agents agreed on two projects for the immediate future: a Conference on official minority language planning agencies hosted by agencies from 4 EU Member States; and a project on fostering language transmission in the home.

⁸⁰ For example, 1998: Corriere del Ticino: <http://www.cdt.ch/magazinearch/010305/magazine/tutti.htm>. 2000: European Academy Bozen/ Bolzano: <http://www.eurac.edu/press/dinamic.asp?which=120> and Associazione per i popoli minacciati: <http://www.ines.org/apm-gfbv/ladin/comunicac/2000/4-5-it.html>. Also overview of media on Regió 7 website: <http://www.regio7.com/prminor/index.htm>

⁸¹ People website: <http://www.people.hojoster.dk>

Case Study 8: The Frisian organisation *Jongereinferiening Frysk Ynternasjonaal Kontakt*⁸² and the umbrella organization YEN/JCEE/JEV, Youth of European Nationalities, held the Conference *Simmerbarren 500 and employment*, from 25 July to 1 August 1998, after two years of preparation.

Young Europeans from economically peripheral regions with lesser-used languages met to discuss employment problems and challenges. Co-operation was encouraged at all levels, to raise awareness of cultural and identity issues, and to build job skills. Five perspectives were discussed at separate *Simmerbarren 500* locations. Almost 300 participants from 20 countries took part, and 85 outside professionals contributed to the workshops, lectures, excursions and leisure activities. Some workshops were repeated in different locations. Several well-organised workshops developed products like a business plan and a theatre piece, and explored the way culture and economy interact. A report on how to improve employment prospects was presented to the local and regional governments. Thereafter Frisian participants attended a seminar on economic development in Italy in October 1998, and Slovene youngsters organised an exchange in summer 2000. Frisian participants not fully literate in their language enrolled on Frisian courses. FYK will hold another youth conference around Easter 2002.

Case Study 9: From 1998 (when it received an EU grant) to 2001, the organisation *Ttakun Kultur Elkartea* promoted the learning of Basque in peer-groups (*'kuadrillategi'*) in Basque-speaking areas.

The aims were to foster Basque-speaking habits, and to improve the Basque proficiency of youngsters in social groups (*kuadrillategi* in Basque). 81 youngsters took part in 11 groups. 63% of the Spanish-speakers measurably improved their oral expression. At the group level, 17% of the Spanish-speakers started new relationships in Basque for the first time with people in their informal networks.

At the intergroup level, in 10% of possible cases new – often close - relationships developed between youngsters of different language habits. Remarkably, 99% of these new relationships were in Basque, which became the instrument of integration and inter-group communication. The method could easily be used in other language groups. The project, designed with a modest budget, is original in its method: it uses natural groups. Its outcome is certainly better than in school contexts. A new cultural association has been set up to continue work in the Basque country; in September 2001 the project was to begin in 10 towns, with 400 youngsters.

Case Study 10: Since 1988, various organisers have taken turns to host the biennial *Euroskol* for young speakers of lesser-used languages, especially those who are being educated in such a language.

⁸² http://www.fyk.nl/alg/alg_e.htm. Conference: <http://www.drf.nl/org/simmerbarren500/fr/wie/organ.htm>

*Euroskol*⁸³ is the most important international event for minority language schools in the EU. 7 *Euroskols* have been hosted by language communities in 5 countries. Each event invites c. 400 children from other states, and over 600 local children, for a 3-day culture and sports festival. 24 minority language groups from 10 Member States have taken part. Local schools often help, as do local and regional authorities. It has developed solidarity among education systems, inspiring thousands of young people to be self-confident and proud of their language and culture, and to view themselves in a European context. It is pan-European, a celebration of diversity, open, vibrant and fun and it captivates the public imagination. And while they enjoy themselves, their teachers, youth leaders, parents etc. can share ideas and experiences.

Case Study 11: One of the most successful ventures has been the *Study Visits Programme*, organised every year since 1983 by *The European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages*.

These study trips to minority language communities in the EU facilitate the sharing of information among those actively working for such languages in language planning, education, media and public administration, who take the opportunity to meet their counterparts in another region. Structures relating to lesser-used languages and cultures are studied on the ground. New ways of promoting languages are discussed. High-quality information on each community is thus carefully updated. The visits build up a sense of solidarity among those working for minority languages, and have a very real multiplier effect, both between the host communities and the participants, and among the latter themselves. Besides the 'official' multiplier effect, a lot of informal networking has developed among participants from all over Europe. Each year, the 6 or 7 one-week visits involve about 70 participants. Over 105 visits have been organised in 41 linguistic communities, and the project, funded by the DG Education and Culture, has allowed 1,140 Europeans to take part. Four visits are planned in 2001 and 4 in 2002.

Case Study 12: Since 1999 *EBLUL* has received EU support for *Eurolang*, an agency designed to provide daily coverage of EU minority language issues, targeted at the media. It opened on 1 February 2000.

It has customer relations with over 40 media in radio, TV, the press and Internet. Its website has 175 visitor sessions a day. Most outlets surveyed use it regularly for reprint or background, and the BBC, universities and the European Commission are among the top visitors. By the end of 2000, its team of 10 correspondents throughout Europe and its Brussels office staff had published over 500 articles on the website⁸⁴. *Eurolang* has provided comprehensive coverage of issues from minorities in Austria to language legislation in Finland. Half the items are also available in Swedish, thanks to the Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland. Others are also available in French, German and other languages. It recently began to cover the applicant countries, with a journalist in Slovakia. *Eurolang* can be regarded as a public service media outlet.

⁸³ For the 1999 edition, *Iurosgoil*, held in the Hebrides and supported by Comunn na Gaidhlig and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, see <http://www.cnag.org.uk/beurla/iuro99.htm>

⁸⁴ *Eurolang* website: <http://www.eurolang.net>

Case Study 13: From 1997 to 2000 the *Welsh Language Board* ran the *Celtic Languages Initiative*⁸⁵ (CELI), which targeted young students, an age-group critical to the future well-being of the languages, in vocational education. It developed audiovisual language support materials in four Celtic languages (Breton, Welsh, Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic), to enable such students to continue to develop their language skills. The expertise of the group partners was shared to everyone's benefit.

Twelve modules dealing with situations such as leaving school and starting work, were made in each language and English. IT and digital media editing technology were used. The young people shared problems in using minority languages in vocational contexts, became aware of practical issues in language planning, and saw the project as a valuable form of personal fulfilment: the end product reflects the tastes of the generation targeted, and costs were kept down. CELI has been promoted at events in each country, such as a musical revue composed specially for the project, and performed in Brittany. With further EU support an operational website could be developed for speakers of the four languages to be able to use all the modules in their own language. The project has great potential value for other minority language communities. Dissemination, via Internet, could encourage young people from elsewhere to go on using their language into adult life and pass it on to their children.

Case Study 14: In 1999 the organisation *Förderverein für Jiddische Sprache und Kultur e.V.* received co-funding for a project to design a website on Yiddish language and culture, including courses.

Internet was to be used for a Yiddish language and culture course for self-learners, to familiarise Internet users with Yiddish, and to convey its relevance to present-day Europe. The end-product, the 'Jiddischkurs' website⁸⁶, opened in January 2001. In little over four months it received 10,988 visitors from all over Europe and indeed the world. It is linked from 425 other websites. The course is permanently available. Multimedia facilities allow a polished didactic presentation of all the materials (sound, maps, pictures, slide shows, etc.) Users choose their starting point, and the course is user-friendly. 'Jiddischkurs' would have been impossible without EU funding, and was projected as a marketing action to disseminate the whole content of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry (EYDES project).

Case Study 15: The *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela* undertook a project on Television and Interculturalism in Brittany, Galicia and Wales with EU support, for a year from June 1997. <http://www.usc.es/xorna/television.htm>

A comparative analysis of audio-visual production and broadcasting in all the languages of these countries was made, as seen by the public TV services. AV production and dissemination in these languages relies on public TVs whose identity policies are at least

⁸⁵ <http://www.celi.eu.com/>

⁸⁶ <http://www.jiddischkurs.org/>

latently defined, and who face technological convergence and new forms of markets. The final report was produced in the three original languages and in English; a book was published in Breton and French. The results were reported at the IAMCR Conference (Glasgow, July 1998) and appeared in '*Anuario UNESCO/UMESP de comunicação regional 1998*', Sao Paulo, Brasil. Its follow-up in 1998-1999 was 'Towards an integrated European minority languages TV', with EU support. Led by the University of Wales-Bangor, Irish and Catalan partners joined. The overview of the media sector was completed and needs was updated; a database of active firms was set up, as the basis for regional Intranets. A new *USC Audio-visual Observatory* monitors the sector and studies relationships between the cultural, economic and political measures to support contents in minority languages. A new project will study interactive minority language broadcasting in areas like the Atlantic Arc.

2.4.3. Other examples of good practice.

The range of treatment of the whole issue of regional or minority languages varies enormously from one EU Member State to the next. In this short section we shall give an overview of practices which we believe to be of general interest.

First of all, though, we have to describe the special situation in four States: Ireland, Luxembourg, Belgium (with regard to German) and Finland (with regard, in this case, to Swedish). All afford the language in question a legal and institutional status which is deliberately NOT that of a minority or regional language. The language is incorporated as a matter of state into national policy. The social, political and institutional status that results gives the linguistic group a much stronger basis for language reproduction and production. This may not be a sufficient guarantee, as we are at pains to point out in the report on Ireland; but it approaches the limit to what a democratic institution may legitimately do in the way of language policy and language-linked economic and social policies.

The fact that all pupils receive the same national education in Luxembourg, or that all pupils in Belgium and Finland have to study and learn the "other" national language, means that a common aim is established, and that the onus for learning is not burdened upon speakers of the smaller language.

Again, the use of Dutch, French and German not only in Belgium's federal institutions, but also by the head of state in many of his addresses to the whole population, amounts not only to the exercise of a right, but also to a highly pedagogical measure with regard to the majority population.

Moving to other countries, the three crucial elements for successful language policies vis-à-vis "regional or minority" languages are as follows: (1) The existence of a legal framework which makes the language(s) official, at least within its (or their) traditional territory. Without this public declaration by the legislator, public authorities would be under no formal obligation to alter their linguistic practices, or to engage in the promotion of the respective language. (2) The devolution of wide-ranging powers to regional authorities so that language policies can be implemented in different fields, and make a real impact on the

linguistic environment. (3) The provision, in the respective budget(s), of sufficient resources to be able to implement language policies effectively.

All this requires, moreover, a state of public opinion favourable towards the recovery of the language in question, both in order to support policy proposals, and in order for the general public to actively take part in the process.

Examples of good practice must include the existence of specific language planning bodies, both to ensure the development of the language itself in the safe of terminological and other needs (corpus planning) and to improve the level of presence and use of the language (status planning). Among the former, *Termcat* is an excellent example. It is the chief terminology centre for the Catalan language, and developed, for instance, the sporting terminology (in the four official languages) of the 1992 Olympics held in Catalonia. Other terminology developments are mentioned in the subsection on good practice in this Report.

Among the latter we find bodies devoted to organising events, building databases and disseminating news, such as the *Conselho da Cultura Galega*, with its excellent, award-winning website⁸⁷. Secondly, mention should be made of an organisation devoted largely to the teaching of Catalan to adults, both literacy classes and Catalan as a second language to non-speakers. This is the *Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística*, based in Barcelona, and with offices throughout Catalonia⁸⁸. It is mentioned elsewhere in the Report, and has an annual budget of approx. €12 million. The Basque country government has a similar organisation, *HABE*.

Among significant advisory bodies the provincial government of Fryslân has an active one, *Berie foar it Frysk*. The Frisian case is important in that regularly, every few years, the provincial government negotiates a contract with the central government, in which the language policy objectives are laid out, and the responsibility for financing and implementing them are specified.

As far as language status bodies with executive capacity are concerned, special attention is due to the Welsh Language Board⁸⁹, also mentioned elsewhere in this Report. Its mission is defined by law, and it has an exemplary and participative method of defining its priorities, on the basis of widely consulted proposals.

Many other structures, in the fields of mass media (and particularly radio and television) and education, run by or for various language communities, have been mentioned in the report.

Strategic approaches vary. In Ireland considerable attention is devoted to awarding grants to local grassroots associations so that their work in support of Irish can thrive. In Wales great importance is attached to community initiatives at the local level, where a primary

⁸⁷ <http://www.culturagalega.org>

⁸⁸ <http://www.cpnl.org>

⁸⁹ <http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk>

aim is to draw into the project as many of the existing local organisations as possible (sports clubs, youth clubs, commercial organisations, schools, community and leisure centres, etc.). In Catalonia, on the other hand, considerable resources are devoted to the central offices of the government's Directorate-General for Language Policy and to dozens of language offices, not only in local councils (through the *Consortis*) but also in universities, trades unions, business confederations, sports federations, etc.

There are many examples of propaganda campaigns with specific objectives: the Galician authorities invited young mothers to use Galician with their children; the Welsh Language Board has promoted bilingual solutions in business; and some years ago, the French community in Belgium promoted the study of Dutch in this way, in order for French-speakers to have a great chance of finding jobs in a market increasingly requiring bilingual people.

The special case of minority language communities spanning across borders is exemplified by the Samis, whose Nordic Sami Council (*Sami Ráddi*) works closely with each of the Sami Parliaments on projects such as the Sami Language Board. Very recently the governments of the Balearic Islands and Catalonia have established a body, open to the governments of other Catalan-speaking territories, for the international projection of Catalan language and culture: the Institute Ramon Lull. It will be funded by both governments, and also by central government.

Chapter 3: Proposals and considerations on the way forward for the European Commission, in the light of the European Court of Justice judgement of 12 May 1998

3. Introduction

3.0.1. The background. As explained briefly in the Introduction to this Report, following the European Court of Justice Judgement C-106/96 of 12 May 1998⁹⁰ the budget line for regional and minority languages came to an end, and appropriations provided for a preparatory measure, for the period 1999-2001 (see above, Ch. 2).

As laid down in paragraph 36 of the Interinstitutional Agreement of 6 May 1999⁹¹, “Under the system of the Treaty, implementation of appropriations entered in the budget for any Community action requires the prior adoption of a basic act. A 'basic act' is an act of secondary legislation, which provides a legal basis for the Community action, and for the implementation of the corresponding expenditure entered in the budget. Such an act must take the form of a Regulation, a Directive or a Decision (*Entscheidung* or *Beschluß*). Recommendations and opinions do not constitute basic acts, nor do resolutions or declarations.”

Subsequently the DG Education & Culture drafted a Community Action Programme proposal, “Archipel”. The DG’s initial proposal that the legal basis for such a programme be Article 149 of the Treaty was rejected by the Commission’s legal service, which considered that the appropriate basis for such an Action was Article 151: “The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity [...]”. The objective of such an Action would thus be to safeguard the cultural heritage and the linguistic diversity of the Community. Following a preparatory action for the period 1998-2000⁹², the lack of initiative on the part of the Commission seems to be related to the fact that Article 151 requires unanimity in the Council. The legal service seemed open to further discussions on aspects they might not have borne in mind, and we shall propose various arguments which, in our view, lead us to different conclusions from those reached by that service.

In Chapter 4 we shall make various proposals for Community action, to extend the support it can give to linguistic diversity including regional or minority languages, among which a specific new programme is just one.

Before entering the subject, several introductory remarks have to be made.

⁹⁰ Ref. 61996J0106 (Rec. 1998, p. I-2729).

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=61996J0106.

⁹¹ Interinstitutional Agreement of 6 May 1999 between the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission on budgetary discipline and improvement of the budgetary procedure. Extract from “F. Legal bases”.

<http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre628.html>

⁹² Undertaken as laid down in the Interinstitutional Agreement referred to above.

3.0.2. Instruments of varying hierarchical status It is striking that a subject that affects up to 40 million European citizens has received so little direct attention, other perhaps than the series of European Parliament Resolutions and the longstanding pilot project mentioned above, run by the Commission thanks to the support of the European Parliament. This leads necessarily to a fragmentary treatment of the documents on the subject matter, as well as to the unavoidable conjunction of instruments of varying hierarchical status: from political statements, through Decisions and Articles quoted from the Treaties, to European Court judgements. This chapter does not have enough space to offer a thorough analysis of all the relevant documents and legal instruments, so a brief selection of documents will be made; all are relevant to the discussion in this chapter, for we contend that the political will of the Union's institutions is just as important a factor in the way forward as are the specific legal bases on which legal acts can be grounded.

It will immediately become clear that the distribution between the Union and its Member States of competence's relating even indirectly to language matters is as imprecise in this field as it is in others. It is particularly so given that references to "language policy" as such are not to be found in the Treaties.

3.0.3. The lack of a legal basis for excluding regional and minority languages from Community action in the field of language promotion. The Union has a number of language policies in particular fields in which it has powers. The legal bases for these policies are mainly Articles 149, 150 and 151, as well as on 157 EC⁹³: so we see no reason why references in the Treaties have to be sought in order to justify actions which can help specifically to promote regional or minority languages. On the contrary, we believe that the onus is on the Council and the Commission to attempt to explain what references in the Treaties have allowed language policies to be developed which actually exclude them, covering only the Union's official languages (a term which does not appear in the Treaty) and/or, on occasion, other languages such as Irish and Lëtzebuergesch.

3.0.4. Respect for diversity: towards an active policy. As we shall explain below, the reference in article 149.1 to the need to respect Member States' cultural and linguistic diversity gives rise to the fundamental question: what does "respect" mean in terms of policy (in this case, related to the Community's action in the field of education)? Can the Community respect a "minority" language, for instance, in a passive way, by ignoring its existence, while acting to support the corresponding "majority" language? Is this not a contradiction in terms? Surely, we shall argue, the term "respect" should not be interpreted only as limiting the action of the Community (or only insofar as its action might threaten diversity), but rather as also providing a basis for it, so that a specific, active policy in the field of promoting diversity can help to attain Community objectives.

⁹³ Article numbering follows the Consolidated version of the Treaty Establishing the European Community (1999). See http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre2_c.html. The abbreviation is used following the convention of the European Court of Justice; see <http://curia.eu.int/en/jurisp/remnot.htm>.

3.0.5. Language as a component of culture. We shall draw attention to Article 151, for it places the Community's institutions under an important obligation: "The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures." (151.4 EC). It is clear that language is an important component of the Community's cultures. We shall also be referring later to Article 151.1 (quoted at the beginning of this Chapter), as it is also relevant to the issue. Language and culture are certainly closely related: but language is not merely culture, just as culture has many aspects, which are not linguistic in nature.

3.0.6. Closing remarks. Finally, it is clear that however one wishes to define the limits to Community action in the field of language policy, the official recognition of a language by a Member State cannot but have legal effects within the institutions of the Union.

In what follows, we shall question some of the assumptions that have hitherto been behind much of the debate on this subject. The discussion is still open, and we shall offer interpretations, which, we hold, are on occasion closer to the literal texts of the Treaties.

3. 1. European concern about linguistic diversity

3.1.1. Pan-European institutions. The Treaty establishing the European Communities does not specify any powers in the field of languages. However, an overarching European approach to the issue of linguistic diversity is sorely needed, given the clearly transversal nature of language as an instrument of communication and information closely associated with specific policies in the fields of administration, consumer affairs, mass media, education and culture (see section 3.2.2). Several institutions have taken an interest in the subject and have undertaken prospective operations leading to several specific actions and Decisions related to various legal bases. These issues have been described in the Introduction and in Chapter 1. We have seen how at the initiative of the European Parliament, which has adopted a number of resolutions on the subject, calling among other things for a multiannual programme, a budget line offered support to initiatives to promote minority and regional languages from 1982 to 2001.

It is important to underline that concern about the preservation of, and respect for, linguistic diversity extends beyond the EU to other pan-European institutions, and the reasons for this interest are highly relevant. The **Council of Europe** and the **Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe**, to which EU Member States all belong, have made statements and resolutions to promote linguistic pluralism, as a means of reinforcing citizens' individual rights and the rights of persons belonging to language communities, as well as of bolstering peace and security in Europe⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ The Council of Europe's European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (opened to signature on 5 November 1992. <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Word/148.doc>) and the Parliamentary Assembly's 1998 Recommendation 1383 on linguistic diversity are both relevant. The CSCE (later OSCE) also deals with the subject at the Summit meeting of Heads of State or Government, Helsinki (1 August 1975) resulting in the Helsinki Final Act (<http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/helfa75e.htm>); at the second meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Copenhagen (5 June - 29 July 1990; <http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/hd/cope90e.htm>); and at the Summit meeting of Heads of

3.1.2. Beyond the institutional use of language. Concern about linguistic diversity is reflected in a variety of documents relating to European multilingualism, and the political will of the Union in this area seems clear. Indeed, linguistic diversity has even been referred to as a “principle”: thus, a recent Draft Council Resolution⁹⁵ invites the Commission... “To take into account [...] the principle of linguistic diversity in its relations with third and candidate countries”.

The origin and evolution of the Union explains the ways the subject has been coped with. At first the task was to establish the valid languages of the treaties⁹⁶ and the languages of Community institutions and bodies, the objective being to ensure the efficiency and legal certainty of Community norms and acts. Later, Community policies led EU institutions to act in matters in which language is an important element.

The need for institutions to be more democratic and closer to the citizens, and the increasing social prestige of lesser-used languages, are further reasons for the Union to play a more active role in this issue.

3.2. Language pluralism and culture

3.2.1. Language pluralism and Europe’s cultural heritage. Linguistic pluralism, as an age-old heritage of Europe, is first and foremost a fact of life. It can give rise to problems in drawing up common policies: chiefly problems of communication, loss of information or a lack of legal certainty. But concentrating on a small number of languages also causes sizeable problems, such as the distance perceived by citizens from decision-making processes affecting them and their unsatisfactory involvement in them, and the de facto exclusion of Member States that question the very legitimacy of the Community-building objective. There is also great concern that an age-old cultural heritage should not be squandered. Language diversity should be accepted as a European asset, without forgetting the problems inherent to it.

Moreover, the Union’s primary law gives sufficient legal bases to enable Community institutions to exercise their powers in the field of respecting and promoting linguistic diversity. Several treaty precepts have led to Community policies associated with linguistic diversity, for language appears in various regulations and specific policies. In a word: linguistic pluralism is not only real but also subject to legal regulation.

State or Government, Paris (19-21 November 1990) which adopted the Charter of Paris for a New Europe (<http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/paris90e.htm>).

⁹⁵ Draft Council Resolution on the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001, Brussels, 23 November 2001, ref. 13795/01 EDUC 133 (replacing 13052/01 EDUC 120 and 14022/01 EDUC 137). Unanimously agreed by the Permanent Representatives Committee on 21 November 2001.

⁹⁶ See below, section 3.3.1. <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre258.html>

Linguistic diversity does not define per se which languages are to be protected. It has sometimes been interpreted so as to refer just to languages that are official in the Member States; however, we hold that linguistic diversity applies to all indigenous European languages⁹⁷. Beneath the mantle of the value of linguistic diversity, all languages spoken by Europeans for centuries, be they official or not, deserve to be protected. Some initiatives have indeed included more languages than the EU official languages, as occurs in the proclamation of 2001 as the European Year of Languages⁹⁸. As we saw in Chapter 1.2, the Decision covers the official EU languages, plus Irish and Lëtzebuergesch and other languages identified by each Member State. The MLIS programme was another example (see below, 3.2.2.).

Linguistic diversity does not prevent particular institutions from limiting their working languages, for it supplements the principle of declaring official languages. The principles of official languages and of respect for linguistic diversity can be differentiated. The former states which languages are validly and effectively used by Community institutions in their internal dealings, between them, with Member States or even with European citizens⁹⁹. In its turn, respect for linguistic diversity calls, at the very least, for promotion policies for all autochthonous European languages, whether or not they have achieved official status at the EU level or within their States.

Linguistic pluralism has often been regarded as a feature of Europe's cultural heritage. Linguistic diversity has indeed a lot to do with our cultural heritage. But the promotion of linguistic diversity need not be viewed solely as the promotion of a cultural asset. Cultural policy is in fact quite strictly defined in the Treaties. EU actions in the area of education, for instance, are not strictly cultural, for they are classified in a separate area: that of education. At the same time, many EU policies have secondary linguistic aims. So in this case we have to see whether a particular language policy falls, for instance, in the area of the teaching of students, in which case the policy will fit into EU actions in the field of education, and not culture.

⁹⁷ Only migrants' and artificial languages have to be excluded from this type of protection, as has been made clear in official answers to questions put by MEPs (Answer to written question E-0888/97 put to the Commission by Caroline Jackson. http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQA&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQA+E-1997-0888+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=4&NAV=S&SAME_LEVEL=1) and in the Commission's own calls for proposals (e.g. Call for proposals EAC/19/00, OJ C 266 of 16 September 2000, OJ C 266/07, see <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin/callen.pdf>; and <http://europa.eu.int/cgi-bin/eur-lex/udl.pl?REQUEST=Seek-Deliver&LANGUAGE=en&SERVICE=eurlex&COLLECTION=oj&DOCID=2000c266p00150019>); and dialects are also excluded, as made clear in the same calls.

⁹⁸ See footnote 64.

⁹⁹ As regards relations with citizens, Article 21 EC states, among other provisions, that "Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article [European Parliament and Ombudsman] or in Article 7 [European Parliament, Council, Commission, Court of Justice, Court of Auditors] in one of the languages mentioned in Article 314 and have an answer in the same language". See also Council Regulation no. 1/58.

3.2.2. The transversal nature of language and the legal bases of language policies. In the words of the Committee of the Regions, ‘language permeates all aspects of people’s lives’¹⁰⁰. Language is an essential part of many policies, so the potential language-linked actions which can or do relate to each specific Community area of competence need to be analysed in order to see whether or not they are being applied to languages, and if so, if this is being done with a restrictive criterion. As we have seen, for example, language teaching is a matter for education policy. Another example is the promotion of literary translations, which is a matter for cultural policy; but the transversal nature of language means that many Community actions are in areas that cannot be qualified as being of a strictly cultural nature. Language plays an important role in education, the information society, and the movement of workers and cultural industries.

Let us therefore take a closer look at some of the Community actions based on different articles of the Treaty.

Language and industry

European institutions have defined their position on this issue several times through documents of varying status within the legal hierarchy. Specific legal grounds have been used to clarify the legal bases of those European policies which have a clear impact upon linguistic diversity, though it may be incidental to the main aim of the programme¹⁰¹. The ‘Multi-annual programme to promote linguistic diversity within the information society’ (MLIS) is a good case in point. A 1999 ECJ Judgement¹⁰² stated that the legal basis for a MLIS was a question for industry (Article 157 EC), and not, as held by the European Parliament, for culture as well (Article 151 EC): ‘the object of the programme, namely the promotion of linguistic diversity, is seen as an element of an essentially economic nature and incidentally as a vehicle for or element of culture as such’ (par. 62). As we have already seen (Article 151.4¹⁰³), the Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures, so there is no need to use Article 151 as a legal basis whenever a programme has a cultural impact, as long as the cultural component is incidental (as it is in the case in point) to the main objective of the programme.

¹⁰⁰ Thus ‘Linguistic issues should be present in all areas of policy formulation and implementation’. Its Opinion on the ‘Promotion and Protection of Regional and Minority Languages’ of 13.6.2001 calls upon the European Commission to respect Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights by including specific provisions for linguistic diversity in all the EU’s policies and programmes. It also urges the Commission to ‘take immediate action to ensure that minority (lesser used) and regional languages are included in the activities of all current European Union programmes’.

http://www.cor.eu.int/presentation/down/avis_39plen/CdR86_2001fin/cdr86-2001_fin_ac_en.doc

¹⁰¹ Such as Media, Socrates (education), Leonardo (professional training) and information technology.

¹⁰² ECJ Judgment 23 February 1999. *European Parliament v Council of the European Union*. Council Decision 96/664/EC - Promotion of linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society - Case C-42/97. *European Court reports 1999 p. I-0869*.

¹⁰³ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre234.html>

Language and culture

Article 151 EC fixes the grounds for Community action in the field of culture. It starts by stating that ‘the Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore’. It continues: ‘Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States’ for the ‘improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples’; ‘the conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance’; in ‘non-commercial cultural exchanges’; and in ‘artistic and literary creation, including in the audio-visual sector’. The word ‘language’ does not appear in these first two paragraphs, or in the following three. This omission is worth underlining, not to claim that linguistic diversity is not cultural diversity (for it is), but to stress that culture embraces fields, such as literature, in which language is involved. We have already seen that language is also indispensable in other European policies in which it is not explicitly mentioned. Furthermore, the provision specifically includes ‘non-commercial cultural exchanges’. Insofar as it is a cultural matter, language may be a basic feature in exchanges, both commercial and non-commercial, but the Community’s cultural policy is limited to the latter. As regards commercial cultural exchanges, though they are cultural, another legal basis would have to be sought for a Community policy in this field.

This legal basis is used to support the translation of literary works, and as we have seen this action is open to the translation to and from regional and minority languages.

Language and education

Article 149.1 EC, on education policy, provides that ‘the Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, [...] while fully respecting [...] their cultural and linguistic diversity’¹⁰⁴. The limits to ‘supporting and supplementing’ depend on what are taken to be the powers of the Member States. First of all, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity are differentiated in the text. Secondly, both diversity promotion policies are set apart from strictly cultural policy, and in this case form part of educational policy. Community action is thus directed, among other objectives, towards ‘developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States’. The expression ‘the languages of the Member States’ should not be taken to refer merely to the official languages of the Member States, but rather to all the languages used in education in those States, because it is within the context of education and training that the word ‘language’ is used. For instance, the legal bases of the Decision on the European Year of Languages 2001¹⁰⁵ are Articles 149, 150 and 151 EC and it does not apply solely to the official languages of the Community. The Decision makes the statement that all languages ‘must be recognised to have equal cultural value and dignity’.

¹⁰⁴ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre233.html>

¹⁰⁵ See footnote 64.

In its Opinion on the same draft programme¹⁰⁶, the Committee of the Regions backed the promotion of language competence as a contribution to culture and employment, being an essential requirement for the mobility of citizens within the Union. A new link-up of powers in language, employment policy and movement of workers ensues; and we shall return to this issue in section 3.3.3.

Moreover, though it later changed its position, the Commission stated that Article 149 EC, rather than Article 151, was the Union's legal basis for the promotion of regional and minority languages, in its reply to written question 2139/98¹⁰⁷.

The European Parliament Resolution of 13 May 1998 also underlined the need 'to encourage the acquisition of a good level of knowledge of the Community languages (especially those in widest use and the languages of neighbouring Member States), whilst recognising the need to preserve the rich diversity of languages in Europe'¹⁰⁸.

Language and social and regional policies.

Article 146 EC¹⁰⁹ establishes a European Social Fund, which aims to render the employment of workers easier and to increase their geographical and occupational mobility within the Community, in particular through vocational training and retraining. It would seem evident that, to the extent that mobile workers require language competence, the training and retraining should include language courses, and we see no reason to exclude regional and minority languages from such training, wherever there is demand for them.

The same can be said in the context of the Community's policy for economic and social cohesion (Article 158¹¹⁰). Its efforts to reduce disparities between the levels of development

¹⁰⁶ "3.1.3. The Committee has always been in favour of promoting language learning, in view of the contribution this can make to culture and employment. Furthermore, knowledge of languages is a prerequisite for the free movement of people within the EU." In Opinion of the Committee of the Regions on the 'Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council - European Year of Languages 2001'. OJ C 156, 6.6.2000.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=51999AR0465&model=guichett

¹⁰⁷ Written question E-2139/98 by Friedhelm Frischenschlager (ELDR) to the Commission (13.7.98).

http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQA&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQA+E-1998-2139+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=3&NAV=X&SAME_LEVEL=1.

Answer given by Mrs Cresson on behalf of the Commission (23.9.98): http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQA&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQA+E-1998-2139+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=4&SAME_LEVEL=1. OC J 50, 22.2.99 (p. 130).

¹⁰⁸ European Parliament Resolution of 13.5.98 on the Commission's Communication entitled 'Towards a Europe of knowledge'.

http://www3.europarl.eu.int/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=DOCPV&APP=PV2&LANGUE=EN&SDOCTA=17&TXTLST=1&POS=1&Type_Doc=RESOL&TPV=PROV&DATE=130598&PrgPrev=PRG@TITRE|APP@PV2|TYPEF@TITRE|YEAR@98|Find@%54%6f%77%61%72%64%73%20%61%20%45%75%72%6f%70%65%20%6f%66%20%4b%6e%6f%77%6c%65%64%67%65|FILE@BIBLIO98|PLAGE@1&TYPEF=TITRE&NUMB=1&DATEF=980513. Commission communication:

<http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11040.htm>

¹⁰⁹ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre232.html>

¹¹⁰ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre239.html>. Note that the Council, acting unanimously

of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions or islands, including rural areas, are in fact directed towards many of the communities that speak a regional or minority language. The European Regional Development Fund is highly flexible in content, and it would seem reasonable to suggest that language issues, which have in the past been included (see Ch. 2), could be highlighted in the future, given that the future of many a language is inextricably linked to the economic development of the community that speaks it.

The legal basis on which to establish Community policy is not a trifling matter, for it determines the procedure for Community action: which Community institutions take part in the policy-making process and the majorities by which the opinions, reports or resolutions have to be adopted. Thus if it falls under industry, for example, the procedure involves consultation with the Parliament (art. 252 EC), whereas if it falls under culture or education, the procedure involves co-decision (art. 251 EC). For culture unanimity is required in the Council, while for education, a qualified majority suffices.

3.2.3. In conclusion. Once linguistic diversity has been acknowledged, the respect for, and promotion of, all European languages is called for, whether or not they have official status inside the EU institutions or in the Member States. Policies aimed at protecting linguistic plurality can find their legal basis in a variety of subject areas in different titles. Since the Community's language policies generally coexist with other Community policies, the specific field of each policy needs to be found, as no provision explicitly confers powers on linguistic matters in the Treaties, other than an indirect reference in Article 151 EC, which refers to culture. Only in the absence of any other explicit Community goals need one draw, in order to put forward a specific programme for regional or minority languages, upon the legal basis for the Community's cultural policy, which is a general policy area restricted to what is considered strictly cultural, not touching upon education or commercial fields, to mention but two examples given in the text.

3.3. The general bases for a European language policy

3.3.1. The Community's powers of self-organisation. In general, the Union is run on the basis that all its official languages have equal status, that all eleven are at the same time working languages and that the Official Journal is published in each of them. This formal equality has been termed the principle of integral multilingualism, however, in some of the Union's institutions the number of languages used in everyday business has been curtailed.

The Treaty establishing the European Communities makes several references to language and to linguistic (and/or cultural) diversity. The former is three: Articles 21, 290 and 314. Article 314¹¹¹ lays down that the Treaty has been drawn up in twelve authentic versions: Dutch, French, German, Italian (the original four) and Danish, English, Finnish, Greek,

on a proposal from the Commission, has to have obtained the assent of the European Parliament and consulted the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall define the tasks, priority objectives and organisation of the Structural Funds.

¹¹¹ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre258.html>

Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish (as a result of successive enlargements of the Community). The languages mentioned in this article are sometimes termed “Treaty languages”. Secondly, Article 21¹¹² entitles every citizen of the Union to write to the Council, the Commission, the European Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors and the Ombudsman, in one of the languages mentioned above, and to have an answer in the same language.

Finally, Article 290¹¹³ EC states that the rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the Rules of Procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously.

All these articles refer to the languages used by the institutions. However, we contend that none of these articles justify language promotion actions being limited to these languages.

3.3.2. States’ responsibility for language. Language policy is generally considered to be a State or sub-State competence as no powers have been conferred on the Community in this matter¹¹⁴. Nevertheless, Community action has overlapped with State policies, because a perfect distribution of powers is impossible. In some fields, Union policy has drawn a path of its own, different from that of some Member States. A Council Decision established the Multilingual Information Society programme (MLIS) in 1996¹¹⁵, despite stating that ‘language policies are a matter for the Member States’, for the subject also falls within the Community’s powers because the protection of Europe’s linguistic heritage is at stake. ‘Promoting the development of modern language-processing tools and their use is a field of activity in which Community action is necessary in order to achieve substantial economies of scale and cohesion between the various language areas’, to the extent that it may create added value for the EU and strengthen its economic and social cohesion.

Thus, in principle, language policy is “a matter for each Member State” to develop, yet the Union does act in this area. The use of official languages in institutions is legally laid down by each State, just as the Union may establish its own norms for its institutions. But just as States can carry out their own partial policies on language issues, so too may the Community in its sphere. Thus, State legislation on education, for instance, may entail a decision on language, e.g. the choice of the language of instruction; whereas the Community’s contribution to the development of quality education, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States in the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems, may entail recommending that as many foreign languages be studied in school, so as to facilitate the future movement of citizens. Again the transversal nature of language issues signals problems about the definition and limits of public action. In this case, the subject matter depends on the distribution of powers between Member States and the Union. Moreover, as the dividing line between State and EU powers is not always clearly defined, those of a Member State and the Union may overlap in a particular field.

¹¹² <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre203.html>

¹¹³ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre257.html>

¹¹⁴ Article 308 EC.

¹¹⁵ See footnote 44.

Nevertheless, the Union aims to attain its objectives, some of which require measures with some linguistic content. Amongst these objectives, the respect for, and the promotion of, linguistic diversity have taken a firm foothold.

3.3.3. The legitimacy of European action - Language and freedom of movement

The Community's powers in the development of the Common Market (Articles 2, 3 and 94 EC) are beyond question. So too is the fact that the freedom of movement of workers is one of the cornerstones of the Community's policies (Article 39 EC¹¹⁶). For this reason the removal of obstacles to the liberalisation of the movement of workers was established (Articles 3.1.c and 40). In this field, the existing linguistic diversity in Europe has not been regarded as a legal limitation to the freedom of movement¹¹⁷, but rather as an asset to be respected by the Union¹¹⁸. As a result, the promotion of the learning of European languages has become a measure to facilitate the movement of workers (as the Committee of the Regions has pointed out; see above). The Union thus has to concern itself, from different angles (education, professional training...) with fostering the multilingualism of European citizens. In this context, the Court of Justice has not opposed – on grounds of non-discrimination - the inclusion in job requirements of certain levels of language proficiency (see below, reference to Groener v. Dublin case).

The European Social Fund, established in the Treaty (article 146) with the aim of rendering the employment of workers easier and to increase their geographical and occupational mobility within the Community, may be regarded as relevant in this context.¹¹⁹

From this point of view, the Union has some leeway to act validly, in an indirect fashion, in the linguistic field. This is also possible, as we have said, through other specific powers, whether or not the linguistic aspects are explicitly referred to. It is worth recalling once more that linguistic diversity is specifically mentioned in Article 149 EC (whereas Article

¹¹⁶ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre210.html> :
Article 39 (ex Article 48)

1. Freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Community.
2. Such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment. [...]

¹¹⁷ Note the last paragraph of Article 3.1 of Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on freedom of movement for workers within the Community. OJ L 257, 19.10.1968, p.2-12.

http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/1968/en_368R1612.html

Article 3

1. Under this Regulation, provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action or administrative practices of a Member State shall not apply:
 - where they limit application for and offers of employment, or the right of foreign nationals to take up and pursue employment or subject these to conditions not applicable in respect of their own nationals; or
 - where, though applicable irrespective of nationality, their exclusive or principal aim or effect is to keep nationals of other Member States away from the employment offered.

This provision shall not apply to conditions relating to linguistic knowledge required by reason of the nature of the post to be filled.

¹¹⁸ e.g. Article 22, Charter of Fundamental Rights.

¹¹⁹ <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre232.html>

151b EC refers strictly to cultural diversity¹²⁰. A literal reading of the Treaties does not allow a distinction to be made between the Community's mediate or immediate powers on languages, which have official Community status, and those, which do not have such status.

The principles of subsidiarity and supplementarity

On top of the aforementioned, reference must be made to two principles, which have a bearing upon State powers: these are the principles of subsidiarity and supplementarity.

The former is laid down in Article 5 EC¹²¹. Its aim is initially to protect the powers of Member States and its text is as follows:

Article 5¹²²

The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and of the objectives assigned to it therein.

In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and insofar as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community.

Any action by the Community shall not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of this Treaty.

The implications are that the Community needs a legal basis in the Treaties in order to be able to act, and that it will only exercise its powers insofar as such action is appropriate and necessary. This occurs when the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by Member States' action in the framework of their national constitutional system and can therefore be better achieved by action on the part of the Community. Such action is possible when the reasons for concluding that a Community objective can be better achieved by the Community have been substantiated by qualitative or, wherever possible, quantitative indicators.

As far as language matters are concerned, if States do not act or do so insufficiently; the Community may act to safeguard the general Community objectives.

The protection and/or promotion of linguistic diversity appear in several Community actions in which questions of a linguistic nature were at stake. An example appears in

¹²⁰ The distinction made, in Article 149 EC, between cultural diversity and linguistic diversity cannot be ignored; and it is also made in Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights .

¹²¹ It was introduced in this form in Article 3B of the Maastricht Treaty.

The conclusions of the Birmingham European Council on 16 October 1992, and the overall approach to the application of the subsidiarity principle agreed by the European Council meeting in Edinburgh on 11-12 December 1992, guide the action of the Union's institutions as well as the development of the application of the principle of subsidiarity. The Interinstitutional Agreement of 25 October 1993 between the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission agreed on procedures for implementing the principle of subsidiarity. A further declaration was included in the form of a Protocol, on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, annexed to the Treaty establishing the European Community, as laid down in the Treaty of Amsterdam. Protocol: <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre345.html>

¹²² <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre202.html>

recital 14 of the Decision of 24 January 2000 establishing Socrates II¹²³. Powers in the fields of education, culture and the protection of consumers, that often overlap with matters of a linguistic nature, call for the principle of subsidiarity to be applied.

The 1994 European Parliament Resolution¹²⁴ states clearly that the Community should promote the action of Member States wherever the protection of autochthonous regional and minority languages is inadequate or non-existent. It also points out that as these languages are part of the Union's culture and Europe's heritage, the Community should offer them legal protection and the necessary financial resources to ensure their protection.

The second, the principle of supplementarity, consists of a clause by means of which the Community shall "support and supplement" the action of Member States (it appears, for instance, in Articles 149, 151 and 153 EC).

All in all, the principles of subsidiarity and of supplementarity both allow for conditioned actions of the Community, either to better achieve Community objectives by means of a reference to the principle of subsidiarity, or by reinforcing State action, by means of the principle of supplementarity. In this first case State action can be replaced, in the second, it can be completed.

Finally, the interpretation of Article 149(1), as regards whether what the Community has to respect is the Member States' cultural and linguistic diversity (as we hold), or the Member States' responsibility in the field of their cultural and linguistic diversity (as the Council has taken for granted), depends largely on which version of the Treaties is read¹²⁵.

The European Commission, in its position in the Groener case, made it clear that the protection of minority languages is of general Community interest¹²⁶. The apparent concern

¹²³ Decision No 253/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24.1.2000 establishing the second phase of the Community action programme in the field of Education Socrates. OC L 28, 3.2.2000, p. 1.16. http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/decsoc2_en.pdf, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2000/en_300D0253.html

¹²⁴ Ref. A3-0042/94, Report of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education and the Media on Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the European Community. Resolution published OJ C 61, of 28.2.94, p. 110.

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE23-GB.HTM> and <http://www.riga.lv/minelres/eu/re940209.htm>

¹²⁵ Article 149.1 EC. The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.

Article 149.1 has been interpreted by the Council as stating that the Community shall contribute to the development of quality education [...] while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States in two areas: (a) the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and (b) their cultural and linguistic diversity. This reading results from the French text. What the text does in English, Italian, French or Portuguese, for instance, is commit the Community to (a) fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and to (b) fully respecting their cultural and linguistic diversity. That is, the Community shall carry out its duties while fully respecting cultural and linguistic diversity in the Member States. This seems much more in line with the general spirit of the Treaties

¹²⁶ As in the observations of the Commission to the Court of Justice in the Anita Groener v. Dublin case (C-379/1987), decided by the ECJ on 28 November 1989). *European Court reports* 1989 Page 3967.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=61987J0379&model=guichett. Opinion of the Advocate-General:

of the Commission contradicts the view of the Council, which has interpreted the principle of subsidiarity as follows: ‘following the subsidiarity principle, the common rules concerning the official languages of the Communities do not prevent Member States from taking any kind of measures on a national level to disseminate information on the European institutions in the official languages of their respective territories’, as maintained in the Council’s answer to written question 1682/96¹²⁷.

The Court of Justice has dealt with cases concerning linguistic issues, when the subjective rights protected by treaties of an economic or social nature include linguistic rights¹²⁸. An interesting case, in which there was a clash between the principle of non-discrimination, the free movement of people, the linguistic regime applicable to penal lawsuits and the promotion of linguistic minorities, was settled by the Judgement of 6 June 2000¹²⁹. The Court’s decision was based on the principle of equality: Article 39 EC precludes an employer from requiring persons applying to take part in a recruitment competition to provide evidence of their linguistic knowledge exclusively by means of one particular diploma issued only in one particular province of a Member State (in this case, South Tyrol, in Italy).

3.3.4. Subsidy policy

Finally, policies which favour linguistic diversity are usually put into practice by means of European promotion action and not by regulating the languages used by the Community. (The latter refers to decisions regarding the languages of each European institution, an issue tangential to this Report.) We have seen that each of these European actions focuses on a particular field of activity, which is a Community objective in its own right; and includes within it the promotion of linguistic diversity. Such European actions can thus be seen to have a double objective.

Community programmes seek to promote projects in various areas: in audio-visual industries, in the media, in education and in business, among others. They often include the objective of promoting the spread or use of a number of European languages (though not necessarily all) in such areas. They are implemented through a special form of administrative intervention: the subsidy. The subsidy policy may at times appear to be independent of the object being promoted. However, the subsidy is linked to a field of action, and needs a specific legal basis for it to be implemented, otherwise the Community’s actions would be illegitimate, as they would not be linked to the policies allowed for in the Treaties.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=61987C0379&model=guichett e.g.

http://www.cbs.dk/departments/law/matsamlinger/cell/eudommeeng/1987_379.htm

¹²⁷ Written question E-1682/96 by Jaak Vandemeulebroucke, 24 June 1996; answer 7.11.96, published OJ C 385, p.23-24, 19.12.96

http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQA&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQA+E-1996-1682+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=4&SAME_LEVEL=1

¹²⁸ ECJ of 5.7.67, 13.12.72, 18.2.75, 6.12.77, 1.7.85, 28.11.89, 18.6.91, 22.9.92 and 30.3.93, among others.

¹²⁹ Case No. C-281/98. Judgment in: European Court reports 2000 Page I-4139. 61998J0281.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=61998J0281&model=guichett. 61998J0281.

The Court of Justice (in its 12 May 1998 Judgement¹³⁰ on a subject involving subsidies to support European projects against social exclusion) warned that subsidies require a threefold legal basis: a currently valid budget line must have the appropriate credit; the so-called ‘base act’ which is the legal norm, derived from the treaties, to which the planned subsidy is linked and which allows the commitment (unless it is a non-significant Community action, that is, preparatory actions or pilot schemes); and the precept of the treaties which serves as legal grounds for Community policy¹³¹. Thus the subsidy has to be related to a Community competence assigned by the Member States to the Union in the treaties, so any promotion policy must be based on a specific European competence which, since the Treaties establish Community objectives and action lines which are not exactly renowned for their clarity, may be more or less explicit.

3.4. Conclusion

Community intervention in linguistic matters has hitherto been built upon several legal bases (including 149, 150, 151 and 157) and not just one (though sometimes its action has been limited to official languages). This also applies for the promotion of the so-called regional and minority languages; culture is merely one of the relevant fields. The application of each legal basis has to be studied one by one, to see to what extent existing programmes actually contemplate language in general, and all languages in particular; and if they do, to what extent they are sensitive to the diverse needs of languages. Each of the specific bases will have priority over cultural policy, which is much more generic. In linguistic matters, cultural policy is usually secondary or incidental to other more specific policies.

As we have seen, Decisions on programmes specifically designed to “promote linguistic diversity” (such as MLIS) have been adopted, with full ECJ assent, without this objective having to be mentioned as such in Article 157 or anywhere else in the Treaty. There is thus no need, in our view, to wait for Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights to become incorporated into the Union’s primary law for a specific programme to promote linguistic diversity, in the terms discussed in this Report.

We have considered that it is impossible to truly respect cultural and linguistic diversity whilst at the same time excluding from this support the regional and minority languages. Respect entails catering for the specific needs of each language and the community that speaks it, not ignoring their very existence: an example is the special attention to be paid throughout the Lingua Action to promoting the less widely used and less widely taught of the official languages (plus Lëtzebuergesch and Irish)¹³².

¹³⁰ Ref. 61996J0106, (Rec. 1998, p. I-2729). See above.

¹³¹ The Judgment gave rise to two Interinstitutional Agreements between the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission: one dated 13 October 1998, on legal bases and implementation of the budget (see http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre6_c.html), and a second, which replaced it, dated 6 May 1999, on budgetary discipline and improvement of the budgetary procedure (OJ L 172, 18.6.1999, p. 1). See <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/selected/livre612.html>

¹³² Annex 2 to Decision No 253/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 January 2000 establishing the second phase of the Community action programme in the field of education 'Socrates'. OJ L 028, 3.2.2000, p. 1-15. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2000/en_300D0253.html.

We have argued that there are no legal grounds for excluding regional and minority languages from Community actions, which promote linguistic diversity and multilingualism. The search for suitable legal bases has already been done for each of the language policies developed by the Community hitherto: and the exclusion of regional and minority languages from some of them (whether by explicitly limiting access to these programmes, or by being sensitive only to the needs of a limited number of languages) is not in our view justified.

Chapter 4: Conclusions and recommendations

The Union is not neutral with regard to its minority languages. It devotes considerable resources to translation, interpretation and terminological development, which favour some languages and not others. It cannot therefore remain inactive, especially at a time of rapid change, in the new economic and social paradigm emerging in the Information Society. Languages that would remain excluded from the information society would run the risk of a more or less rapid marginalisation, as the Council itself has said ¹³³.

To bolster Europe's rich linguistic heritage, so it can contribute to the creative energy that diversity unleashes, active policies are needed. Some Member States cannot be expected to cope on their own: the greater the diversity they can boast, the greater the resources they need to ensure it. Moreover, needs vary enormously: some language groups have entered the information society wholeheartedly, others have more modest needs. The most active among them have TV and radio stations, newspapers and magazines; their language is used in official dealings and the services, in schools and all levels of education, in cross-border and international projects. They have legislation for language promotion and bodies for both language status and corpus planning.

Until more directly democratic mechanisms are set up, the main decisions in the Union are taken by the governments of the Member States, through the Council, so it is important to look at their positions vis-à-vis regional and minority languages. To prepare this Report, all 15 EU member states were sent a short questionnaire on their policies. Four States replied: Spain, Sweden, Greece and Austria; and Luxembourg directed the team towards the relevant authorities. A second source of information is the ratification processes of *the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*¹³⁴ and the *Framework Convention for National Minorities*. The Charter, was opened for signature on November 5 1992, and entered into force on March 1 1998, after five ratifications. On September 28 2001, it had been (a) signed and ratified by eight EU members (in order of ratification, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, United Kingdom, Spain, Austria); (b) signed but not yet ratified by three EU members (in order of signature: Luxembourg, France and Italy); and (c) not signed by Belgium, Greece, Ireland and Portugal. The Declarations of some of these states are at least as interesting as the detail of the commitments formalised (see annex). As noted, *Belgium, Greece, Ireland* and *Portugal* have not signed the Charter. Some of the various reasons are disappearing over time. *Portugal* recently enacted a law recognising and protecting Mirandese. In the past, *Greece* firmly negated the existence of minorities other than the Muslims; but many feel that a European Court of Human Rights ¹³⁵

¹³³ Amended proposal for a Council Decision 96/664/EC on the adoption of a multiannual programme to promote the linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. COM(96)456. Official Journal NO. C 364 , 4.12.96, p. 11. Euro-lex ref: 51996PC0456.

http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=51996PC0456&model=guichett

¹³⁴ ETS 148: <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/searchsig.asp?NT=148&CM=8&DF=02/07/01>

¹³⁵ In July 1998, the European Court of Human Rights found that Greece had violated article 11 (freedom of association) of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) because the Greek courts had not allowed the establishment of the association 'Home of Macedonian Civilization' in 1990:

decision rejecting the refusal of the Greek authorities to register a cultural organisation of the Macedonian minority may herald favourable policy changes. *Ireland* (and *Luxembourg*) argue that Irish and Lëtzebuergesch are the first languages in both states, and not minority languages; both were exempted from the Committee of the Regions' Opinion on the Promotion and Protection of Regional and Minority Languages of 13 June 2001¹³⁶, which calls on other States to sign and ratify the Charter.

The *Framework Convention for National Minorities*¹³⁷ has achieved rapid success: to date, 13 EU Member States have signed (all except Belgium and France) and 9 have ratified it. Opened for signature on 1/2/1995, it entered into force on 1/2/1998, after 12 ratifications. But it only marginally touches upon language issues, and space prevents a more detailed analysis.

Report Recommendations

Many of the following recommendations have already been made by the Parliament. However, their renewal, all at once and in an overall perspective, would substantially strengthen the Parliament's position. The context is more favourable: the need for active measures to promote and respect cultural and linguistic diversity is being acknowledged more and more; and the Parliament has increased powers in the EU.

In conclusion it seems advisable to propose a three-pronged approach:

A. Existing programmes

The following measures are based on the premises that non-official-language communities share some of the needs of mainstream linguistic communities, and could benefit from being included into existing programmes (language-oriented or not).

(1) In existing programmes such as *Lingua*, *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Comenius*, the Parliament should call for amendments to remove formal statements of exclusion (other than those strictly justified for internal administrative reasons, referring to EU official languages).

(2) Other programmes, particularly entailing IST and HLT, are for large-scale projects, or involve laborious bureaucracy, and in practice exclude projects on smaller languages.

(3) In programmes that can or could be used for language-related projects, the admissibility of projects involving languages other than the official languages of the EU should be brought to the explicit notice of prospective drafters of proposals.

<http://www.hrw.org/worldreport99/europe/greece.html>.

Text of Judgment (10.7.98) in *Sidiropoulos and Others v. Greece* case:

<http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/Hudoc2doc2/HEJUD/199902/sidiropoulos%20and%20others.jud%20batj.doc>

¹³⁶ http://www.cor.eu.int/presentation/down/avis_39plen/CdR86_2001fin/cdr86-2001_fin_ac_en.doc

¹³⁷ ETS 157: <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Word/157.doc>

(4) The Union's institutions should clarify terminology. The following all appear in the available EU literature in English, sometimes with partly overlapping meanings: lesser taught languages, least taught languages, lesser-used languages, lesser-used European languages, less widely used languages, least widely used languages, and regional or minority languages. The terminology should be fixed in order to clearly distinguish (at least until such a distinction becomes unnecessary, as we hope) between (a) demographically smaller official EU languages (Portuguese, Danish, Greek, etc.) and (b) the autochthonous languages which are not official EU languages (Catalan, Breton, Welsh, etc.).

(5) The extension of the mechanisms used to allow Irish (which has the unique status of a *treaty language*¹³⁸ without becoming official) and Catalan to be used in occasional plenary sessions of the Parliament, to the other languages spoken indigenously in the European Union, would be a gesture of great symbolic significance, without undue practical problems. The financial repercussions of such a measure would by no means be as wide reaching as its symbolic and political impact.

B. A Multiannual Programme

(6) We propose, in addition, a Multiannual Programme, based on article 151, to address the specific needs of European minority languages¹³⁹. Many projects hitherto co-funded under budget line B3-1006 had only limited institutional support (and in some cases, close to none), and would not have received support through other EU programmes.

(7) Various articles of the Treaties (149, 150, 151 and 157) have already provided the legal bases for language-linked Actions, some of which have excluded European languages without this exclusion itself having any legal basis; there is no need, either legally or on the basis of projects funded hitherto, for the programme to be classified as a strictly cultural programme.

(8) Such a programme, based on the principle of safeguarding and promoting linguistic diversity, should distinguish between certain categories of language communities:

- a. Communities whose language is an official language of a neighbouring kin-State. The EU should support transfrontier co-operation in fields such as education, training, cultural production, literature, broadcasting, information and communication technology, thus facilitating exchanges and removing the remaining effects of the international boundaries, be they internal or external.

¹³⁸ Article S of the Treaty of Maastricht: 'This, Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish languages, the text in each of these languages being equally authentic, shall be deposited ...'

¹³⁹ This could retain the first proposed name, *Archipaelago*. See OJ C 374 E , 28.12.2000, p. 82, for Commission's evasive reply to question E-0478/00 by Daniel Varela Suanzes-Carpegna on 'Preparation by the European Commission of the proposed legal basis for the Archipelago action programme on the minority and regional languages of the EU'.

http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQA&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQA+E-2000-0478+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=4&NAV=S&SAME_LEVEL=1

b. Communities whose language is not an official language of any kin-State. The EU should support initiatives to meet needs not suitably covered in other programmes. The European dimension is provided by the Union's support itself, in that European integration is partly responsible for these communities' new linguistic needs. Added-value projects, which link to other linguistic communities, should receive supplementary assistance.

(9) The proportion of EU funding for such projects should be higher than it has been hitherto, without necessarily reaching 100%, as happens in several EU programmes. The Leonardo da Vinci programme¹⁴⁰ offers up to 75% funding for e.g. projects to promote language and cultural competences in vocational training¹⁴¹; and up to 100% for actions related to reference material. Many small communities cannot find matching funds, even for small-scale projects.

(10) The programme should have a special procedure for coping with small-scale projects, perhaps managed by local, grassroots organisations. Simplified bureaucratic procedures, including perhaps a decentralised programme management structure, would remove another significant barrier to many grassroots initiatives.

(11) Action research should be clearly pinpointed in the programme: comparative research should help different communities to share tools, ideas and experience; while local research should be interstitial, helping to identify the community and its language's needs.

(12) The programme should foresee 100% funding for the parts of any co-funded project that specifically promote pan-European exchanges, co-operation and dissemination.

C. Other recommendations

(13) Both the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages and the Mercator research and documentation centres should continue to receive A-line budget funding. The networking they have achieved throughout Europe, which was inconceivable 20 years ago, is an asset, which should be ensured into the future. Support should also be offered to allow frequent exchanges contacts and co-operation between the planning bodies for the various languages involved.

(14) Within or without the Programme, the results of the many examples of good practice funded by the EU should be widely disseminated¹⁴². A special effort should be made to bring such information onto the web, in a format that fosters contacts and further

¹⁴⁰ Council Decision of 29 April 1999, OJ L 146, 11.6.99, p. 33-47.
http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/1999/en_399D0382.html

¹⁴¹ 'Special attention will be paid to projects on less widely used and taught languages'.

¹⁴² In 2001 the first detailed lists were published by the DG of recipients of EU support (2000 budget):
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin/language_en.pdf

co-operation at the European level¹⁴³. The Mercator centres are in a good position to contribute to such a venture. Such a database could include projects funded by a variety of EU programmes. Provision would have to be made for regular updating.

(15) The Parliament is encouraged to devote serious attention to other Union initiatives, which unwittingly threaten lesser-used languages. First and foremost, the planned TV convergence directive, which would make public TV channels have to be funded without recourse to advertising revenue. In the case of Welsh, Irish or Catalan, for instance, such a measure is dreaded, for TV channels in these languages have to compete directly for a much smaller market than their competitors'. Any reduction to their revenue would damage the quality of their service, so they might lose part of their audience. In response to a Commission Green Paper¹⁴⁴ on this issue, the point was made forcefully by the Welsh channel S4C¹⁴⁵ and the Irish-language broadcaster TnaG¹⁴⁶. The Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió (CC-RTV) which runs TV3 and Canal 33 in Catalonia, is also greatly concerned, given that its competitors are private TV channels licensed by central government to operate throughout Spain, who do so almost entirely in Spanish. In short, to guarantee competition, it is not sufficient to look at the competing companies overall. The needs of competing languages also have to be taken into account, and this justifies, in our view, a special treatment for companies addressing their products to smaller (linguistic) markets, nearly all of whose members are however, bilingual. It appears that the Commission, in its Communication of 17 October 2001 on the Financing of Public Service Broadcasting¹⁴⁷, has been sensitive to these needs.

¹⁴³ Much along the lines of the 4-language Eurydice Information Network on Education in Europe, website: <http://www.eurydice.org>, or the 5-language Cordis (Community Research and Development Information Service) website: <http://www.cordis.lu/en/home.html>

¹⁴⁴ Commission Green Paper on the convergence of the telecommunications, media and information technology sectors, and the implications for regulation towards an Information Society approach (COM(97) 623). The results of this consultation are set out in the Commission's Communication on the convergence of the telecommunications, media and information technology sectors, and the implications for regulation - Results of the public consultation on the Green Paper (COM(1999) 108). 'Regulatory policy in the sector is aimed at safeguarding certain public interests, such as *cultural and linguistic diversity*, ...'. DGEAC_C.4-PO-COM_1999_657-D12676_EN_ACTE.doc:
http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/1999/com1999_0657en01.pdf

¹⁴⁵ 'S4C is aware of the issues regarding the defining of public service broadcasting over and above the principle of universality. It [reiterates] that Welsh language programming defines itself as public service simply by being in the Welsh language. It seeks to cater for a minority that would otherwise not be served by any commercial broadcaster in the UK. This requires specific regulatory arrangements to ensure that the statutory obligations are effectively fulfilled.' <http://europa.eu.int/ISPO/convergencegp/s4c.html>

¹⁴⁶ '[...] Experience has shown that for those who provide television services in lesser used languages the totality of human experience has to be addressed and that there can be no cultural ghettos. Irish language programmes are not produced and broadcast anywhere else in the world. The option of integrating the global market place into TnaG's Irish language service is neither an opportunity nor a threat. Irish speakers are bilingual and will continue to be increasingly aware of the way in which digital technology is redefining the world in which they live. The maxim 'Think Globally, Act Locally' is more relevant than ever in this context.' <http://europa.eu.int/ISPO/convergencegp/tnag.html>

¹⁴⁷ OJ C 320, 15.11.2001, p. 5-11. <http://europa.eu.int/cgi-bin/eur-lex/udl.pl?REQUEST=Seek-Deliver&LANGUAGE=en&SERVICE=eurlex&COLLECTION=oj&DOCID=2001c320p00050011>. A footnote to the statement "62. The Commission will also take into account the difficulty some smaller Member States may have to collect the necessary funds, if costs per inhabitant of the public service are, *ceteris paribus*, higher." reads "Similar difficulties may also be encountered when public service broadcasting is directed to linguistic minorities or to local needs."

(16) Finally, the Parliament has drawn attention to the plight of several minority language groups and their cultural leaders. The cases of the (Slavo) Macedonian association and Bletsas are recent examples. It would be worthwhile for the Parliament to devote still more attention to the protection of minority languages in some countries, from a human rights perspective.

(17) Though it is beyond the remit of this Report, a final quotation is relevant: ‘One wonders if a distinction might be agreed between internal working languages and languages of service to Europe’s citizens. Internal working languages could be restricted for most but not all purposes to two or three languages. Languages of service should include not only all existing official and working languages but also most of those we now call ‘regional’, ‘minority’ or ‘lesser used’¹⁴⁸. When a French minister proposed at the end of 1994 that there be only five working languages the proposal had to be quickly withdrawn¹⁴⁹. We believe that the concept of ‘language of service’ could be a big step forward in responding to linguistic diversity in the European Union.

¹⁴⁸ Ó Riagáin, Dónall ‘The European Union and Lesser Used Languages’, *MOST Journal on Multicultural Societies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2001. ISSN 1564-4901. © Unesco, 2001. <http://www.unesco.org/most/v13n1ria.htm>

¹⁴⁹ The five were to be French, German, English, Italian and Spanish. Statement by Mr Lamassoure, French Minister for European Affairs, on replacing the 11 official languages of the European Union with five working languages (December 1994). The Parliament rejected this idea, in a Resolution on the use of the official languages in the institutions of the EU: <http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE24-GB.htm>

PART TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EU:

GREECE, SPAIN, FINLAND, FRANCE, IRELAND, LUXEMBOURG, UNITED KINGDOM

Introduction

This part of the Report contains brief analyses of the present state of the minority language communities in seven of the Union's member States, namely Greece, Spain, Finland, France, Ireland, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. Wherever possible each individual report is structured in the following way: **(1) Introduction:** In this section a brief presentation of the language and the community that speaks it is followed by sufficient history of the language, and its socio-economic context, to be able to comprehend the remainder of the report. The legal status, if any, of the language, is also referred to. **(2) The use of the language in various fields:** The present level of use of the language is described in the following fields: Education; The courts; Public authorities and services; Mass media and information and communication technology; The Arts; The business world; Family and social use of the language; and, where appropriate, Transnational exchanges. In many of the smaller communities, the available valid data is insufficient to warrant the breaking down of this section into paragraphs. In some cases several paragraphs are coupled together. **(3) Conclusion:** Where deemed necessary, a brief summary reflecting on the vitality of the language brings reports to a close.

For reasons of space, in Member States with more than one minority language community (that is, Greece, Spain, Finland, France and the United Kingdom), a short introduction to that State precedes the individual community reports, thus reducing the need for repetition.

Though every effort has been made to depict as exactly as possible the present situation of the minority language communities studied, the lack of legal recognition, in some cases, means that the data is often scant, unreliable (not to say biased) and outdated. The scarcity of information can sometimes be explained simply because in particular functions or domains, such as the courts, public services or education, the use of the language is not legally contemplated. Sometimes it is merely due to the lack of recent sources: census data may date back to the 1950s or even earlier, and to a time when many citizens were loathe to publicly admit their allegiance to a minority language community in any case.

In the choice of minority language communities, the authors have done their best to follow the criteria of the European Charter for Lesser-Used Languages¹⁵⁰, as defined in Article 1 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages: “regional or minority

¹⁵⁰ <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/148.htm>.

languages' means languages that are: (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants [...]"

The borderline between official languages and dialects of the official languages is extremely fuzzy in some cases. Wherever the line is drawn there is bound to be a number of groups that feel left out. The same dialect may have some degree of official recognition on one State, and none whatsoever in a neighbouring State. Whoever believes that the distinction between a language and a dialect can be drawn in linguistic terms is mistaken, for the issue has more to do with political power: it is been claimed that a language is merely a dialect with an army behind it! Unfortunately it has proved impossible to include all the cases planned, largely on account of the practical problems encountered in bringing together the information required.

The seven EU Member States for which reports have been requested are as follows: Greece (EL), Spain (ES), Finland (FI), France (FR), Ireland (IR), Luxembourg (LU), and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK).

General bibliography

EBLUL website. Background information about specific language groups: <http://eblul.org/browse.htm>.

Euromosaic website: <http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/>.

Extra, Guus & Durk Gorter (eds.) *The Other Languages of Europe*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon (UK), 2001.

Nic Shuibhne, Niamh, *EC law and minority language policy*, Kluwer, forthcoming, January 2002.

Nelde, Peter; Miquel Strubell & Glyn Williams, *Euromosaic: The Production and Reproduction of the Minority Language Groups in the European Union*. Luxembourg, Commission of the European Communities, 1996.

Siguan, Miquel, *L'Europa de les llengües*, Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1995. Spanish: *La Europa de las lenguas*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1996. French: *L'Europe des langues*, Mardaga, Liège & Paris, 1996. Portuguese: *A Europa das linguas*, Terramar, Lisboa, 1996. German: *Die Sprachen in vereinten Europa*, Stauffenburg Verlag, Tübingen, 2001.

(Various authors) *Les nouvelles législations dans l'Union Européenne / Le nuove legislazioni linguistiche nell'Unione Europea*. Ciemen / Editorial Mediterrània, Barcelona, 2001.

Wright, Sue, *Community and communication. The role of language in nation state building and European integration*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon (UK), 2000.

Greece

Introduction

In the newly founded Greek State (1830-31), Turkish and Albanian were spoken as well as Greek. The annexation of Thessaly (1881), Crete (1912), New Territories (1913, 1920) and Dodecanese (1947) incorporated Greek citizens speaking other languages: Turkish, Albanian (Arvanítika), Aromanian (Vlach), Romani, Bulgarian, Armenian and Judeo-Spanish. The exchange of population with Bulgaria (1919) and Turkey (1923) transformed the linguistic map of Greece. The Treaties of Sevres (1920) and Lausanne (1923) dealt with the issue of minorities in Greece. The latter (art. 37-45) is still in force, as regards the Muslims exempted from the exchange of population. Several minority language-planning projects from the period are worth mentioning. Between 1913 and World War II, Romanian-medium schools and churches operated for the Vlachs, supported by the Romanian government. In 1925, there was an aborted attempt to open Slavophone schools in Greek Macedonia. Under the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941) and the German occupation (1941-1944) ethnic diversity began to be persecuted: the Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews of Thessalonika were massacred by the German occupation forces, and later, during the politically-motivated civil war (1946-9), the Albanian-speaking Muslims of Epirus (Chams) and the Slavophone population of Macedonia were subjected to persecution.

In recent decades, assimilation of minority language-speakers has considerably reduced their numbers. No accurate figures exist, but probably less than 5% of the population now speak such languages; all are fluent in Greek, except for many Turkish-speaking Muslims in Thrace. The censuses of 1928, 1940 and 1951 (when language items were lasting included) gave data on the following: Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian or Pomak, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Koutsovlach, Romani, and Slavomacedonian or Slavic.

In Greece only the educational and religious rights of the Muslim minority in Thrace are legally recognised. Armenian and Hebrew are taught in certain private schools. Macedonian/Bulgarian/Pomak, Vlach and Albanian/Arvanítika are all on the decline. Significantly, the names given to some of these languages are polemical.

Legislation applicable to speakers of minority languages in Greece deals with the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of language; some provisions safeguard the citizen's right to use his/her own language in civil and penal procedures. There are at last some incipient signs of political interest in aligning with international minority protection standards. Greece's legal order has recently incorporated provisions, which could cover minority languages: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in 1997) and the International Convention on Children's Rights (in 1992). The ratification of the Framework Convention on National Minorities (signed in 1998) would strengthen the weak legal protection of minority languages in Greece and could activate a fertile political discourse.

General references

Euromosaic website: <http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/>.

KEMO, *The linguistic alterity in Greece*, (in Greek), Alexandria Pub. /Minority Groups Research Centre, Athens 2001.

Tsitselikis, K. *The international and European status of linguistic minority rights and the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), A.N. Sakkoulas, Athens Komotini 1996.

Albanian (Arvanítika)

Introduction

The Albanian spoken in Greece by the Arvanites (or Arvanítika) is an Albanian Tosk-originated variety which is called Arvanítika in Greece itself. It is mainly spoken in Southern Greece, in Attica, Viotia, Evia, Corinthia and Argolida prefectures; it is also spoken in Greek Thrace by descendants of refugees from eastern Thrace. Arvanítika is often distinguished by linguists from the Albanian Cham sub-dialect spoken in Epirus (in the Thesprotia and Preveza prefectures), the northern Greek region bordering on Albania. Nowadays, all Arvanites are bilingual (Albanian/Greek).

Massive migration brought Albanians - the forefathers of the Arvanites of modern Greece - to the Greek peninsula in the 14th century. Most were Orthodox, and the rest were Muslims. They were gradually Hellenised, mainly because of the prestige of Greek, and the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire in millets. Because of their active involvement in the Greek revolt and the proclamation of Greek independence (1830), they are regarded as a constituent group in the Greek nation-building process. However, the massive exodus and extermination of Chams (the Albanian-speaking Muslims of Thesprotia) after World War II greatly reduced the presence of Albanian in the north.

The use of the language in various fields

There are no reliable sources concerning the use of the language. Arvanítika has never had any official status in Greece and it enjoys no presence in public life, administration, or in the education system.

Some estimates talk of over 100,000 speakers. In some villages, even quite close to Athens, most Arvanite adults speak the language, and it is used in bars and cultural centres informally. but only occasionally will a local official use the language in public. It seems certain that only the older generation speaks the language fluently. Only since the massive migration wave of Albanians into Greece in the 1990s can a revitalisation of the language in the public sphere be detected. The few attempts to use the language for artistic performances, mainly in the sphere of folklore music, have not generally been very successful among most Arvanites.

Conclusion

The language group, cut off from Albania over 500 years ago, has been greatly influenced by the Greek linguistic environment. The language, already restricted to family or micro-social village circles, is used mainly by the older generations. Already, younger generations of Arvanites have only indirect memories of their linguistic heritage. So the future of Arvanítika is much unsure than that of some other lesser-used languages in the country.

Bibliography

Angelakis, Petros (Ambassador), Personal communication, May 23 2002.

Baltsiotis, L. & Empeirikos, L., *L'histoire de la langue albanaise en Grèce de la création de l'état hellénique (1830) à nos jours*, EHESS, Paris (forthcoming).

Giochalias, T., *Markos Botsaris, Dictionary of Rum and Arvanítika*, Athens, 1993.

Tsitsipis, L., *ítikaA Linguistic Anthropology of Praxis and Language Shift. Arvanítika (Albanian) and Greek in contact*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.

Aromanian/Vlach

Introduction

Aromanian is a peculiar to the Balkans, used by the Vlachs as an oral language. In Greece, this Romance language was spoken historically in scattered villages mainly along the Pindus mountain range. There are plenty of theories about the origin of the Vlachs. The distinctive Vlach identity in Greece derives from its Latin origin (a reminder of the Roman era). Due to the rural exodus after World War II, Aromanian is mainly spoken in the larger cities of continental Greece: Athens and Thessalonika, and in districts of towns of northern and central Greece such as Trikala. Of the sizeable traditional Vlach settlements, only the towns of Metsovo and Livadi Olimpou remain Aroumanian-speaking. These days, all Aromanian-speakers also speak Greek. Megleno-Romanian, another Romance variety spoken in a few villages of Northern Greece, is disappearing inside Greece.

The use of the language in various fields

There are no reliable statistics on the use of the language. In 1951 there were probably far more than the 40,000 speakers that were recorded in the Census. Aromanian only exceptionally and indirectly acquired any official status in Greece. Thanks to an annex to the Treaty of Bucharest (1913), between the wars churches and schools (27 in 1940) functioned in villages and towns of Central and Northern Greece, using and teaching standard Romanian (but not Aromanian) to Vlachs. This period is remembered with misgivings by many Vlachs, who believe it exposed them to Romanian propaganda.

Today, the language enjoys no presence in public life, administration, or in the education system. Occasional broadcasting of Vlach songs on local radio stations as well as exceptional musical performances in Aromanian in folklore festivals reveal that the language is marginalized even by its own speakers. A book of poetry was recently published thanks to EU co-funding. A handful of the large number of Aromanian

associations in the country seems interested in safeguarding their language. Nevertheless, among Aromanian-speakers, the language still seems to give a person social prestige, so many among them are favourably disposed towards its preservation.

Conclusion

Opposing tendencies regarding the use of the language within the linguistic community, due to a highly controversial, recent political past, darken the prospects of what has been a rather lively language in Greece. Its decline today appears to be irreversible, despite its potential for acting as a bridge to other Romance languages.

Bibliography

Katsanis K. & Ntinis K., *Grammar of Common Vlach*, (in Greek), Archive of Vlach Studies, Thessalonika, 1990

Kahl T., *Ethnizität und räumliche Verteilung der Aromunen in Südosteuropa*, Munstersche Geographische Arbeiten 43, 1999.

Krammer J., *Aromunischer Sprachatlas*, H. Buske Verlag, Hamburg, 1985.

Winnifrieth T., *Vlachs, The History of a Balkan People*, London, 1987.

(Slavo)Macedonian, Bulgarian

Introduction

Macedonian and Bulgarian are the two standard languages of the eastern group of south Slavonic languages. In Greek Macedonia several dialectal varieties, very close to both standard Macedonian and Bulgarian, are spoken. Macedonian acquired a standard literary form, distinct from Bulgarian, in the neighbouring Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as recently as 1944. The two words (Macedonian and Bulgarian) are used here primarily because they are the names the speakers use to refer to the way they speak. In fact, many speak of 'our language' (nasi) or 'the local language' (ta dopia): the use of actual names is a politically charged national issue.

A Slavonic language presence in the Greek peninsula can be traced to the 6th-7th centuries. During the nation-state building period, specially, the use of south Slavonic dialects in the region of Macedonia fuelled severe religious and national conflicts. After annexing its 'New Territories' (1913), Greece treated with hostility the use of Slavonic dialects. The most painful episodes were the successive large-scale expulsions of the Slavonic-speaking population from 1913 to 1949 (end of the Greek civil war). Yet (Slavo)Macedonian/Bulgarian is still spoken by considerable numbers in Greek Macedonia, all along its northern borders, specially in the Prefectures of Florina, Pella, and to a lesser extent in Kastoria, Kilkis, Imathia, Thessalonika, Serres and Drama.

The use of the language in various fields

There are no reliable sources regarding the use of Macedonian/Bulgarian in Greece. The three national censuses containing an item on the mother language called it 'Slavo-

Macedonian' in 1928 and 1940, and simply 'Slav' in 1951. There were almost certainly many more than the close to 40,000 speakers recorded in 1951.

Since then, only small-scale fieldwork has offered statistical data, which cannot be generalised.

The language has always been confined to family or colloquial use and has enjoyed no public, administrative or educational presence other than the 'Abecedar' (primer) printed in 1925 (see *introduction*). Since 1993, in Aridaia a magazine named *Zora* (Dawn) is published. For the first time in Greece songs and texts are published in Macedonian, in Greek or Cyrillic scripts.

Conclusion

Though the language has never enjoyed as much freedom, its speakers still prefer to hide their bilingual identity when in the company of other Greek citizens. This insecurity was heightened by the 1990 court ruling which quashed a request to register an association aiming *inter alia* to promote the Macedonian language, on the grounds of 'antinational hidden purposes'. This decision was quashed, on appeal, by the European Court of Human Rights, in 1998. Few question their own Greek national identity. A minor portion would define itself as 'ethnic Macedonians'. In any event, an important part of the Slavonic-speaking population of Greece is not indifferent to the preservation of its language, which, despite the persecution it was subjected to throughout the 20th century, has managed to survive.

Bibliography

Kostopoulos T., *The forbidden language*, (in Greek), Black List pub., Athens, 2000

Van Boeschoeten R., '*Minority languages in Northern Greece. Study visit to Florina, Aridea*' Report to the European Commission, 1993

Pomak

Introduction

Pomak is described by linguists as a southern Bulgarian dialect, used by the Pomaks of Greece. Part of the broader Muslim minority of Thrace, they were not forced to migrate in 1923. As Muslims and as Slavophones, the Pomaks have been a target for the respective nationalisms of Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey. Their affiliation to Islam and the difficulties of communication with the more numerous Pomaks in Bulgaria brought them closer to the wider Muslim and Turkish-speaking community. Hence, there has been a continuous language shift towards Turkish since the 1950s. Pomak is used mainly in the prefecture of Xanthi (by all age groups), and to a lesser extent in Rodopi and Evros (less among the young), in the Northern part of Greek Thrace. Many Pomak-speakers, for economically motivated reasons, moved to cities in Thrace, Thessalonika and Athens. It has roughly 25,000 speakers; none are literate in Pomak, as there is no written tradition and it is not taught in schools.

The Pomaks are not granted special rights different from those provided for the Muslim minority, the majority of which is Turkish-speaking. Greek political parties avoid discussing the issue, though in the 1990s some political statements referred to Pomak as a

language of the Muslim minority. In 1998 the EU supported a project aiming to raise the issue of the languages spoken in Thrace.

The use of the language in various fields

Pomak schoolchildren follow the bilingual Greek/Turkish curriculum. State and local authorities do not use Pomak. There is no presence of the language in public signs or in place and street names. A single Pomak-language magazine (*Zagalitsa*) is published irregularly, using the Greek alphabet. There is no presence of Pomak on the Internet, apart from the use of Bulgarian on Bulgarian sites. Pomak is used very rarely in music. Greek-Pomak dictionaries and grammars (using the Greek alphabet) are the only books published in Pomak.

Pomak is not associated with professional advancement. Only at a very local level is it used, in oral relations between customers and their shopkeepers. It is not used in advertising by companies, large or small. The intergenerational transmission of the language is not really guaranteed. Some young speakers marry within the language group, where ethnic Pomak identity is strong. However, marriage with Turkish-speakers, which is quite frequent, is often regarded as a social advancement.

There are scarcely any cultural exchanges between Greece and Bulgaria concerning the Pomaks living in the two countries. Bulgarian TV is not easily picked up. No newspapers, magazines or books can be obtained. Former fears of the Greeks that communism might be imported through the Pomaks have been replaced by fears about the unity of Islamic communities and associated propaganda.

Conclusion

The agents of language production and reproduction do not guarantee the long-term future of the language. Pomak is on the decline in cases where Turkish is assimilating the speakers of Pomak, and Greek nationalism tries to impose inadequate language planning through private actors. For the promotion of Pomak to be possible, a prejudice-free environment is needed where it can be used with social utility, leading to social acceptance and economic success.

Bibliography

- S. Troumbeta, *Creating Identities: the Case of Pomaks and Roma in Thrace*, (in Greek) Kritiki/KEMO, Athens 2001
F. Tsimbiridou, *Les Pomak*, Harmattan, Paris 2000

Turkish

Introduction

The Turkish spoken in Greece consists of Rumeli (Europe) dialects. Turkish is spoken mainly and widely in Thrace (the north-east of Greece: Evros, Rodopi and Xanthi prefectures) by Turks, Pomaks and Romas of all age groups and in the islands of Rhodes and Kos. 85,000 Muslim Turkish-speakers live in Thrace and over 15,000 elsewhere in Greece. Economic or political reasons – especially after the Cyprus crisis in 1974 - caused internal and external migration.

Over 20,000 Greek Orthodox descendants of those who were settled in Greece after the 1923 population exchange, are speakers of Turkish; most live in Macedonia and Thrace. In this case the language is on the decline. Some Turkish-speaking migrants from Turkey and Georgia have recently settled in Greece too. The Muslims of Thrace, mainly Turkish-speaking, remained in Greece after the population exchange as a de jure minority. After the Dodecanese islands were annexed in 1947, their 5,000 Muslim Turkish-speakers were granted Greek citizenship, and about 4,000 descendants still speak Turkish.

The legal status of the minority stems from Treaty of Lausanne (1923). The legal protection of Turkish deals principally with education rights, but also provides for interpretation in legal and voting procedures. Many members of the minority perceive that the two main political parties regard the promotion of the Turkish language as an affair that falls in the scope of Greek-Turkish bilateral relations. Only the leftist Synaspismos has expressed positive views on the matter.

In 1998 the EU co-funded a conference, the ‘Language and diversity’ project, in Komotini, under the auspices of the mayor

The use of the language in various fields

Education: In Thrace minority schools are provided on the basis of religion: Muslims can choose between the bilingual minority schools or the Greek state schools. Standard Turkish and Greek are used equally as media of instruction in minority schools, and Turkish is also taught as a subject. Muslims have 231 primary schools and two secondary schools, as well as two religious seminars. The 8,500 pupils in minority schooling, and their teachers, face numerous problems, especially the unsatisfactory levels of attainment in Turkish and Greek, and deficient teacher training. The Greek government recently improved the Greek language textbooks, while new books for the Turkish-medium curriculum have at last been issued by Turkey, activating the 1968 agreement between Greece and Turkey.

The courts: Turkish can be used in the Courts according to the general provisions of the civil and penal procedure law (see Introduction). A special law provides for Turkish-speaking interpreters in the courts, but this service is often not used, for various reasons.

Public authorities and services: At elections, the voting procedure code¹⁵¹ provides for interpreters of Turkish language in polling stations in the prefectures of Evros, Xanthi, Rodopi and Dodecanese. According to Article 7 of Law 1920/1991 the Muftis (religious leaders of the Muslims) officially have to use only the Greek language. Turkish is not officially used by the authorities at all. Turkish is absent from public signs and street names.

Mass media and information and communication technology: Newspapers and books are imported from Turkey, but have a rather limited circulation. A few minority newspapers are published and several radio stations broadcast in Turkish throughout Thrace. A very small number of Greek-language media have a section in Turkish. Radio stations and TV from Turkey can be picked up in areas close to the border.

The Komotini municipality offers a satellite Turkish channel. Turkish on the Internet are thanks only to websites created in Turkey.

The Arts: Music and videotapes, mainly imported from Turkey, and are widespread in the area of the minority. Turkish music and songs are played at festivities of all kinds. In some rare cases concerts in Greek and Turkish have been organised. Virtually no books in Turkish are published in Greece.

The business world: Turkish is used freely in all business contacts within the Muslim minority and with Christians as well. Bilingualism is considered an advantage in some commercial professions. Turkish is used mainly informally in oral relations between customers and shopkeepers. Turkish is also used in advertising in the minority media.

Family and social use of the language: Turkish is used freely in public, as its public use is regarded as acceptable in all fields. Young speakers usually marry within the group (cases of exogamy - with Christians - are rare and socially not very well accepted), and this guarantees the transmission of the language. Social organisations do not use Turkish in public at all. Muslim establishments and institutions play a significant role with regard to Turkish. In Thrace, young Turkish-speakers use it in their everyday life as their first language. Yet Turkish does not play a positive role for social esteem in the wider Greek society.

Transnational exchanges: There was very little official activity in this field until about three years ago. City twinning and municipal cross-border cooperation have since developed, though with very little direct impact on the Turkish language.

Conclusion

The agents of language production and reproduction seem to guarantee the future of the language, especially as regards the minority in Thrace. Turkish is not on the decline, and in some cases there is a shift in favour of Turkish. However, outside the home, promotion of the language is left entirely to education. Implementation of language rights and social acceptance would create a solid basis for the successful promotion of Turkish. Still,

¹⁵¹ Presidential Decree 55/1999, art. 57

Greece's policy towards the minority still depends on political relations between Greece and Turkey.

Bibliography

V. Aarbakke, *The Turkish minority of Thrace, Greece*, PhD Thesis, School of history, Bergen University, Bergen 2001.

L. Baltiotis, 'Greek administration and minority education in Western Thrace', (in Greek), in Ê. Tsitselikis & D. Christopoulos (eds.) *The minority phenomenon in Greece*, Kritiki Athens 1997

L. Baltiotis & K. Tsitselikis, *The minority education of Thrace: Legal texts and comments* (in Greek), A.N. Sakkoulas/KEMO, Athens-Komotini 2001

Spain

Introduction

Nine lesser-used languages are spoken in Spain. Not all have official recognition. They are **Arabic** (Ceuta, on the North African coast), **Aragonese**, **Asturian**, **Basque**, **Berber** (also called *Tamazight*; Melilla, on the North African coast), **Catalan** (in eastern Spain and the Balearic Islands), **Galician**, **Occitan** (Aran Valley, in Catalonia) and **Portuguese** (Olivenza). About 10.5 million people, i.e. 26% of the population of Spain, speak these languages. In 1998 the Spanish government research centre 'Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas' (referred to hereafter as 'CIS') published a number of reports on the regional language situation.

The 1978 Spanish Constitution, the regional Statutes of Autonomy and Constitutional Court jurisprudence define the legal status of language. The Constitution states that Spanish is the official language of the State, and that the other languages of Spain shall also be official in their autonomous communities in accordance with the Statutes. State law establishes that Spanish is the language for state administrative procedures, but that citizens may address state bodies based in a bilingual autonomous community in either official language, and that the procedure must continue in the language chosen by the citizen. The law also establishes that the authority must translate into Spanish any documents that are to have effect outside the territory in which a minority language is the official language. The governments of the Balearic Islands, Basque Autonomous Community, Catalonia, Galicia, Navarre and Valencia have directorate-generals responsible for language promotion.

There have been positive developments in recent years for minority languages in Spain. Spain ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in December 2000, and this came into force in August 2001. The text avoids listing the languages for which the government undertakes to take measures; it uses as legal frameworks the statutes of autonomy, thus recognising languages already included these instruments. On March 13, 2001, the Spanish Congress approved two motions asking the Government to issue multilingual personal ID cards and driving licenses. Language laws have been adopted in Asturias and Catalonia. However, some setbacks have also occurred, such as a Navarre government decree, and the apparent non-compliance by the Asturias government of its own norms. Finally, Arabic in Ceuta and Berber in Melilla face a delicate situation, since they are not officially recognised; the very lack of reliable and accurate information about

them is in itself an indicator of their precarious status. Indeed, it has not proved possible to gather enough data to prepare a report on Arabic.

General references

Centro de Investigaciones Científicas, Regional language reports (October 1998): Galicia, ref. 2295; Basque autonomous community, 2296; Navarre, 2297; Catalonia, 2298; Valencia, 2299; and the Balearic Islands, 2300. http://www.cis.es/bd_estudios.asp?tema=3&subtema1=3

Siguan, Miquel, *Multilingual Spain*. Coll. European Studies on Multilingualism, Vol. 2. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1993.

Turell, M. Teresa, ed. *Multilingualism in Spain. Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Minority Language Groups*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001.

Aragonese (Fabra)

Introduction

Aragonese developed in an area, on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, where the Iberian and Basque languages had been spoken at the time of the Roman conquest. Many 10th and 11th century texts were written in Aragonese mixed with Latin, but in the 12th century almost all written references to Aragonese disappeared, mainly because of a cultivated move towards Latin; nevertheless, it expanded southwards until the 13th century. By the 17th century the process of language shift from Aragonese to Spanish had almost been completed in the field of cultural production, though the language was still used in the north of the region. Writers and linguists took interest in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but after the Spanish Civil war (1936-39) Aragonese declined rapidly as a living language for daily communication, due to the flooding of valleys for reservoirs, poor communications, the migration into urban areas and the effects of monolingual schooling. Aragonese is only spoken inside Spain.

Aragonese still lacks an official status in the region (population 1,189,909 on 1/1/00). It is estimated to have 12,000 regular (mainly elderly) speakers and 40,000 occasional users, mostly in the mountainous north of Huesca province.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: About 400 primary schoolchildren were being taught Aragonese at the end of the 1990s. Cultural organisations, e.g. Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa, Ligallo de Fablans de l'Aragonés and Nogarà, have organised courses for children and adults since the early 1980s.

The Courts, Public Authorities and Services: As far as is known, Aragonese is not used in courts, public offices and services, although in small villages and towns in some Pyrenees valleys, citizens and local civil servants may converse informally in Aragonese.

Mass media and Information technology: Aragonese is only occasionally used in the main newspapers and other mass media of the region for contributions in some Spanish-language magazines. It is used in the 30-min weekly radio programme Charramos broadcast by

Radio Huesca since 1980. Some local periodicals, such as magazines and comics, are written in Aragonese, though their print run is rather low.

The Arts: Since c. 1970 Aragonese has revived in the cultural domain: literary activity in novels, plays and children's literature are produced by a new generation of young writers.

The business world: There are no reliable or concrete data concerning the use of Aragonese in this domain. Aragonese has no economic added value: proficiency is of no value in looking for a job, even in areas where the language is still spoken.

Family and social use of the language: Since the late 1980s young people in some of the northernmost areas of Aragon show a growing interest in recovering the language and in learning it. Many young parents no longer feel that the language is socially unacceptable and, though perhaps unable to transmit the language, they can at least encourage their children to learn it and to use it informally.

Conclusion:

In March 2001 a Bill was put to the regional Parliament to make Aragonese (and Catalan) official in their respective areas, and in dealings with regional authorities. It would enshrine the right to receive education in one's own language, adapt place-names and personal names to the local language; and found an institution to standardise both languages.

References

- Nagore Laín, Francho (1998) 'Los territorios lingüísticos en Aragón'. In: *Seminario sobre normalización lingüística de las lenguas minoritarias de Aragón: Zaragoza, 12 de noviembre de 1998*. Volumen 3.
- Nagore Laín, Francho (1999) 'O aragonés'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei y Antón Santamaría Fernández (eds.) *Estudios de sociolingüística románica. Lenguas e variedades minorizadas*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Asturian (Bable)

Introduction

Asturias is a region in northern Spain (10,564 km²; pop. 1/1/00: 1,076,567). It became an autonomous region in 1981. Its capital is Uviéu (Oviedo in Spanish). Most of the population, industry and agriculture are concentrated on the coastal plain. Asturias has yet to diversify its economy since the decline of the coal mining and shipbuilding industries, and unemployment is still well above the Spanish average.

Asturianu (also called *Bable* in the 1981 Statute of Autonomy and the Language Law) is linguistically very close to Spanish: some regard it as a dialect. It is spoken in Asturias and in northern Castilla y León. The language has several mutually intelligible varieties.

Asturian was closely linked with the kingdom of Asturias (718-910) and the ensuing Asturian-Leonese kingdom. In the 12th-early 14th centuries, it is found in official documents of the kingdom and many agreements, donations, wills, commercial contracts,

etc. Spanish began to appear in documents in the 14th century, when officials were appointed by the court of Castile to political and ecclesiastic posts. The language became restricted to informal usage. In the 19th century literary production built on the work of the poets of the earlier Xeneración del Mediu Sieglu (Half-century Generation), and there was an intellectual debate about Asturian. In the early 20th century, a newspaper in Asturian (*Ixuxu*) and the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana¹⁵² were founded; yet artistic and intellectual production failed to restore the language's social status.

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), poetry became folkloric, sentimental or festive, until writers and linguists born after the Civil War began to play an active role. The 1981 Statute acknowledged the language and officially recognised the Academia. A Law on the Use and Promotion of Bable was enacted in 1998¹⁵³. The Academia published a grammar (1998) and a normative dictionary (2000).

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Over 22,000 pupils are taught Asturian at nearly 300 primary schools (up from 1,351 at 6 schools, in 1984-5). The figures for secondary education have also grown, from 3 schools with 352 pupils (1987-8) to 19 schools (650 pupils) in 2000.

The courts, public authorities and services: Asturian is not used in the courts for official business, even since the Language Act came into force. There are no data on how many courts officials can speak or write it. The regional government has a language-planning unit: the Servicio de Política Lingüística founded in 1985, and transformed in 1995 into the Servicio de Enseñanza Lingüística. The government makes limited use of Asturian (insufficient, according to language militants); several official bodies have used it in campaigns and signage, and the regional government usually accepts documents in Asturian. But Spanish is by far the most used language by the regional authority, and Asturian texts are occasional. Thanks to public demand, a few public services are starting to use it. RENFE (the Spanish Rail Company) offers bilingual maps of its suburban network and posters and some advertisements are in Asturian. *Telefónica*, the main Telephone Company, has also begun to use the language in some instructions and general information.

Mass media and Information technology: The public service Televisión Española broadcast programmes in Asturian until a few years ago. Xixón-TLG, a local TV channel, broadcasts c. 2h a week in Asturian, as does Uviéu-TLU (c. 3 h per week). About 20% of radio and TV programmes made by the regional government's Productora de Programas del Principado are in Asturian. Radio Sele, a cultural station, broadcasts totally in Asturian; the independent Radio Kras broadcasts partly in Asturian; Antena Norte also offers programmes in Asturian. Most of the main Spanish radio stations broadcast in Asturian (20-80 mn. per week). The dailies *La Voz de Asturias*, *La Nueva España* and *El Comercio* have sections and supplements in Asturian. Finally, the weekly *Les Noticias* is totally in Asturian; founded in 1996, it sells c. 5,000. Perhaps the most striking presence of Aragonese is a website, www.asturies.com, (1,535 daily visitors in June 2001), offering

¹⁵² <http://www.asturnet.es/alla/home.html>.

¹⁵³ Text of the Act, in Asturian: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Crete/2600/indexcas.htm>.

daily general news and general information about the language for learners, including links to on-line resources.

The Arts: Six publishers produce about 70 books in Asturian every year. The most important is the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. *Sietestrellu* and *Zimbru* are collections devoted to literature. Other initiatives are *XyZ* (for youngsters) and *Asturias* (an ethnographic journal). Several other magazines use the language regularly. There are regular literary contests. Two successful semi-professional companies usually perform in Asturian.

The business world: Proficiency in Asturian is not a job asset or requirement in Asturias, though it is used in several areas and even in cities like Uviéu for informal exchanges.

Family and social use of the language: Two surveys give conflicting results. In 1983 only 12% of Asturians (c. 100,000) claimed to speak the language, whereas in 1991 the figure was 44% (about 450,000). The change is probably due to the language's improved social status: the 28% wanting their children to speak Asturian in 1983 rose to nearly 67% in 1991.

Trans-national exchanges: There are regular contacts with Miranda do Douro (Portugal).

References

- Asturies.Com. *Diariu electrónicu asturianu*. <http://www.asturies.org/>.
Llera Ramo, Francisco J., *Los asturianos y la lengua asturiana. Estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias*, Consejería de Educación, Deportes y Juventud del Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, 1994.
Xunta pola Defensa de la Llingua Asturiana, *Llibru blancu de la recuperación y normalización llingüística d'Asturies*. Uviéu, 1996.

Basque

Introduction

In Spain, Basque (Euskara) is spoken in the Basque Autonomous Community (CAV; pop. 1/1/2000: 2,098,596) and in Navarre (pop. 1/1/2001: 543,757). The CAV has 3 provinces: Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. Economic development and the sociolinguistic situation have been affected by frequent migrations. The 1960s and 70s saw an industrial boom and rapid population growth in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia. First- and second-generation Basques account for 55% of the population in Bizkaia (which concentrates heavy industry) and in Araba, where Vitoria (or Gasteiz), the capital, is situated. In Gipuzkoa the proportion is lower: 40%. The population of the CAV is largely urban. Half the population lives in just seven cities. 4% of the inhabitants of the CAV live where 80% or more of the population is Basque-speakers, and fully 56% where fewer than 20% speak Basque. The rest live in linguistically mixed areas. 31% of people aged 5 or more in the CAV are fluent in Basque and a further 16% are passive bilinguals. 50% of Gipuzkoa's inhabitants are fluent in Basque, 24% of Bizkaia's, and under 16% of Araba's. Fluent Basque-speakers concentrate in the younger and older age groups. From 1991 to 1996 those fluent in Basque increased in the 5-24 age-bracket, where they outnumber monolingual Spanish-speakers. In the 5-14 age group, fully 50% are now fluent.

The 1978 Spanish Constitution and the 1979 Basque Statute of Autonomy define the legal status of Basque in the CAV. The Statute states that (a) Basque is the official language of the CAV alongside Spanish, (b) all citizens of the CAV have the right to know and use both languages, orally and in writing, and (c) recognises the Academy, Euskalzaindia. The 1982 Act on the standardisation and use of Basque defines the regional language policy

Navarre is fairly sparsely populated (50 per km²), though in the 1960s industrial development fuelled population growth. This had several consequences: almost 37% of the population concentrated in Pamplona (Iruñea), at the expense of rural areas; and the services grew rapidly, now employing almost 50% of the active population. The Ley Foral del Euskera (1986) defines 3 sociolinguistic areas. In the Basque-speaking area in the north (where 11% of the population live), Basque is official alongside Spanish. 54% live in the mixed area, which covers the industrial centres and the capital, and in which Basque may be taught in primary and secondary schools. It has no official status in the non-Basque-speaking south. In 1991-96, monolingual Basque-speakers fell from 0.7% to 0.3%, active bilinguals rose from 8.9% to 9.3%, passive bilinguals rose from 4.6% to 9.9%, and monolingual Spanish-speakers fell from 85.9% to 80.6%. The improvement in Basque proficiency was especially marked in the 16-24 age group. In a 1998 CIS survey, 16% spoke Basque in Navarre, but only 7% were literate. Most felt that Basque will go on spreading in coming years.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: In pre-school and compulsory education in the CAV, enrolment in **model D** (Basque as medium of instruction and Spanish as a subject) has risen from 12% (1985) to 33½%, and those in **model B** (where Basque and Spanish are used equally as media of instruction) have risen from 8½% to 18%. **Model A** (where Basque is only taught as a subject) has fallen from 79% to 48½%. Almost 20% of university students follow courses taught through Basque. Every year, over 45,000 adults take Basque courses at 160 centres.

The revival of Basque in Navarre relies heavily on the school system, which also has 3 models¹⁵⁴. In **model D**, primary pupils are taught through Basque in one subject in the initial cycle and two in the superior cycle. In 1988 this model accounted for c. 14% of pupils; 10 years later, it attracted c. 26%. In **model A**, Basque is just taught as a subject, at all levels and cycles. This model rose over the same period from c. 6% to c. 22%. Finally, in **model G**, all education is in Spanish; Basque is not even taught. While 80% were enrolled in this model in 1988, over half still followed it ten years later.

Nearly all courses at the Public University of Navarre (founded 1987) are in Spanish, though education in Basque is to be offered if requested by 18 student. Almost 20% of students would like to be lectured in Basque. Two specialised courses in the Faculty of Education are taught through Basque, and other faculties offer some subjects in Basque. A regional Plan aims to increase this figure. In 1963 a Basque Department was set up at the

¹⁵⁴ In the Basque-speaking zone, models D and A are available. In the mixed zone, models D, A and G. In the non-Basque-speaking zone, models A and G are available in public educational facilities (model D is available in private institutions).

University of Navarre, and in 1996, 43 students were enrolled on a Basque Studies degree (founded 1994).

The courts: The CAV Law of 1982 on the Standardisation of the Use of Basque states that citizens may choose the official language in dealings with the courts, but the use of Basque is still rare, occurring only occasionally when particular witnesses are heard. Most court officials know no Basque and some refuse to accept the translation of proceedings, adducing unacceptable delays. Basque has not improved significantly in this field in the last decade.

Public Authorities and services: In the CAV the government has an active policy to ensure services are provided in both official languages. A Navarre government decree (December 2000) redistributes the official use of languages in the so-called mixed area: the implementation plan is seen as a violation of Basque-speakers' rights, for Spanish will once more be the main and, in some cases, the only language used in official communications, signage, etc. Some political and cultural groups have complained vociferously.

Mass media and information technology: Two bilingual newspapers appeared in 1986: *Deia*, which by 1993 had a circulation of 106,000, and *Egin*, which on its closure had a circulation of 103,000 (though Basque accounted for under 25% of the paper's total content). Spanish-language newspapers in the CAV regularly have supplements in Basque. The appearance (1990) of *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, an entirely Basque newspaper sold wherever Basque is spoken (average sales 2000, 14,205), was an important development. Three magazines are entirely in Basque: *Argia*, a weekly general-interest magazine (circulation 10,000), *Jakin*, a fortnightly cultural magazine (circulation 3,500), and *Aizu*, a monthly publication on the teaching of Basque (circulation 400). The local Basque-language press (around 30 literary, religious, scientific and other magazines, funded by advertising and by grants from public bodies in the Basque Country, and distributed free) have about 250,000 readers.

The most important impact of Basque in the media is undoubtedly Euskal Telebista (ETB), whose Channel 1 broadcasts solely in Basque and has an audience of 207,000 (11% of the market). It has a digital satellite channel. The State television networks TVE, and the private channels, scarcely ever use Basque. Euskadi Irratia, the public radio station, broadcasts solely in Basque to an average of 84,000 listeners all over the CAV. Two private radio stations also broadcast exclusively in Basque. Most other radio stations only broadcast in Spanish, though the creation of numerous local radio stations has considerably increased the presence of Basque in recent years. Finally, there are many Internet websites in Basque, and plenty of software development. The Basque government financed a Basque version of Microsoft Office.

The Arts: 1,092 books were published in Basque in 2000 (up from 966 in 1991). The use of Basque in traditional and modern music has grown considerably in recent years. The same applies to the stage, many comedy companies performing entirely in Basque and many others bilingually. Some bilingual and fully Basque films have been made recently. The copy dubbed in Basque of all films supported by the Basque government is usually shown on ETB. Video production with a Basque soundtrack, to sell to the general public, is also

supported. Basque has a high profile in festivals and other cultural events, thanks to the efforts of many associations, regional and local council support, and generally aiming to promote of the knowledge and use of Basque.

The Basque Government actively promotes Basque culture through various bodies, which employ various support mechanisms: grants for developing cultural activities, specialised trade fairs, prizes for new Basque literature, and subsidies for cinema, theatre productions, music, etc. It funds the research projects of the official Translation and Terminology Service (Basque Institute of Public Administration) and the UZEI Institute, which manages several programmes run by the Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia) and has created a terminological database, Euskalterm, in Basque, Spanish, French and English.

The business world: Apart from the civil service, Basque proficiency is an essential job requirement only for some posts involving contact with the public, mainly in the service sector; it is, however, an asset in selection processes for a large number of jobs. Following many campaigns for more vigorous promotion of the use of Basque in business, the Basque Government set up pilot intervention schemes in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors and has signed agreements with local authorities and industrial and commercial firms to extend the use of Basque in their internal and external activities.

Family and social use of the language: Surveys on language competence show how important family transmission of Basque is, if the language is to be learnt and used correctly; other learners of Basque find it hard to attain equal fluency with Spanish or French. Basque is clearly used more now than 10-15 years ago in public domains. Yet the improvement in Basque proficiency has not been transferred into language use as much as might be expected. Over half the bilingual population speaks mainly Basque at home and in the following situations: at the market, with the local priest, with their children's teachers. However, under half the Basque-speakers use Basque in other situations: in the town hall, when going out for a drink with friends, at the bank, with local shopkeepers and with workmates. Most speak Spanish or French with health service personnel and with their supervisors. In short, the use of Basque drops as a function of formality.

Grass-roots NGOs actively promote Basque. Recently Kontseilua, an umbrella organisation representing 50 Basque organisations, which claim it has 125,000 members, was founded.

Transfrontier co-operation: There is frequent co-operation at all levels, involving the Basque government, cultural associations, academic institutions, etc. The EU has co-funded a number of successful exchanges involving Basque-speaking students from both sides of the border.

References

Euromosaic website: <http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/>
http://www.euskadi.net/euskara/indicei_i.htm

Catalan

Introduction

Catalan is a western Romance language (as are Spanish, Portuguese, French, etc.) spoken in an area (68,664 km²) little changed in 750 years: eastern Spain (Catalonia, pop. 1/1/00: 6,261,999; the Balearic Islands, pop. 845,630; most of the region of Valencia, total pop. 4,120,729; and a strip of eastern Aragon: la Franja); Andorra; Northern Catalonia (see section on France); and the Sardinian city of L'Alguer (Alghero). Despite the 750 km from north to south, the language shows a high degree of unity, despite identity-based attempts to fragment it. Linguists distinguish western and eastern varieties, but comprehension is mutual. The Catalan language academy is the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*.

Catalonia was independent from the end of the 10th century. In the 11th it federated by marriage with the kingdom of Aragon, which expanded when the Balearic Islands and Valencia were taken from the Moors (13th century). Catalan was the language of the Court in the Middle Ages, alongside Latin in documents. It began to decline in official circles after Aragon and Castile federated. Literary production, which reached maturity with Ramon Llull (1232/33-1316) and peaked in its golden age (15th century), gradually, decreased in quality and quantity. Measures to repress Catalan and impose Spanish began after the defeat of Catalonia in the War of Spanish Succession (1714), when only upper class, cultural and commercial elites in Barcelona were bilingual. The romantic revival led to a strong literary 'Renaixença', especially in Catalonia, but the widespread presence of Catalan in the press, schools and official circles was eliminated by Franco (1939-1975).

Over 7 million people speak Catalan, by far the largest group in this Report. Despite periods of repression, speakers doubled in the 20th century, thanks to integration of immigrants needed to fuel strong economic growth, and more recently to education. In Catalonia 75% of those aged over 2 claim to speak Catalan and 46% to be able to write it (1996 census). Both figures peak in the 10-19 year age group and were 4-7% up on 1991. Census data for Valencia and the Balearic Islands refer to 1991. A 1998 CIS survey gave the following picture: In Catalonia, 41% of adults were literate in Catalan and 74% could speak it. In Valencia, language shift seems to have halted: 55% of those in the Catalan-speaking area spoke Catalan and 12% were literate. In the Balearics, despite recent heavy immigration, 70% spoke it and 22% were literate.

The three Statutes of Autonomy state that Catalan (also 'valencià') is official, as is Spanish. The Balearic¹⁵⁵ and Catalan¹⁵⁶ Statutes add that Catalan is each region's own language, and legitimise official measures to make its use normal (the Balearic Statute incorporated this amendment in 1999). The three regional Parliaments adopted broadly similar Language Acts, in 1983 (in Catalonia and Valencia) and 1986 (in the Balearics). Valencian legislation gives Catalan less overall protection, and defines two linguistic areas: Catalan- and Spanish

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.caib.es/govern/illes/cestatut.htm>. English: <http://www.caib.es/govern/illes/kestatut.htm>.

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.gencat.es/estatut/>.

speaking. Catalonia's 1983 Act was superseded by a 1998 Language Policy Act¹⁵⁷. Sectoral laws and decrees are also relevant. All three regions have language-planning units¹⁵⁸. Finally, Aragon's Statute of Autonomy now has an amended Article 7: 'Aragon's own languages and linguistic forms will enjoy protection'. In March 2001 the regional government presented a Bill to make Catalan (and Aragonese) official in their respective areas, and in dealings with regional authorities.

Social support for language policy in Catalonia is strong: 83% think all citizens of Catalonia should be able to speak Catalan, and 79% think public servants should know it.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: In 1999-2000 89% of primary schools in Catalonia taught through Catalan (apart from Spanish language and literature, and foreign language classes); a further 8% used both Catalan and Spanish¹⁵⁹. 51% of secondary schools taught entirely in Catalan and the rest taught several subjects in each language. So the system has been utterly transformed since Franco died in 1975, with the help of large-scale in-service training programmes. A growing number of pupils are now arriving from the third world. In Valencia the language is compulsory at all schools in the Catalan-speaking area. From 1994 to 2000, and despite a change in the regional government (or Generalitat Valenciana), primary school children in Catalan streams increased from 55,981 (in 511 schools) to 102,250 (28% of the total; in 650 schools). Data for secondary schools were 8,546 (in 46 schools, in 1994) to 30,320 (91% of all students; in 213 schools)¹⁶⁰. It has been claimed that the Generalitat does not ensure that teachers covering posts in such streams are linguistically competent. Escola Valenciana is an active federation of associations promoting Catalan-medium education. Finally, in the Balearic Islands, where popular support is strong, Catalan is compulsory in primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools teaching through Catalan is now increasing steadily. But the numbers of pupils of mainland Spanish or European extraction are also rising rapidly.

In Catalonia 90% of university admission exams in 2000 were taken in Catalan (52% in 1991). Hundreds of textbooks in Catalan have been subsidised by the Catalan government (Generalitat de Catalunya). Overall, 60% of lectures are in Catalan, though it varies from 30% to 80%. The figure is under pressure mainly because of foreign students (2,664 Erasmus students in 1998-99). The Catalan government offers them Catalan courses (€150,000, 2000). **Intercat**¹⁶¹, a new package of language resources (co-funded by the EU) for distance learners, is expected to help; many Catalans assist foreign fellow-students through the "voluntariat lingüístic". 32% of lectures, and 40% of admission exams, were in

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.gencat.es/lleicat/cindex.htm>.

¹⁵⁸ <http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat> : Directorate General for Language Policy, Catalan Government ; <http://www.caib.es/sac1.htm>: Directorate General for Language Policy, Balearic Islands Government ; and <http://www.cult.gva.es/dgoiepl>: Generalitat Valenciana: Àrea d'Ordenació, Innovació i Formació Professional and Àrea de Política Lingüística.

¹⁵⁹ <http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/informe/index.htm> .

¹⁶⁰ Quoted by <http://www.intersindical.org/stepv/fentcami/valenciacongres.htm> .

¹⁶¹ <http://www.intercat.gencat.es/> .

Catalan at the Universitat de les Illes Balears¹⁶² in 1999-2000. In Valencia, where Catalan is used less, the use of the word Catalan by universities led to a legal battle. Nearly all universities in the Catalan-speaking lands, including Perpignan, belong to the Institut Joan Lluís Vives¹⁶³, and have special units to promote Catalan. The government-aided Universitat Oberta de Catalunya¹⁶⁴, whose only campus is virtual, has 14,000 students on its degree courses in Catalan.

In all three regions, language courses and certification for adult students follow the same guidelines. In 1999-2000, the public 'Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística' (founded by the Catalan government and local councils) organised 1,987 courses for 43,006 students.

The courts: The courts have long been a monolingual bastion of Spanish. In Catalonia proper, Catalan is used in fewer than 5% of trials, though 35% of the courts have linguistically competent staff (official sources). Thanks to a project launched in October 2000 by the Generalitat, 83% of sentences were written in Catalan, and it was used orally in 74% of trials, in the 40 pilot courts. Staff used Catalan in 80% of their paperwork. The regional High Court and the Attorney General co-operated. 40 more courts (out of a total of 463) were to join in 2001.

Public authorities and services: The 1983 and 1998 Language Acts laid down that Catalan is the language of all the institutions of Catalonia, particularly the Generalitat, local councils, public corporations, companies and services, the institutional media and place names. Citizens may choose the official language in their dealings with them. To guarantee citizens' rights, civil service applicants have to display their Catalan proficiency, and civil servants transferring from elsewhere must know enough Catalan to be able to carry out the tasks assigned to them. Debates and documents in the regional Parliament are almost completely in Catalan (as happens in the Balearic Parliament). Catalan is the language normally used in local councils including formal settings such as meetings and plenary sessions; it is used in oral and written communications between public employees and citizens. Larger local councils have language regulations. But Catalan is much less widely used in local offices of State bodies, including police stations, especially in formal situations and texts.

In Catalonia most public services offer customers the choice of language for contracts, invoices and information. Telephone directories, and the internal signs used by these companies and agencies, are generally bilingual, and customer services are usually available in Catalan. The language in these sectors has advanced in recent years thanks partly to the support of the Generalitat, the Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística, and the language services provided by many public and private organisations. Finally, in the Balearic Islands, and especially in Valencia, the language has a much more limited presence in such services, though many are nominally bilingual.

¹⁶² <http://www.uib.es/secc6/slg/dinamitzacio.htm> .

¹⁶³ <http://www.ijlv.org> .

¹⁶⁴ Open University of Catalonia. <http://www.uoc.edu> . 86,282 daily website visitors, June 2001.

Mass media and Information technology: Five of the 14 daily newspapers published in Catalonia are entirely in Catalan: *Avui* (2000 sales: 30,774; and 6,385 website visitors¹⁶⁵), *El Punt* (23,131), *Regió 7* (c. 10,000), *El 9 Nou-Vallès Occidental* (2,288) and *Diari de Girona* (6,934). *El Periódico* and *Segre* began separate editions in Catalan in 1997 (Catalan sales: 72,310 and 5,706 respectively). 157,919 (20%) of the 783,831 papers sold daily in 1998 were in Catalan, over twice the figure in 1996. The Islands' first Catalan-language daily, *Diari de Balears*¹⁶⁶, appeared several years ago. *Vilaweb*¹⁶⁷, an electronic news service in Catalan, had 15,476 daily visitors in July 2001.

In 1999 the two public TV channels in Catalonia (TV3 and Canal 33) took 27% of the market, ahead of other, primarily Spanish-language, channels. 31% of a survey sample watched more TV in Catalan than in Spanish; and 34% more watched both equally. TV3 also broadcasts abroad on digital satellite TV, as does Canal 9, Valencia's public, bilingual TV channel. Two of Catalonia's four institutional radio stations are particularly successful: Catalunya Ràdio (559,000 daily listeners); and Catalunya Informació (136,000). In 1999, 156 FM radio stations (78% of the total) broadcast over 90% of their content in Catalan. The all-Catalan COM Ràdio, Grup Flaix and Ona Catalana are successful commercial ventures (the first is supported by the Barcelona provincial council). In 1989 the Generalitat Valenciana set up Ràdio 9¹⁶⁸ in Catalan. Catalan is one of the top 20 Internet languages, according to the World Directory Project. Microsoft Windows 95 and 98 were available in Catalan (though only thanks to Generalitat funding; a Catalan version of Windows XP has been announced), as are Spellcheckers and much software. Softcatalà is a pioneer in this field¹⁶⁹: it distributes Netscape Navigator and much other software. Some projects have been co-funded by the EU. Electronic magazines range from the humanities to pharmaceuticals¹⁷⁰.

The Arts: The number of books published continues to rise: from 5,281 (1994) to 7,359 (2000; 12% of all books published in Spain). Valencia has several very active Catalan-language publishers. Cultural activity in music, the stage, etc. is varied and intense. 40-60% of tickets sold in Barcelona are for plays in Catalan. Music on CD is abundant.

The business world: In Catalonia, many firms require bilingual staff, especially to cover administrative posts and to serve the public. Most external institutional advertising is in Catalan, but Spanish still dominates in commercial advertising and in consumer product labelling. Though some do not comply with EU directives, almost 1,000 companies label products in Catalan or bilingually. Over 2/3 are in six sectors: wines and spirits; cakes and pastries; oil; arts and crafts; dairy products; and meat products. Three leading supermarket chains label all their own products in Catalan. On local private and public radio, most advertising (both institutional and commercial) is in Catalan. In the press, nearly all advertisements in the Catalan-language press are in Catalan, as are commercials on the two

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.avui.com> . Also 6,385 daily visits to its electronic edition, July 2001.

¹⁶⁶ Internet versión: <http://www.diaridebalears.com/> .

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.vilaweb.com> .

¹⁶⁸ <http://www.rtvv.es/www/radio/radio9v.htm> .

¹⁶⁹ Softcatalà: <http://www.softcatala.org> .

¹⁷⁰ Digit-HVM: <http://www.uoc.es/digithum/>. Pharmaceuticals: http://www.ojd.es/f_cont_www.html.

Generalitat-owned TV channels. Since 1989, the Generalitat has helped unions, business organisations and chambers of commerce to set up language services. They promote the use of Catalan, and also engage in sectoral campaigns, in co-operation with the Consorci. At least one project, managed by a union, has received EU co-funding. The government of the Balearic Islands also co-funds a consortium for the promotion of Catalan.

Family and social use of the language: In a CIS survey (2001) 39½% of the adult population of Catalonia claim that Catalan is the first language they learned at home; Catalan is used, on its own or bilingually, by 64% with friends and in shops, and by 53% with members of the household. Language transmission in the home is high even in mixed families. Surveys have been carried out by CIS in Valencia and the Balearics, where language-loyalty is not as high.

Trans-national exchanges: Since 1999 co-operation between the governments of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands has grown, in areas such as training language specialists, sociolinguistic maps, screening original (or dubbed) films in Catalan, marketing videos in Catalan, and disseminating terminology. The Generalitat de Catalunya and the Government of Andorra also co-operate. Specialists of the Andorran Language Service attend training seminars of the Generalitat's language planners. The Generalitat and Perpignan University have agreed to support Catalan in pre-schools and primary schools, and in adult education; to hold International Catalan Certificate examinations in Perpignan; etc.

References

Farràs, J., J. Torres and F. Xavier Vila (2000) *El coneixement del català. 1996. Mapa sociolingüístic de Catalunya. Anàlisi de l'enquesta oficial de població de 1996. Sèrie Estudis, 7.* Generalitat de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana, Barcelona.
Language Policy Report 1999. <http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/informe/ang.htm> .

Galician

Introduction

Galicia (29,574 km², pop. 2,731,900, 1/1/2000) is in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula. Since 1981 it is an autonomous community. It has four provinces (A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense and Pontevedra; capital, Santiago de Compostela). About 70,000 Galician-speakers live in neighbouring parts of the regions of Asturias and Castilla y León, the 'Franxa Exterior'.

Galician belongs to the same branch of the Romance languages as Portuguese. During the golden age of troubadour poetry in the 13th-14th centuries, they were virtually the same. Thereafter, Galician was to remain the language of a rural society while Portuguese was standardised on the basis of the Lisbon dialect and became the language of the royal court; so the two developed separately. Today oral Galician, peppered with loans and borrowings from Spanish, shows the effects of belated and often contested standardisation. The 1983 Language Act adopted the standards formulated jointly by the Real Academia Galega and the Instituto da Lingua Galega, though the so-called Lusistas do not accept this.

2,421,102 persons (aged 3 or more) speak Galician (91% of the total, 1991 census), while 1,322,937 people read it (50%) and 923,441 can write it (35%). 73% of the 11-14 age group were literate. 1,459,028 (55% of the total) said they always speak in Galician, 885,497 (33%) sometimes used it, and 142,166 (6%) never used it. Another study¹⁷¹ concluded that Galician is the first language spoken by 62% of the population. The 1998 CIS survey found that 89% could speak Galician. The discrepancy between knowledge and use among youngsters was striking, barely half of those who have learned Galician at school claiming to be regular users of it. Speaking the language is associated with rural life, old age and lower incomes. Yet knowledge of written Galician is more widespread among young people and those in higher socio-economic categories. In towns, the use of Galician has been on the decline for years, despite a university-fuelled revival. Moreover, Galician-speakers have a fairly low opinion of their own competence in Galician; in a recent survey, only 11% felt they spoke the language 'well' or 'very well'. 48% believed that Galician would advance in the next ten years.

Emigration from Galicia is centuries old (between 1951 and 1975 net emigration was equivalent to 1/6 of its 1950 population). Until the 80s, Galicia also experienced internal migrations, the more developed coastal provinces gaining population at the expense of the rural hinterland. In 1991, 27% of Galicians lived in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, and a further 37% lived in towns of between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. In the 1990s, 29% of the active population worked in agriculture or fishing, 15% in manufacturing industry, 9% in the construction industry and 41% in the services. Despite modernisation, farms have become smaller; many farmers rely on further sources of income. Per capita income is still below the Spanish average, though the gap has been closing for some years.

Galicia was an independent kingdom in the 10th-11th centuries and became an important place of pilgrimage (Santiago de Compostela). Until the mid-16th century, Galician was the language of the whole of society and of the administrative and court systems. Having no native nobility or bourgeoisie, Galicia came under permanent Castilian domination in the 13th century. Politically marginalized within Spain, and impoverished by archaic social and economic structures, since the 17th century the demographic weight of Galicia within Spain has steadily declined, and industrial development was late and limited. The 19th century cultural 'Rexurdimento' (revival) and galleguista movement defended political regionalism. Though the Real Academia da Lingua Galega (founded 1904) did not manage to complete its work on the standardisation of the language, a significant body of literature emerged led by Rosalía de Castro. Spanish Civil War (1936-39) nipped political autonomy in the bud, and the use of Galician was repressed under Franco. Industrialization, from the 1950s, and the spread of the education system and Spanish TV, generalised the penetration of Spanish, which had hitherto only slowly into a largely rural society.

The 1981 Galician Statute of Autonomy¹⁷² declared Galician to be Galicia's own language and the official language alongside Spanish. The Statute grants all citizens the right to know and use Galician. The regional government ('Xunta de Galicia') set up in 1981 has

¹⁷¹ <http://galego.org/hoxe/nivelxeral/inicial.html>.

¹⁷² <http://www.galego.org/lexislacion/xbasica/estatuto.html>.

taken steps to promote the knowledge and use of Galician, although their effectiveness is often questioned. The 1983 Galician Language Standardisation Act¹⁷³ made Galician the usual language of the regional administration and its associated bodies. Other provisions refer to the status of Galician in education, the promotion of Galician culture, the media, the use of Galician in the regional administration's dealings with citizens, and its use in the courts and in local authorities. The *Real Academia Galega* was empowered to set language norms.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: The use of Galician is compulsory in all schools¹⁷⁴, and many primary schools teach through it, though some teachers apparently ignore regulations and use Spanish. The Xunta has implemented policies to increase the use of Galician in schools: most activities relate to in-service language courses for teachers. In 1998 the 16 beginners' courses, 12 improvement courses and 3 training seminars for teachers had 900 students. It also organizes seminars, training activities and the sharing of expertise for those in charge of the language promotion process and for teachers in general. It supports projects (€12,000 in grants to 887 schools, 1998) and the publishing of teaching material (€1,277,000 for 231 projects).

At university level, government policies support the language promotion offices and advisory services in Galicia's three universities; research projects on the Galician language; university publications; and seminars and conferences devoted to language promotion.

The courts: Some judges usually use Galician in their professional duties. The Xunta has established language promotion offices in the regional high court and in three of the four provincial courts: Pontevedra, Lugo and Ourense.

Public Authorities and services: The 1983 Act made Galician the usual language of the regional administration and its associated bodies, and it is widely used. It is the main language used in the regional Parliament. A 1988 Act governs the use of Galician in local councils. The regional government (Xunta) attaches importance to all civil servants being able to serve citizens in both official languages. To support the promotion of the Galician language as laid down in the Language Act, it runs language courses for its civil servants. Some are specially designed to meet work place requirements. Courses at different levels are organised for local central government officials. Locally, the Galician government supports the translation offices of the provincial councils, the 50-plus language promotion offices in local councils and training courses for local civil servants. Regional civil service examinees have to pass a Galician test, or present a certificate, which is issued after a 60h course.

Mass media and Information technology: The regional government founded TV Galega¹⁷⁵, which broadcasts solely in Galician. The DG for Language Policy promotes Galician in all

¹⁷³ <http://www.galego.org/lexislacion/xbasica/lei3-83.html> .

¹⁷⁴ 1983 Legislation: <http://www.galego.org/lexislacion/xbasica/3-83titIII.html> .

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.tvg.es>.

social domains through agreements with public and private companies, such as (i) Galician TV, to edit and broadcast educational programmes related to the language, (ii) the Secretariat General for Mass-media, to implement activities to promote the use of Galician in the mass-media (especially in the daily press) and (iii) with the main regional newspapers (*Atlántico Diario*, *Diario de Pontevedra*, *El Ideal Gallego*, *El Progreso de Lugo*, *La Región*, *Editorial Compostela*, *El Correo Gallego*, *O Correo Galego*, and *La Voz de Galicia*) to increase the use of Galician.

The Arts: In 2000 books published in Galician rose to 1,197. Books are not limited to literary creation: books cover many other genres (historiography, education, economy, social sciences, law, etc.). The number of publishing houses has also grown considerably. Much local council (Lugo, Vigo, etc.) and some publishers run contests for Galician literary production: novels, children's literature, theatre, etc.). Every year tribute is paid to leading writers on the Día das Letras Galegas. A CD of songs based on texts of leading Galician writers was recently published.

Galician has greatly advanced on the stage in recent years: nearly all local theatre productions are in Galician, largely thanks to the Centro Dramático Galego, (founded 1986) and the Instituto Galego das Artes Escénicas e Musicais (1989). There are many popular local festivals, e.g. the Mostra de Teatro Infantil 'Xeración Nós', Mostra de Teatro Cómico-Festivo de Cangas, the Ribadavia International Theatre festival, etc. A number of feature films (Continental, Urxa, Sempre Xonxa, A metade da vida, Dame Lume, Dame Algo, A lei da fronteira, O pico das viúvas) have been made in Galician in recent years. Finally, Galician music is slowly recovering from the crisis following the effervescence of the 1970s and the early 1980s. Milladoiro is the most well known group: it has won prizes in many countries.

The business world: Galician is not widely used in the socio-economic domain except in informal oral relations, where it is widespread. Some wines are now labelled in Galician. The Xunta grants every year subsidies in order to promote the use of Galician in the private sector, not only as regards labels, advertisement and general promotion of commercial products of concrete companies but also as regards associations of entrepreneurs, offices of language normalisation within the companies and professional associations, and language training programmes for workers.

Family and social use of the language: Official campaigns have encouraged parents to speak to their children in Galician, in view of disturbing trends. It is extremely widely used in the community. Following the Basque ('Korrika') and Catalan ('Correllengua') examples, Galician language associations have launched an annual sponsored run to promote the use of the language in the public education system: the 'Correlingua' will it be hoped cover all Galicia.

Trans-national exchanges: There are no official exchanges. The authorities treat Galician and Portuguese as different languages. The so-called 'Lusista' movement has strong ties with cultural and linguistic organisations in Portugal.

References

- Fernández Rei, Francisco (1999) 'A situación do galego en Galicia e no Occidente de Asturias, de León e de Zamora'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei; Antón Santamarina Fernández, eds. *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Recalde, Montserrat (1997) *La vitalidad etnolingüística gallega*. Centro de Estudios sobre Comunicación Interlingüística e Intercultural, vol. 9. València: Universitat de València.
- <http://www.culturagallega.org> is a detailed website on the Galician language.

Occitan

Introduction

The Aran Valley is a small (620 km², pop. 7,130 in 1996) Occitan-speaking enclave in Catalonia, on the northern side of the Pyrenees. The Aranese voted in 1312 to belong to the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia. Aranese, a variant of Gascon or western Occitan, is mentioned in the 1979 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia as deserving special respect and protection. In 1990, the Law on the special structures of the Val d'Aran gave Aranese official status, re-established the traditional political institutions, Conselh Generau (General Council) and Síndic (Chief Councillor), and granted them full powers to promote and teach Aranese.

Until the 1970s the Aran Valley was plagued by emigration, mainly to neighbouring France and Catalonia, leading, as in other Pyrenean valleys, to an aging population and abandoned hamlets. Since 1970 new jobs in tourism have attracted many in-migrants, chiefly Spanish-speakers. The valley's tourist industry offers winter sports and summer holidays; about 70% work in the service sector, and seasonal workers grow in number every year.

4,530 people (65%) speak Aranese, though only 25% claim they can write it (1996). These figures are up on the 1991 data, though 2% fewer claimed to understand it, probably due to newcomers. Fluency is most frequent among the young and the elderly. Literacy is very high among schoolchildren. The place of birth is, of course, a significant variable: more of those born in the valley are fluent in Aranese than are in-comers. Socio-professional status is also relevant, far more liberal professionals than qualified or unqualified workers being fluent.

Catalonia's 1998 Language Policy Act enhanced the legal recognition of Aranese, underlining that the Act also applies to Aranese. The Conselh Generau has an Office for the Promotion and Teaching of Aranese, which promotes and implements activities relating to the council's language policy, including counselling and standardisation.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: The Aranese variant of Occitan is taught, by law, to all schoolchildren in the valley, and most receive part of their primary education in Aranese, in Catalan and in Spanish. This has been thanks to in-service language courses for teachers, and to the language requirement be applied to teachers applying for work in the valley. Subsidies are

available to make teaching material available in Aranese. Over 200 adults took courses in 2000.

The courts: There are no civil or criminal courts in the valley, and there is no information about any use of the language in documents before the Justice of the Peace.

Public Authorities and services: The valley council, and also much local council, uses Aranese in many texts. Vielha town council has a language promotion plan. In the area of promotion of its social use, Aranese has advanced in various areas. The Conselh Generau's Office for the Promotion and Teaching of Aranese has encouraged citizens to play an active role by founding a Conselh Sociau der Aranés (Social Council for Aranese). A General Plan for Language Promotion was drafted and submitted to the Conselh Generau late in 1999.

Mass media and Information technology: Three episodes of the Les Tres Bessones cartoon series have been dubbed into Aranese (with Generalitat support) and broadcast in Catalan and Aranese throughout Catalonia on TV3 and Canal 33, as well as being put on sale. Educational films have also been dubbed by the Generalitat's Department of Agriculture.

The Arts: Book production is remarkably high, ranging from *Vademecum aranense*, an anthology of texts from the 12th century, to present-day output. *Eth marc juridic der aranés (The Legal Framework of Aranese)* stands out among the 100 Aranese books now circulating.

The business world: The valley, being geared to tourism from Catalonia, France and the rest of Spain, pays little attention to the use of Aranese in commerce. Some shop signs are in Aranese, and some restaurants offer Aranese menus, alongside other languages.

Family and social use of the language: Intergenerational transmission of the language is hampered in the numerous linguistically mixed families, while the number of in-migrants rapidly. The use of the language in the community is promoted by the Associacion Lengua Viua. Attitudes towards the Occitan movement have improved in recent years.

Trans-national exchanges: The Conselh Generau d'Aran has cultural and political relations throughout Occitania, signing collaboration agreements, disseminating information about Aranese, and carrying out joint development projects and research.

References

Gargallo, José Enrique 'Unha encrucillada pirenaica: a variedade occitana do Val de Arán'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei; Antón Santamarina Fernández, eds. *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Publ. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela, 1999.

Portuguese

Introduction

In Spain, Portuguese is spoken in and around the town of Olivenza (10,499 inhabitants, 1994) by the Portuguese border, south of the city of Badajoz, in the region of Extremadura. Olivenza has been losing inhabitants for about 20 years, because of mechanised farming, and a lack of job opportunities until quite recently. The Olivenza district was taken from the Moors in 1230, but it mostly stayed in Portuguese hands until a 1801 Treaty, when it was annexed to Spain, despite Portuguese claims and the terms of the Congress of Vienna (1815). After Olivenza's incorporation into Spain, the Portuguese spoken locally became increasingly detached from its heartland. In the first half of the 19th century, vigorous cultural assimilation was pursued: teaching or speaking Portuguese, even in private, was banned.

The use of the language in various fields

3,645 (34% of the population) people normally speak Portuguese (1994 municipal data; down from just over 60% around 1960). All are bilingual, and most are over 50. Very little field research is available. The situation is affected by the perceived social superiority of Spanish over Portuguese. Most Olivenza residents regard Portuguese as merely a low-class vehicle of oral expression in the rural world, in contrast to Spanish, which is associated with economically and culturally prestigious classes. Portuguese is ignored by the national and regional authorities: the regional Statute of Autonomy ignores the Portuguese cultural heritage. Until recently the local authority did its best to encourage the presence of the language in primary education.

What some regard as Portuguese intransigence over the border has led the Olivenza council to threaten to close Portuguese courses. However, the department of Portuguese of the Centro de Estudos Ibéricos Agostinho da Silva in Olivenza has run 8 Portuguese language and culture beginners' courses. They are supported by the Instituto Camões.

References

- Luna, Carlos Eduardo da Cruz (2001) *O ensino do Português em Olivença*. [Unpublished].
O Pelourinho. Boletín de relaciones transfronterizas, 9, abril 1999. Ayuntamiento de Badajoz.
Informação OlivençaNet website: <http://olivenca-net.cplp.net/>.

Tamazight (Berber)

Introduction

Melilla (12.3 km², pop. 66,263) is a Spanish enclave on the coast of Northern Africa. According to surveys carried out in 1997, 31-40% of its inhabitants is Berbers and can speak the language. The European population is about 55%, although the Spanish Institute of Statistics expects most inhabitants will be Berbers by 2010, given the higher birth rate. Moreover, most newcomers from Morocco speak Tamazight, and this strengthens the language's position. The variety spoken in Melilla is *tarifit*; it is the language of the family and intracommunity networks. The language has yet to be codified, and has no academy.

The Statute of Autonomy of Melilla (1995) empowers the city authorities to promote and stimulate the values of mutual understanding and respect for the cultural and linguistic diversity of the population'. Despite this, Spanish is the only official language of the city and this provokes a feeling of discrimination among some of the Berber population.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: A 1992 study found that 39% of primary and secondary schoolchildren were bilingual, but there have been no attempts to teach or use Tamazight within the official education system. Since 1995 courses in Tamazight (beginners, intermediate and advanced) are offered at the Seminario Permanente de Estudios Amaziges. The language is not taught outside this structure; Tamazight is not taught in the school system, though some teachers try to refer to Berber at their own initiative. An educational book (*Juegos Populares de la Cultura Bereber*) about Amazigh children's games, has recently been published.

The courts and public authorities and services: Tamazight has no legal status in the courts. We know of no measure taken by central or local authorities in respect of public services. There are no data on the possibility of making submissions, and being served, in Tamazight.

Mass media and Information technology: There are no media in Tamazight. From 1994 to 1999 the local TV channel broadcast an information programme on Friday evenings.

The arts: Since 1998 five books have been published in a Berber collection, *Biblioteca amazige*. They cover Amazigh language and culture (two are educational books). An Amazigh museum has recently been founded.

The business world: Commerce (where Spanish and Arab are used) dominates the economic life of the town of Melilla. The economy influences the linguistic situation, for a command of Spanish and/or Arabic is absolutely essential for commercial activities, although Berber is useful for informal exchanges, especially in commercial contacts, not all legal, with Morocco.

Family and social use of the language: It seems that the oral transmission of Tamazight is guaranteed: most parents use it with their children. The very high percentage of marriages between Berbers reinforces this state of affairs.

Trans-national exchanges: We have found no information about exchanges in recent years with any other groups speaking the same language, mainly because of the lack of recognition of Berbers in neighbouring countries.

References

Mesa Franco, Carmen; Sánchez Fernández, Sebastián, *Educación y situaciones bilingües en contextos multiculturales. Estudio de un caso: Melilla*. Laboratorio de estudios interculturales. Facultad de ciencias de la educación. Universidad de Granada, Granada, 1996.

Mohamed Hamed, Jadilla; Raha Ahmed, Rachid, *Tamazight y el Estatuto de Autonomía de Melilla*. Dossier Amazigh, 7. Colectivo de documentación y estudios amazighs, Granada, 1995.

http://www.verdeislam.com/vi_04/vi_412.htm.

<http://www.eurosur.org/ai/19/afr1901.htm> (Situación actual de los pueblos bereberes)

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/9860/tamaz.html>.

Finland

Introduction

Finland (338,145 km²) was incorporated into the Swedish kingdom in the 11th century. The Swedes introduced western religious practice and cultural influences. The Reformation had a great impact. Finland was ceded to Russia in 1809, and became a semi-autonomous Grand-Duchy until independence (Republic in 1917). Language issues were crucial in the relations with the Russian Empire; citizens resisted Imperial attempts to strengthen Russian. In 1863 Finnish achieved the same official status as Swedish. Around 1900 the linguistic majority of the capital, Helsinki, became Finnish. Language and nationalist conflicts remained political issues until the late 1930s, when Finland had to defend itself against military threats. After two wars against the Soviet Union (1939-40 and 1941-44), Finland lost Karelian- and Finnish speaking regions in the east, and its direct access to the Polar Sea. After the War Skolt-Samis were deported from Petsamo to northern Finland.

Strong restructuring in agriculture began in the 1950s, along with rapid urbanisation and mass migration southwards. Housing shortages and emigration to Sweden followed. Proportionally more Swedish-speakers migrated (especially from Ostrobothnia).

Swedish-speakers have helped to strengthen Finland's bonds with Scandinavia. There is a tradition of *Nordism*, co-operation and exchange at all civil and political levels between the Nordic countries, which grew after World War II with the free Nordic labour market and passport-free movement (1954).

Finland joined the EU in 1995. The Swedish-speaking Åland Isles¹⁷⁶ won a special status, regulated in an agreement, which allows them to continue selling tax-free goods¹⁷⁷.

Finland's minorities have indirectly benefited from its internationalisation, through the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. 65 of the Charter's articles were ratified in Part III for Swedish and 59 for Sami. Other minorities are not defined in Part III, but it is stated that Part II also applies to e.g. the Roma.

Finland has c. 5· 2 million inhabitants, of whom a million live, in the Helsinki region. About 10% are (bilingual) Swedish-speakers in this region. The population density is 205 per km² in the Helsinki area, but only 2 per km² in Lapland. Figures for Finland Swedes, Finns and Samis are based on reported mother tongue in censuses. For the Roma and other groups estimations are used, for Finnish law bans recording ethnicity. Finland is officially bilingual¹⁷⁸. Municipalities where an official language is reported as the mother tongue of over 3,000 inhabitants (or 8%) in the census become bilingual. This entails Finnish-Swedish and, in the far north, Finnish-Sami. Language legislation is under review in 2001: the 1922 Language Act and the Sami Language Act. The Research Institute for the National

¹⁷⁶ Autonomy Act 1920, revised 1991. See <http://www.aland.fi/virtual/eng/histmil.html>.

¹⁷⁷ see <http://www.lagtinget.aland.fi/>.

¹⁷⁸ Constitution Act 1919; Language Act 1922.

Languages of Finland¹⁷⁹ has sections for Finnish, Swedish, Sami and Romani (and sign language), and develops vocabularies, studies dialects, supports archives and performs language board functions (status and corpus planning, advice to the public).

Romany

Introduction

Refugees brought Romany, an Indo-European, Aryan language, to Finland from Sweden in the 16th century. Romany in Finland is influenced by Swedish (vocabulary) and Finnish (syntax and phonology), and its speakers can hardly understand other Roma. Attempts to promote the language using the folk language principle complicate language teaching and planning. Only older Roma now have an extensive command of traditional Romany.

Most of the 10-13,000 Roma (ethnonym, Kaale/Kalé) now live in the centre and south, as a result of mid-20th century urbanisation. 3,000 have migrated to Sweden. The 1975 Housing Act made municipalities improve conditions for the Roma, but assimilation and segregation are still threats, despite renewed efforts in the 1990s to solve their problems of lower housing standards, shorter education and higher rates of unemployment. Their considerable dependency on social services makes traditional and urban life-styles clash. The nomadic way of life, with horse breeding and fortune-telling, has partly given way to racehorse dealing, car/metal scrap dealing and handicrafts. Since 1990 an Advisory Board for Roma Affairs¹⁸⁰ monitors the welfare of the Roma, and promotes their language and culture.

Romany is not cited in the European Charter, but Part II applies to it. The Roma are one of Finland's *de facto* groups, relevant for the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The constitution grants the right to maintain and develop their language and culture. Implementation of Acts and Conventions is complicated, for Romany is an in-group language hit by language shift. In the 1990s, the publishing of teaching material was accepted by Roma leaders. The Romany Language Board (1997, composed of linguists and Roma representatives) is responsible for Romany policy decisions.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Finnish citizens have the right to study their mother tongue for 2 hours a weekly. Romany began to be taught to Roma school children in 1989. Since 1995 day care in Romany has become legally possible, but training of day care staff and teachers (ca. 30-40) is not widespread. Mother tongue provision applies to upper secondary education since 1999, and is open to adults. Though the state subsidises (86%) optional Romany mother tongue classes, many municipalities claim economic reasons for not offering it. Of the c. 1,600 Roma school-age children, only 200–300 were taught their mother tongue in the late

¹⁷⁹ www.kotus.fi Research Institute for the National Languages of Finland, Helsinki.

¹⁸⁰ The Board is accountable to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. See Lounela, Paavo 1997. The Role of the Advisory Board on Romani Affairs in Finnish Administration. Helsinki: Ministry of Social and Health Care. Appendix to: *Initial Periodical Report presented to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in accordance with Article 15 of the Charter*. Finland. Strasbourg, 1 April 1999.

1990s. The first teaching material, Viljo Koivisto's *ABC-b*, was published in 1982. In higher education, the first basic course in Romany was offered at Helsinki University in 1999. Since 1994 the Education Unit for Roma people reports to the Ministry of Education.

Public authorities and services: Officials and municipality institutions demand information about Romany culture. Widespread prejudice in society has even included the police force; some claim the Roma have been treated as a subgroup of delinquents, not as an ethnic group.

Mass media and information and communication technology: Roma news is broadcast weekly on national radio. The 1993 Finnish Broadcasting Corporation Act¹⁸¹ establishes the production of services in Romany. Two magazines are in Romany.

The Arts: There is a Roma theatre. Several singers/musicians have become popular among the majority. The first lengthy publication in Finnish Romany was the Gospels (1970-71).

Family and social use of the language: The Roma are loyal to kin and family. Unlike other Roma people, the Finnish Roma lack a corresponding institution to the *Kris*, or council of elders. Marriage is not an important social institution; partners are expected to be found in other families. The language has traditionally been transmitted orally; it carries symbolic value, and attempts to revitalise it have raised interest among them.

Transnational exchanges: There are many Nordic contacts, especially with Swedish Roma since 1954. Bilateral ministerial committees with Sweden have targeted the Roma since the 1960s. There are contacts with the International Romany Federation and co-operation with the European Council, the OSCE and the EU.

Conclusion

The Roma remain socially and economically disintegrated, and the language is threatened; younger Roma use Finnish or a variety influenced by Finnish. Many councils do not offer classes, due to a shortage of Roma teachers, prejudice and poor information about the Roma.

References

- Fraurud, Kari & Hyltenstam, Kenneth, Språkkontakt och språkbevarande: Romani i Sverige. In: Hyltenstam, K. (ed.) *Sveriges sju inhemska minoritetsspråk*, 241-298. Studentlitteratur, Lund, 1999.
- Grönfors, Martti, Finnish Rom: A Forgotten Cultural Group. In: *Cultural Minorities in Finland*, 147-160. Publications of the Finnish National Commission for Unesco, 66. Ministry of Education, Helsinki, 1995.
- Leiwo, Matti, Suomen romanikielen asemasta ja huollosta. In: Pekkola, Seppo (ed.) *Sadanmiehet*, pp. 127-139. Suomen kielen laitoksen julkaisuja 41. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä, 1999.
- The Roma People website. <http://home6.swipnet.se/~w-69051/romapeople.html>.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.yle.fi> (Finnish Broadcasting Company; also for Sami and Finland Swedish).

Sami

Introduction

The 60-100,000 Samis have lived for millennia in the same area in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia. There are 6,000–6,900 Finnish Samis. About 4,500 live in the Sami homeland, the 3 northernmost municipalities. Utsjoki has a majority of Samis; Inari and Enontekiö have mostly Sami districts. About 450 live in Helsinki. They have traditionally been fishermen, hunters and traders. With reindeer herding (which with handicrafts became a central activity), the *siida* (Sami village) became the basic social and economic unit. But migrants from the south and the gradual spread of the tax system weakened its role; and only c. 15% work in reindeer herding today. Life styles in the north have been disturbed by mining, reservoirs, the resettlement of the Petsamo Sami (Skolt Sami) and by Finns migrating northwards. The Inari Sami were forced out of their fishing culture and life-style. The Sami had no language and cultural rights in Finland (or the other Nordic countries) until the 60s. Sami culture has been orally transmitted, and handicrafts, songs (*joiku*) and folktales help preserve their history.

Most Sami-speakers speak North Sami. About 300-400 speak Skolt Sami and 300-350 speak Inari Sami. The languages are quite different from each other. The main criteria for being counted as a Sami are self-identification and the ability to speak Sami; at least one parent/grandparent must have been a native Sami-speaker. As an indigenous people, they have the constitutional right ‘to maintain and develop their own languages and cultures.’ They have the right to use Sami before public authorities (1991 Act). The Sami Thing (1991 and 1995 Acts) monitors Sami language rights and culture, and also promotes Sami translation/interpreting skills. The Use of the Sami Language Act (1992) is under review; it gives insufficient support to the use of Sami. State gives growing support, though it has not signed the ILO 69 convention on aboriginal peoples’ rights.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: The three Sami languages have their own spelling system. North Sami dominates. All are available for mother tongue primary school lessons in Sami homeland municipalities. Some primary schooling in Sami began in Helsinki in 1989. Sami day-care activities have not been set up, despite provisions in the 1973 Day Care Act. North and Inari Sami also exist in upper secondary schools, and the matriculation examination can be taken in Sami. Immersion schemes involving elderly Inari Sami speakers and pre-schoolers have been successful. The State covers the costs of Sami education, including upper secondary education and a vocational training school. Sami is offered at Oulu, Lapland and Helsinki universities¹⁸².

¹⁸² Oulo: <http://www.oulu.fi/Welcome.html> . Lapland University, at Rovaniemi (Sami courses for some professions; teaching in Sami; The Institute for Nordic Minorities and Environmental Law): <http://www.urova.fi/english/index.html> . Helsinki: <http://www.helsinki.fi/english/> .

Quotas for native Sami-speakers are applied for teacher-trainees at the universities of Oulu and Rovaniemi. Teachers are also taught at the Nordic Sami College (in Sami Allaskuvla¹⁸³) in Kautokeino (Norway). Courses are given at Lapland University: Sami is a minor subject for teachers, lawyers and public officials. The Sami subject teacher-training is under review. Some in-service training education is given for Sami teachers.

The courts, public authorities and services: Sami may be used before courts of law, regional and local State authorities whose jurisdiction covers the Sami homeland even partially, and before the Lapland county government. The 1992 Sami Act also apply to the Supreme Court and a wide range of regional and sectoral courts. The district council can require that a State employee in the Sami homeland should know and use the language. Official documents or translations shall on request be given in Sami. Official notifications in the Sami homeland by a State authority are regularly issued in the Sami languages). Acts, Decrees and decisions relevant to the Sami language are usually translated into North Sami. However, Sami has incomplete legal terminology.

In the Sami homeland members of the local administrative/public bodies and church authorities may use Sami. Documents and road signs shall be available in Sami. These are often in the three Sami languages. Public officials in the homeland can be granted paid leave of absence to teach Sami, so as to be able to carry out their official duties. Sami first names and family names may not be prevented, according to the Names Act.

Mass media and information and communication technology: The Sami radio station run by the Finnish Broadcasting Company broadcasts c. 40 hours/week, and daily radio broadcasts are available on the Sami Radio website. They co-operate with broadcasters in Norway and Sweden that use Sami. Sami TV programmes are not regularly broadcast. The Sami Thing, other institutions and cultural organisations use a TV teletext service. There is a regular Sami magazine, and two Norwegian newspapers in North Sami are sold in Finland.

The Arts: Thanks to Sami cultural autonomy, Ministry of Education funding is administered by the Sami *Thing*. Grants are awarded to Sami organisations for literature, music, visual arts, theatre and handicrafts. Sami writers/poets, painters and musicians have become popular among the general public. In Helsinki there are culture support groups, Sami youth/adult discussion groups, and Sami handicraft courses. The cultural needs of Sami and Finnish-speakers are to be treated equally in the Sami homeland (1998 Library Act).

Family and social use of the language: The Sami have become more involved in language and culture maintenance since the 1970s; they more readily identify themselves as Samis and try to learn the languages. Church services and weddings can be held in Sami. Sami-speakers staff the Inari and Utsjoki old peoples' homes. A few nurses in the Central Hospital of Lapland know Sami, but there is no Sami service at Oulu University Hospital. The Sami sports association has government support.

¹⁸³ <http://www.samiskhs.no/sa-english.htm>

Transnational exchanges: Extensive contacts between the Nordic Sami communities included Samis in Russia in 1992. An accord with the Russian Federation now supports the indigenous Finno-Ugric languages and cultures in Russia, and Russian in Finland. Sami co-operation in sports is active. The Nordic countries share employment services. Samis are included in the Nordic culture agreement (1971). The Nordic Sami Council (Sami Ráddi) and each of the Sami Parliaments work together in, e.g. the joint-Nordic Sami Language Board. Contacts exist with aboriginal peoples, the Barents Sea area people, and with the Arctic indigenous people. The Samis in Finland have held several international conferences in these fields.

Conclusion

Finland has increased its support to the Samis, and acknowledges the threats they face. Still, the language shift process and pressures on the Samis' life style have not waned. Language transmission is not assured among Skolt and Inari Sami families. The definition of Sami ethnicity, reindeer herding, and debates about land rights (which remain a sensitive issue in all the Nordic countries, and can cause hostility between Samis and non-Samis) are recurrent issues for Samis; and people's own or ancestral Sami proficiency is central. Young Samis seem more willing to identify as Samis and to use the language.

References

Lindgren, Anna-Riitta 2000. *Helsingin saamelaiset ja oma kieli*. Helsinki: SKS.
Seurujärvi-Kari, Irja, Aikio-Puoskari, Ulla, Matti Morottaja, Matti, Saressalo, Lassi, Pentikäinen, Juha & Hirvonen, Vuokko 1995. The Sami People in Finland. In: *Cultural Minorities in Finland*, 101-145. Publications of the Finnish National Commission for Unesco, 66. Helsinki: Ministry of Education
University of Oulu <http://www oulu.fi> (Sami-medium higher education)

Swedish

Introduction

Spoken Finland Swedish has some archaic features, and phonological and lexical influence from Finnish. There are virtually no problems of intelligibility between Sweden Swedish- and Finland Swedish-speakers.

There are about 297,000 Finland Swedes (mother tongue census data). The proportion has fallen from 17% to 5.7% (2000) in 100 years. Finland Swedish has been spoken along the southern and western coasts since the 11th century, and is the language of the Åland Isles (pop. 24,000). Helsinki (Helsingfors), and the cities of Turku (Åbo) and Vaasa (Vasa) are officially bilingual. About half of the Finland Swedes live in areas where they form the majority, about a quarter in bilingual areas, and a quarter in minority conditions. About 50,000 Finland Swedes have migrated to Sweden.

Fishing, agriculture, shipping/trade and later, blue-collar professions have been sources of income for Swedish-speakers in Finland. Swedish-speakers were also dominant in the nobility, among officials and merchants, until the early 20th century.

The autonomy period (1809-1917) left the impression among the majority that Finland Swedes constituted an 'elite'. Today, Finland Swedes have somewhat longer education, and belong more often to white-collar professions. Swedish-speakers have become Presidents of Finland and ministers in most governments since independence. The Swedish Liberal Party regularly wins 5-7% of the votes and has 10-15 of the 200 MPs. Many Swedish-speaking writers, musicians, painters, artists etc. were Finnish national figureheads in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The 1919 Constitution states that Finnish and Swedish are the **national** languages of Finland. Finland Swedish is not called a minority language, but is termed the lesser-used national language; it has equal legal status with Finnish. 389 municipalities are officially Finnish-speaking, 42 are bilingual (in 20 Finnish is the dominant language and in 22, Swedish is dominant), and 21 (16 in Åland) are Swedish-speaking.

The 75-strong Svenska Finlands Folkting (Swedish Assembly), representing bilingual and Swedish-speaking political parties, monitors the status of the Swedish language and its speakers. It informs about, supervises and gathers data on the protection of the Swedish language and culture, and has a special language ombudsman.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Swedish-speaking and bilingual municipalities have Swedish education from pre-school to secondary school. There are about 330 Swedish-speaking comprehensive schools in Finland (with c. 34,200 pupils and 2,370 teachers in 1997), and 35 upper secondary schools. Immersion schools for Finnish-speaking pupils are spreading. Four polytechnics (2 in Nyland, Southwest Turku region, the Åland Isles) are Swedish-speaking, and 4 are bilingual (Helsinki, Turku, 2 in Ostrobothnia/Vasa). There is a full university system in the Swedish-speaking Åbo Akademi University (7 faculties, 3 campuses, and 7,000 students). Teachers are trained in Vasa. Helsinki has a Swedish business school and a Swedish school for Social Sciences (attached to Helsinki University). Helsinki University (where there shall be at least 27 Swedish-speaking professors), Helsinki University of Technology and the Theatre Academy are bilingual; most departments offer exams and instruction in Swedish. The Sibelius Academy and the University of Arts and Design in Helsinki hold exams in the student's mother tongue. In law and medicine, a quota system ensures that those educated in Swedish will cover national needs. 17 colleges of further education and 20 open colleges offer adult and continuing education in Swedish. Swedish or Scandinavian languages can be studied at most universities.

All Finnish citizens learn their second national language at school, though about 60-75% of the Finnish-speaking majority now objects to this policy.

The courts, public authorities and services: There is a right to use and be heard in Swedish in courts. This right is also given to municipalities, public institutions, and educational authorities before state authorities. Parliament Acts, Decrees and Government decisions are published in Finnish and Swedish. All have the constitutional right to obtain documents in either national language, but monolingual districts issue documents in their language. If a

defendant does not use the language of the court in a bilingual district, interpretation shall be arranged. However, higher court officials do not always have the language skills required in that district. People employed in public services (state officials, and officials in bilingual municipalities) need to know both languages, for a citizen may always use Swedish before a State authority. In bilingual districts, official notifications, road/street signs, etc. are in both languages. The Names Act does not prevent family or first names in the minority language. The right to receive treatment in Swedish in medical services (private and public) has been amended: people who cannot receive treatment in their own language in their health care district can be transferred to another district. In accordance with the Constitution Act, Swedish-speakers do their military service in a special Army brigade.

Mass media and information and communication technology: The Finnish Broadcasting Company is legally committed to treat Finnish- and Swedish-speaking citizens equally. Programmes by Finland's Svenska Television programmes in Swedish occupy 9% of the two state-owned channels. A regional channel and a local cable TV channel broadcast in Swedish. Swedish TV programmes and news are broadcast daily; parts of some other programmes are subtitled. Two nation-wide radio channels and regional radio stations broadcast in Swedish. The national Swedish-language channels total c. 290 h, and the regional radio 70-h, per week. Finally, in 1999 there were 14 Swedish-speaking newspapers (5.1% of all papers), and about 150 specialised magazines.

The Arts: Swedish-speaking theatres, choirs, amateur theatres, literature and writers' guilds operate. Six Swedish theatres are active in Helsinki/Espoo (Esbo), Turku and Vaasa; they can apply for government subsidies. Since 1999, the needs of Finnish and Swedish in bilingual municipalities have to be met on an equal basis. 470 books were published in Swedish (3.6% of all books in Finland) in 1999, and 86 were translated into Swedish. Special funding supports culture, e.g. the Swedish Society for Literature, the Swedish Foundation for Culture and the Swedish Art Society.

The business world: Collective labour agreements are translated into Swedish. The Ministry of Labour has translated most important laws, regulations and provisions. Bills of exchange and cheques may be drafted in Swedish. There are Swedish-speaking union branches, agricultural corporations, commercial businesses and banks. Competence in Swedish is a merit, especially for higher public or industrial posts.

Family and social use of the language: Since 1923 one national Swedish-speaking bishopric is in charge of the Swedish-speaking Evangelical-Lutheran parishes. There are also Swedish-speaking Greek Orthodox parishes.

Trans-national exchanges: Contacts between Finland and Sweden are plentiful. The Nordic countries have agreed on co-operation in the fields of culture (1971), between local authorities, on educational aspects, for language boards, and on the right to use the own language in other Nordic countries (1982). Free movement and extensive labour market co-operation between the countries make Swedish an asset.

Conclusion

Swedish in Finland is a good example of a protected language in an officially bilingual state. In mono- and bilingual municipalities Swedish has extensive legal support and is used in many professional, economic, educational, social and judicial, as well as private, domains. But language shift continues among Finland Swedes in some areas. Interest among majority speakers to invest in Swedish is decreasing. This affects public posts, but also health care and commercial services. The status of Swedish partly depends on the majority population being fluent in it, and this is being hit by the spread of English in Nordic co-operation. Other signs are positive: the successful immersion programmes may improve Swedish proficiency in some groups of majority Finnish-speakers. Since the 1990s, most bilingual families opt for Swedish-medium schooling and report their children as Swedish-speakers.

References

- Barddal, Jóhanna, Jørgensen, Nils, Larsen, Gorm & Martinussen, Bente 1997. *Nordiska – Våra språk förr och nu*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Tandefelt, Marika 1996. *På vinst och förlust*. Research Report 35. Helsinki: Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration.

France

Introduction

In France reference is usually made to ‘*langues régionales*’ in official documents, by the press and public in general; it is an inexact and ambiguous term, though it is also used, instead of the derogatory word ‘*patois*’, by speakers and promoters of these languages. No general legal texts or explicit references in constitutional texts acknowledge or protect them: Republican traditions have favoured linguistic assimilation. There is a single legal text: the Deixonne law (No. 51-46, Jan. 11, 1951). It authorises the teaching of Breton, Basque, Catalan and Occitan in schools, and is referred to in all memoranda and circulars issued since. Thus, in October 1966, a memorandum was issued, and in 1975 a teacher-training plan was devised; the first experimental provision arose from the Savary memorandum in 1982, and the 1995 Bayrou memorandum set up permanent provisions, though still as optional or voluntary subjects, and without teacher training; in March 2001, Jack Lang, the Minister of Education, announced an extension of the bilingual teaching system and teacher training measures. The Ministry recently set up a Conseil Académique des Langues Régionales¹⁸⁴.

Regional languages are mentioned in article 21 of Law 94-665, of August 4th 1994 (‘the dispositions of this law are applied without prejudice to legislation and regulations relative to the regional languages of France and are not opposed to their usage’). It derives from the

¹⁸⁴ Bulletin Officiel du ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et du ministère de la Recherche N°33 du 13-09-2001. http://kapeskreol.online.fr/conseil_academique_lr.htm .

Constitutional law of June 25 1992, which introduced the following amendment in Article 2 of the Constitution: ‘The language of the Republic is French’, a point not specifically stated before. Since 1994, no text has been adopted for the protection of minority languages. Professor Carcassonne’s¹⁸⁵ 1998 Report, and the Constitutional Council ruling which followed steps by President Chirac to block the ratification by France of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, both interpreted the 1994 Act in a restrictive manner. The Council considered that ratification would be unconstitutional unless article 2 is modified. The Carcassonne Report does not oppose the ratification, but it does conclude that article 2 of the Constitution is being used, intentionally or otherwise, against regional languages.

The 2001 bill on the special status of Corsican and the parliamentary debate under way will hopefully make it possible to explicitly acknowledge this language, and to introduce a complete and coherent system for teaching it. But it is not at present foreseen that these dispositions will be extended to protect other languages.

Given the lack of legal status, the subsections on ‘*The courts*’ and ‘*Public authorities and services*’ have been omitted from each report. It has not proved possible to prepare a report on Créole, spoken in the overseas departments.

General references

Bouvier, Jean-Claude, sld: *Rapport sur la recherche en cultures et langues régionales*, MEN, 1984.

FLAREP, Fédération pour les langues régionales dans l’enseignement public:

<http://www.flarep.com>.

Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Délégation générale à la langue française. Rapport au Parlement 2000 sur l’application de la loi du 4 août 1994 relative à l’emploi de la langue française:

<http://kapeskreol.online.fr/rapport2000.htm>.

Site d’information du CAPES de Créole:<http://kapeskreol.online.fr/index.htm>.

Basque

Introduction

Basque, or *Euskara*, belongs to a language family of its own. It is spoken in France in the western part of the Pyrénées Atlantiques department (Pays Basque Nord or Iparralde) and in the northern Spanish regions of Navarre and the Basque Country (Euskadi), where it is official alongside Spanish. It has six main dialects: those of Zuberoa (or Soule), French Navarre, Lapurdi (or Labourd), Spanish Navarre, Gipuzkoa and Biscay¹⁸⁶. The language was standardised quite recently, thanks to Euskaltzaindia, (Basque Language Academy, created in 1918, its membership covering the whole Basque-speaking area) which decided in 1968 to unify the spelling, using chiefly Gipuzkoa and Lapurdi Basque. Euskara Batua (standard Basque) has benefited cultural production, educational material and discussion, as well as the media. For writers in the French Basque country, it also increases opportunities.

¹⁸⁵ Guy Carcassonne, Université de Paris X–Nanterre. Report: <http://e.authamayou.free.fr/rappindex.html>.

¹⁸⁶ Basque region names are in the original Basque where traditional English terms are lacking. On some occasions both versions have been included for clarity.

A Council for the Development of the Basque Country, consisting of politicians, local authorities and State services, aims to generalise teaching in Basque; it faces the lack of resources for meeting parents' demands, as well as difficulties managing bilingual education (budget and posts, of which 20 were recently vacant).

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Basque has been spearheaded by the ikastolak, private nursery schools founded by private associations. They use immersion methods. In pre-school education and State primary schools, parents can now choose, as happens with other minority languages: lessons for beginners, several hours a week; and bilingual streams. 27% of the 25,000 primary pupils now have some contact with Basque. Unlike other languages, most of these pupils are in bilingual or immersion streams (16%). Public education initiatives, called for by a student-parents' association (Ikas-bi, 'to learn two'), are responses to the impressive increase in Basque association schools and religious schools with bilingual classes. But only 5% of pupils study Basque as a 2nd or 3rd language at secondary level. Finally, an inter-university Basque Studies Department at Bayonne is run by Bordeaux and Pau universities. Since 1995, a Basque CAPES course trains and recruits a limited number of secondary school teachers.

Mass media: Spanish Basque Country media reach part of the French Basque Country: Radio Euskadi, Euskal Telebista TV and the daily paper *Egunkaria*. In France, association-run radio stations broadcast in Basque: Gure Irratia ('Our Radio', in Lapurdi), Xiberoko Botza ('The voice of Zuberoa'), Irulegoko Irratia (in French Navarre) and half Lapurdi Irratia's broadcasts. Radio France Pays Basque also broadcasts 1h a day in Basque. Several periodicals are in Basque, as is a weekly article in the local edition of the regional daily *Sud-Ouest*.

Family and social use: Family transmission is recovering slowly, while personal and social contacts and education are producing new speakers. The use of Euskara is growing, at work and in family and social contexts. A confederation of associations, Euskal Konfederazioa, works for the promotion of Basque.

In a 1991 survey, 56% of French Basque country residents spoke Basque. In a 1996 survey, commissioned by the Euskadi and Navarre governments and the Basque Cultural Institute (founded 1990) in France, under 1% of adults (mostly elderly) could not speak French 'well', 26% were bilingual and 9% understood Basque (in all, about 76,000 people). 13% spoke it in the Bayonne-Anglet-Biarritz area, 45% in Lapurdi and 76% in French Navarre and Zuberoa. 40-43% of people over 50 spoke fluent Basque, as did only 24% of 15-24 year-olds.

Conclusion

In the French Basque Country an age-old language shift is now being reversed. The effects of education and the influence of the Basque regions of Spain as regards the media, language policy and language prestige have yet to be seen. The public presence of Basque is limited but much local council has recently put up bilingual signposting.

Bibliography and data sources:

Garmendia, Vincent: 'Domaine basque', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 116-123
Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Llengua i ensenyament al País Basc', pp. 18-48

Breton

Introduction

Breton (Brezhoneg) is a Celtic language spoken in western Brittany: the 'Département' of Finistère and the western halves of the 'départements' of Côtes d'Armor and Morbihan, in Lower Brittany. There are also Breton-speaking communities in the cities of Nantes, St. Nazaire, Rennes (10%), St. Briec, Redon and Ploermel, resulting from economic migration.

Celts living in Armorica in Roman times were joined in the 5th-7th centuries by Britons from Great Britain fleeing from the Saxons. This explains the close relationship between Breton, Welsh and Cornish. Formal contacts exist between them through the International Celtic Congress. The first Breton grammar book dates from the 17th century. The earliest literary texts date from the second half of the 19th century, a time of widespread literary production. 3 spelling systems then appeared, based on the various dialects, and they remain unmerged, despite attempts since 1975. An unofficial norm developed and promoted by publications, education, and the media, was not welcomed by defenders of local speech forms. In 1925 the *Gwalarn* (northwest) magazine launched the literary and cultural movement responsible for current standardisation; since the war *Al Liamm* (The Bond) publications have also helped.

The use of the language in various fields

Until the early 20th century, half of the inhabitants of the Lower Brittany region were monolingual Bretons and the local language was predominant, often exclusive. Now only one in five Bretons is bilingual. Speakers have slumped from 1.1 million to 240,000 in fifty years, though the figure has been stabilising since 1990.

Education: In 2001 25,000 students took optional Breton classes in primary and secondary schools. The Diwan ('The Seed') Breton schools have sprung up since 1977 and practise early immersion on the basis of a bilingual system. In May 2001 the Diwan schools agreed to transfer to the State system. In 2000-1, bilingual French-Breton streams increased rapidly and catered for 6,500 pupils in State schools, and private schools run by associations and religious bodies). Official provisions and the attitude of National Education officials in the region are, some claim, holding back training and recruitment of teachers, class opening permits, etc.

Universities have Breton and Celtic research departments and centres, and 580 students (70% at Rennes) taking full degree courses in 2000-2001. (At the University of Brest most

notices, and all internal signage, are in both languages, and exterior signage at Rennes is also bilingual.) Saint-Brieuc IUFM centre offers teacher-training and preparation for the Breton CAPES. After years of restrictions, 9 CAPES places in different specialities were covered by competition (2001). 9,000 adults studied Breton in 2000 (5,900 in evening classes provided by 187 bodies throughout Brittany). 2,400 more attended crash courses run by 24 bodies, while 800 took correspondence courses, most of them with Skol Ober, (founded in 1932).

The public authorities and services: Breton is now actively backed by the regional, departmental and local councils. Their support allows structural initiatives and improves public attitudes. In 2000, the Regional Council allotted 5% of its budget to promoting Breton culture. The *département* of Côtes d'Armor has put up bilingual road and city signage, a step followed by Finistère and other cities and districts (Lorient, Quimper).

Media and business: The presence of Breton has significantly improved. In 2001 the public service provided 17h per week on Radio France (15 hours on Radio Breizh Izel and 2 hours on Radio Armorique) and 90 min. on the France 3 TV channel. A private bilingual channel, TV Breizh, started up its satellite broadcasts for Brittany, the diaspora and other Celtic countries, in 2000. Two association-run radios broadcast entirely in Breton since 1998: Radio Kerne near Quimper and Arvorig FM at Commana, both in Finistère. 6 more private or association-run radio stations also broadcast part of the time in Breton, reaching 15-20 hours a week at Radio Kreiz Breizh and Radio Bro Gwened in Pontivy. They belong to CORLAB (Brittany's Local and Association Radio Coordination board), whose headquarters are in Pontivy: it acts as a lobby and belongs to the Brittany Cultural Council. One of its aims is to ensure liaison between local speech forms, the common Breton standard and the language's new speakers; another is to network in order to increase local production in Breton.

The written press is in a poorer state. There are monthlies in Breton such as the Rennes-based *Bremañ*, a new magazine for children. Occasional articles or supplements appear in the large dailies. The *Télégramme de Brest* puts summaries of about 10 news items (translated by the Breton Language Office) onto the Internet daily; they are widely used in schools.

Crédit Mutuel issues bilingual cheque books, and in Rennes cash dispensers are bilingual.

The arts: The active cultural movement organises concerts for the numerous singers and groups, along with other cultural activities and language courses. Two of the ten active theatre groups are semi-professional: Ar vro bagan (Plougerne) and Teatr Penn ar bed (Brest). There are about 60 new books and re-editions in Breton every year. Circulation is 300-1000 copies. The Institut Culturel de Bretagne opened the Breton Language Office, which is funded by the Regional authorities. It has a language observatory, a translation and terminology service and it supports many cultural and educational initiatives.

Family and social use: According to INSEE, in 1993 Breton was the mother tongue of 270,000, 380,000 understood it through social networks and 40,000 had learned Breton at school. A 1997 TMO-Le Télégramme survey, on a sample aged over 15, yielded 31%

understanding Breton, 20% speakers and 15% readers: two-thirds were over 60. For most speakers, language use is sporadic. Family transmission has largely been interrupted and is ill compensated by advances in education.

Bibliography and data sources:

Broudic, Fañch: 'Le breton', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 53-58.

CORLAB: *Les radios au service de la langue et de la culture bretonnes*, Pontivy, 2001.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Bretanya', pp. 83-98.

Laurent et Le Gallo: 'Domaine breton, Brest', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 124-131.

Office de la Langue Bretonne et Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne:

<http://www.ofis-bzh.org/pages/fr/intfr.htm>.

Denez, Per: *Bretagne. Une langue en quête d'avenir*, Langues Européennes 7, EBLUL, Bruxelles, 1998.

Catalan

Introduction

Catalan is a Romance language, which developed a character of its own in the early Middle Ages. Its linguistic characteristics have remained very stable with little regional variation: the linguistic distance between western and eastern Catalan is small.

French Catalonia (pop. 380,000) is the northernmost tip of the Catalan-speaking lands, and covers nearly all the Pyrénées-Orientales department. The most important event affecting Catalan in the region was undoubtedly its annexation by France in 1659. The area is influenced by Catalonia proper (the most dynamic region of Spain, with a greater GDP than Greece or Portugal) south of the border. Catalonia's language policy, with public support, is visible in the use of Catalan in the Parliament, institutions and society. Since Schengen came into effect (1993), Catalonia proper has improved language attitudes and use there.

The use of the language in various fields

Despite not having a legal status, Catalan is present in public life, reinforced or reintroduced by the development of administrative relations with Catalonia proper. Catalan has spread beyond traditional domains (agriculture, construction, and transport) and Catalan proficiency now figures as a requirement for certain jobs and professional training courses.

Education: Strong parental demand for Catalan in primary and secondary schools is thwarted by administrative obstacles and the dearth of trained teachers. Perpignan's Academic Inspectorate found in 1995 that 38% of families wanted their children to receive a bilingual education. But in State schools only 19% of primary pupils, and 6% of secondary students, had some kind of contact with Catalan in 1999: in all, only 8,200 students, of which only 1% were in bilingual classes. Two associations, La Bressola (Cradle) and Arrels (Roots), have for 20 years run infant school immersion schemes, followed by bilingual schooling. At Perpignan University, the Department of Catalan

Studies and a research centre¹⁸⁷ offer a complete degree course and three postgraduate courses; c. 200 students study the language speciality.

Mass media: 40 hours of Catalan TV can be watched every day in Perpignan, thanks to the two Catalan channels *TV3* and *Canal 33*. Booster stations installed along the frontier or inside France, at the initiative of local authorities, with regional authorities and EU funding, allow this. Yet the public French and private audiovisual media broadcast just c. 13 min. weekly on France 3, the regional TV channel. An association-run Catalan-language station, *Ràdio Arrels*, covers the whole of northern Catalonia. 36% of a survey sample listened to the radio, and half-watched TV, in Catalan. Its place in the local and regional press is marginal. Since 1999 the Girona daily, *El Punt*, publishes a local edition in Catalan, though it still has limited sales. *L'Indépendant* includes a short weekly article in Catalan on frivolous subjects.

The arts: Local publishing in Catalan is limited by the lack of financial backing and poor distribution. 10-20 books are published each year (compared with the grand total of 7,359 in 2000). Most are published by Terra Nostra and El Trabucaire, and a few at the author's expense. Several books by well-known local writers on subjects of wider interest are published every year in Barcelona, and distributed throughout the Catalan area.

Social and family use: Surveys carried out by *Média Pluriel* (1993 and 1997) at the request of the Languedoc-Roussillon regional council indicate that basic proficiency in the language is quite high: 49% say they can speak Catalan and 40% can read it. Attitudes are favourable: 48% state their commitment to Catalan and 68% support bilingual signage, so 'self-hatred' has disappeared and diglossia has waned. 83% want Catalan teaching for all and 57% want it for children. After a severe decline from 1950 to 1990, the use and knowledge of Catalan has stabilised somewhat, though there are far more fluent speakers among the elderly (16% of the 18-24 age group, 35% of the 25-44 age group, 55% of 45-64-year-olds and 73% of over-65s). Language learning by adults (for learners, including incoming pensioners) is also significant.

Bibliography and data sources:

Becat, Jean: *La situació del català a França: aspectes jurídics i docents i estudis sobre la matèria*, IEC, Barcelone, November 2000.

Becat, Jean et Bernardó, Dominique: 'Domaine catalan', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 141-159.

Fiche langues de France: Catalan, Ministère de la Culture, Paris, 1999.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Catalunya Nord', pp. 75-80.

Rapport sur l'aire catalane en France, établi pour le MENRT, Perpignan, 1999.

¹⁸⁷ ICRESS: Institut Catalan de Recherche en Sciences Sociales - Institut Català de Recerca en Ciències Socials. Website: <http://www.univ-perp.fr/lsh/rch/icress/index.htm> .

Corsican

Introduction

Corsican (*Corsu*) belongs to the Italo-Romance group of languages. Though not imported Italian, peninsular influence was strong in medieval and modern times. It evolved on its own on a strongly latinized Tyrrhenian substratum, as happened in Sicily and Sardinia. The island has an area of 8,700 km² and 260,000 inhabitants. The Corsican diaspora, though never recorded as such, is put at several hundred thousand.

A 1995 survey¹⁸⁸ showed that 64% of the inhabitants of Corsica claimed to speak Corsican, 57% to read it and 81% to understand it; and that 73% wanted their children to learn the language.

A bill in the French Parliament regarding the special new status for Corsican allows for the transfer of limited powers and competencies and, above all, the extension of the teaching of the language to all students at all levels, unless parents request otherwise. In its current configuration, Corsica's regional Assembly has a consultative body, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (CRDP), which makes proposals and stimulates activity. The Assembly funds the CRDP for the production of school material, books and drama in Corsican.

The use of the language in various fields

The unique 1991 law creating the Collectivité Territoriale (Territorial Community) of Corsica authorised it to adopt a development plan to incorporate Corsican teaching into the school curriculum. This has allowed contracts with State services to introduce educational back-up and extracurricular activities. Unlike other French regions, there are no Corsican association-run or private schools. Language provision is offered only by the State system, at the rates laid down by law, albeit under the effects of social and militant pressure.

In 2000, 79% of the 25,000 students enrolled in infant and primary education had Corsican lessons, mostly a weekly sensitisation lesson, though 16% had at least three hours a week of Corsican. The first bilingual class opened in 1996 at Calvi infant school, and this model has spread very fast. There is at least one location per catchment area, and 1,100 pupils now follow such schemes. Three centres, run by associations at Savaghju, Loreto and Bastia, offer schools discovery camps in Corsican. Thanks to the significant number of CAPES places in Corsican (97 certificates being issued in ten years), and to the regular offer at grade 6 since 1999, 7,800 secondary school pupils took Corsican classes in 2000, i.e. 36% of the total (45% in secondary schools, 40% in technical schools and 15% in high schools). Three secondary schools have bilingual sections. Corsican is also taught at a high school in Marseille, on the mainland. At the University of Corte, there is a complete bilingual Corsican studies degree course and 50h of Corsican are included in all courses, as occurs in the IUFM.

¹⁸⁸ Undertaken by the Interregional Political Observatory (OIP).

Mass media: The public Radio Corsica Frequenza Mora offers daily programmes and news in Corsican. Private or association-run radios use some Corsican, especially songs; one broadcasts solely in Corsican. The France 3 TV channel has increased its Corsican broadcasts to over 2h a week, with a daily 10-min bulletin and a 1h magazine, which uses Corsican at some points. Regional newspapers only have a few weekly articles in Corsican.

The arts: Publishing in Corsican is limited. Musical production, though, is abundant and there are many courses of Corsican music and polyphonic choir music for schools and tourists.

Bibliography and data sources:

Fusina, Jacques: 'Media audio-visuel et langue locale: le cas du corse', *Bretagne et peuples d'Europe*.

Mélanges à Per Denez, Rennes, 1999.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', pp. 5-17.

Pomponi, Francis: 'Domaine corse', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 160-166.

Dutch

Introduction

The Flemish of the North of France, called 'Vlaams' or 'Vlaamsch' by its speakers, is a dialect of Dutch spoken on either side of the border, from Dunkirk and Bailleul in France to Courtrai and Ostend in Belgium. In popular language, it is the Westhoek country, but Belgian linguists speak of western Flemish (Westvlaams) and call the province West-Vlaanderen. They refer to the Flemish dialect spoken in France as Franco-Flemish (Frans-Vlaams).

This part of the Low Countries was annexed by France under Louis XIV, and as the official and communication language French made a growing impact, especially in the 19th century. Flemish itself has evolved, without preventing mutual comprehension with Belgian Flemings. Several claim that the French authorities have tried to eradicate Flemish from a strategic border area, which has always been very sensitive and open to influence from the North. The language is still smeared by the Flemish movement's pro-German stance during World War II. The same prejudice exists against Alsatian German and several other languages in France.

The Belgians of West-Vlaanderen use both standard Dutch and the Vestvlaams dialect. On the French side, Dutch is seen as a foreign language. It is even claimed that the 'Flemish of France' is a different regional language, only loosely related to Flemish. As there is no real or effective public presence of Flemish, the defence of the difference merely hastens the decline of the language community. Flemish was left out by the Bouvier study group and the report commissioned in 1984 by the French Ministry of National Education. There is a lecturer at the Littoral University at Dunkirk, but no other university studies on record.

The use of the language in various fields

Present until the 1960s as a language of social and private life, Flemish has disappeared from towns and remains a rural language used in the family and the community. Intergenerational transmission ceased two generations ago. Estimates speak of 60,000-100,000 Flemish-speakers, largely elderly people, and a further 200,000 people who understand the language.

Education: Flemish classes have been on offer in Dunkirk and other towns for the past 20 years. A grammar book has been published, but the spelling used in France is that of 19th century Flemish-French dictionaries, with borrowings from modern Dutch. Dutch is taught at the University of Lille and in colleges in the Flemish zone.

Business and commerce: Dutch has acquired prestige as a language for local reference and work. In the whole of the Westhoek region, including Flanders, two million speakers speak the same variety, and French Flemish-speakers use it when shopping in Belgium.

Mass media: Only a few articles in Dutch appear in regional newspapers. A local radio station, *Eulenspiegel*, broadcasts programmes in Flemish. Belgian Dutch-language public and private TV and radio broadcasts can be picked up throughout French Flanders.

Bibliography and data sources

Marteel, Jean-Louis: 'Le flamand dialectal du nord de la France', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 72-75

German

Introduction

Alsatian (many speakers call it 'le dialecte') refers to the German dialects of Alsace. Most belong to the High German group (Oberdeutsch), though in the northwest, Rhenish-Frankish belongs to Middle German (Mitteldeutsch), as does the Moselle Frankish spoken in Lorraine (see below). Alsatian spelling has not been standardized.

From the creation of the Holy Roman Empire and until its 17th century annexation into France, Alsace was part of the German political set-up. It was reincorporated into Germany from 1870 to 1918, as well as during World War II. International borders and linguistic borders do not coincide. But over time, and with the self-affirmation of the two States, the political frontier and French influence led to linguistic disjunction during the 20th century.

In the 18th century, after being annexed by France, in a third of the Duchy of Lorraine's territory German was spoken. French had begun to be imposed as the administrative language earlier. In Lorraine, south of Thionville, the NW section of the Moselle department speaks a Middle German (Mitteldeutsch) dialect, very close to the local varieties of Luxembourg, the Saar region and the Palatinate. In 1962 there were 360,000 Mosellan-speakers. German-speakers educated between the wars are bilingual, but few of

those educated since 1945 speak a Mosellan dialect. Lorraine German-speakers call it a form of German Platt. French linguists coined the term *Francique*.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Oral Alsatian dialects are only taught in some infant schools, as an approach or initial educational language. Some believe that the teaching of standard German in schools may actually accelerate the loss of Alsatian, a paradoxical case of a language being replaced by two standard State languages, with the backing of politicians and at least the acceptance of the population at large. Others see the system as a model: an ‘embryo of European intercultural plurilingualism’. German was taught extensively to 77,800 pupils in State primary schools in 1999 in Alsace, ranging from 21% in CP schools to 96% in CM2. A private association subsidised by local communities, ABCM, has founded French/German bilingual schools, of which two in Sarreguemines (Lorraine) use the early immersion system applied in Germany. The Upper Rhine General Council, the main local authorities and the State’s regional education services (Rectorate, Academic Inspections and IUFM) encourage parents to enrol their children in French/German bilingual programmes. In the 1994-99 State-Region contract, the Alsace region and the two departments budgeted €2.5M to bilingual education. About 5,300 infant and lary school children (4-5% of all 1st graders) in over 237 classes now receive bilingual education in Alsace and Moselle¹⁸⁹. 1,000 of these were at ABCM and private establishments, which also taught dialectal Alsatian. However, the shortage of trained bilingual teachers is a problem. 65% of the close to 200 European bilingual sections in colleges and High Schools (*Lycées*) teach German; 30% teach English and 5% Spanish, Italian or Portuguese.

In Lorraine, the teaching of German has increased recently with European integration and growing cross-frontier trade. Some primary schools follow the ‘voie spécifique mosellane’, or specific Mosellan system, teaching 8h a week in German. Where teachers are able and willing to do so, several hours of Lëtzebuergesch are taught weekly in frontier communes. Lëtzebuergesch can be studied at Metz and Thionville Popular Universities, with Luxembourg government subsidies.

Mass media: Alsatians, whatever their language, are assiduous consumers of media from Germany, where programme are as attractive and wide-ranging as in French. As regards media based in Alsace, the situation is comparable to that in education. Two newspapers (*L’Alsace* and *Les Dernières Nouvelles d’Alsace*¹⁹⁰) have ‘bilingual’ editions, 10-20% of the texts being in German. Short weekly articles in German appear in other papers. Religious periodicals (Protestant or Catholic) also have some articles in standard German. Alsatian is most present on the radio: Radio France Alsace and private stations broadcast programmes in Alsatian, and the France 3 TV channel broadcasts 7 min. of daily news in Alsatian, as well as weekly programmes. For their part, the Lorraine media are all in French. As in Alsace, German and Luxembourg radio and TV draw large audiences. A 20-min. weekly programme broadcast in Platt in the 1970s by Radio Nancy was later

¹⁸⁹ Source: ABCM- Zweisprachigkeit (founded 1990) <http://www.chez.com/abcm/>.

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.dna.fr/dna/jour/bilingue/>.

suspended. Radio Sarrebruck in Germany now broadcasts in Platt and French for its Mosellan audience.

The arts: The ABCM association publishes the magazine *Land un Sproch / Les cahiers du bilinguisme*, which covers Alsace and the Moselle region. In Lorraine, literary production is meagre: there is some oral literature, as well as some popular songs dating back to before the war. There are also some contemporary poets.

Family and social use: A June 1998 survey on a sample of the adult population found that 51% claimed to speak Alsatian (ranging from 22% of 18-24 year-olds to 79% of over 65s), and 11% understood it, while 38% could not understand the language (from 63% of 18-24 year-olds to 16% of over 65s). Research suggests that intergenerational transmission of the language is decreasing. The predominant language throughout Alsace is now French, which is used orally in both public and private life. Alsatian is a subsidiary language used in private and public settings for contacts between German-speakers.

Bibliography and data sources:

Hudlett, Albert: 'Le bilinguisme français/allemand en Alsace', TILV n°27, mai 2000, pp. 32-35.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Alsàcia-Mosela', pp. 99-128.

Tabouret-Keller, Andrée: 'Domaine alsacien et lorrain', *Rapport...* (op. cit.) pp. 100-115.

Occitan

Introduction

Occitan is a Romance language which developed in the early Middle Ages from Latin, in a vast region (200,000 km²) extending from the Atlantic to the Alps. The diverse substrata, the lack of political power and subsequent influences, led to marked dialectal variation. Gascon in the Southwest is usually singled out. In the centre and east, Languedocien and Provençal are spoken; these varieties are very similar (though some in Provence might disagree). Northern Occitan is spoken in the Limoges, Auvergne and Alpine areas.

Most of the territory is in France (1/3 of the surface area of the French State: wholly or partly, 31 'départements'), where it has no legal status or protection. The rest is in Alpine Italy and the Piedmont (where it is protected by a 1999 Italian law), and the small 'comarca' (district) of the Val d'Aran in Spain, where the situation is most favourable (see the entry above).

Occitan was a language of high culture in the Middle Ages, with abundant literary production and a strong influence on other cultures. It was an administrative language at Toulouse and Aix, where spelling norms were established. In modern times, the predominance of French and growing regional partitioning favoured its fragmentation into local varieties. In the 19th century literary Renaissance a common norm was sought, especially in Provence. Frederic Mistral won the 1904 Nobel Prize for Literature. A modern norm was included in Loís Alibert's *Gramatica occitana* and later developed by the Institut

d'Estudis Occitans (founded 1945), taking Catalan as a model. A common norm has yet to be adopted despite research and education centres, which have worked in this direction at almost all universities in the area.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Occitan is taught at some State primary schools at the sensitisation and beginners' levels. The Calendretas association schools use early immersion in Occitan, followed by bilingual education, and have 1,500 pupils; they now have a lower secondary school with Occitan-medium education and a teacher-training centre. An association based in Albi, Òc-Bi, presses for bilingual public schools. In secondary schools, Occitan can be chosen as language 2 or 3, or as an optional subject. The situation varies widely: the attitude of the rectors and inspectors in each Academy, and the pressure of cultural militants and parents, are crucial. The Toulouse Academy district had ten active bilingual schools in 1998.

Mass media: Occitan has a meagre presence in the media. The France 3 public TV channel broadcasts a weekly magazine programme lasting under an hour. Many private and – especially - association-owned local radio stations broadcast programmes in Occitan. In the regional daily press, a weekly article in Occitan is published. A weekly in Occitan, *La Setmana*, has a limited circulation.

The arts: Publishing in Occitan is active and is often supported by local authorities. The Languedoc-Roussillon Regional Council has created the CIRDOC Documentation Centre at Béziers, which organizes cultural activities.

Social and family use: In the 20th century (and especially after 1945) the use and transmission of the language collapsed resulting in a very delicate sociolinguistic situation. A new language and identity movement emerged at the end of the sixties, reviving earlier initiatives. Partial surveys of the 13 million inhabitants of the French Occitan area suggest that 15-17%, perhaps 2 million, can speak Occitan, and 40-60% use it occasionally, or understand it. Most are elderly people living in rural areas.

Bibliography and data sources

Lafont, Robert: 'L'occitan', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 81-84

Fabre, Daniel: 'Domaine d'oc, Montpellier, Toulouse, Pau, Bordeaux, Poitiers', *Rapport...*, MEN, 1984, pp. 207-216

Ireland

Introduction

Ireland lies off the north-western coast of Europe. It belongs to the same group of islands as Great Britain. Nearly 2/3 of the population of the island of Ireland (area 84,400 km², capital Dublin, pop. 0.9M) live in towns and villages. Nearly all the main towns are on the coast and originated as ports and trading centres. Ireland was settled from about 6,000 BC, but the most important settlers, the Celts, came in successive waves from about 600 BC to the time of Christ. Linguistically, the Irish is a Celtic language and belongs to the Indo-European family.

Language contact in Ireland is closely related to the political, social and economic interaction between the island and its nearest and powerful neighbour, England. Until the 16th century the Irish language was the sole or main language used in Ireland, and the population Catholic, but the dispossession and dispersal of the Irish aristocratic families introduced fairly large numbers of native-born English Protestants to form a new landlord class. In the 18th century the shift to English spread through the urban network and into the rural hinterland along a general east-west axis. The Great Famine (1840-45), relatively more severe in regions of Irish-speakers, altered the demographic balance between the two language communities, and the ensuing large-scale emigration was a new, powerful incentive to learn English. As the linguistic shift to English entered an advanced phase, a movement for the preservation of Irish emerged. In the early 20th century the language movement was incorporated in the wider political independence struggle. The newly independent state in 1922 launched a strategy to reverse the shift towards English and restore Irish as the national language.

In 1926, just 18% of the population were Irish-speakers, but this ratio, as measured in the census, increased steadily in the 20th century: 1,430,205 persons (41% of the total) were returned as Irish-speakers in the 1996 Census. There are, however, important regional variations. The designated Irish-speaking areas on the West Coast (known as the 'Gaeltacht') have only 2.3% of the total population, but 45% of Irish-speaking homes. 1996 Census data on language use suggest that 10% speak Irish every day, while 3.5% more speak it every week. Many, though, are school children who learn Irish at school, for only 3-4% of the adult population use Irish on a daily basis. Overall, these levels have remained stable over recent decades. In the Gaeltacht, where Irish has never ceased to be spoken, its use is very much higher than the national average, with 53% of adults recorded as daily Irish-speakers.

The Constitution of Ireland (1937) specifies that Irish, as the national language, is the first official language, and that English is also an official language. A separate government department is responsible for the Irish language. Two state boards are under its aegis, one for developing Irish-speaking districts and one, Foras na Gaeilge¹⁹¹, for promoting Irish

¹⁹¹ <http://www.bnag.ie/>. Until the implementation of the Good Friday agreement, Bord na Gaeilge.

throughout the country. Currently there is no official language act, although provision for Irish is made in several pieces of legislation and a language bill is currently being drafted.

The language revival strategy formulated in the 1920s aimed (a) to maintain Irish as the spoken language in those areas where it was still the community language; (b) to revive the language elsewhere, for Irish-speakers were a tiny scattered proportion of an almost entirely English-speaking population; and (c) to provide the necessary infrastructure for the first two objectives (e.g. language standardisation, modernisation, etc.). Significant policies sought to influence aspects of educational and labour market mechanisms. Proficiency in Irish was required for the award of educational certificates, accreditation in many professions, and entry into the public service. Many requirements, however, were discontinued in the 1970s.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Irish became compulsory throughout the education system in the 1920s, the ultimate objective being for *all* educational programmes to be taught through Irish. The State vigorously pursued these policies up to the 1950s, when just over half the state's primary schools were running full or partial immersion schemes. This pattern slowly yielded to schemes in which Irish was only taught as a subject and other subjects were taught through English. Though post-primary education generalised rapidly after 1960, the effect of this on Irish acquisition was countered when the policy of making Irish a compulsory subject for state examinations was dropped in 1973. All Irish children still learn Irish in both primary and post-primary school as a subject, but despite an average of 13 years' exposure, active users of Irish do not generally emerge. The oral ability of most is only moderate and, for a growing minority, negligible. Since 1970 interest in 'all-Irish' or immersion-type schemes has revived, and English-speaking areas now have over 100 schools, in response to parental pressure. Finally, Galway University College offers several first-degree courses through Irish.

The courts: On paper, Irish has full legal standing in all courts, though most court business is conducted in English. Anyone appearing in court may use either national language. Any witness or defendant claiming the right to use Irish has to be accommodated, though this may lead to delays in processing the case, especially if the judge or counsel for either side is not proficient in Irish. Official interpreters are not provided. Texts in Irish are freely admitted.

Public Authorities and services: Public sector employment used to be of great importance to the survival of Irish. Until the early 1970s, recruitment to the state sector required a good competence in Irish, so this sector of the middle-class was most likely to be supportive of Irish. But nowadays proficiency in Irish is required for only a small number of public service posts, usually in agencies dealing with Irish language policy in the Gaeltacht, schools and media. Irish is rarely used in other agencies. Though the public has a constitutional right to use Irish in its dealings with state institutions, in practice a citizen's insistence on using Irish in dealings with state bodies can cause lengthy delays in having the case dealt with.

The use of Irish in street and road signs is almost universal, although usually in a bilingual format. The use of Irish in standard official forms and documents is limited and variable.

Mass media and Information technology: The state broadcasting service Radio Telefís Éireann¹⁹² provides approximately 4h per week of TV programmes in Irish on its English-language channels. A separate TV service in Irish, TnaG (Teilifís na Gaeilge; now renamed TG4) was established in October 1996 and broadcasts an average of 6 hours of Irish language programmes every day. A national radio station, Raidió na Gaeltachta¹⁹³, broadcasts entirely in Irish, for about 77h weekly. The other national radio services broadcast under 3h per week in Irish. There is no daily newspaper in language. Two weekly newspapers and two monthly magazines are published in Irish. A national English-language newspaper and several local papers regularly carry articles in Irish.

The Arts: 80-100 books are published annually in Irish. Irish traditional music is very popular and Irish is widely used in concerts and folk sessions. A fairly large corpus of recorded Irish language songs is available on cassette and CD. Irish language productions in theatre or cinema are limited. Two well-supported festivals are associated with Irish: Slógadh (for schools and youth) and Oireachtas na Gaeilge.

The business world: Language policies were not comprehensive enough to affect all sectors of the economy, and accelerated economic development since 1960, resulting from a series of development programmes, greatly restricted the impact of these policies. Recent surveys suggest that the proportion of respondents who speak Irish frequently at work is about the same as the proportion reporting frequent use of Irish at home, i.e. 4-6. A larger number (8%) report hearing Irish spoken at their workplace, while fewer say they read or write it.

Family and social use of the language: Children do not begin schooling until they have reached the age of four, so the census ratio of Irish-speakers in the youngest cohort (3-4 years) is generally taken as a measure of the incidence of Irish-speaking homes. The ratio has hardly moved from 5% since the 1920s, so the higher ratios of Irish-speakers in young adult groups are due to schooling rather than to home or community bilingualism. Traditional Irish-speaking communities now account for under 2% of the total population. Outside of the Gaeltacht areas, only about 1/4 of those who grew up in Irish language homes use Irish with the same intensity in their current homes. The marked variations in the ratios of Irish-speakers in different age groups suggest a widespread discontinuity in use-patterns over the life cycle of bilingual persons. Bilingualism in Ireland is based rather loosely on a thin distribution of family and social networks, which have some support from state policies in education, work place and media institutions. It does seem that a significant proportion of users of Irish began to use the language in their adult years. They include many of the small but growing groups of parents who have chosen Irish-medium education for their children.

¹⁹² <http://www.rte.ie/about/>

¹⁹³ <http://www.rnag.ie/>

Trans-national exchanges: Although difficult to quantify, Irish is spoken among the main Irish emigrant groups in Great Britain, North America, Australia and European countries. These countries do not contain Irish-speaking communities as such, but they clearly contain a small, but growing, number of individuals who can read, write and speak Irish with varying degrees of fluency and who, in the larger urban centres, form loose networks of Irish-speakers. Some of these are first generation emigrants who learnt Irish in Ireland, but others do not have this background. University courses are now beginning to appear, especially in North America, to meet the academic needs of such people.

Conclusion

Outside the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas, achieving self-generating, Irish-speaking communities has been an elusive objective. So bilingualism over recent decades largely derives from the capacity of the educational system to produce, in each new generation, enough competent bilinguals to replace those who do not stay in Irish-speaking networks.

The political and social climate has greatly changed since the original language strategy was formulated. Rapid social change, and ambivalence about Irish identity inherited from colonial times, damage the ideological base for the language policy. The mixture of success and failure visible in the present bilingual pattern shows that while falling far short of the original policy objective, a degree of revival and maintenance has been won. Irish is a living language, though the number and distribution of speakers are not guaranteed of a viable future.

References

- Advisory Planning Committee (1988) *The Irish Language in a Changing Society: Shaping the Future*. Dublin, Bord na Gaeilge.
- Ó Riagáin, P. (ed.) (1988). Language Planning in Ireland. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (special issue)*, 70.
- O Riagain, Pádraig (1997): *Language Policy and Social Reproduction in Ireland 1893-1993*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Luxembourg

Introduction

Lëtzebuergesch is regularly spoken as an everyday language in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg (2,586 km²) by c. 300,000 of its inhabitants, and as a dialect by some 50,000 people in neighbouring areas around the towns of Arlon (Belgium), Thionville (France), Bitburg and Prüm (Germany). Exact figures are impossible, because of the complex multilingual situation in the Grand Duchy and missing survey data for the surrounding areas.

The Grand Duchy has 435 700 inhabitants (official estimate Jan 1, 2000). 37% of these were not Luxembourg nationals: chiefly Portuguese (13%), Italian (5%), French (3%), Belgian (3%) and German (3%). Moreover, c. 70,000, about 1/3 of the workforce, commute

from adjoining regions in Belgium, France, and Germany. 42% of the active population are Luxembourg nationals, 28% foreign residents, and 30% non-residents.

For centuries Luxembourg was subjected to foreign occupation or domination, and thus deep-rooted cultural and linguistic influence. The medieval Duchy evolved from an Ardennes count's founding, in 963, of a 'small castle' (the meaning of 'Luxembourg') into a territory which at the end of the 14th century was four times the size of the present Grand-Duchy. In 1340 the king of Bohemia divided his Luxembourg dominion into German and Walloon administrative sectors. From 1443 to 1815 Luxembourg was ruled by Burgundy, Habsburg Austria, Spain, France, Austria and France again. In 1815 (Congress of Vienna) land was ceded to Prussia, and Luxembourg came under the King of the Netherlands' personal rule (1815-1839). The city and fortress were Prussian-held until 1867. In 1839 independence was proclaimed according to the Treaty of London. Half the remaining, French-speaking territory was ceded to Belgium (Province de Luxembourg). The 1868 Constitution made the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg a hereditary monarchy; it is now a parliamentary democracy. After 1918 it left the German Customs Union (*Zollverein*) and formed an economic union with Belgium, replaced by the 1944 Benelux union between Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Luxembourg was occupied by Germany during both World Wars.

Lëtzebuergesch belongs to the West Moselle Franconian German dialect area. During its (still ongoing) development from a rural dialect to a fully-fledged standard language, the gap between Lëtzebuergesch and standard German has widened on all linguistic criteria. It is no longer automatically understood by speakers of standard German. It has a 175-year written tradition, a codified orthography, dictionaries and a grammar, teaching and learning materials including audiovisuals. For centuries it has coexisted with French and German as territorial languages. French and German have functioned, in different measures, as administrative languages and vehicles of regional communication and economic co-operation. From the early 19th century to World War II, French and standard German were official languages, having equal rights, as stipulated by decrees, the Constitution of 1848 and its 1868 revision, whereas Lëtzebuergesch was the unofficial and subordinate everyday language.

From 1940 to 1945 German was the official language. After that French became the official language, German was reduced to an (indispensable) 'working language' and Lëtzebuergesch remained the ubiquitous spoken language. In 1984, a special language law¹⁹⁴ made Lëtzebuergesch the national language, French the legislative language, and French, German and Lëtzebuergesch the administrative and judicial languages. Ten years later the government began to promote the study and development of Lëtzebuergesch. In 1998 it formed a 12-member 'Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise' (CPLL¹⁹⁵), to monitor, study, describe and disseminate the national language, and to advise the government in language matters. New working groups study spelling reform and compile dictionaries. A government-backed research institution is the Institut grand-ducal¹⁹⁶ and its

¹⁹⁴ Loi sur le régime des langues

¹⁹⁵ www.cpll.lu.

¹⁹⁶ www.igd-leo.lu.

Section de Linguistique, d'Ethnologie et d'Onomastique. The current official Lëtzebuergesch orthography was reformed in 1999¹⁹⁷. A spell checker¹⁹⁸ for Lëtzebuergesch is being developed, as is a lexicographic project to compile a corpus-based 'Practical Dictionary of Lëtzebuergesch'. All these are financially and politically backed by the Ministry of Culture¹⁹⁹.

The Ministry of National Education²⁰⁰ also promotes Lëtzebuergesch. In 1994 it commissioned a teaching manual (and an audio CD-ROM), co-funded by the EU (*L wéi Lëtzebuergesch*) and updated in 2000 with a communicative approach (*Lëtzebuergesch fir all Dag*). The development of self-learning material (a video course with illustrated workbooks) was funded by professional associations, the EU (Leonardo/Lingua) and the government (*Da Lass: Land, Leit a Sprooch*). The CPLL has been entrusted with drafting proposals to reform the teaching of Lëtzebuergesch language and culture in schools (all levels and branches).

The use of the language in various fields

Education: Lëtzebuergesch is pivotal only in the early years of schooling. In pre-school, close attention is paid to developing language skills, especially the use of Lëtzebuergesch as a means of communication inside and outside school²⁰¹. For children who grow up with another first language this is often their first intensive contact with the language. Educational policy promotes the 'école unique' for literacy instruction through Lëtzebuergesch and German of children of whatever linguistic background, in order to promote linguistic and cultural integration. It is used less as a medium of instruction after the lower and middle grades of primary school, and officially (though not always in practice) not at all in secondary schools.

The language is taught for an hour a week in the six years of primary education and in the first year at secondary level. Since the early 1990s an optional *Cours de civilisation luxembourgeoise* has been offered in the last two years of upper secondary education. Language courses for adults are organised by the national Centre de langues, local municipalities and institutions, private language schools, NGOs and businesses, and various initiatives in the Grande région, especially in Belgium and France. At post-secondary level Lëtzebuergesch features only at the Institut Supérieur d'Etudes et de Recherches Pédagogiques (ISERP), where pre-school and primary school-teachers are trained (and within other institutions, as an informal language), but a department at the Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg is planned. In the 3rd and 4th semesters of primary-school teacher-training courses, Lëtzebuergesch is compulsory, and its history and literature are also compulsory in secondary teacher (post-graduate) training. There have been

¹⁹⁷ (a) Arrêté ministériel du 10 octobre 1975 portant réforme du système officiel d'orthographe luxembourgeoise (published in: Mémorial B-N° 68, 16 novembre 1976, p. 1565). (b) Règlement grand-ducal du 30 juillet 1999 portant réforme du système officiel d'orthographe luxembourgeoise (published in: Mémorial A-N° 112, 11 août 1999, p. 2040).

¹⁹⁸ <http://crppl.lu/cortina>.

¹⁹⁹ www.ltam.lu/culture.

²⁰⁰ <http://www.men.lu>.

²⁰¹ 'Apprentissage ludique du luxembourgeois'.

Lëtzebuergesch language courses at Universität Trier²⁰² (D) and the Centre for Luxembourg Studies at Sheffield University (UK)²⁰³.

The courts: There are no empirical data on the use of languages in the courts. Lëtzebuergesch can and is used, especially for oral communications. French is the most important language: it is the language of law and judges and lawyers are usually trained at French-speaking universities, but defendants and witnesses may also use Lëtzebuergesch. Linguistic practice varies, though those involved tend to adapt pragmatically to the circumstances and the interlocutors. In criminal proceedings, the judge will only address Luxembourgish defendants in Lëtzebuergesch; witnesses may testify in this language, and all other parties speak French or Lëtzebuergesch. Prosecution and defence pleadings are in French. The court's decision and the record of proceedings are drafted in French or German. In civil cases, proceedings and arguments are always in French, and the judgement is likewise in French. Luxembourgish witnesses are questioned by the judge in Lëtzebuergesch, as they are in criminal cases.

Public authorities and services: According to the 1984 language law, administrative bodies are required to answer – ‘dans la mesure du possible’ – in the language of their petitioners. On their own initiative, national and local administrations in written communication mainly use French and, when addressing the public, also German. Oral proceedings are mostly in Lëtzebuergesch, as a reflection of the general linguistic situation in the country. In Parliament Lëtzebuergesch and French are equally used. Following pressure by Actioun Lëtzebuergesch–Eis Sprooch²⁰⁴, all public place and street signs are now in French and Lëtzebuergesch).

Mass media and information and communication technology: No print media in Luxembourg are even predominantly in Lëtzebuergesch. Most use it more or less randomly alongside German and French (and sometimes English, Italian or Portuguese). Several radio stations broadcast exclusively or partly in Lëtzebuergesch, and there is a daily evening feature on TV. The language is also used on Luxembourg-based Internet websites, and in chats and e-mails.

The Arts: Lëtzebuergesch is widely used in performing arts, in all oral and written literary genres, and increasingly also for non-literary purposes in different areas of knowledge²⁰⁵, on a par with the other traditional languages of Luxembourg, French and German.

The business world: Sociologists have recently argued that there are really two different (partially overlapping) job markets in Luxembourg: a traditional national one dominated by Lëtzebuergesch, and an international one that is multilingual but French-dominated. In response to complaints by Lëtzebuergesch-speaking customers that they could not use their native language in shops and other businesses, but were forced to use French, recent efforts have been made by foreign staff, on their own initiative or that of employers, to learn at

²⁰² www.uni-trier.de/.

²⁰³ <http://www.shef.ac.uk/uni/academic/I-M/lsc/>.

²⁰⁴ Association for the Promotion of Lëtzebuergesch, founded in 1971, www.eis-sprooch.lu.

²⁰⁵ See www.literaturarchiv.lu/bibliographie and www.etat.lu/CNL.

least some Lëtzebuergesch. Thanks to the rise in prestige of Lëtzebuergesch over the past 20 years and the growing use of the language in the media, it is increasingly used in advertising, and some localised versions of consumer products (like food or cosmetics) are now marketed.

Family and social use of the language: The 1984 language law has boosted the development of Lëtzebuergesch, which continues to be the exclusive means of oral communication between native Luxembourgers in all circumstances and whatever the social standing of the interlocutors. It is the symbol of Lëtzebuergesch national identity. It is also gaining increasing importance as a language of writing, for all literary genres as well as for non-literary usage. It is in fact rapidly being developed as a fully-fledged, fully functional modern language. It is generally accepted to be the language of social integration and cohesion.

Conclusion

Despite the symbolic importance of Lëtzebuergesch, the overall linguistic situation of Luxembourg is characterised by instrumental multilingualism. Linguistic and cultural assimilation here means adopting one of the traditional patterns of multilingualism. The situation may be summarised as follows: French keeps the country together, multilingualism keeps it going, and Lëtzebuergesch sets it apart.

References

- Davis, K. A., *Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts: Policies, Communities, and Schools in Luxembourg*. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1994.
- Fehlen, F. et al., *Le Sondage 'Baleine': Une étude sociologique sur les trajectoires migratoires, les langues et la vie associative au Luxembourg*. Recherche Etude Documentation, Hors Série 1. Luxembourg.
- Newton, G. (ed.), *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and Communication at the Crossroads of Europe*. Clarendon, Oxford, 1996.
- RESTENA, Réseau Téléinformatique de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche: <http://www.restena.lu>.
- Weber, N., 'Multilingualism and Language Policy in Luxembourg'. In: Deprez, K., du Plessis, Th. (eds.), *Multilingualism and Government: Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Former Yugoslavia, South Africa*. Van Schaik, Pretoria, pp. 82-91, 2000.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Introduction

There is a considerable linguistic distance between the three so-called Celtic languages spoken in the United Kingdom and English, which is the normative language of the state. The three are spoken in particular territories, but in each case only a minority of the population resident in that territory speaks it. Regional development initiatives have been centrally determined, and the resulting relationship between the circulation of capital and the circulation of people or migration has not accommodated a concern with regional language and culture. This central planning is changing with the deregulation accompanying the creation of the Single Market. The UK State has tended to operate by reference to Common Law, and a degree of local and county level of self-governance gives considerable authority in a range of administrative, decision-making areas. In recent years

this has led towards adopting forms of governance which is based upon accommodating the historic regions; their right to encompass the regional languages and culture is included in this devolution. Power has been dispersed in changing the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society. This has operated by reference to a neo-liberal principle, which shifts responsibility and accountability from the state to the individual and the community. While it is argued that this brings government closer to the people, the need to satisfy the principles of democracy by giving the individual and the community a direct role in policy formation and decision-making has yet to be seen, and representation may amount to little more than party control from the centre.

Though English is the de facto official language of government, no constitutional legislation declares it to be so (as was the case until recently in France). This has been a curious obstacle when legislation has been enacted with regard to Welsh. The United Kingdom ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2000 (recognising Welsh, Scottish Gaelic and Irish), and included language issues in the Agreement signed with the government of Ireland in April 1998.

Cornish

Introduction

The territory with which the language is associated is the English county of Cornwall (pop. 2000, 497,200²⁰⁶). However, Cornish lacks any normative status. It is the surviving cultural remnant of the Celtic population, which succumbed to the incursion of the Anglo-Saxons in the 5th century AD. With the advent of English as the language of administration in the 14th-16th centuries Cornish lost its significance. English and Latin were the language of the Church and by the end of the 18th century the language was no longer spoken. It was reintroduced in the 19th century as a feature of the romanticism of the period. It was assisted by the publication in 1904 of Jenner's Handbook of the Cornish language. This was built upon by subsequent texts and primers.

The use of the language in various fields

The revival was largely derived from a reaction to the centrally controlled process of regional development and the impact on the social structure of the region. It has not generated more than 1,000-2,000 speakers. The language has no legal status and such a status is unlikely to be forthcoming. Nonetheless, militants in the region pressed the state to ratify the European Charter, expecting thereby to gain a modicum of official status for Cornish.

Most of those who have learnt the language have done so in night classes sponsored by the County Council. The number attending these courses has stabilised since the 1970s, but

²⁰⁶ <http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/Facts/fact60.htm>.

there is considerable criticism of the teaching method and its ability to generate conversational competence. There is also considerable debate about the standard form of Cornish. This hinders the introduction and extension of the language into primary school activities. Currently the language does appear in about a dozen primary schools.

The language is little used in the public sector and not at all in the private sector, apart from its relevance for tourism. Radio Cornwall of the BBC broadcasts 5 min. weekly. There is a monthly review, *An Gannas*, which sells 200-300 copies, while *An Dherwen* is a quarterly literary review which sells about 50 copies. A small number of books are published each year, mostly for the schools. More popular is the use of Cornish in folk music.

Agan Tavas²⁰⁷ (Our Language), the Cornish language advisory service, has a website. It promotes Cornish, and the site gives details of exams, and gives further links for both beginners and advanced students of Cornish.

Conclusion

The number of speakers is limited, who relate to each other by social networks rather than social organisation. It is hard to envisage how it can continue to be produced or reproduced within this limited context, yet speakers of the language do so with considerable enthusiasm.

Bibliography

<http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/homean/main/clasllen/cornic.html>
Payton, Philip. *Cornwall since the War*, Institute of Cornish Studies, Exeter, 1993.

Gaelic (or Gallic)

Introduction

Scottish Gaelic is a difficult language group to generalise about because of the size of the country and the concentration of the language group in the west. The 1991 census indicates 65,978 speakers, of which 90% are native speakers. About 40% of these live in high language-density areas in the Western Isles, off the north-west coast of Scotland.

The legal context is similar to that of Wales and Northern Ireland, but there is no equivalent of the Welsh Language Acts and there is no formal language-planning agency. Much of the impetus derives from the action of local authorities. Since the establishment of the Scottish National Assembly, interest in local and regional policy vis-à-vis language has grown.

²⁰⁷ <http://www.clas.demon.co.uk/>.

The use of the language in various fields

A third of the Gaelic-using families are endogamous by language group, and about half of the speakers live in families where everyone speaks the language. The rate of endogamy is higher in the core areas. Where both parents are Gaelic-speakers, 3/4 of the children also speak the language, but only 13% of the children in families where only one parent speaks Gaelic also speak Gaelic. In a recent survey on Gaelic-speakers, 36% claimed to use no Gaelic with their partner, though most respondents came from totally Gaelic-speaking families. Usage was higher in previous generations, (and was sustained among the younger respondents): 86% of respondents' grandparents spoke Gaelic, and 84% used Gaelic (almost) all the time at home, and in the parental generation these figures were 90% and 76%. Currently 38% of the partners use Gaelic with their children, and 31% use Gaelic and English. 17% of the children use just Gaelic together and 29% use both languages. In the home, only Gaelic is spoken at mealtime in 38% of the families, and 36% use both languages.

Religion in the Gaelic communities in Scotland is in the hands of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the Free Presbyterians. They have all had a Gaelic-language mission. In the Western Isles of Scotland clergy of all denominations almost all speak Gaelic, and over three-quarters of the population attend Church regularly. Almost two thirds of the services are in Gaelic. Gaelic-language services are still held on Skye, but on the West Coast of the Highlands they are sporadic. The extent to which voluntary associations using Gaelic flourish depends upon location, and few are outside of the Western Isles (Lewis and Harris).

Education: The Gaelic language group lays claim to the same level of educational provision as is provided for Welsh. The Scottish education system has a high degree of autonomy in the UK, and much of the struggle for Gaelic provision has operated not merely in Scotland, but in relation to local authorities in the west of Scotland. A major drawback for a language group, which numbers some 66,000, is the availability of trained Gaelic-speaking teachers.

Scotland has replicated the Welsh pre-school model. 142 pre-school playgroups and parent-toddler groups, run by an institution responsible for Gaelic-language pre-school education, have 2,480 children. The Highland Region runs two Gaelic-language nursery units and the Lothian region has one. There are about 42 Gaelic-medium primary units in Scotland, run by Comhairle nan Eilean (Western Isles), Grampian, Highland, Lothian, Strathclyde, and Tayside Regional authorities, educating 1,080 children. The major complaint is the lack of schools whose administration and ethos are linked to Gaelic: Gaelic units are in schools where English is the main language of instruction and the only language of administration.

Mass media and the arts: Radio nan Gaidheal broadcasts 35 hours a week in Gaelic, and a Gaelic TV service now transmits 300 hours a year. The significance of the new situation in broadcasting media is that it transcends the regions of Scotland where the density of Gaelic-speakers is highest, and makes it a national service available throughout Scotland. Two independent radio stations broadcast some programmes in Gaelic. No daily or weekly papers are entirely in Gaelic, but various newspapers carry articles in Gaelic. There are

several Gaelic-language magazines and periodicals, most of which receive state support. Publishing is financially supported by the Scottish Arts Council, which treats all culture as Scottish and does not distinguish between High Culture and popular culture. Thus activities in Gaelic are expected to compete with components of state culture traditionally regarded as High Culture.

Conclusion

There is little confidence in the ability of the existing social, political and economic structures to sustain the production and reproduction of Gaelic. The reproduction context is weakening and the forces responsible for producing the language are ill defined.

Bibliography

- Alladina, S. & Viv Edwards (eds.) *Multilingualism in the British Isles*, Longmans, London, 1991.
Ball, M. J. *The Celtic languages*, Routledge, London, 1993.
Thomson, D. S., Attitudes to linguistic change in Gaelic Scotland, in Davies, Winifred V., M. Mair Parry and Rosalind A. M. Temple (eds.) *The Changing Voices Of Europe. Social and political change and their linguistic repercussions, past, present and future*. University of Wales Press, Caerdydd, 1994, pp. 227-235.

Irish

Introduction

Northern Ireland constitutes the six counties of Ireland which did not gain independence from the UK in the 1920s, because the government of the time was unwilling to 'abandon' the largely Protestant population to a predominantly Catholic Ireland. The division between Catholics and Protestants remains a major feature of the regional labour market, residential patterns and politics. The language pertains directly to this division. The 1991 census indicated that 142,003 people had a knowledge of Irish in Northern Ireland. Of these 79,012 claimed to be able to speak, read and write the language, and 45,338 claimed only a speaking knowledge. A quarter of the Catholic population claimed to be able to speak the language whereas only 5,000 out of three quarters of a million Protestants made the same claim. A recent language use survey suggests that this declared knowledge of Irish was largely symbolic, and that only about 10% of those claiming fluency could sustain a conversation in the language. Nonetheless, it is indicative of a commitment to the language in the region.

Irish has no legal status in Northern Ireland. How the language is handled by the authorities largely depends upon the party in power in London. In 1995 the government claimed to respect the cultural identities and traditions of all communities in Northern Ireland, but also stated that they wanted the promotion of Irish to remain aloof from politics. People have the right to use Irish names and to communicate in writing with government departments in Irish. Irish names can be registered, but other written procedures must be in English.

Its status is legitimised by its inclusion in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement²⁰⁸, which created a North/South Implementation body to promote the Irish language: Foras Na Gaeilge²⁰⁹.

The use of the language in various fields

Education: 19 Irish-medium playgroups (3% of such groups) provide mainly immersion education, and cater for 548 children in the region. They have not received state funding, though this may well change in the light of recent political developments and the associated cross-border agreements. The original initiative at the primary level has been taken by members of the minority language group itself, often outside of school hours, or as a private venture which does not secure state funding. Irish-medium provision in Northern Ireland dates back to 1971 when the tension between the two nationalist communities in the region intensified, but it was 1984 before the state committed funds to the school. Two Irish-medium secondary schools have recently been provided by the state. Only a few hundred of the more than 150,000 secondary level pupils receive such an education, but it is a step forward. A further 26,000 pupils in the Catholic schools are taught Irish as a subject. Community-based summer schools are held in the Republic. The main obstacle is the lack of teaching materials.

The Catholic Church plays a significant role in supporting language activities, being particularly prominent in supporting Irish-medium education and cultural activities. Few community activities focus upon the use of Irish, even if the majority of the Catholics are supportive of the language and its use.

Media: There is access to both radio and TV services from western Scotland (in Scots Gaelic) and the Republic of Ireland (in Irish), but little in the way of its own media services.

The Arts: More than a third of those who responded to the language use survey claimed to read Irish language literature from the South. An Irish language library service was opened in 1983. Comcheol (founded 1993) produces musical material for the schools. Borgearrai sa Ghaeilge (est. 1990) is a small ICT company. The Arts Council of Northern Ireland, formed in 1994, serves all cultural groups. Among the support offered is support for publication of books and magazines, lectures and Irish music.

Conclusion

Fewer than 300 persons earn their living through the medium of Irish in Northern Ireland. However, it clearly has a symbolic value, which can be transformed into practical gains, especially if a material advantage can accrue from such development.

²⁰⁸ Signed on 10th April 1998. Text: <http://www.belfastloughmedia.com/artikel/agreement.shtml>, <http://www.reform.org/belfast.htm>.

²⁰⁹ <http://www.bnag.ie/>.

Bibliography

- Corca Dhuibhne Delta. 1926-1986. Linguistics Institute of Ireland, 1992.
- Nic Craith, M. 'The symbolism of language in Northern Ireland', in U. Kockel (ed.) *Landscape, Heritage and Identity: Case-studies in Irish Ethnology*. Liverpool University Press, 1995, pp. 11-46.
- O Riágain, Pádraig, *Language Policy and Social Reproduction: Ireland 1893-1993*. Oxford Studies in Language Contact. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.
- O Riágain, Pádraig, *Language maintenance and language shift*. Strategies of social reproduction.

Scots (and Ulster Scots)

Introduction

Those who claim Scots is a language maintain that modern English and Scots are both dialects of Old English, which developed from Anglo-Saxon. Written records in Scots survive from the late 14th century, and from the 15th century (and prior to the union with England in 1707) it was regarded as, and functioned de facto, as the language of state of Stuart Scotland. Since the 18th century it has enjoyed no official recognition, until very recently. As a result of the increasing pressure of English, and their close proximity in linguistic terms, modern Scots exists on a continuum, from broad Scots - relatively free of English influence – to Scottish Standard English and is widely regarded as a dialect of English. It is mainly spoken in eastern and southern Scotland.

Ulster Scots dates from the 17th century, with the plantations established by James VI being settled by mainly Presbyterians from west and south central Scotland. Today Ulster Scots tends to be equated with the Unionist population. Its status in Northern Ireland is legitimised by its inclusion in the Good Friday Agreement (10th April 1998) which recognises the 'the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and [...], all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland'²¹⁰.

From the wording of its ratification of the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages, the UK government seems to regard Scots and Ulster Scots as separate languages: "b) The United Kingdom declares, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Charter that it recognises that Scots and Ulster Scots meet the Charter's definition of a regional or minority language for the purposes of Part II of the Charter".

The use of the language in various fields

Education. In Scotland, no substantial group of Scots-speaking parents has requested Scots-medium playgroups or nurseries. In primary schools it is not formally taught as a subject, and there are no data on its possible use by teachers as a medium of instruction. There is some non-systematic treatment of Scots literature, especially in secondary schools, often centring on the birthday of poet Robert Burns (25th January). No textbooks exist in

²¹⁰ Text: <http://www.belfastloughmedia.com/artikel/agreement.shtml>, <http://www.reform.org/belfast.htm>.

Scots, though some material has been published, e.g. by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, which also publishes works of Scottish literature. The language is not taught in schools in Northern Ireland.

Business and commerce, Mass media: There are no data on the use or presence of Scots in these fields, either in Scotland or in Northern Ireland. Ulster Scots is used by some local authorities in written form, both on letterheads and in signposting. Other than this, there is just anecdotal evidence of its use, and thus a great need for field research.

The arts: An active Scots Language Resource Centre, largely funded by the Scottish Arts Council, is Scotland's national centre for information on the Scots language and resources. The Scots Leid Associe (Scots Language Society), founded in 1972, promotes Scots in literature, drama, the media, education and in everyday usage, and publishes the literary magazine Lallans. The Scottish National Dictionary Association has released a Concise English-Scots Dictionary, and other dictionaries also exist. An Ulster-Scots Research Centre²¹¹ is being established, to promote research into all aspects of Ulster Scots (particularly speech and literature).

Family and social use: The absence of Scots from education and the lack of a modern Scots standard have contributed to its geographical variation. Moreover, Scots seems not to enjoy the social status of a language. It is still widely regarded as poorly pronounced, grammatically inferior English. Partly as a result of this, and also because of the wide range of varieties, recent attempts to estimate the number speakers have been thwarted. 33% of interviewees aged 18 and over replied "Yes" when asked "Can you speak Scots or a dialect of Scots?" in a 1996 survey conducted by the General Register Office for Scotland; but the addition of named dialects (Glaswegian, Lallans...) distorted the results. About 1.5 million self-defined speakers of Scots resulted, but the high level of subjectivity makes the figure a rough estimate.

In Northern Ireland it is spoken by between 10,000 and 100,000 residents of northern and eastern Ulster and in the Laggan district of County Donegal in the Irish Republic.

Conclusion

Given the contentious nature of 'language' as a concept, it is hard to evaluate Scots by reference to the more conventional parameters used for discussing language in terms of social interaction. Its standardisation as such depends on political and social factors.

Bibliography

European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages: <http://www.eblul.org/wow/b.asp>

Good Friday Agreement. Text: <http://www.belfastloughmedia.com/artikel/agreement.shtml>

Máté, Ian (1996) Scots Language: A Report on the Scots Language Research carried out by the General Register Office for Scotland in 1996. Edinburgh: GRO(S).

'News About and From Ireland' website: <http://www.thenisite.com/politics/ulsterscots.htm>

The Scots Language in Education in Scotland. Ljouwert (Friesland), Mercator-Education, 2002. The Scottish Parliament: CPG on Scots Language / Scots Leid. <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/msps/cpg/cpg-scots.html>

²¹¹ <http://www.gcty.com/parsleyij/ullans.html>.

Welsh

Introduction

Welsh was the principal language of communication in Wales and the *only* language of the majority of its population until around the middle of the 19th century. Its literary tradition is unbroken since the 7th century, and contains both fine medieval and modern poetry and prose. However, the so-called Acts of Union (1536 and 1542), when Wales was legally incorporated into England declared English to be the official language of administration and of the courts in Wales.

Nevertheless, Welsh did receive a small measure of statutory encouragement in 1563, when an Act of Parliament gave permission for the translation into Welsh of the Bible and the official Anglican prayer book. The first full translation of the Bible into Welsh appeared in 1588, with an authorised version published under state auspices in 1620, only nine years after the Authorised English Version. Up to the middle of the 19th century, there was a gradual decline in the proportion of Welsh-speakers, although Welsh still dominated in many areas of life over much of the country.

By 1900 only half the population (648,919 of a total population of 1,864,696) spoke Welsh. Although the Welsh Courts Act 1942 and the Welsh Language Act 1967 made some provision for use of the language in the courts and the public sector more generally, and despite the existence of an increasingly popular Welsh-medium education system, the 1980s (when census figures noted 20% of the population as Welsh-speakers) saw increasing political pressure for further measures to safeguard the future of the language. The advisory Welsh Language Board²¹² was established by the Government in 1988. The Board's duties included advising the Government on matters that required administrative or legislative action and promoting the use of Welsh in the public sector, in the private sector and amongst voluntary sector bodies. In 1989, the Board also published *The Welsh Language: a Strategy for the Future*, which, for the first time ever, set out detailed proposals for the promotion and increased use of Welsh.

The 1991 census indicated that 510,920 (18.7%) of the population of Wales spoke Welsh, and that the overall decline had been arrested, mainly because of increasing numbers of schoolchildren receiving their education through the medium of the language. There remains, however, concern about intergenerational language transmission and the declining number of high-density Welsh-language speech communities. Growing language group exogamy may be partially responsible for this. Yet increasingly, in families where only one parent speaks Welsh, the parent transmits the language to the next generation. In all, almost a third of school-age children now speak Welsh, but only a quarter of those learned it at home (see below).

²¹² <http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk>. At the beginning of 2000, the Welsh Language Board had 28 full time members of staff, working in five policy departments at its office in Cardiff.

The use of the language in various fields

The Government was eventually convinced of the need for legislation to strengthen the situation of Welsh, and introduced a new Welsh Language Act, which came into force in December 1993. The Act created a statutory Welsh Language Board with the overarching function of 'promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language'. The Board has statutory powers to require public bodies to prepare language schemes, detailing how they will treat the Welsh and English languages on a basis of equality in providing services to the public. The Government of Wales Act 1998 (which created the devolved National Assembly for Wales) states "the Assembly may do anything it considers appropriate to support the Welsh language". The Board is now answerable to the Assembly. Status bilingualism is widespread, and the state-administered linguistic landscape is increasingly bilingual. Road signs, public information campaigns and official forms are now in Welsh and English. The National Assembly for Wales supplies all public documents in bilingual form, and the Welsh language may be freely used in Courts in Wales (via simultaneous translation where all present are non-Welsh-speaking), although there is no right to be tried by a Welsh-speaking jury.

Education: The Welsh Language Board has been charged with taking a strategic overview of Welsh language provision in education, but the actual provision and associated policy is the prerogative of each County Council's Local Education Authority. The majority of such authorities in Wales have agreed a Welsh medium education scheme with the Board, setting targets for a three-year implementation cycle.

The Welsh-medium pre-school movement was founded in 1972. Since only 6.3% of 3-year old children in Wales speak the language as a mother tongue, such agencies have a crucial role to play in producing the language if the level of competence is to survive. In 1984 120 Nurseries and 160 Mother and Toddler groups operated through the medium of Welsh. By 1996 the respective figures were 645 and 407, with a total number of 1028 operating across Wales in 2001. A voluntary activity committed to stressing the importance of pre-schooling for immersion education has therefore become a fully-fledged professionally-run organisation managed by 13 full-time staff and some 30 development officers, supported by the Welsh Language Board, and other sources. Activities vary from Mother and Toddler groups which teach non-Welsh-speaking parents some Welsh and actual Welsh classes are also offered to parents who want them. The organisation also publishes books and other resources associated with Welsh medium early year's provision.

Welsh as a subject was included in the National Curriculum in the Education Act of 1988, which also defined Welsh-speaking schools for the first time. 27% of the maintained primary schools in Wales now teach mainly or entirely through the medium of Welsh, and in a further 7% of schools it is used as a medium of instruction for part of the curriculum.

There is Welsh-medium and bilingual provision for pupils in the primary and secondary sectors, though the catchment areas of Welsh-medium schools are much larger than those of English-medium schools, and there are some problems with continuity of provision due to a number of factors. The aim is to make Welsh-medium education at primary and secondary levels available to all parents in Wales who wish this for their children, within a

reasonable travelling distance from the child's home. Currently, of the 229 secondary schools in Wales, the National Assembly for Wales defines 52 as Welsh-medium schools. All other schools teach Welsh as a second language to pupils up to the age of 16.

Teaching through the medium of Welsh in the Higher Education sector is limited (1.6% of students followed their courses partly or entirely through Welsh in 1996-97). As a result, the Federal University of Wales has appointed a Welsh-medium teaching development officer. The Education Committee of the National Assembly for Wales is currently undertaking a review of the Welsh language in education in all spheres and will produce a report during summer 2002.

The Courts and Public Authorities and Services: See above.

Mass Media and Information Technology: Radio broadcasting in Welsh began in 1923, and TV in 1958. A dedicated Welsh-language TV channel, S4C²¹³, was set up in 1981. It broadcasts 4 hours daily during peak hours via its analogue service, and 12 hours daily via its first digital channel (founded in 1998). Viewers in Wales also have access to course content of the Wales Digital College via S4C digital 1. Its second digital channel provides live coverage of the debates of the National Assembly for Wales. The BBC also provides a radio service entirely in the language, which is simultaneously broadcast on the World Wide Web and on satellite television. Although there is no Welsh language daily newspaper, the BBC news website provides daily news services in Welsh. Two weekly paper-based journals and many periodicals are in Welsh. Though individual readership is not large, the Welsh language community newspapers have over 200,000 readers.

Work has been done to develop information technology relevant for the entry of Welsh into e-Europe and similar networks. The existing ICT tools needed to develop machine translation and voice recognition and synthesis include spellchecker (including facilities for Microsoft Office XP), grammar, corpus and dictionary. Recent developments have stopped short of developing full machine-translation capacity, focusing on developing specialist electronic dictionaries and computer aided translation facilities. Although translation memory software networks are in their infancy, plans are afoot for resource sharing and standardisation of terminology to enable consistency of translation and to avoid duplication of work. The *Cymru'n Creu* project also plans to digitise Wales' cultural resources, for content development.

The Business World: Most work through the medium of Welsh is in the public sector. But use of translation ensures that Welsh is institutionalised in these, and other contexts. Although the private sector is not legally obliged to conform with the Welsh Language Act 1993, many organisations in this sector embrace the spirit of the legislation. There is some political pressure to extend the Act into the private sector.

Family and Social Use: In the community, the social practices that focused on the centrality of religion (within which Welsh was stabilised) are declining. In the past, secular community social activity was often linked to religious institutions. Because of rapid

²¹³ <http://www.s4c.co.uk/e-index.html>.

secularisation and changes in entertainment habits, communities have lost much social relevance, and the Welsh-language practices now replacing the community focus on the media and associated activities. The social organisation has changed, as has the spatial range of its constitution. There are many community regeneration and development initiatives; they include the 22 *Menter Iaith* (local language initiatives) promoted by the Welsh Language Board. Also worth mentioning are Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg/the Welsh Language Society²¹⁴, which has been actively and successfully promoting the language at grassroots level since the 1960s, and the recently founded Welsh-language civil rights movement Cymuned²¹⁵.

Conclusion

Although Welsh is better placed than most other lesser-used languages of the European Union, its long-term future is by no means assured. Non-reproduction of the language continues to be problematic, although the decline in numbers appears to have been arrested. One of the main challenges of the language is the weakening of high-density speech communities, where Welsh is used as a language of day-to-day action. Much work also remains to be done in realising the potential of the large numbers of new Welsh-speakers, created via the Welsh-medium education system. Most research shows positive attitudes towards Welsh and its promotion. However, further work is needed to exploit the possible link between positive attitudes and concrete language behaviour. Detailed action related to the report of the National Assembly for Wales' review of the Welsh language is also eagerly awaited.

Bibliography

- Aitchison, J. & Carter, H. (2000) *Language, Economy and Society: the Changing Fortunes of the Welsh Language*. UW Press, Cardiff.
- Jenkins, G.H. (2000) *Welsh in its Social Domains*. UW Press, Cardiff.
- Jones, K. & Ioan, G. (2000), *Venturing Onwards: Research Report on the Mentrau Iaith* (Language Initiatives), Welsh Language Board, Cardiff (<http://bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/docs/mentrauiath2001/dechraue.htm>).
- National Assembly for Wales: <http://www.wales.gov.uk/keypubassemculture/>
- Welsh Language Board community language planning multilingual website <http://www.cymuned.org.uk>
- Welsh Language Board website: <http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk>
- Williams, C.H. & Evas, J.C. (1997) *The Community Research Scheme*, Cardiff, Welsh Language Board (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/html/cyc/cyc-e.htm>).
- Williams, C.H. (ed.) *Language Revitalisation: Policy and Planning in Wales*. UW Press, Cardiff.
- Williams, G. & Morris, D. (2000) *Language Planning and Language Use: Welsh in a Global Age*. UW Press, Cardiff.

²¹⁴ <http://www.cymdeithas.com>. English texts: <http://www.cymdeithas.com/gwybodaeth/en/>.

²¹⁵ <http://www.cymuned.org>. English texts: <http://www.penllyn.com/cymuned/papers.html>.

General References

Advisory Planning Committee (1988) *The Irish Language in a Changing Society: Shaping the Future*. Dublin, Bord na Gaeilge.

Aitcheson, J. and H. Carter, *Language Economy and Society: the Changing Fortunes of the Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century*, UW Press, Cardiff, 2000.

Alladina, S. and Viv Edwards (eds.), *Multilingualism in the British Isles*, Longmans, London, 1991. Asturias.Com. *Diariu electrónicu asturianu*. <http://www.asturies.org/>.

Ball, M. J. *The Celtic languages*, Routledge, London, 1993.

Baltsiotis L. and Empeirikos L., *L'histoire de la langue albanaise en Grèce de la création de l'état hellénique (1830) a nos jours*, EHESS, Paris (forthcoming).

Barddal, Jóhanna, et al., *Nordiska – Våra språk förr och nu*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, Bente 1997.
Becat, Jean and Bernardó, Dominique: 'Domaine catalan', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 141-159.

Becat, Jean, *La situació del català a França: aspectes jurídics i docents i estudis sobre la matèria*, IEC, Barcelona, November 2000.

Bouvier, Jean-Claude, sld, *Rapport sur la recherche en cultures et langues régionales*, MEN, 1984.
Broudic, Fañch, 'Le breton', *TILV* n°27, pp. 53-58, mai 2000.

Centro de Investigaciones Científicas, Regional language reports (October 1998): Galicia, ref. 2295 .

Basque autonomous community, 2296; Navarre, 2297; Catalonia, 2298; Valencia, 2299; and the Balearic Islands, 2300. http://www.cis.es/bd_estudios.asp?tema=3&subtema1=3.

Corca Dhuibhne Delta. 1926-1986. Linguistics Institute of Ireland, 1992.

CORLAB, *Les radios au service de la langue et de la culture bretonnes*, Pontivy, 2001.

Davis, K. A., *Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts: Policies, Communities, and Schools in Luxembourg*. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1994.

Denez, Per, *Bretagne. Une langue en quête d'avenir*, *Langues Européennes* 7, EBLUL, Bruxelles, 1998.

EBLUL website. Background information about specific language groups:
<http://eblul.org/browse.htm>.

Euromosaic website: <http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/>.

Extra, Guus and Durk Gorter (eds.), "The Other Languages of Europe", *Multilingual Matters*, Clevedon (UK), 2001.

Fabre, Daniel, 'Domaine d'oc, Montpellier, Toulouse, Pau, Bordeaux, Poitiers', *Rapport...*, MEN, 1984, pp. 207-216

Farràs, J., Torres, J. and Vila, F. Xavier (2000) "El coneixement del català. 1996. Mapa sociolingüístic de Catalunya. Anàlisi de l'enquesta oficial de població de 1996". *Sèrie Estudis*, 7. Generalitat de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana, Barcelona.

Fehlen, F. et al., "Le Sondage 'Baleine': Une étude sociologique sur les trajectoires migratoires, les langues et la vie associative au Luxembourg", *Recherche Etude Documentation, Hors Série 1*. Luxembourg.

Fernández Rei, Francisco (1999) 'A situación do galego en Galicia e no Occidente de Asturias, de León e de Zamora'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei; Antón Santamarina Fernández, eds. *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Fiche langues de France: Catalan, Ministère de la Culture, Paris, 1999.

FLAREP, Fédération pour les langues régionales dans l'enseignement public: <http://www.flarep.com>.

Fraurud, Kari & Hyltenstam, Kenneth, Språkkontakt och språkbevarande: Romani i Sverige. In: Hyltenstam, K. (ed.) *Sveriges sju inhemska minoritetsspråk*, 241-298. Studentlitteratur, Lund, 1999.

Fusina, Jacques: 'Media audio-visuel et langue locale: le cas du corse', *Bretagne et peuples d'Europe. Mélanges à Per Denez*, Rennes, 1999

Gargallo, José Enrique 'Unha encrucillada pirenaica: a variedade occitana do Val de Arán'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei; Antón Santamarina Fernández, eds. *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Publ. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela, 1999.

Garmendia, Vincent: 'Domaine basque', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 116-123

Giochallas, T., *Markos Botsaris, Dictionary of Rum and Arvanítika*, Athens, 1993.

Grönfors, Martti, Finnish Rom: A Forgotten Cultural Group. In: *Cultural Minorities in Finland*, 147-160. Publications of the Finnish National Commission for Unesco, 66. Ministry of Education, Helsinki, 1995.

<http://www.eurosur.org/ai/19/afr1901.htm> (Situación actual de los pueblos bereberes)

http://www.euskadi.net/euskara/indice_i.htm

<http://www.galego.org>. is a detailed website on the Galician language.

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/9860/tamaz.html>.

http://www.verdeislam.com/vi_04/vi_412.htm.

Hudlett, Albert: 'Le bilinguisme français/allemand en Alsace', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 32-35.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Llengua i ensenyament al País Basc', pp. 18-48.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Bretanya', pp. 83-98.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Catalunya Nord', pp. 75-80.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', pp. 5-17.

Inform'APLEC, Associació per a l'ensenyament del català, nov. 1999: 'Ressenya del 13è col·loqui de la FLAREP', 'Alsàcia-Mosela', pp. 99-128.

Informação OlivençaNet website: <http://olivenca-net.cplp.net/>

Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Welsh in its Social Domains*. UW Press, Cardiff, 2000.

Kahl T., *Ethnizität und räumliche Verteilung der Aromunen in Südosteuropa*, Münstersche Geographische Arbeiten 43, 1999.

Katsanis K. & Ntinis K., *Grammar of common Vlach*, (in Greek), Archive of Vlach Studies, Thessalonika, 1990

KEMO, *The linguistic alterity in Greece*, (in Greek), Alexandria Pub./Minority Groups Research Centre, Athens 2001.

Kostopoulos T., *The forbidden language*, (in Greek), Black List pub., Athens, 2000.

Krammer J., *Aromunischer Sprachatlas*, H. Buske Verlag, Hamburg, 1985.

L. Baltiotis, 'Greek administration and minority education in Western Thrace', (in Greek), in Ê. Tsitselikis & D. Christopoulos (eds.) *The minority phenomenon in Greece*, Kritiki Athens 1997L.

Baltiotis & K. Tsitselikis, *The minority education of Thrace : Legal texts and comments* (in Greek), A.N. Sakkoulas/KEMO, Athens-Komotini 2001.

Lafont, Robert: 'L'occitan', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 81-84

Language Policy Report 1999 (Catalonia). <http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/informe/ang.htm>.

Laurent et Le Gallo: 'Domaine breton, Brest', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 124-131

Leiwo, Matti, Suomen romanikielen asemasta ja huollosta. In: Pekkola, Seppo (ed.) *Sadanmiehet*, pp. 127-139. Suomen kielen laitoksen julkaisuja 41. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä, 1999.

Lindgren, Anna-Riitta 2000. *Helsingin saamelaiset ja oma kieli*. Helsinki: SKS.

Llera Ramo, Francisco J., *Los asturianos y la lengua asturiana. Estudio sociolingüístico para Asturias*, Consejería de Educación, Deportes y Juventud del Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, 1994.

Luna, Carlos Eduardo da Cruz (2001) *O ensino do Português em Olivença*. [Unpublished]

Marteel, Jean-Louis: 'Le flamand dialectal du nord de la France', *TILV* n°27, mai 2000, pp. 72-75

Mesa Franco, Carmen; Sánchez Fernández, Sebastián, *Educación y situaciones bilingües en contextos multiculturales. Estudio de un caso: Melilla*. Laboratorio de estudios interculturales. Facultad de ciencias de la educación. Universidad de Granada, Granada, 1996.

Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Délégation générale à la langue française. Rapport au Parlement 2000 sur l'application de la loi du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française: <http://kapeskreol.online.fr/rapport2000.htm> :

Mohamed Hamed, Jadilla; Raha Ahmed, Rachid, *Tamazight y el Estatuto de Autonomía de Melilla*. Dossier Amazigh, 7. Colectivo de documentación y estudios amazighs, Granada, 1995.

Nagore Laín, Francho (1998) 'Los territorios lingüísticos en Aragón'. In: *Seminario sobre normalización lingüística de las lenguas minoritarias de Aragón: Zaragoza, 12 de noviembre de 1998*. Volumen 3.

Nagore Laín, Francho (1999) 'O aragonés'. In: Francisco Fernández Rei y Antón Santamaría Fernández (eds.) *Estudios de sociolingüística románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Nelde, Peter; Miquel Strubell & Glyn Williams, *Euromosaic: The Production and Reproduction of the Minority Language Groups in the European Union*. Luxembourg, Commission of the European Communities, 1996.

News About and From Ireland website: <http://www.thenisite.com/politics/ulsterscots.htm>
Newton, G. (ed.), *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and Communication at the Crossroads of Europe*. Clarendon, Oxford, 1996.

Nic Craith, M. 'The symbolism of language in Northern Ireland', in U. Kockel (ed.) *Landscape, Heritage and Identity: Case-studies in Irish Ethnology*. Liverpool University Press, 1995, pp. 11-46.

Nic Shuibhne, Niamh, *EC law and minority language policy*, Kluwer, forthcoming, January 2002.
O Pelourinho. Boletín de relaciones transfronterizas, 9, abril 1999. Ayuntamiento de Badajoz.

Ó Riagáin, P. (ed.) (1988). Language Planning in Ireland. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (special issue)*, 70.

O Riagain, Pádraig (1997): *Language Policy and Social Reproduction in Ireland 1893-1993*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O Riagain, Pádraig, *Language maintenance and language shift*. Strategies of social reproduction.

O Riagain, Pádraig, *Language Policy and Social Reproduction: Ireland 1893-1993*. Oxford Studies in Language Contact. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.

Office de la Langue Bretonne et Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne: <http://www.ofis-bzh.org/pages/fr/intfr.htm>.

Pomponi, Francis: 'Domaine corse', *Rapport...* (Bouvier), MEN, 1984, pp. 160-166

Rapport sur l'aire catalane en France, établi pour le MENRT, Perpignan, 1999.

Recalde, Montserrat (1997) *La vitalidad etnolingüística gallega*. Centro de Estudios sobre Comunicación Interlingüística e Intercultural, vol. 9. València: Universitat de València.

Seurujärvi-Kari, Irja, Aikio-Puoskari, Ulla, Matti Morottaja, Matti, Saressalo, Lassi, Pentikäinen, Juha & Hirvonen, Vuokko 1995. The Sami People in Finland. In: *Cultural Minorities in Finland*, 101-145. Publications of the Finnish National Commission for Unesco, 66. Helsinki: Ministry of Education

Siguan, Miquel, *L'Europa de les llengües*, Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1995. Spanish: *La Europa de las lenguas*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1996. French: *L'Europe des langues*, Mardaga, Liège & Paris, 1996. Portuguese: *A Europa das linguas*, Terramar, Lisboa, 1996. German: *Die Sprachen im vereinten Europa*, Stauffenburg Verlag, Tübingen, 2001.

Siguan, Miquel, *Multilingual Spain*. Coll. European Studies on Multilingualism, Vol 2. Swets & Zeitlinger; 1993.

Site d'information du CAPES de Créole: <http://kapeskreol.online.fr/index.htm>.

Tabouret-Keller, Andrée: 'Domaine alsacien et lorrain', *Rapport...* (op. cit.) pp. 100-115.

Tandefelt, Marika 1996. *På vinst och förlust*. Research Report 35. Helsinki: Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration.

The Roma People website: <http://home6.swipnet.se/~w-69051/romapeople.html>.

Thomson, D. S., Attitudes to linguistic change in Gaelic Scotland, in Davies, Winifred V., M. Mair Parry and Rosalind A. M. Temple (eds.) *The Changing Voices Of Europe. Social and political change and their linguistic repercussions, past, present and future*. University of Wales Press, Caerdydd, 1994, pp. 227-235.

Tsitselikis, K. *The international and European status of linguistic minority rights and the Greek legal order*, (in Greek), A.N. Sakkoulas, Athens Komotini 1996.

Tsitsipis, L., *A Linguistic Anthropology of Praxis and Language Shift. Arvanítika (Albanian) and Greek in contact*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.

Turell, M. Teresa, ed. *Multilingualism in Spain. Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Minority Language Groups*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001.

Ulster Scots Research Centre website: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Rhodes/1677/ullans.html>
V. Aarbakke, *The Turkish minority of Thrace, Greece*, PhD Thesis, School of history, Bergen University, Bergen 2001.

Van Boeschoeten R., 'Minority languages in Northern Greece. Study visit to Florina, Aridea' Report to the European Commission, 1993.

Various authors: *Les nouvelles législations dans l'Union Européenne / Le nuove legislazioni linguistiche nell'Unione Europea*. Ciemen / Editorial Mediterrània, Barcelona, 2001.

Welsh Language Board website: <http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk>

Williams, Colin (ed.), *Language Revitalisation: Policy and Planning in Wales*. UW Press, Cardiff, 2000.

Williams, Glyn & Delyth Morris, *Language Planning and Language Use – Welsh in a Global Age*.

University of Wales Press, Caerdydd, 1999.

University of Oulu www.oulu.fi

Winnifrith T., *Vlachs, The history of a Balkan people*, London, 1987.

Xunta pola Defensa de la Llingua Asturiana, *Llibru blancu de la recuperación y normalización llingüística d'Asturies*. Uviéu, 1996.

Annex 1

Distribution of projects funded by budget lines B3-1006 and, later, B3-1000, by project type and Member State, 1995-2000.

1995

	AU	B	DE	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	SW	UK	Total	%
Conferences	1			4		6			4		1	3	19	11%
Education	2			5	2	11		3	11	1		13	48	29%
Publication			1	5		8	1		6	1		4	26	16%
Research		2	2	4	2	9		2	8	2		5	36	22%
Media		2		2		8			7	2		2	23	14%
Cultural event		1	1			5		2	2	1		3	15	9%
TOTAL	3	5	4	20	4	47	1	7	38	7	1	30	167	100%

1996

	AU	B	DE	DK	ES	FIN	F	GR	IRL	I	NL	UK	Total	%
Conferences	1				4	1	5		1	2		3	17	11%
Education	2	1			11	1	8		2	16	1	5	47	29%
Publication	1		1		8		9	1		3	1		24	15%
Research		2	2		6	1	4	3	2	2	1	2	25	16%
Media	1				6		9			6	1	2	25	16%
Cultural event	2	2		1	5		4		2	4	1	1	22	14%
TOTAL	7	5	3	1	40	3	39	4	7	33	5	13	160	100%

1997

	AU	B	DE	DK	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	PO	UK	MLB	Total	%
Education																
Education project	3				9		12		1	5	1		2		33	20%
Conference		1	1		5	1	2		1	3			2		16	10%
Exchanges		1		2			1				1		1	1	7	4%
Pilot project		1	1		6	1				1	2		3	1	16	10%
Teaching material			1		6	1	10		2	5					25	16%
Research					3	1	1	1		1			1		8	5%
Media	1				1		1			1			2		6	4%
Standardisation	2		1		6		4			2					15	9%
Cultural event	1		1				2								4	2%
Publication					1		1			1			1	1	5	3%
Information					3		3			2			1	3	12	7%
Others					2		2			7				3	14	9%
TOTAL	7	3	5	2	42	4	39	1	4	28	4	0	13	9	161	100%

1998

	AU	B	DE	DK	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	PO	SW	UK	Total	%
Education																
Education project	1				12		10			9			3	3	38	21%
Conference			1	1	7	1	5		1	2	1		3	2	24	13%
Pilot project	1														1	1%
Teaching Material		1	1		9		5	1		10				1	28	16%
Research														1	1	1%
Media	2		1		12		5			4				1	25	14%
Standardisation	1	1	1		9		7		2	5				3	29	16%
Cultural event	4	1			2		7		1					1	16	9%
Publication												1			1	1%
Multimedia					3										3	2%
Others		1	1		4		1	1		1	1			2	12	7%
TOTAL	9	4	5	1	58	1	40	2	4	31	2	1	6	14	178	100%

1999

	AU	B	DE	DK	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	PO	SW	UK	Total	%
Education project	4				8	1	3		1	5	1		1	3	27	35%
Conferences			2	1	2		2			2				1	10	13%
Information & Dissemination		1	1	1	4		3				1				11	14%
Teaching material & Multimedia			1		10		5			4				2	22	28%
Others					2		2		1	1		1	1		8	10%
TOTAL	4	1	4	2	26	1	15	0	2	12	2	1	2	6	78	100%

2000

	AU	B	DE	DK	ES	FIN	FR	GR	IRL	IT	NL	P	SW	UK	Total	%
Language Resources	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	7	19
Language Skills	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	22
Direct Language Promotion	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	17
Social & Economic Aspects of Language	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	14
Media, New Technologies & Culture	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	10	28
TOTAL	5	3	2	0	3	2	8	0	0	5	0	1	1	6	36	100

Annex 2

Examples of good practice. Details.

1. Financial mobilising effect.

Case Study 1: Organisation: Iontaobhas Ultach/Ultach Trust

Project: Iomairt Cholm Cille/ Columba Initiative (<http://www.calumcille.org/>)

Duration of the project: From April 1998 to March 2000

Main objectives: The Columba Initiative Project has three main aims:

- 1- To develop strategies and projects in which the Gaelic language in Ireland and Scotland can draw together people from diverse backgrounds within and between each country and region;
- 2- To develop new relationships between communities and speakers;
- 3- To facilitate practical and sustainable cooperation between community networks and speakers of Scottish Gaelic in arts social cultural and economic affairs.

This project sets up mechanism for communication and exchange between Gaelic speakers in Ireland and Scotland; who are separated by intra- and interstate boundaries. Significantly, it is the first tripartite project between Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, is language focused, and achieves and it has contributed to the understanding of cultural diversity and pluralism.

Main results: An independent evaluation carried out by the organisers from November 1999 to June 2000 found that the Initiative had had the following results:

- 1- It had made measurable positive impacts in strategically important geographical areas and sectors;
- 2- It had succeeded in linking previously isolated communities
- 3- It had contributed to rebuilding personal and community esteem in relation to language and cultural issues.

Remarks: EU aid has secured the development of three partnerships. Without the EU support the Columba Initiative would have proceeded on a bipartite basis: Northern Ireland (NI) would not have been able to participate, with resulting loss to this and the other regions. This initiative has developed a programme and track record, which has provided the basis for subsequent funding from NI government revenue in 2000-2001 and 2001-2002. The Initiative had established its viability and value, with the result that the Department of Culture Arts and Leisure (Northern Ireland) subsequently funded it from mainstream government revenue funding.

The project showed a multiplier effect in drawing in institutions, such as universities in the Youth Parliament, voluntary activity, as in youth and community-based exchanges. It has been innovative in technology in context of the Irish and Scottish Gaelic: as the staff of four

is split between four offices, hundreds of miles apart, it depends on e-mail and audio-conferences for effective internal communication.

2. Multiplier effect.

Case Study 2: Project: Mercator Conference on Audio-visual Translation and Minority Languages

Duration of the project: From 15th November 1999 to 31st January 2001

Main objectives: This project has had two main objectives:

- i. To promote exchange of expertise and experience on minority audio-visual translation issues and to make available to those working in the field within minorities recent developments in theory and practice.
- ii. To form a network for ongoing dialogue on relevant issues.

Main results: The results of this conference are as follows:

The proceedings of conference were distributed Europe-wide.

Since the conference some of those present have raised issues initially mentioned at the conference in other international forums, for instance, the idea of some form of prize for excellence in of dubbing and subtitling has been discussed at the Celtic Film and Television Festival.

A network of specialists was established.

Remarks: The innovation of this project is worth noting. No such forum had previously existed for discussion of the relevant issues specifically between minorities on a European level; international dialogue on these issues is recent even between majority language communities, for instance, the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation having established only in 1995. Its multiplier effect was reflected on the fact that the expertise exchanged at the conference itself was carried by delegates back to their own communities. The European dimension was reflected in the discussion of standardisation of audio-visual translation practices across Europe.

3. Extrapolation

Case Study 3. Organisation: Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites

Project: SPELL – *Servisc de Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz Ladin*

Duration of the project: From 1996 to 1998

Main objectives: Development of a standard written language form for the Ladin language, including a basic dictionary and grammar.

Main results:

SpellBase: a comparative database of regional lexical forms

Formation of more than 9000 lexical entries in Standard Ladin.

First Dictionary and Grammar for Standard Ladin.

Descriptive databases with lexical entries about the 5 written idioms including local varieties.

The project was a big leap forward in terms of innovation: in fact, it was a decisive step to the computerisation of all available traditional dictionaries, which before were accessible only in paper format.

Remarks: This project made possible the co-operation between ideologically distant partners for the sake of common goals and gave the possibility to finance co-operation with universities and research institutions in other Member States of the Union. (Universities of Salzburg and Innsbruck, Austria; University of Eichstätt, Germany; and Papiros Edizioni from Sardinia, Italy). It was the first effort towards a common Ladin language development policy.

The project has successfully been presented on several conferences on minority issues and it is one clear example of how one successful initiative can be extrapolated to other similar situations. In this context, representatives of Friulian and Sardinian languages have been vividly interested in the results of this project and subsequently, both languages are now facing to start similar codification and standardisation projects, in the framework of the LINMITER project, promoted by Union Latine with support of the EU.

The European funding support has definitely allowed the development of this project and the local impact -on the public opinion- has been much stronger than without this assistance as well as the co-operation with scientific and minority institutions from other Member States would be weaker. Another element shared by many other projects is the fact that the prestige of getting EU funding has helped to raise additional funds from local authorities, which allowed the project to continue thereafter (in particular, the Autonomous Region of Trentino-Südtirol now gives a stable annual funding to the standardisation office). In addition to that, co-operation between different cultural organisations has become closer.

Remarks: The SPELL project led to the establishment of a permanent office for the standardisation of Ladin and, eventually, to a further project called *TermLeS*, launched in April 2001, and focused on the development of modern terminology for the Ladin and Sardinian languages. The major effort for next 18 months will be to put on the construction of a series of tagged corpora.

4. Action research.

Case Study 4: Organisation: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies. www.aber.ac.uk/~awcwww/

Project: Tourism and Language Use in Selected Bilingual Communities in Western Europe

Duration of the project: From 1999 to 2001

Main objectives: The aim of this project was to satisfy the urgent need for scientific research on the relationship between tourism, the in-migration of monolingual outsiders, and language shift, in order to prove or disprove the thesis that intensive tourist activity has a negative effect on the usage and reproduction of minority and lesser-used languages.

Main results: The research found a direct correlation between tourism and a decline in the percentage of Welsh-speakers in the language's traditional strongholds, i.e. non-Welsh-speakers permanently settled within areas in which they had previously spent vacations. Its focus on the Welsh example has brought important light to bear on a subject previously neglected.

The final comprehensive bilingual report (454 pp.) includes detailed recommendations. It has been distributed to the Wales Tourist Board, the Welsh Language Board, the local authorities in Wales, and the National Assembly for Wales. The councils of the two counties in Northwest Wales included in this project, as well as the Culture Committee of the National Assembly, have taken a keen interest in the research and have invited further evidence to be given on the findings. The project findings were also reported in an international conference held at Aberystwyth on 28 April 2001, where representatives from numerous European countries recounted the experiences of their own minority language communities of the effects of tourism. Delegates from Wales, Ireland, Scotland and Friesland contributed papers to the conference, which was attended by numerous representatives from central and local government, as well as agencies responsible for language planning, and numerous tourism enterprises.

Remarks: Strategic institutions within Wales will be able to use the findings of this research and its recommendations as a starting-point for their efforts to protect Welsh-speaking communities from further erosion and also to develop language-sensitive tourism. It is also hoped that similar research will be undertaken in other communities in Europe, so that the results and findings of this study can be compared to theirs. As most of the studied projects, without EU funding the organisers would not have been able to conduct fieldwork-based research nor collect valuable and dependable quantitative data to test their thesis.

5. Networking

Case Study 5: Organisation: Slovene Research Institute & European Academy of Bozen/Bolzano

Project: Incontro-Conferenza – Giornali quotidiani in lingua minoritaria/ European Network of Print Media. Future Co-operation of Minority Dailies

Duration of the project: First project from 1 October 1997 to 30 September 1998 and the second project from 15 November 1999 to 14 November 2000

Main objectives: A *first* conference of editors of daily newspapers in minority languages in the European Union was held in 1997 by the Slovene Research Institute in order to evaluate the possibilities of co-operation among those newspapers in different fields. A working group was established with the purpose to prepare a second meeting and to formulate the basis of broader co-operation. On the basis of this work a *second* conference

was organised by the European Academy of Bozen/Bolzano in 2000 with the EU support and, building on the success of these two conferences, a *third* one was organised with the support of the Balearic Government in April 2001 when the Association of Daily Newspapers in Minority Language (MIDAS) was established.

Main results: These three conferences offered the opportunity to put together media professionals from different minority language communities with similar problems and to find out the reasons, why these people should co-operate and how they could improve their activities through co-operation. It was the first time that representatives from all daily newspapers on minority language were working together including the smaller ones. This project gave to the organisers and their own communities a new and different vision of the problems, which are, in fact, similar in each community but needs different solutions from case to case.

Remarks: The results of all conferences were reported by most of the newspapers reported on the conference, some of them with full-page reports. The European dimension has been given by the presence of all newspapers in minority languages in the EU (more than 30 editors of minority dailies in Europe) and, as a final result, the creation and development of the European network MIDAS. The Association created with the support of the project represents over 40 million readers in Europe (including some EU candidate countries). The exchange of information through the network also makes the majority population more sensitive to the situation of various linguistic minorities and contributes in general to the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe. It should be also noted the active participation of editors from East European Countries. Other minority language groups without a daily have already contacted MIDAS to know about the support they might receive and to develop similar initiatives for others forms of minority language media (magazines, radio, etc.). The association will now develop its activities in three directions:

Co-operation with exchange of articles;

Support to communities, which have no daily newspaper, with the purpose of establishing one;

Joint activities to promote European policies in this domain.

The project has also promoted co-operation between the partners using new technologies: for instance, five of them have ongoing joint activities since 2000 in the context of the **eContent programme**.

1998: <http://www.cdt.ch/magazinearch/010305/magazine/tutti.htm> (Corriere del Ticino)

2000: <http://www.eurac.edu/press/dinamic.asp?which=120> (European Academy Bozen/Bolzano)

<http://www.ines.org/apm-gfbv/ladin/comunicac/2000/4-5-it.html> (Associazione per i popoli minacciati)

<http://www.regio7.com/prminor/index.htm> (Regió 7)

Case Study 6: Organisation: Højskolen Østersøen

Project: Minority Course 1997-2001 for young Europeans active in NGOs

Duration of the project: From 1997 to 2001 (2002)

Main objectives: This is a clear example of continuity as its origins dated from 1997 until now. Every year the organisers, Højskolen Østersøen, bring young Europeans with both majority and minority backgrounds together on European issues, where the experiences of minorities are particularly relevant: How to exist within a multi-national, multi-cultural and multi-lingual political community such as the EU.

Main results: The result of all these four years of experience has been the creation of a networking between over 300 young Europeans on a personal level as well as networking among the participants NGOs. More than 35 minority language groups have been involved in this event (plus the corresponding majority groups) coming from EU countries, candidates applying for EU Member States and Third countries, just as an example; Frisian, Flemish, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Russian from the Baltic countries, Komi, Udmurt, Ukriane, Roma, Albanian, Breton, Basque, Galician, Catalan, Alsatian, Slovene from Austria and Italy, German from South Tyrol, Sorb, Silesian, Ruthen, Casubian, German from Hungary and Croatia, Serb from Croatia, Aland Islands, Tornedalfins, German from Czech Republic, Hungarians from Slovakia, Ukraine, Vojvodina and Romania.

Each event has been followed by the continuing dissemination of young people's ideas on Europe to NGOs, politicians, media, educators in Denmark and Europe. It has to be stressed that this project has achieved the introduction of a European dimension within Danish non-formal education, which is now also recognised by the Danish Ministry of Education which, at present, supports the project financially on a special dispensation. This is one of many examples of how EU support is instrumental in opening new avenues of financial support, such as regional authorities. In this case, the prestige of having EU support, and the proven experience, effectiveness and success of the project after years of running has promoted the official Danish support.

Co-operation between them has been facilitated by the creation of a web community around the web site of the project People site at <http://www.people.hojoster.dk>, a perfect platform for disseminating news, information and project proposals across Europe. This website currently has over 100 visitors per day and articles are disseminated to a mailing list of over 800 Europeans. Another important achievement of the Minority Course events has been the creation of the European Association for Community Colleges working for a European debating public with community colleges, with the Minority Courses as model, as a kind of citizens forums for debating European issues (<http://www.acc.eu.org>).

Remarks: The added value of the organisation Folk High School was the introduction of an European dimension within their work meaning obtaining European partners, having a network of young Europeans providing alternatives views on Europe and regional issues, being more familiar with current European issues among other things, providing an alternative perspective on also issues within a strictly Danish context. Since the beginning, the project has perfectly provided an active platform of discussion (also virtual) for the

European youth and with the multiplier effect that the participants have developed closed personal relations face to face and generally making them more experienced working internationally.

Case Study 7: Organisation: Basque government. Deputy Ministry for Language Policy

Project: Network of Language Policy Agents

Duration of the project: 23rd November- 4th December 1998 and 2-6 October 2000 (to be continued during 2001 without EU funds)

Main objectives: The project aimed to train agents, to create linguistic standard material in different languages and to promote co-operation agreements and set up common projects between linguistic planning agents and organisations in different European language communities. A first meeting was organised with different heads of language planning from the following regional language bodies; Xunta de Galicia (ES), Generalitat de Catalunya (ES), Conseil Général de Pyrénées Atlantiques (F), Institut Occitan (F), Institut Culturel Basque (F), Centre inter-regional de Developpement de l'Occitan (F), Institut Culturel de Bretagne (F). The result was the organisation of two seminars dealing with different aspects related to language: (i) toponymy (in June 2000, San Sebastian with special guests from the Language Policy of Quebec) and (ii) the promotion of the use of the language in the area related to social movements and enterprises (in February-March 2001, Alava, with the same participants).

Main results: The attending bodies have been able to find out points in common in order to strengthen the element of co-operation between official language boards or governmental departments who deal with language planning. These seminars have certainly increased the knowledge and understanding of the linguistic situation among minority languages across Europe. Issues on which the partners involved could co-operate in the future were identified and stable links have been forged with language experts.

Remarks: The wide impact of the project on the promotion of languages across Europe, especially on the field of planning education, has been ensured by the high number of minority language agents as participants. This project has been an example of a celebration of linguistic and culture diversity in terms of encouraging the strategic planning for the development of minority languages and to promote co-operation across language communities. It has brought together expertise in official language planning and organisations that promote the use of languages.

As a result of the establishment of this Network of Language Planning Agents, two concrete bilateral agreements are foreseen for the immediate future: a Conference on Official Minority Language Bodies in Europe organised by the Basque Government in collaboration with the Welsh Language Board (UK), *Commun Na Gaidhlig* (UK), Berye Foar it Frysk (NL) and Folktinget (FIN) and, secondly, a project which deals with Language Transmission within families were the Basque and Frisian Language Policy Units will exchange their own knowledge and methodology on this matter.

6. Employment opportunities

Case Study 8: Organisation: Jongereinferiening FYK (Frysk Ynternasjonaal Kontakt, Frisian International Contacts) in co-operation with the umbrella organisation YEN/JCEE/JEV Youth of European Nationalities

Project: Simmerbarren 500 and employment

Duration of the project: From 25th July to 1st August 1998 (2 years of preparation and 8 months of after finishing work)

Main objectives: One of the main goals of the project was to invite young Europeans from economic periphery regions to discuss employment problems and challenges and generate solutions. Other goals were:

- (1) to make young people more aware of their own powers, potentials and identity,
- (2) to encourage their cross-border co-operation,
- (3) to promote international understanding,
- (4) to generate ideas about future developments in the areas of work and employment
- (5) to foster dialogue on the effects of European integration on employment in Europe
- (6) to encourage co-operation between local, regional and international organisations and
- (7) to create awareness among young people of the job market in economically lesser developed areas of Europe.

The subject “work” was considered from five different perspectives: the individual, culture, education, government and environment. Each sub-theme was the main theme of one of the five Simmerbarren 500 locations, where activities were to be held. Major elements in the activities were co-operation, competition, communication, regulations, emotion, imagination and simulation.

Main results: About 85 outside professionals contributed to the programme, which comprised workshops, lectures, excursions and leisure activities. Some workshops were held twice or thrice, in different locations. Almost 300 participants from 20 countries took part in the programme. Highlights of the project were the opening ceremony, several well-organised workshops producing products like a business plan for recycling of batteries or a theatre play on different job situations. Participants explored the way culture and economy are interacting and discovered what “employability” and “empowerment” mean.

A report about possibilities of improving the employment situation in regions like Fryslân was presented to the local and regional governments to stimulate discussion around the position of young people who don’t want to leave their home area and to initiate new activities in this field. An innovative element was the promotion of the Euro by using special coins, which were made especially for use during the Simmerbarren 500 week.

As a follow-up some Frisian Simmerbarren participants attended a seminar on economic development in Italy in October 1998 and a group of Slovene youngsters were inspired on this project and organised an exchange which took place in summer 2000.

Remarks: The organisation was by young people for young people, increasing the effectiveness with which to reach the target group. Participants learnt how to make their own business plans and how to use new technologies at work. Those Frisian participants who were not able to write or read their language fluently registered for Frisian language courses and have become more aware of the specific economic features of the region.

Around Easter 2002 a youth conference will be organised by FYK as a follow up on Simmerbarren 500 and by young people who attended for the first time during the Simmerbarren 500 project.

7. Experimental and innovative methods.

Case Study 9: Organisation: Ttakun Kultur Elkartea

Project: The learning of Basque in peer-groups (kuadrillategi) in Basque-speaking areas

Duration of the project: 1998-2001 (EU funding only for first year 1998)

Main objectives: a) To promote the establishment of Basque-speaking habits, and b) improving Basque proficiency among existing informal groups or bands of youngsters, called “kuadrillategi” in Basque. The work has centred on natural groups – existing informal networks – and not ad hoc groups set up with this experience.

Main results: 81 youngsters belonging to 11 groups took part in the project. On average the Spanish-speaking groups received 242 hours of exposure to the project, while the Basque-speakers received 107 hours. At the individual level, a significant increase was achieved in the oral expressive capacity of 63% of the Spanish-speakers. At the group level, 17% of the Spanish-speakers developed a new language in Basque with people in their environment, in their informal network of friends. Finally, at the intergroup level, numerous new relationships, often of great intensity, developed between youngsters of different language habits, specifically in 10% of all possible binary relationships. However, what was most remarkable about these new relationships was that they were virtually all (99% of cases) in Basque, which thus emerged as the instrument of integration and communication between the two sets of groups.

Remarks: This project, designed on a very limited budget, achieved optimum results. As a result, a cultural association has been set up with the specific objective of spreading the project throughout the Basque country, and it is at the same time a model, which could be adapted and adopted, in other linguistic communities. As from September 2001 the Kuadrillategi project will spread to 10 towns in the province of Guipúzcoa, involving 400 youngsters. What makes the project original is the method employed: teaching Basque to natural groups as the basis for learning and practising language habits. This work pattern showed that the rate of learning and the chances of success in learning were higher than in school contexts.

8. European dimension.

Case Study 10: Organisation: Various organisers

Project: Euroskol

Duration of the project: From 1988 to 2001

Main objectives: The main objective is to bring together young people who speak minority languages, especially those who are receiving their education through the medium of a lesser-used language, with a view to fostering understanding among them and encouraging them to be proud of their own linguistic and cultural identity.

Main results: Euroskol is the most important event for minority language schools in the European Union. Since 1988, seven different Euroskol has been organised by different hosted language communities:

- Euroskol '88 - Llydaw (F)
- Ewrosgol '91 - Cymru (UK)
- Euroskoalle '93 - Fryslan (NL)
- Evrosola '95 - Slovenia (I)
- Euroschule '97 - Nord Schleswig (D)
- Iurosgoil'99 - Islands of Lewis and Harris (Scotland, UK)
- Euroschool 2001- Ladin (I)

Each event has involved some 400 children from abroad, normally from 10 or 12 States and at least 600 local children gathering for a three-day festival of culture and sport. The minority language communities which have attended this event so far are the following: Irish (Ireland), Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Irish (United Kingdom), Sami (Sweden), Frisian (Netherlands), Flemish (Belgium), German (Denmark), Sorbian, Danish, North Frisian (Germany), Breton, Basque, Catalan, Occitan (France), Basque, Catalan (Spain), Slovene, Croat (Austria), French, Slovene, Ladin, Friulian (Italy). The arrangements are often organised by local schools and supported by local and regional authorities as well as the European Commission.

Remarks: It has developed solidarity among minority languages medium education systems, it has inspired thousands of young people to be self-confident and proud of their own language and culture and to view themselves in a European context. It has captured the public imagination more than most other LUL projects.

Lesser-used language-speakers are often accused of being isolationist. Euroskol gave the lie to this. It is pan-European, a celebration of diversity, open, vibrant and a fun occasion. And while the young people enjoy themselves, their teachers, youth leaders, parents etc. have an opportunity to formally or informally share ideas and experiences.

9. Multi-annual support.

Case Study 11: Organisation: The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages
<http://www.eblul.org/>

Project: The Study Visits Programme

Duration of the project: from 1983 to 2001-2.

Main objectives: Since 1983 until now, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) has co-ordinated the Study Visits Programme co-financed by the European Commission, which consists of an annual series of study trips to regional or minority languages communities in the European Union. These visits aim to promote an active policy from European institutions in favour of minority languages.

The main function of the study visit programme is to strengthen awareness of Europe's regional or minority languages and to facilitate a sharing of information and experiences among "multipliers" [those actively working for lesser used languages] in the domains of language planning, education, media and public administration by enabling them to visit a region other than their own, in which a minority language is spoken.

The main objectives of the study visits are the following:

- To allow the study of educational, cultural, administrative and media structures relating to the regional or minority languages and cultures in the EU.
- To acquire ways of promoting minority languages and to adopt a specific technique of their development.
- To disseminate communication strategies and techniques for the regional or minority languages in question.
- To have a multiplier effect.
- To respond to the demands of the promotion of the minority languages, clearly within their area of activity.
- To encourage the exchange of experience.
- To provide high-quality information - carefully selected and updated - concerning regional or minority languages.

Main results: Each year 6 or 7 visits are organised, taking one week and involving over 68 participants. Since 1983, more than 105 visits, aimed at people or groups involved in promoting minority languages, have been organised in 41 linguistic communities. Thanks to this project, funded by the DG for Education and Culture, 1,140 Europeans have so far taken part in these visits. Four visits are planned each year for 2001 and 2002.

Remarks: This experience has greatly enhanced knowledge among language activists and others of the situation obtaining in other regions and on other peoples' efforts to promote their languages. It has also worth stressing that these visits help to build up a sense of solidarity among those working for minority languages.

The Study Visit Project has had a very real multiplier effect, not only between the host communities and the participants, but also among the participants themselves. Besides the "official" multiplier effect, a lot of informal networking has grown out of contacts made by

participants. Ideas gleaned by participants certainly inspired them to emulate good ideas and practice they saw while on the visit and thus led to new initiatives.

Case Study 12: Organisation: European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages

<http://www.eblul.org>

Project: Eurolang <http://www.eurolang.net>

Duration of the project: 1999-2001

Main objectives: Eurolang was established on 1 February 2000 as a new agency with the aim of providing daily coverage of minority language issues in the European Union, aimed to media.

Main results: Eurolang has customer relations with over 40 media in radio, television, print and Internet. Its website has a daily rate of 175 visitor sessions. The majority of outlets surveyed use this service regularly for reprint or background. For example the BBC, universities and the European Commission feature among the top visitors. By the end of the year 2000, it had published over 500 articles on its site, a team of ten correspondents throughout Europe and Brussels office staff providing the stories.

Remarks: Eurolang has provided comprehensive wide-ranging coverage of issues from the situation of minorities in Austria to language legislation in Finland. Approximately half of the service is available in Swedish due to funding by the Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland. Articles are also available in French, German and other languages. Eurolang also recently began to expand its coverage of the applicant countries by attaching a journalist in Slovakia to the team. This project is a public service carried out to increase democratic awareness in the European Union and can be viewed as any public service media outlet.

10. Cross-border projects.

Case Study 13: Organisation: Welsh Language Board

Project: Celtic Languages Initiative (CELI) <http://www.celi.eu.com/>

Duration of the project: From 1997/98 to 2000

Main objectives: The project had four main aims:

To develop language support materials in four Celtic languages (Breton, Welsh, Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic) in the vocational context.

To enable the target audience – young students in vocational education - to continue to develop their language skills at an important phase in their lives.

To share experience and expertise in a group project that would enable partners to benefit from each other's strengths, including the development of technology.

To promote and safeguard the Celtic languages and cultures in age groups that are critical to the well-being of these languages for future generations.

Main results: Twelve modules scripted, filmed and produced, along with textual items in these four languages and English on pilot Web site. The approach discussed by the participants envisaged a range of experiences from leaving school/college (job-seeking, applying for posts, preparing a CV, letters of application, etc.), the interview phase (prior preparation, questions that might be asked, questions the applicant might ask, etc.), starting work (new environment, work conditions, relationships, etc.) to further progress (promotion, responsibility, marriage and family, raising children bilingually, choosing schools, etc.). The following subject areas have been covered:

Ireland: a) Language acquisition and maintenance; b) Job applications / writing CVs / interviews; c) Language of socialising.

Wales: a) Employers' views on bilingual personnel; b) Young parents and bilingual childcare; c) Continuing education.

Brittany: a) Computing and e-mail; b) Music and popular culture; c) Interpersonal relations.

Scotland: a) Young people in the workplace; b) Cultural tourism; c) Graduates and employment.

Further EU support would allow the Welsh Language Board to develop, as a final result of the project a Web site, where users of any of these languages would therefore be able to make full use of all the modules in their own language.

Remarks: This project was remarkable in that it achieved a high level of co-operation from all partners in four countries, and in that it produced an end-product which was relevant to all. Some partners felt that their Celtic language was not in such a strong position as that of the others, and the “strong helped the weaker” as it were. The project used IT and digital media editing technologies. The partnerships fostered among the young people as they worked - realising their common goals and problems in using minority languages- in vocational contexts. Students gained much from their experiences and expanded their technical expertise. They became aware of issues related to language planning in a practical way. Consequently, the work of the young people in the production was essential, and they played a leading role in the project. This form of co-operation proved to be a valuable form of personal development for the young people involved. They enabled the end product to reflect the style and tastes of the generation for whom the project was intended and it also make possible to keep production costs within reasonable limits.

The project has been promoted at events in each country, including a tour of Brittany by *Coleg Meirion Dwyfor* with a musical revue that they composed and performed specially for the project.

It is worth stressing the potential value of the project to other communities with less widely used or regional languages, with a further dissemination of their results via Internet to a wider audience than the Celtic world. It could be an example to encourage young people from other language communities to continue to use their language into adult and working life and to help them to pass on their language to their own children.

11. New technologies.

Case Study 14: Organisation: Förderverein für Jiddische Sprache und Kultur e.V.

Project: Jiddische Sprache und Kultur zum Selbststudium im Internet

Duration of the project: 1999/ planned Internet presence unlimited

Main objectives: To facilitate distance self-learning of Yiddish with the use of new technologies such as Internet by developing a language and culture course and to familiarise Internet users with Yiddish language and culture as it existed in Europe up to the Holocaust and communicate its relevance in the framework of present-day European societies: The heritage of the Yiddish speaking minority is an inspiring alternative to the idea of a monolingual and monocultural one-nation-state.

Main results: The result of the project is a “Jiddischkurs” website²¹⁶, which became accessible in January 2001. It is a success story in itself: between 15 January and 21 May 2001, 446,235 hits were made to the service by the 10,988 visitors. Access to the course occurred from countries throughout Europe and indeed the world, and 425 links have been made from other web sites to this service. Technology allows the course to be permanently available to all. The flexible use of multimedia facilities allows for a well-rounded didactic presentation of the materials in all their dimensions (sound, maps, pictures, slide shows etc.) The course is user-driven: users can depart from their own vantage point, quite unlike classical approaches (books, classroom courses). Thanks to hyper-links and bar navigation the course is simple to follow. The indexing methods make the materials fully transparent and well suited for research.

Remarks: The synergy of different components makes this project special: employing highly developed information technology in exploiting a multi-faceted archive of a minority culture heritage, combined with an unpretentious presentation while guaranteeing the academic state of the arts. A good product was achieved with minimal cost. “Jiddischkurs” was projected as a kind of marketing action in the framework of disseminating the whole content of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry (project EYDES). Without EU funding “Jiddischkurs” could not have been accomplished and EYDES would be more difficult to achieve.

The EU support highlighted the fact that the integration of the Yiddish minority culture in the European consciousness is a multi-lateral European effort, not only a German one. For the German initiators, it facilitates the winning of international partnership, and has spurred the acceptance of the “Jiddischkurs”. “Jiddischkurs” multiplies the knowledge about Yiddish language and culture immensely. The culture presented in *Jiddischkurs* is of European origin; it was developed over the past 1000 years starting in the Rhine and Danube valley and later transported eastward to the Ukraine and Baltic countries too. All European cultures have been affected by Jewish heritage and most of the EU Member

²¹⁶ <http://www.jiddischkurs.org/>.

States have had close exchange with the Yiddish-speaking minority. Thus Jiddischkurs addresses a general European topic, as confirmed by the number of visitors of the web site and the impact on the media.

Case Study 15: Organisation: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Project: Television and Interculturalism in Brittany, Galicia and Wales.

<http://www.usc.es/xorna/television.htm>

Duration of the project: From 01.06.1997 to 01.06.1998

Main objectives: The state and comparative analysis of audio-visual production and broadcasting in each of the languages of these countries, seen from the different systems of public television and the priorities given to identity goals.

Main results: Audio-visual production and dissemination in the lesser-used languages is linked to the existence of public televisions whose identity policies are defined minimally and may benefit from the changes brought about by technological convergence and new forms of markets. The final report of the project has been published in the 3 original languages – and in English - and a book has been published in Breton and in French. The research results were presented at the IAMCR Conference –Glasgow, July 1998- and published in the “*Anuario UNESCO/UMESP de comunicacao regional 1998*”, Sao Paulo, Brasil. This project was followed by a second part in 1998-1999, titled “Towards an integrated European minority languages Television” with EU support. This time responsibility lay with the University of Wales-Bangor; it included new partners from Ireland and Catalonia. It has completed the overview of the media sector as well as updated training and learning needs and started a database of the active companies in the different regions in order to promote an Intranet in each region and a future trans-regional database.

Remarks: The establishment of the *USC Audio-visual Observatory* in order to following the changes and the activities of the actors within the sector and increase their awareness on relationship between cultural, economics and political measures to support contents in lesser-used languages. Another pilot project is envisaged, to discuss interactive minority language broadcasting in given geopolitical and multicultural areas, including the Atlantic Arc.

Annex 3

Other material associated with the conclusions and recommendations of the Report

After the desk research and the interviews with the key players it should be kept in mind that the acceptance of and knowledge about regional and minority languages is (with the exception of a well-informed in-group) as good as inexistent. Because of a lack of sufficient information on these languages they are often considered to be useless side issues, and as a result they are not allowed as a working language within the EU or even in national institutions. By cutting the specific minority language related budget line the EU has abandoned a direct funding possibility of a valuable part of its cultural and language diversity, in spite of the fact that a positive discrimination in the form of extra programmes for those groups, notably the minority speech communities, is indispensable. Therefore it can, on the basis of this part of the Report, be concluded that:

- (1) the future promotion of regional and minority languages demands a specific programme and
- (2) future actions on regional and minority languages need to be embedded in an overall transparent multicentric language policy which does not exclude regional and minority languages.

In what follows recommendations are given that could help to counter the inadequacies that are highlighted in both conclusions. Parts of these recommendations draw on information obtained from both the desk research and the interviews.

a. Recommendations for a specific programme for regional and minority languages

The reason that the transfer of preparatory work for the implementation of a programme dedicated to Regional and Minority languages has not yet succeeded is essentially bureaucratic. It is too soon to say whether the unanimity clause will be dropped from Article 151 or whether a new specific article on diversity (see art. 22 of the Charter for Fundamental Rights) will be incorporated into the treaties.

Such a programme should also – in the course of the programmes on the various mother tongues as envisaged by EU-Commissioner Viviane Reding – be laid down as an appendix to the European Year of Languages. Concrete recommendations are as follows:

1. The programme must have common interfaces in a way with other EU-programmes. An example is the MLIS Programme that clearly displayed such overlaps. This proves to be the only way to generate synergic effects and to inter-link regional and minority languages with the majority languages in a more effective way. It is hard to understand why in the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF-FEDER)²¹⁷ no references are made to regional and minority languages.
2. The size of eligible projects has to be adapted to the reality of the social demand of small regional and minority language groups, which means that there is a need for smaller projects, for smaller but more numerous grants and for a regularity in the calls for proposals.

²¹⁷ <http://www.inforegio.org>.

3. A true representation of the minority membership and recognised outside specialists should be included in both planning, administration and implementation of projects.
4. An up-to-date situational assessment of minority activities, services and needs should precede any project planning.
5. Experienced and qualified EU staff should be available to help to prepare and monitor the projects. This also means that training should be offered to local communities in coping with EU matters.

b. Recommendations for an over-arching multicentric European language policy

As stated in the Introduction to this Report, there is a clear need for the Union to take stock of the varied aspects of language policy and to integrate them into a coherent whole.

In view of a European language policy especially the interviews with the key players have made clear that the needs of the language groups in Europe are so heterogeneous that a single uniform language policy cannot please all ethnolinguistic and minority groups. Consequently the aim should be a multicentric language policy.

A possible way towards such a multicentric language policy is – in accordance with the findings of the Euromosaic-study - the concept of community development that was extensively influenced by contact linguistics. The concept of community development is strongly related to the minority-linked autochthonous linguistic and regional politics. The autochthonous minority speech communities are characterised by an economically and in many cases also a geographically marginal situation. But still they manage to develop their own dynamic. As a consequence of the decreasing importance of nation states these communities have to meet social responsibilities as an autonomous system. One of the major tasks of a multicentric language policy is to be found in the support of the further development of these communities as autonomous systems against the background of local, regional and global challenges. The European principles of subsidiarity, cross-border mobility and the promotion of peripheral areas make clear that regions in the course of their development are not only in need of administratively-differentiated concepts but also need such concepts that are directed towards an advancement of the collective awareness of the community. The concept of community development thereby consciously focuses on such domains as media, legislation, education, economy or advertising that are operationalised for a specific minority. By means of the involvement of language planning experts whose task it is to inform and train representatives of the communities the concept ultimately aims at a greater self-sustainment for the communities in question.

A corresponding language policy also aiming at strengthening communities should then follow some fundamental principles:

1. Many monolinguals think that in bilingual countries all citizens speak two languages. Bilingualism, however, can also mean that two languages exist side by side and enjoy - in theory, at least - the same status and the same rights. This, so-called institutionalised multilingualism is a consequence of the territoriality principle, where people living in a region declared monolingual by the authorities in charge are obliged to use the regional language, at least for official communication. The territoriality principle is to be distinguished from the individuality principle. The latter allows each speaker to use his or her mother or other tongue in all official and private domains, regardless of where he or she lives. With regard to EU-programmes this means that particularly programmes on the European level for economic regional development should match the needs of regional

and minority languages in such a way that these languages have a chance of continuing to be, or recovering the status of, a language of business in their region.

2. Positive discrimination in favour of language minorities should become the focus of attention - an aspect, which could be most favourable for the language minorities of a future Europe. Positive discrimination means granting more rights and advantages to minorities than they would be entitled to according to the proportional system so that they can develop a linguistic reproduction potential, which is comparable to that of the majority. As far as asymmetric and particularly institutionalised multilingualism as described above is concerned, the structure of the educational system should, if necessary, explicitly promote the minority which should be given a chance to produce similar results as the majority. In practice, this might imply accepting smaller classroom numbers for speakers of smaller languages in schools, or providing salary bonuses to teachers confronted with special requirements. Minority students should enjoy more rights and advantages, because they are weaker in terms of social prestige and number. In this way they will gain equal chances of advancement in the long run. A specific budget line for regional and minority languages could be easily derived from this.

Migrant and autochthonous groups, both territorial and otherwise, predominantly experience the same negative effects of a European environment, which has, in the past, granted comparatively poor status to their languages and cultures. They share a common disadvantage with respect to the dominant group and linguistic ideology in each country, and to this extent co-operation between these groups would seem to be in their common interest, with a view to the acknowledgement of linguistic rights. This kind of co-operation seems reasonable, given that similar disadvantages call for common solutions. The new, often socially defined minorities such as the aforementioned migrants, guest workers, returnees, persons repatriated, re-settlers, refugees, emigrants and trans-migrants undoubtedly find themselves at the heart of European politics. All these groups have produced a new consciousness among minority populations, and the spin-off for the autochthonous communities studied in this Report can only be beneficial. Other factors also play in favour of the regional or minority language communities:

- The impact of new trends such as a renaissance of dialects and minority languages;
- A new, regional consciousness, aimed at smaller units - like the 'small is beautiful' movements of the sixties and seventies -, which have succeeded in attracting more and more attention on the part of researchers, politicians and those in charge of cultural matters regarding socio-culturally significant minorities, which meanwhile strongly affects economic policy as well, is undisputable, if Europe is to be culturally viable.

In summary, the desk research and the interviews lead to the conclusion that in the main, and with notable exceptions, DG Education and Culture, in particular, is acting according to the principles of European diversity, but that the language question is not explicitly followed in most programmes on the European level. Little or no information can be obtained at the central European level for many such programmes, given that decision-making is brought down to the level of the Member State in application of the subsidiarity principle. The result is a situation of insecurity on the European and national level where information could be obtained and where decisions are made.

Therefore one of the tasks of the European Parliament could be to work towards the building up of a clear organisational structure for the promotion of regional and minority languages.

Annex 4

Declarations made by EU Member States at the time of ratifying or signing the Charter.

France stated in the Declaration contained in the full powers handed to the Secretary General at the time of signature of the instrument, on 7 May 1999, that at the time of ratifying the Charter it would state that ‘In so far as the aim of the Charter is not to recognise or protect minorities but to promote the European language heritage, and as the use of the term ‘groups’ of speakers does not grant collective rights to speakers of regional or minority languages, the French Government interprets this instrument in a manner compatible with the Preamble to the Constitution, which ensures the equality of all citizens before the law and recognises only the French people, composed of all citizens, without distinction as to origin, race or religion.’ A number of similar restrictive statements were made with respect to Article 7-1, paragraph f, and Article 8. It is worth noting that France’s ratification of the Charter has been blocked by discrepancies between the president and the Government, on constitutional grounds; however, the recent passage of the bill according Corsica some degree of home rule breaks down, in practice, some of the constitutional objections to the Charter.

The Declaration transmitted by a letter from the Deputy Permanent Representative of **Germany**, dated 23 January 1998, identified as ‘minority’ languages Danish, Upper Sorbian, Lower Sorbian, North Frisian and Sater Frisian and the Romany language of the German Sinti and Roma; and a single ‘regional’ language, Low German.

Spain made Declarations contained in the instrument of ratification deposited on 9 April 2001, to the effect that the languages recognised as official languages in the Statutes of Autonomy of the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Galicia, Valencia and Navarra were to be regarded as ‘regional or minority languages’; and that furthermore, ‘the languages protected by the Statutes of Autonomy in the territories where they are traditionally spoken are also considered as regional or minority languages.’ **Sweden** made a Declaration (deposited on 9 February 2000), to the effect that Sami, Finnish and Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish) are regional or minority languages; and that Romani Chib and Yiddish shall be regarded as non-territorial minority languages in Sweden. The **United Kingdom** made two Declarations in Notes Verbales (27 March 2001): The first declares that the Charter applies to mainland Britain and Northern Ireland, and thus excludes the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands (which are not in the European Union, incidentally). The second declares that Part III of the Charter applies to Welsh, Scottish-Gaelic and Irish; and that Scots and Ulster Scots meet the Charter’s definition of a regional or minority language for the purposes of Part II.