Multilingualism in Europe
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STUDY GUIDE
A Resource Book for Students

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THE NOTION AND THE ROOTS OF MULTILINGUALISM

The world has been in a process of structural transformation for over more than two decades. The widespread economic, political, and cultural changes have made it essential to make sense of the processes known collectively as “globalization”. Globalization is a term that is commonly used to characterize the intensified flows of capital, goods and people, conditioned by fundamental effects of information technology on the contemporary world. The world is witnessing the economic and social dynamics of the new age of information (Castells 2000, 2005, Castells, Cardoso 2005).

The postmodern globalization is related to the intensification of this process due to the mass-media technologies, the role of media in transforming the world must then figure prominently in any account of globalization (see Appadurai’s Modernity at Large 1996).
The globalization cannot be understood when it is ‘de-historicized’ (see Bloomaert 2010: 13), therefore, all the transformations in space and time have to be examined as a complex phenomenon that involves constantly changing situations in the city, region or state.

According to Castells and Cardoso, globalization is based on networks that transcend boundaries and make network society global. Thus, global networks of capital, goods, services, labour, communication, information, science, and technology pervade throughout the planet. Globalization is another way to refer to the network society (2005: 3–5). In the new network economy, autonomy and flexibility are crucial as they allow us “to pull together resources to attain a critical mass, enabling them to compete in the market; small and medium business networks become providers and subcontractors to a variety of large corporations; large corporations, and their ancillary networks, engage in strategic partnerships on various projects concerning products, processes, markets, functions, resources, each one of this project being specific, and thus building a specific network around such a project, so that at the end of the project, the network dissolves and its components form other networks around other projects. Thus, at any given point in time, economic activity is performed by networks of networks built around specific business projects” (Castells, Cardoso 2005: 8). However, global market networks include individuals, not only institutions. Because of the instability and constant uncertainty, labour markets are keen for flexibility of employment, mobility of labour, and constant re-skilling of the workforce. Advancement of technologies has a close correlation with employment, organizational innovation, and standards of living of workers (Castells, Cardoso 2005: 10–11).

Communication is organized around media businesses that are global and local at the same time, and include TV, radio, the print press, audiovisual production, book publishing, music recording and distribution, and on line commercial companies. The communication system is more and more digitized, and interactive. Therefore, digital communication becomes less centrally organized. The network society and communication is diffused throughout the Internet and potentially can reach the whole planet. The explosion of different forms of interactive, computer to computer communication develops a new system of global, horizontal communication networks that, for the first time in history, allow people to communicate with each other without going through the channels constructed by the institutions.

As it is known, politics largely depends on the public space of socialized communication. Political opinions, and political behaviour, are formed in the space of communication. The domination of the media works through a fundamental
mechanism: presence or absence of a message in the media space. Everything that is absent from this space cannot reach the public, thus it becomes a non-entity. This nature of media politics has great consequences on the political process and on the institutions of society (Castells, Cardoso 2005: 12–15).

The 20th century was marked by significant changes in technological developments, explosion of information, mobility, and, consequently, language practices. Multilingualism became a feature of a contemporary global world. However, we have to admit, that multilingualism is not a new phenomenon in the history of the humanity, although the situation of nowadays is very different from previous experiences. The new sociolinguistic situation involves language policies and practices, ideologies, education, and teaching languages. Multilingualism has long been of interest of researchers, but mostly from sociolinguistic studies. Recent research into multilingualism has expanded into many new areas across many different disciplines. The multiple nature of multilingualism has brought issues in defining the object, as different traditions, methods and theories were used in this area.

Multilingual individuals may have different aims for using languages in different social or cultural contexts; their proficiency in one or the other language may be different and change over the time; their languages may have different functions and roles according to the situation; they may live in multilingual, bilingual or monolingual societies and use languages separately or code-switch; finally, they can be proficient in three or many more languages and will be still called multilinguals (Kemp 2009).

As Rita Franceschini points out, multilingualism is a phenomenon which is dynamic in nature and reflects cultural foundation:

The term/concept of Multilingualism is a product of the fundamental human ability to communicate in a number of languages. Operational distinctions may then be drawn between social, institutional, discursive and individual multilingualism. The term multilingualism is used to designate a phenomenon embedded in the cultural habits of a specific group, which are characterised by significant inter- and intra-cultural sensitivity (2009: 27).

Multilingualism is to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life.

This is one of the possible definitions and interpretations of multilingualism. The issue of the definition of multilingualism is related to researchers’ backgrounds, as different research traditions employ different approaches. For example, a linguist, a sociolinguist, a psycholinguist, or a researcher from educational, economic or political science studies would have different experiences and traditions in using their research tools. Despite of the fact that their main interest would be to investigate multilingualism, scholars coming from different backgrounds would have different research aims, hypothesis and use different methods to collect and analyse their data (Kemp 2009).
The main concern in describing multilingualism is related to the number of languages used (monolingual vs. bilingual vs. multilingual) and to the question whether those languages are used by the individual or by the society. It is quite easy to describe a monolingual person, who is proficient in one language (including other varieties of the language, registers etc.). In contrast to monolinguals, bilinguals are persons who use two languages, however, it is often noted that most people across the world are multilingual (Edwards 1994, Ellis 1994 and others).

Most researchers use the term bilingual for users of two languages and multilingual for those who use three or more languages. However, some scholars use only binary distinction between monolinguals, who know one language, and multilinguals, who know more than one language (e.g., Saville-Troike 2006). A multilingual is a person who has “the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education” (McArthur 1992: 673; see also Edwards 1994). Usually, it is agreed by most scholars that multilingual individuals may not have equal proficiency in all the languages they use.

The term plurilingual is used by some researchers and by some institutions of the Franco-phone tradition (see CEL/ELC European Language Council/Conseil Européen pour les Langues) to indicate individual as opposed to societal multilingualism.

The complex nature of multilingualism brings the issue of definition and raises more questions related to the number of languages, proficiency, literacy, and identity. The studies in contemporary multilingualism, as a very complex phenomenon, have to employ suitable research methods as this research deals with great diversity of practices and processes.

FURTHER READINGS

REFERENCES

CHAPTER 2
MULTILINGUALISM AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES IN
EUROPEAN HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

* I speak Spanish with God, Italian to women, French to men and German to my horse.* (Emperor Charles V)

Multilingual communities have always experienced struggles over the issue of language. However, identification of a close relationship between language and nation has become fundamental for language ideology rather recently. The equation of language and nation is not a natural fact but rather a historical and ideological construct. The emergence of this construct is conventionally attributed to late eighteenth century German Romanticism and John Herder’s famous characterization of language as the genius of a people; since then it has often been referred to as the Romantic or Herderian concept of language (Dabašinskienė 2012, see also Woolard 1998). The ideology of “one state – one nation – one language” in the 19th–20th centuries has given rise to the idea that monolingualism has always been the normal case for Europe.
However, multilingualism, no doubt, has existed in the European history. It is known that the upper classes and the court circles often used foreign languages in internal as well as in international communication. The use of foreign languages in private and official letters was quite a common practice. Children of those families were studying abroad, experiencing different cultures and countries, and learning languages. Thus, at that time being monolingual for the European elite would have been not a common practice, on the contrary, the use of languages other than the dominant one was nothing special in the centuries before 1800 (Braunmüller, Ferraresi 2003).

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND LINGUA FRANCAS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Europe is a small place with great diversity and through the ages has always experienced different dominant languages – different lingua francas. In European history, a lingua franca was important language of a ruling class with political power. In the Roman Empire two languages coexisted, koine Greek and Latin, and were used through the middle Ages. Greek was the lingua franca in Byzantine Europe and Latin was dominating in the Western Europe. Latin remained an important language because it was the language of communication of Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, Latin was a language of academia until the 19th century. Alongside other languages have existed in Europe and had their major functions as dominant languages of the field or region. The German language was one of the official languages of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. French was the main language in diplomacy from the since 17th century. In the Mediterranean from the 11th to 19th centuries, Italian and Provencal were used for the trade and other commercial activities. Italian was a very important language of culture and among intellectuals from the 14th to 16th centuries, and only later French has replaced it. Polish was dominateding in the Eastern Europe, in the areas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the nobles of Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania were using Polish and not other languages. Russian was used (and still is) in the former parts of Soviet Union; it is still spoken and/or understood by some people in Eastern and Central Europe. Similarly to Russian, Serbo-Croatian served as a language of interethnic communication in the former Yugoslavia (Maracz 2012, Braunmüller, Ferraresi 2003).

However, research in this fascinating area of history of multilingualism is still very scarce. The studies of the diversity of languages of different centuries, the use of languages in different territories and by different individuals, migrations and language contacts, as well as questions of relationships between language, nation and personal or social identity attract scholarly attention, as findings shed light on the history of multilingual practices (Franceschini 2009, also see Aronin and Singleton 2008).
Historical testimonies of multilingual practices in previous centuries are found in archival documents and other historical sources. The still possible research directions to open up more knowledge from the past, according to Franceschini might be: “Which configurations of multilingualism can we detect in the past? What can we say about social, cultural and individual attitudes toward the multiple use of languages in specific past societies? How were business negotiations conducted? How were family ties created across language boundaries? How did people interact with one another in terms of language and how did people learn these multiple languages? What was the degree of “awareness”, if any, of being multilingual?” (2009: 27).

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: THREE CITIES
The first city that serves as an example of historical multilingualism is Vyborg (Viborg/Viipuri). Marika Tandefelt in “Vyborg. Free trade in four languages” discusses the fate of Vyborg city. Vyborg (Viborg/Viipuri), today’s city of Russia, has a nearly seven-century-long history as a Swedish, Russian and Finnish border city. The city has been an excellent place for trade and has been a serious reason for the permanent population to remain and for new inhabitants to move in during changing political developments. This multilingual and multicultural city environment ceased to exist in 1944 when the city was emptied. Vyborg became
a Russian city and for the first time in its history became monolingual location. The conditions for the earlier lively foreign trade disappeared and the role of the city today is insignificant. This study demonstrates how normal and how necessary it was to have a sufficient command of the four languages frequently used in this city: Finnish, Swedish, German and Russian. The focus of this study lies on a general description of the historical and societal conditions for such a multilingual trading place in a border region through the centuries; it also presents detailed lexical analyses of the multilingually sourced vocabulary of the citizens of Vyborg.

As the second case study we chose to discuss Björn Wiemer’s article “Dialect and language contacts on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 15th century until 1939” (Wiemer 2003). It gives a thorough overview of the literature about the complex multilingual situation on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the period from the 15th century up to 1939. The region of this study is a part of a larger linguistic contact zone, the so-called ‘Circum Baltic Area’, or CBA. The paper examines the conditions under which multilingualism (or multidialectalism) existed in the south-eastern part of the CBA. The study investigates and describes the sociolinguistic dynamics of the border regions of Lithuania, Belarus, Latvia, and Poland. The territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania crosses the “genetic” borders and involved contacts between East Slavic and East Baltic. The paper also aims to provide deeper explanations and discuss the phenomena of convergence and interference from historical, demographic, ethnical or political factors.

Agnete Nessein in “Written and Spoken Languages in Bergen in the Hansa Era” discusses the history of the dialect of Bergen, the second largest city in Norway today, in the light of contacts between Norwegians and the German colony of merchants that existed in the city from approx. 1350 until approx. 1750. The work studies the sociolinguistic situation in Bergen in order to find out intense contacts between the Norwegians and the Germans, the code they used when they spoke to each other. The research used a large corpus of written material from the 1300s–1700s, written in Bergen, but in four different written languages: Norwegian, Low German, Danish and High German. Norwegians see the “strangeness” of the people of Bergen in general and their dialect specifically, and it is due to the international history of the city and the fact that it was Norway’s the most important centre of commerce for centuries. The historical context accounts for their strange language and self-confidence – especially their “Bergen-confidence”. The specific linguistic situation of the city could be explained in the light of complex history of Norway, which is marked by the 500-year-long union with neighbouring countries. The known fact is that in the late Middle Ages Norwegians gave up their own written language and started writing Danish instead. Later, this has led to an intensive search for the “real” Norwegian language. Low German influence has been strong and has been recognised by everyone dealing with the history of
Norwegian, as well as of the other Scandinavian languages. In Norway this has been important in language politics, since Nynorsk (New Norwegian), the standard developed in the 1800s with a strong purist component, has tried to exclude Low German elements as much as possible.

CASE STUDIES.

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. Trieste, the fourth largest city of the Habsburg cities was in a unique situation regarding its language dynamics in the 19th century. The German language existed in Trieste for cultural and administrative functions, whereas Slovene was “the daily language of the large Slavic population, but had little literary interaction with Italian” (Simon 2012: 58). Through the analysis of literary works the author demonstrates the multilingual past of Trieste and its linguistic dynamics. It also highlights the political tensions that the city faced in the 19th century.

Methods and analysis. Analysis of Italo Svevo’s (1861–1928) publications and other literary texts and their translations by other authors.

Conclusions. Literary texts can serve as an additional tool to investigate the language interactions of cities from the historical perspective. “Translation remains a trope central to Trieste’s history, but the trope only works if it can account for the changing effects of these language relations and the weight of memories they express.” (Simon 2012: 87)

Write down some of your own:

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Questions after reading:
1. Describe the status of German in Trieste from 1719 until 1918.
2. What was the status of Italian at that time?
3. Comment on the statement “language was fun” for Triestines.
4. Describe the cultural-linguistic situation in Prague in the late 19th century.
5. Comment on the “real language issues” in Svevo’s writings.
6. Explain the reasons of the decrease of multilingualism in Trieste.
7. Comment on the subjection of Slovenians in Trieste since 1920s.
FURTHER READINGS


REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

A lingua franca (plural forms: lingua francas, linguae francae) is any language that is used by different speakers to communicate when they do not share a common language. The lingua francas have existed since ancient times. Well-known lingua francas of the Roman Empire were Latin and Greek, the most widely used lingua franca of the early 21st century is English. There are many other lingua francas in different continents and regions, such as Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish.

“Lingua franca: a language used as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different.” (OxfordDictionaries.com)

The existence of a global lingua franca enables people of different linguistic backgrounds to communicate; this includes both English-speakers and non-English-
speakers. Non-English-speakers are keen to learn English because if its importance for international communication in the spheres of business, politics, education, culture, tourism and all other activities. Remarkable feature of English today is that the number of non-native speakers is substantially larger than its native speakers: the relationship is about four to one (cf. Graddol 1997). The historical lingua franca was not a mother tongue. English today is a lingua franca, but it is at the same time a native language of a great number of speakers, and according to Robert Phillipson (2003: 40) leads to communicative inequality.

English as a modern language of international communication has various titles, such as English as an International Language (EIL), World English, English as a global language, World Standard (Spoken) English, Globish, and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

The spread of English around the world is presented in Kachru’s (1985) three-circle schemea. The ‘inner circle’ encompasses countries where English is used as a native language (L1), the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; these countries historically have been the norm-providing centres. The ‘outer circle’ includes countries where English in non-native contexts plays an important role as L2 in administration, media and education due to historical reasons (e.g. former colonies, as India, Singapore, Nigeria). In the ‘expanding circle’ English is used as a foreign language and does not have an official status (i.e. in countries such as Germany, Scandinavian countries, Poland, Japan, China etc.), but is used increasingly in business, science and education, politics, and leisure. “Expanding circle” refers to the use of English and its function as a lingua franca. In this case, English as lingua franca, mostly used by non-native speakers, play a role of the language in its worldwide function.

“Linguistic imperialism presupposes an overarching structure of asymmetrical, unequal exchange, where language dominance dovetails with economic, political, and other types of dominance.” (Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas 2001: 570)
FEATURES OF ELF

English as lingua franca (ELF) has become a very dynamic area of research and focuses on empirical data of non-native speakers of English in international contexts. The increasing frequency of non-native speakers of ELF use in international contacts allows House to argue that English is no longer “owned” by its native speakers, on the contrary, there is a strong tendency towards more rapid “de-owning” (2003: 557).

What are the unique features of ELF that would separate it from native English? It is not an easy task to define ELF from formal or pragmatic perspectives, because this variety is marked by inconsistency in form, code-mixing, variability in terms of speaker proficiency, and openness to an integration of forms of other languages. The ELF speaker cannot be conceived as an error-maker who deviates from an ideal native English norm. Rather, he/she as a multilingual speaker has *multicompetence* (introduced by Cook in 1993) which is “a distinctive state of mind, unlike a final stage of knowledge like the native monolingual's competence. The focus is here on the possession of more than one set of linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge in one and the same individual, on language use rather than on development and acquisition, and on the socio-pragmatic functions of language choice” (House 2003: 558).

From the formal perspective in phonology and grammar, researchers have shown several systematic deviations from the ‘norm’: interdental fricatives /d/ and /t/ are often substituted with alveolar and labiodental fricatives or alveolar plosives; omission of articles, the relative pronouns *which* and *who* are treated as interchangeable, verbs in the third person are often used without the inflectional ending *-s* (Jenkins 2000, Seidlhofer 2004). All these errors that occur in non-native speakers’ oral communication are not problematic because they do not cause misunderstanding.

In pragmatics studies, the questions of so-called pragmatic fluency are often analyzed (Cogo 2010). House has developed the concept of pragmatic fluency and proposed several abilities that speaker has to be able to perform: appropriate use of discourse strategies; ability to initiate and change topics; ability to “carry weight” in substantive turns-at-talk; ability to show appropriate uptaking, and responding behaviour, via latching and overlapping; appropriate rate of speech, types of filled and unfilled pauses, frequency and function of repairs (see House 2002: 262–263).

ELF is oriented towards effective communication and native speaker competence is not the most important aim, therefore errors are considered to be differences or variety in its own right which is used by non-native speakers in their own space (Jenkins 2006, Fiedler 2011). However, this variety in the expanding circle is very heterogeneous and as Prodromou (2008: 246) notices “diversity is inherent in ELF”.

A THREAT OF ONE LANGUAGE DOMINANCE

English as lingua franca is extensively used in very many different spheres, but especially in trade, tourism, politics, education and science. The dominance of
one language usually endangers all other languages, and the warning voices of the threat of linguistic imperialism, linguicism and violation of linguistic rights are intensively heard (Phillipson 1992). An extensive use of English in various domains reduces the usage of other foreign or even national languages and leads to shrinking of linguistic diversity. Moreover, English-speaking countries profit a lot from education services and business.

In contrary, in some domains, as in science, lingua franca is important for sharing the newest achievements: “all science is useless if it is not accessible to other members of the discipline. This is easier with only one language as a scientific lingua franca” (Mühleisen 2003: 117). The theory and practice suggest that to learn a foreign language requires a lot of time ressources, money, motivation, discipline and usually the ultimate result is not a satisfactory one; thus Anglophones will be always have the in advantage, especially in academia.

Despite the fact that many arguments are for or against the domination of English, the reality requires a pragmatic position; the one who wants to extend local to global communication has to learn a language with a high communication values (Q-value) (de Swaan 2001: 33).

ELF could perform a function that unities society or helps to deal with the past. In Nigeria English plays a useful function in a multilingual society and is not perceived as an imperial language anymore; in Germany English has a high communication value and was welcomed after World War II with association with democratic statehood, moreover, in West Germany English helped people to forget the past. Eastern Europe had experienced the changes of dominant languages: English replaced a hegemonic language of the Soviet Empire – Russian. National languages were often in conflict with Russian, as forced bilingualism in some of the republics put in danger native languages, yet in the case of English the situation is different (House 2003: 560–561).

Due to the last enlargements, the uniqueness of the new Europe and the EU lies in enormous diversity and, therefore, complexity. How do these multidimensional contexts of language ideologies shape the policies of the EU and member states regarding the future of linguistic diversity? The language issues and the further development and implementation of policies have become urgent issues and new political priorities for the EU. How should we deal with linguistic diversity in the EU institutions and how should we protect national languages from the global influence of English (Dabašinskienė 2012)? As is known, ELF as a language with a high communicative value has gained a special status in the European Union. Thus, despite the declaration of linguistic equality, English became de facto a lingua franca in EU institutions, especially in the EC (European Commission). Promotion and protection of multilingualism as an asset of Europe is challenged by languages practices not only in the EU institutions, but in the public sphere of Europe, where according to de Swaan the ground is prepared “for a stampede towards English” (2001: 171). This trend became more intense with the 2004 and
2007 enlargements, where a majority of Eastern European countries joined the Union using English as the only foreign language (Russian is not appropriate). Complexity of the issue results in the absence of explicit EU language policy in language use, choices and priorities, translation and interpretation services, etc. Although the equality of languages is guaranteed by translations of documents into all of the EU member state official languages, important information usually is read in English first and by the time the translations are ready, the new information becomes old. The complex question is still not solved and will require more discussions on the pragmatic and symbolic value of languages.

‘LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION’ AND ‘LANGUAGE OF IDENTIFICATION’
As is known, foreign languages are learned and used for both instrumental (communication) and integrative (identity) purposes. English as lingua franca usually is used as a language of communication without being a language of identification, a “native-culture-free code” (Pölzl 2003, Fiedler 2011: 80). However, as was pointed out by Edwards “language is far more than an instrument of communication” (2010: 68).

The dichotomy language of communication and language of identification is usually discussed in the context of lingua francas. One of the questions that are being raised is whether English, which is predominantly perceived as ELF, is used in isolation from culture for solely communicative aims or does it have s ties with Anglophone culture.

A controversial paper by a German applied linguist Werner Hüllen (1992) points out that English as an international language is used as a language of communication and not as a language of identification. He provides a more detailed explanation: a language of communication is used for practical communicative purposes and cultural features associated with the speech community from which this language originates are less important, whereas a language of identification means a language which is learnt in order to be integrated into and identify with the respective speech community (Knapp 2008: 133).

There are no doubts that Anglo-American culture and values motivate people, especially young people ones, to learn English. The influence of that culture is visible every day, as Europeans are exposed to Hollywood movies, TV programmes, Internet games, social networks, music etc. Education institutions, schools and universities, use teaching materials printed in Great Britain and USA, which exhibit social values, communication patterns, behaviour and language styles characteristic to Anglo-American culture. Wright (2004: 154) points out that [...] both written and audio-visual media provide the English language learner with the cultural connotations associated with certain lexical terms, with the way particular concepts are elaborated in the United States, with the social norms of communication of US society, particularly the method for presenting an argument. Thus, in this context to omit the possible role of culture and identity would be strange.
Fiedler suggests that identity, “as it is signalled by non-native speakers, is based on three constituents: firstly, on English native culture(s); secondly, on the speakers’ own sociocultural background (L1 culture), and thirdly, on an incipient awareness of membership in a specific speech community” (2011: 85).

In a discourse of ELF as a threat or a benefit, a third way, which accepts hybridity and creative usage of English for communicative aims, could be suggested. As House (2003: 574) proposes, a co-language functioning not against, but in conjunction with, local languages could be an alternative.

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. “English is unquestionably the world language of academia – yet its most notable characteristic, being predominantly used by non-native speakers, has not seriously been taken on board in ESP descriptive studies. The project English as an academic lingua franca (ELFA) based at the University of Helsinki investigates academic discourses, branching out into two parts: one is the ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) corpus project, whose major achievement is the 1-million-word ELFA corpus of spoken academic discourse. The other part is SELF (Studying in English as a Lingua Franca), a project with a micro-analytic orientation, which aims at capturing the participant experience of ELF in a university environment. This research note describes the rationale and the design of the ELFA corpus, and introduces recent research in the project.” (Mauranen et al. 2010: 183)

Method and data analysis. Compiling a large corpus of spoken academic English by recording conference presentations, discussions and panel discussions, PhD thesis presentations and discussions, lectures and lecture discussions, seminars and seminar discussions. Interviews with teachers, students, researchers on their point of view on communication in academic English; observations (most of them recorded) of communicative situations and written student texts with their peers and teachers’ feedback on them. Corpus and discourse analysis were employed.

Conclusions. The corpus data has shown that ELF speakers use patterns that are different from those of native speakers. New patterns occur systematically. New skills (rather than those acquired in traditional language education) are needed for successful use of English as a lingua franca.

Write down some of your own:
Questions after reading:
1. What is the rationale of the project “English as an academic lingua franca?”
2. Describe a corpus and explain its usefulness and applicability for research.
3. How was the corpus data collected?
4. Why did the researchers focus on speaking rather than writing?
5. What were the objectives of the SELF project?
6. Comment on the first findings of the project.

CASE STUDY 2.


**Abstract.** “The language barrier – the fact that different countries have different native languages – has been documented in numerous studies as reducing international trade. This paper investigates the possibility that trade partners with no common native language will overcome the language barrier by communicating in a non-native language. In today’s world English is the leading candidate to play this role of a lingua franca. By constructing and then employing a new measure of English proficiency covering more than a hundred countries and spanning 30 years, we show that the ability to communicate in English has a strong effect in promoting trade across the globe. The results thus demonstrate that an acquired proficiency in English can mitigate the impact of historically determined language barriers.” (Ku, Zussman 2010: 250)

**Method and data analysis.** Mean TOEFL scores of countries and Rose’s (2004) dataset. The standard gravity model was used to measure the effect of English proficiency on bilateral trade flows.

**Conclusions.** “English proficiency has a strong and statistically significant effect on trade flows.” (Ku, Zussman 2010: 259)

Write down some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Give a definition of a *lingua franca*.
2. What is the effect of language barrier on trade?
3. Define a vehicle language.
4. How do the authors of the paper measure the proficiency in English of a country?
5. Comment on the variables that are taken into account in the research.
6. Describe *Linguistic Distance*.
7. Discuss the results presented in graphs and tables.
CASE STUDY 3.


Abstract. The paper analyses and compares the language policy and practice in fourteen post-Soviet countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan). The paper focuses on the changing status of the Russian language in order to foresee its maintenance and transition in the former Soviet countries. The analysis is based on the Census data and on the findings of sociolinguistic and ethnographic research carried out in the countries. Due to different historical, socio-political, socioeconomic, demographic and linguistic factors, the linguistic situation in geographically neighbouring countries is rather different.

Method and data analysis. An analysis based on the comparative overview of Censuses and sociolinguistic research in fourteen post-Soviet countries.

Conclusions. The use and functions of Russian have decreased in all post-Soviet countries, except Belarus. The Russian language practices in the former Soviet countries are shaped by the following factors: the ethnic and linguistic composition, linguistic attitudes, educational and employment policies and opportunities and the country’s orientation (political, economic, cultural, etc.).

Write down some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. What does the term Russian-speaking population encompass?
2. Describe the linguistic situation in Belarus.
3. Describe the linguistic situation in Ukraine.
4. Describe the linguistic situation in Moldova.
5. Comment on the language policy in Lithuania.
6. Comment on the language policy in Latvia.
7. Comment on the language policy in Estonia.
8. Describe the education of Russian in Transcaucasia.
9. Comment on the differences of support for Russian in the countries of Central Asia.
10. Compare the factors influencing the status of Russian in post-Soviet countries.

CASE STUDY 3.

Read the article Marten H. F., Lazdiņa S., Pošeiko S., Murinska S. 2012. Between Old and New Killer Languages? Linguistic Transformation, Lingua Francas and Languages of Tourism in the Baltic States. In Linguistic Landscapes, Multilingualism and Social Change: Diversité des approches. C. Hélot; M. Barni, R. Janssens; C. Bagna (eds.). Frankfurt am Main:
Abstract. “This paper explores the Linguistic Landscape of six medium-size towns in the Baltic States with regard to languages of tourism and to the role of English and Russian as linguae francae. A quantitative analysis of signs and of tourism web sites shows that, next to the state languages, English is the most dominant language. Yet, interviews reveal that underneath the surface, Russian still stands strong. Therefore, possible claims that English might take over the role of the main lingua franca in the Baltic States cannot be maintained. English has a strong position for attracting international tourists, but only alongside Russian which remains important both as a language of international communication and for local needs.” (Marten et al. 2012)

Method and data analysis. This Linguistic Landscape research of six Baltic medium-sized towns related to tourism aimed at exploring linguistic attitudes and language practices. The towns investigated were as follows: Pärnu and Narva in Estonia, Ventspils and Rēzekne in Latvia, and Druskininkai and Alytus in Lithuania. The quantitative data consists of LL signs and tourist websites. 30 loosely pre-structured interviews with persons working in the tourism sector and with locals taken in the areas of research serve as qualitative data. Interviews were taken in Russian, Latvian or English.

Conclusions. The results of LL signs and websites analysis showed that the main language in the LL of the Baltic States, next to the titular languages, is English. The exception is Narva where Russian is more important due to the ethnic composition of the town. Interviews revealed that Russian remains very important and serves as a lingua franca.

Questions after reading:
1. What transformations does the linguistic landscape reflect in the six towns discussed in the paper?
2. Describe the linguistic situation in the Baltic States, focussing on multilingualism.
3. What is the language policy in the three Baltic States?
4. What are the languages of tourism in the six towns and why?
5. Discuss the proportions multilingual signs in the six towns.
6. Comment on the findings of the website analysis.
7. What are the linguistic altitudes observed?
8. To what extent does English functions as a lingua franca?
9. What is the role of Russian in these towns?
10. What is the role of tourism in shaping the linguistic landscape and practices in the six towns?
FURTHER READINGS


REFERENCES

CHAPTER 4
SIGNS IN THE CITY: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AS A NEW APPROACH TO MULTILINGUALISM

Keywords
Linguistic landscape (LL), signage, global language, lingua franca, immigrant language, public/private domain, language policy

Introduction
The study of Linguistic Landscape (LL) is rather new approach to analyse the multilingualism in urban contexts. The objects of LL research are written signs visible in the public space. Linguistic Landscapes usually refers to “the language of road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings that combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (Landry, Bourhis 1997: 25). Thus, a linguistic landscape refers to “any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14).
Linguistic Landscapes usually refer to “the language of road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings that combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (Landry, Bourhis 1997: 25).

Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 314) provide the definition of the object by including an additional feature and saying that “the most unique feature of LL is that it refers to text presented and displayed in the public space”. The emphasis on public visibility of written signs is also highlighted by Pavlenko, who states that LL research investigates “public uses of written languages” (2010: 133).

All the languages displayed in the public space are related to people, as LL focuses not only on signs, but on “how people interact with them” (Shohamy, Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012: 538). The main interests of LL are to describe the linguistic diversity, to look for systematic models used in presentations of this diversity, to identify motives, ideologies and power relations in the public space, to understand private and public, global and local interactions, and to analyse the relationship between languages, people, communities, identities, economics and politics.

Very diverse interests in this field bring together different theories, methodologies, and disciplines, such as applied linguistics, language policy, sociology, education, economics, semiotics, and urban geography.

Linguistic Landscape research can be used to study language contact. In most of the studies the LL is used to discover the representations of minority languages in certain areas as well as the (co-)existence of minority groups. The city is the best place to investigate language contact, (...) the signs in public space are the most visible reminder of this. LL not only tells you in an instant where on earth you are and what languages you are supposed to know, but it (...) provides a unique perspective on the coexistence and competition of different languages and their scripts, and how they interact and interfere with each other in a given place (Backhaus 2007: 145).

The main dichotomy in the study of linguistic landscapes has always been the distinction between public and private signs and displays of language (top-down or private vs. bottom-up or government). However, a more detailed distinction has been provided by Franco-Rodríguez (2009: 3): (1) private texts written by single person and local businesses (e.g. graffiti, notes, signs of non-chain shops); (2) public texts developed by official and governmental institutions (e.g. public announcements, street signs); and (3) corporate texts created by international non-local companies (e.g. logos, ads of international chains).

Another possibility of reading written signs was presented by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) in their study of languages in Jerusalem, which could be called the first study of linguistic signs. The analysis of the signage allowed them to develop the three conditions of sign making with regard to language choice which resemble Grice’s Conversational Maxims:
(1) sign-writer’s skill condition: “write a sign in a language you know”,
(2) presumed reader condition: “prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it”,
(3) symbolic value condition: “prefer to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified”.

These conditions correlate with functions of the signs: the indexical function which is a reference to the languages that are actually spoken in a particular territory (conditions (1) and (2)), and the symbolical function which refers to power relations (condition (3)). The dichotomy between the indexical and the symbolic function was first clearly defined by Scollon and Scollon (2003).

Studying various languages displayed in a public sphere and easily visible to everyone provide information about languages used and their functions, status and spread, about possible differences between official language policies and real local practices. Furthermore, overt and covert language attitudes, official language policies and power relations between different groups can be determined (Backhaus 2007: 11).

MAIN TOPICS IN CURRENT RESEARCH: IMMIGRANTS, TOURISTS AND NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICIES
Globalization and intensive mobility have a different impact on cultural, social and political life of many countries, regions and cities. The city has become a very dynamic laboratory for different research activities, especially for LLs studies in recent decades. Urban spaces provide opportunities to explore linguistic landscape and language vitality through the analysis of language presence, use and visibility.
Politically and economically important megacities, such as Bangkok, Tokyo, Hong Kong or smaller cities such as Krakow, Vilnius or Tallinn are affected by globalization, which could be referred to as *McDonaldisation* of the linguistic landscape (Heller 2003) and show the same trend, although of different scale, of the increasing visibility of the English language.

One of the main research interests of many scholars is the relationship of LLs and official language policies, the interaction between top-down and bottom-up realities. There are countries where national language law requires using only the state language in the public space. However, the local practices show increasing use of global languages, especially English, and the dynamic use of regional, minority and immigrant languages. The co-existence of various linguistic representations demonstrates struggles and negotiations of politics, economic interests, ideologies, identities, communities and individuals for the ownership of the public space.

Intensive competition in the tourism sector opened up space for economic/budget airlines that enabled almost anybody to travel around the world almost everybody, a student or a pensioner. In their journeys travellers encounter various communication codes, signs, norms, and languages. Unfortunately, very little research attention has been paid to the LL links with the sector of tourism. Kallen (2009) discusses the importance of linguistic signs as being a crucial factor for the communication between tourists and their travel destination. He states that the confrontation with a foreign language, and thus the impression that one is on holiday and far away from home, can lead to a feeling of insecurity. Indeed, planning of linguistic signs in the area of services for tourists is important as it brings not only commercial, but also social benefit for both sides. This area of studies could serve for the development of language policies in business sector and also for the development of better marketing strategies.

As it is observed and concluded by now, “the number of linguistic tokens is especially high in shopping areas in cities” (Gorter 2006: 2). Shop signs are the most salient and not only reflect linguistic reality, but also serve as an information recourse for both, local residents and visitors.

An increasing number of immigrants usually stay in urban areas, changing the cultural, linguistic and social identities of the certain space. Immigrant communities always supplement the existing linguistic space with new elements, features and flavours, thus constructing a new linguistic situation. The language of the immigrant is defined in Bagna and Barni’s terms (Bagna et al. 2003, Barni 2008), as a language used by a community that is not only present in an area in *quantitative* terms (i.e. number of foreign residents), but also strong in *qualitative* terms, and used in social interaction and maintained by its speakers. New sociolinguistic situations require the need “to monitor the possible outcomes of linguistic contact, such as language maintenance and loss, and new language variety formation through contact and linguistic assimilation of differing degrees according to the generation in question” (Barni, Bagna 2010: 4).
Dynamic changes in the cities even with a diverse population display a tendency of shifting towards homogeneous linguistic mode, as monolingualism of the dominant language (official state language) is considered not only for interaction between communities and individuals, but for the integration or even assimilation purposes.

Complex cultural and linguistic configurations call for relevant methodological and theoretical models that are not always available due to the multidisciplinary nature of the object in question.

**METHODOLOGY**

The study of the LL is a relatively new phenomenon, therefore many scholars from different disciplines show growing interest. The development of technologies, reduced prices of digital cameras allow researchers to take and save huge numbers of pictures of linguistic signs. However, data collection and methods of sampling raises some problems, and methodology of this area still needs further discussions and improvements.

The main issue is related to sampling: where and how many pictures to take? What is the representative data corpus for specific study? Usually, the data cannot present the whole linguistic composition of the area, but provides a view of linguistic diversity.

Another problem is to identify the linguistic object or sign that would constitute the unit of further analysis. Backhaus, Cenoz and Gorter provide the definition of the unit of analysis, as *any piece of text* presented in a spatially definable frame (Gorter 2006: 3).
The coding system also requires special decisions: the number and order of languages presented on the sign, size and font used, translations, etc. Decoding the units of analysis according to languages displayed is a decisive task in the study of linguistic landscapes. One has always to differentiate between monolingual, bilingual and multilingual signs. Ben Rafael et al. (2006) have introduced a coding system that includes 16 variables.

The most common signs included are above or in front of shops, restaurants, bars and offices; in addition to that, language depicted on kiosks and on market stalls is taken into account. Furthermore, placards, posters, graffiti and messages put up by individuals on walls and buildings count as single units of analysis as well. However, advertisements depicted on moving objects like trains, buses, trucks and cars are not included, as it is hardly possible to assign a specific geographical area to them.

The introduction of issues in this research area mainly deals with quantitative data but qualitative methods are also used for the study of LL.

A technologically advanced method for data collection was used by Barni and Bagna (2009) in the study on documenting LLs in immigrant settings in urban areas in Italy. The advanced computer software called MapGeoLink from the field of geography allows researchers to code text genres, the contexts or other features.

The so-called Garvin's (2010) walking tour could serve as an example for a qualitative method. First, pictures of the defined LL tour have to be taken, second, interviews with the selected participants have to be recorded. The advantage of this method is that the researcher can receive more information for deeper and more detailed analysis. As was claimed by Barni and Bagna (2010: 4) “simply identifying the languages present within a country or area in quantitative terms does not provide us with any information about the relations between the languages observed and their uses in a given place”. Unfortunately, there is little research based on the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in LL. The interpretations of quantitative research findings supported by interviews, surveys or questionnaires would provide more reliable conclusions and insights for discussions.

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.

Read the article Barni M., Bagna C. 2010. Linguistic landscape and language vitality. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, and M. Barni (eds.) Linguistic Landscape in the City. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 3–18 and answer the questions.

Abstract. The research carried out between 2004 and 2007 aimed at analysing the relationship between linguistic landscape (LL) and language presence and vitality in urban spaces of Italy with increasing immigrant communities. The cities of Arezzo, Ferrara, Florence, Monterotondo, Rome and Prato were chosen for the survey. The special attention was given to different extralinguistic factors that make immigrant languages visible.
Method and data analysis. Demographic data serve as a primary source to find out the country of origin of immigrants. Interviews and questionnaires were employed to find out the language use and vitality. Chinese, Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian were analysed.

Conclusions. The research demonstrated that there is no direct relationship between the presence of a language in an area, its vitality and its visibility, but more visible immigrant languages are more likely to be maintained.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
2. Discuss the role of cities in language contact.
3. Comment on the factors that can influence the visibility of languages in LL.
4. Explain the rationale of data collection and the choice of the area of research.
5. Provide the reasons of the extent that Chinese is visible in Rome and Prato.
6. In which languages are there more bottom up signs in Italy?
7. Which languages seem to be top downed in Italian urban spaces?
8. What is the visibility of Romanian in Rome and its provinces?
9. In which domains are Russian and Ukrainian visible in Ferrara and Arezzo and why?
10. Discuss the impact of policy on linguistic diversity in Italian cities.

CASE STUDY 2.

Abstract. “In this article it is argued that the study of linguistic landscapes (public uses of written language) can benefit from viewing them as a dynamic phenomena and examining them in a diachronic context. Based on the changes in the post-Soviet space since 1991, five processes are identified and examined with regard to language change and language conflict. It is further argued that the study of linguistic landscape offers a useful tool for post-Soviet sociolinguistics and for Slavic sociolinguistics at large, and illustrations are provided by such inquiry.” (Pavlenko 2009: 247)

Method and data analysis. The author qualitatively analyzes signages in post-Soviet cities (Kiyv, Bishkek, Lvov, etc.).

Conclusions. Diachronical analysis of LL gives a broader view of sociolinguistic phenomena such as language erasure, language upgrading and downgrading, language
replacement, and language regulation going on in post-Soviet urban spaces. The LL research highlighted the language ideologies and the mismatch between language policies and actual language practices.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Discuss the effect of the de-russification of the public space in post-Soviet cities.
2. What are the five processes observed in the post-Soviet space?
3. What is the effect of language erasure?
4. Explain the phenomena of language upgrading and downgrading.
5. Describe the process of language replacement.
7. Explain the term of transgressive signs.
8. Give examples of a mismatch between language policies and linguistic practices in post-Soviet spaces.
9. What function does the Belarusian language play?
10. Discuss what ideologies are shaped by language choices in post-Soviet cities.

CASE STUDY 3.


Abstract. “This paper focuses on the linguistic landscape of Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. The aim of this analysis is to define which languages are visible in the public sphere in four of the city’s’ districts and constitute its linguistic landscape. Backed up by a corpus of 878 digital pictures of shop signs, placards, posters, graffiti and other displays of written language, the study determines the number of languages used on signs and the functions they fulfill in the given context. These findings are then compared with the number of speakers of different languages within the same area to find out if the linguistic landscape of Vilnius resembles the city’s ethnolinguistic diversity. Furthermore, special attention is paid to the phenomenon of the spread of English.” (Muth 2008)

Method and data analysis. A quantitative analysis of all/any visible signs in the streets of four districts of Vilnius was carried out. In terms of languages, signs were categorized as monolingual, bilingual and multilingual.
Conclusions. The decline of Russian, non-existence of Polish, the spread of English and the uneven distribution of monolingual/multilingual signs in different areas of Vilnius was observed.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Find at least two definitions of a linguistic landscape.
2. What information can a linguistic landscape provide?
3. What are the article’s research questions?
4. Explain the rationale of data collection and the choice of the area of research.
5. Explain the way the author categorizes signs by languages.
6. Explain the existence of German signs in Vilnius LL.
7. What place does the Russian language take in the LL of Vilnius?
8. Why is there no correlation between the number of mother tongue speakers of Polish and Polish in LL?
9. Give the reasons of the widespread use of English.
10. Discuss the bigger density of multilingual signs in the centre of Vilnius.

CASE STUDY 4.


Abstract. “This paper presents the sociolinguistic role of the regional language of Latgalian in the LL of the region of Latgale in Eastern Latvia from a contemporary and historical perspective. The example shows how LL as a method can contribute to the understanding of the functions that a regional or minority language is assigned to in the ethnolinguistic composition of a region and the underlying language ideology. In the case of Latgalian this means that centralist attitudes to the language are clearly reflected.” (Marten 2012)

Method and data analysis. Quantitative and qualitative data from Rēzekne and some other rural parishes of Latvia are analysed in the article. The data is based on a systematic analysis of the signs in areas in the main streets of shopping and administration, residential areas and streets around the train station in Rēzekne. The total data consist of 830 signs. The qualitative data consists of spontaneous interviews taken from locals in the
streets and shops. The respondents’ reactions to the survey were also taken into consideration as it gave information about the linguistic attitudes.

**Conclusions.** The functions of Latgalian were reduced by official policies throughout the 20th century. Nowadays it is widely used as a spoken language, but is hardly visible in the LL. Due to the language policy of the State and low literacy in written Latgalian, this minority language is dominated by Latvian in the LL in Latgale. The centralist perception is that “Latgalian is not a language”. The language maintenance campaign should increase linguistic awareness and the spread of the written literacy in Latgalian.

Write some of your own:

_questions after reading:_

1. Discuss the historical conditions that shaped a separate distinctive role of Latgalian.
2. What is the contemporary status of Latgalian?
3. Discuss the current sociolinguistic situation in Latgale.
4. What is the population in Rēzekne according to the Census?
5. What is the official attitude to Latgalian?
6. What are the attitudes to Latgalian among the Latgalian population?
7. What are the official regulations regarding public signage in Latvia?
8. Discuss the visibility and functions of Latgalian in the LL of Rēzekne.
9. Give examples of the places where the use of Latgalian is absent.
10. Discuss the constraints of the use of Latgalian in signage.

**FURTHER READINGS**

REFERENCES


INTRODUCTION
The reality of the global business of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century is convergence of societies and economies. The success in international trade depends on the ability to communicate with partners, to understand and tolerate their differences, and to accommodate in order to achieve benefits for all.

The globalized world is identified with social transformations that had impact on language and identity, language and multilingual practices, where multilingualism is considered as a product and process of economic activity (Duchêne, Heller 2012, Heller 2003). The constantly changing world produces new identities and language practices that intertwine in hybridity and uniformity, in the local and global space.

The increased migration, mobility of goods, and services, and expansion of high technologies in a global market have transformed language needs and...
called up for new language policies and practices. The shift from “old economy”, which was based on extracting and transforming primary resources, to a “new economy” grounded on knowledge and service have assigned to language a challenging role (Duchêne, Heller 2012: 369–370). The new economy is related to circulation of people, goods, resources and sales in a globalized network society (Appadurai 1996, Castells 2005); therefore, language practices and policies have to be considered in the context of economic realities.

The new economy, especially in the sectors of tourism and service, has brought the new conception of language as a commodity. The common understanding of language as part of one’s identity and, the cultural heritage has now turned into a marketable commodity. The fundamental commodity in the age of information is knowledge and ideas, which are transmitted through language, thus proficiency in languages is considered to be a factor of economical welfare (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002, Grin 1999).

MULTILINGUALISM AS A COST-EFFECTIVE INVESTMENT

According to Grin (2003), linguistic diversity has a “conflictual” nature and it emerges from the fact that groups using different languages often compete for access to material and symbolic resources. He also suggests three important points where the language and economics may be identified, and each provides a context for competition or conflict:

**First**, economic factors affect the fortunes of different languages, both at the micro and at the macro level. For example, at the micro level, the relative prices of different language-specific goods and services (such as books in different languages) are likely to affect patterns of language use, whether directly through consumer decisions to purchase them or not, or indirectly through the greater or lesser provision of public services in certain languages, to the extent that such provision is sensitive to costs. At the macro level, patterns of international trade are likely to influence language dynamics, both informally, in interaction between economic actors and formally, through the choices made by large organisations (such as multinational corporations) to favour certain languages for internal communication.

**Second** and reciprocally, language variables (and/or processes) have an impact on economic variables (and/or processes) – again, at the micro as well as macro level. For example, at the micro level, a person’s language skills may give rise to wage rate differentials that reward those skills. Skills are better rewarded in some languages than others, illustrating a form of competition between languages. At the macro level, the demographic size of a language community is likely to stimulate aggregate demand for language-specific goods and services consumed by that community. The micro and macro levels are also linked to one another: some form of ascendancy over business competitors (a micro-level link between firms, possibly achieved through the dominant position of one’s language) will generally facilitate access to economic resources or provide better conditions for securing economic gain, which will ultimately be
observed at the macro level. Third, economic arguments may be invoked to support claims made by different parties in language conflict, as well as in the more specific context of debate over competing language policy options. Consider, for example, the issue of support to minority languages. Some claim that the necessary measures are too expensive (thereby bringing economic considerations into play) while others will argue that they are well worth it (thereby resorting, deliberately or not, to a quintessentially economic reasoning that hinges on the weighing of advantages and drawbacks, even if those are neither material nor financial). Practically, authorities developing language policy plans are also confronted with the need to assess their costs and bring the latter in line with budget constraints. This requires some evaluation work, in which economists have to enter the fray. (Grin 2003: 3–4)

“In the same way as we have a monetary economy, we also have a linguistic economy: language is exchanged as a product, which, within an economy of linguistic exchanges, is given a price and a certain value.” (Vigoroux 2001: 610)

Most of the research in the economics of language considers language skills as a form of human capital. In economic terms, investments usually are made in anticipation of future benefits: higher earnings, lower costs of consumption, greater political involvement, and larger social/communication networks (Chiswick 2008).

This approach can be seen in the societies where immigrants speak the dominant language (for example, a Latino-American speaks English in the USA, a Turk speaks German in Germany, etc.) and have access to the resources. Immigrants who do not speak the language of the dominant society encounter limits of their social and information networks. In these contexts language functions are extended to labour income. It is obvious that linguistic abilities of a person determine his/her socio-economic status and income. For that reason language education becomes very important, because language skills are evident source of economic advantage. Language proficiency enables individuals not only to find a job, but they also will benefit in consumption activities, will find higher quality and lower prices products and services. A number of factors suggest that investment in second or foreign language learning can be profitable and could lead not only to higher earnings, but also to better career and higher social status. A bilingual or multilingual individual will always have an advantage in job-seeking situations compared to than monolingual. Therefore, not only for immigrants, but for all individuals, investment into language studies is seen as cost-effective human capital. However, language skills are not only productive, but also cost money and time.

Another important issue related to cost-effectiveness (but not only) is the idea of common language. The experience of the USA where English is the only language of all the states has demonstrated facilitated economic exchange, whereas Europe with linguistic diversity faces more challenges and spends a lot of money
for the management of multilingualism. However, declared linguistic diversity in many situations stays *de jure* and English as a common *lingua franca* is used *de facto* not only in EU institutions, but in other domains as well. The question for the EU is not answered: how much does linguistic diversity cost? (see Fidrmuc, Ginsburg 2007).

**EU POLICIES AND STRATEGIES**

In Lisbon 2000, the European Union set itself the strategic objective of becoming the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs has called for action in key areas to achieve Europe’s economic goals. Languages were emphasized to play a fundamental role in creating an effective internal market, in facilitating mobility of the professions as well as labour, in improving the skills and adaptability of the workforce, in stimulating job creation and enterprise and removing barriers to growth, and in making sure that the benefits of investment in research and development are realized.

Effective communication, which is based on languages, must facilitate the movement of capital, labour, goods and services. For the EU it seems that Europe’s multilingualism might be an important asset in the context of economic globalization and interaction with the wider world. However, there are no economic estimations as how languages might impact on employment rates, human capital, research and development, completing the internal market for services or alleviating administrative burdens on companies.

For the past ten years, the European Union, notably the European Commission, has stressed the importance of multilingual competence to increased opportunities on the labour market and the contribution of language skills to the competitiveness of the EU economy. A clear signal to this effect was sent by the 2002 Barcelona Council, which under the heading “A competitive economy based on knowledge” called for the “teaching of at least two foreign languages from a very early age”. The message was taken up in the Commission’s 2005 Communication “A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism” (COM (2005) 596 final), in the wake of which the Commission had a study prepared on the impact on the European economy of shortages of language skills – the ELAN study, published in 2006.

“Language skills will be important in achieving European policy goals, particularly against a background of increasing global competition.” (European Commission 2005)

Subsequently, the European Commission set up *Business Forum for Multilingualism*. In its final report entitled “Languages mean business – Companies work better with languages” (2008), the Forum made a number of clear and pertinent recommendations targeted at
actors at different levels. The recommendations included the following – “the European institutions should create a permanent platform for exchange of best practices for companies, gathering relevant information from the business community, trade organisations, Chambers of commerce, trade promotion organisations, schools, and education authorities.” The Forum offered a possibility of the creation of a stakeholder platform at European level. This recommendation was taken up by the Commission in its 2008 Communication “Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment” (COM (2008) 566 final). Thus, the European Commission initiative was realized – The Business Platform for Multilingualism (BPfM) was established and first attempts, at the European level, to encourage and enable stakeholders from various sectors to reflect on, develop recommendations for, and take concrete action with regard to improving business performance and employability through language strategies, were realized.

**ELAN: EFFECTS ON THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY OF SHORTAGES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS IN ENTERPRISE**

This study was sponsored by the Directorate for Education and Culture in December 2005 and undertaken by CILT, the UK National Centre for Languages in collaboration with an international team of researchers. Its objective was to provide the Commission and decision-takers in member states with practical information and analysis of the use of language skills by SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises) and the impact on business performance.

In order to assess the full impact of languages skills on the European economy as a whole, researchers studied key areas of the economy such as tourism, enterprise, employability, inward investment/outsourcing, public services (including European institutions) and the internal market.

Studies in the dynamics of the small firm have suggested that, in general, SMEs are less productive than large companies; exporting SMEs are more productive than those which do not export. Given that SMEs account for more than fifty percent of employment within the European Union, it would thus appear that, if a greater number of SMEs were to become successful exporters, and if those currently exporting were to expand their markets, there would be a significant impact on the European economy and also that there could be considerable additional benefits in terms of greater innovation and market-awareness, which in turn could impact on productivity within national economies. In that context, investment in language skills represents one of the fixed costs of exporting to certain countries. Thus the analysis of the management and impact of this investment by business represents critical information for governments.

The main findings from the study are as follows:

1. From the results gathered in this survey it is possible to conclude that SMEs having a language strategy and using a mix of native speakers, language-skilled employees and specialist translators will have a significantly higher proportion of export business than those which do not use these language management techniques.
2. A significant percentage of SMEs across the EU and the wider Europe are losing export business through lack of language skills and, to a lesser degree, lack of intercultural skills.

3. They forecast an increase in their demand for language skills (both qualitative and quantitative) to service this expansion and will be looking to education and training systems and to labour mobility to provide these skills rather than engaging in training themselves.

4. English is important as the world business language, but other languages are used extensively as intermediary languages and businesses are aware of the need for a range of other languages in relationship-building.

5. Smaller SMEs in particular lack the resources to make forward investment in language skills and may therefore be a legitimate and necessary target for intervention measures.

6. Investment in the development of language skills across the EU would produce economic benefits, with positive impact on SME productivity and export performance.

7. These investments are an essential factor in enabling the EU to compete on the basis of skills and knowledge rather than on the basis of low costs. (Adopted from Moore, Hagen 2006)

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. “The globalized new economy is bound up with transformations of language and identity in many different ways (cf., e.g. Bauman 1997, Castells 2000; Giddens 1990). These include emerging tensions between State-based and corporate identities and language practices, between local, national and supra-national identities and language practices, and between hybridity and uniformity. Ethnolinguistic minorities provide a particularly revealing window into these processes. In this paper, I explore ways in which the globalized new economy has resulted in the commodification of language and identity, sometimes separately, sometimes together. The paper is based on recent ethnographic, sociolinguistic research in francophone areas of Canada.” (Heller 2003: 473)

Method and data analysis. Ethnographic and sociolinguistic research carried out in 1996–2000 in francophone areas of Canada, i.e. Ontario, New Brunswick, Acadie, Quebec, Alberta. The data consist of over 400 interviews, 150 recordings and various documents. Interviews were taken with leaders and members of francophone associations and institutions, francophone community members who did not participate in those associations and institutions. The documents collected include pamphlets, advertising, newspapers, meeting agendas, Mission statements, etc., produced by associations and
institutions for public or internal circulation. Recorded data consists of radio and television shows, and recorded or observed meetings. Since 2001 the focus was on the new economy sites and the data was enriched not only with interviews with business managers and staff but also with observations of cultural festivals.

**Conclusions.** Globalised markets provide alternatives for restructuring economics in Francophone areas of Canada: multilingualism is perceived as having economic value. Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Explain the term of the commodification of a language.
2. What are the changes observed in francophone Canada?
3. What are the two commodified objects discussed in the paper?
4. Provide the historical background of the status of Francophone Canadians.
5. Give examples of the three commodification scenarios mentioned in the paper.
6. What were the interviewee's attitudes to the sudden acknowledgement of their linguistic resources?
7. Find in the provided quotes words that show the appreciation of added value of bilingualism/multilingualism.
8. What are the arising tensions discussed in the paper?

**CASE STUDY 2.**


**Abstract.** “The European Union has recently expanded from 15 to 25 countries, bringing the number of official languages to 20. Currently, the EU extends equal treatment to all member countries’ official languages. This, however, is costly, especially since many Europeans speak one of the procedural languages, English, French or German, either as a native or a foreign language. We develop a simple theoretical model of linguistic-regime choice in a multilingual society and apply the model’s insights to the case of the EU: We compute disenfranchisement rates that would result from using only the three procedural languages for all EU business and then proceed to quantify the average cost per person and cost per disenfranchised person associated with providing translations and interpreting into the remaining languages. Both the disenfranchisement rates and costs are shown to vary substantially across the different languages, raising important questions about the economic...
efficiency of equal treatment for all languages. We argue that an efficient solution would be to decentralize the provision of translations.” (Fidrmuc, Ginsburgh 2007: 1351)

**Method and data analysis.** A creation of a theoretical model of linguistic regime and calculations of costs in case of using the three procedural languages in the EU compared to the disenfranchisement rates.

**Conclusions.** The present linguistic policy of the EU is costly and sometimes ineffective. A linguistic reform of introducing a more restrictive regime of using three procedural languages (for example, English, French and German) would be less costly. Once the provision of translations is decentralised, each EU country could decide whether to leave or change the present situation depending on the loss or benefit.

*Write some of your own:*

Questions after reading:
1. Explain how the policy of multilingualism works in the EU.
2. Discuss the monetary and non-monetary costs of multilingualism.
3. What are the practical difficulties associated with extensive multilingualism?
4. Define the linguistic disenfranchisement rate.
5. What are the insights yielded by the authors’ theoretical model?
6. Discuss the unequal representation of various official languages by the EU population.
7. What is the distribution of English, German and French in the EU25?
8. What are the potential linguistic reform scenarios?
9. What would be the annual cost per disenfranchised persona in Malta and Ireland under the EGF scenario?
10. What are the obstacles to linguistic reform?

**CASE STUDY 3.**


**Abstract.** “In Washington DC’s newly gentrified Chinatown, recent commercial establishments, primarily non-Chinese owned chains, use Chinese-language signs as design features targeted towards people who neither read nor have ethnic ties to Chinese. Using this neighbourhood as a case study, we advocate a contextualized, historicized and specialized perspective on *linguistic landscape* which highlights that landscapes are not simply physical spaces but are instead ideologically charged constructions. Drawing from cultural geography and urban studies, we analyze how written language interacts with
other features of the built environment to construct commodified urban places. Taking a contextually informed, qualitative approach, we link microlevel analysis of individual Chinese-language signs to the specific local sociogeographic processes of spatial commodification. Such a qualitative approach to linguistic landscape, which emphasizes the importance of sociohistorical context, and which includes analysis of signage use, function, and history, leads to a greater understanding of the larger sociopolitical meanings of linguistic landscapes.” (Leeman, Modan 2009: 332)

**Method and data analysis.** The study is based on urban planning analysis. All municipal planning rules and regulations regarding Chinatown were studied to highlight the economic purposes and urban planning ideologies. Newspaper accounts of Chinatown, demographic data and signs were analysed to show the commodification of Chinese in Chinatown.

**Conclusions.** The use of the Chinese language in Chinatown LL reflects the politics of the symbolic economy. It is used there to make the landscape more authentic and exotic for economic purposes. 

*Write down some of your own:*

Questions after reading:

1. How is LL defined by the authors of the paper?
2. Describe the urban policies in the post-Fordist cities of US.
3. Comment on the symbolic role of Washington DC.
4. Describe the economic revitalization strategy in DC.
5. How can ethnicities and ethnic languages be commodified?
6. What kind of data was collected for the study and how was it categorized?
7. Describe the sociohistorical context of Chinatown in DC.
8. Comment on the use of Chinese in the first wave LL.
9. Comment on the use of Chinese in the second wave LL.
10. Comment on the commodification of Chinese language and culture in Chinatown.
FURTHER READINGS


REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION
Intense movements of people and goods determine heterogeneous environments where individuals and communities encounter diverse symbolic, linguistic and capital resources. Diversity challenges countries and individuals and creates competition and conflicts, especially in the contexts of dominant nationals and immigrants.

“Whereas human rights are based on the freedom of the individual, language rights involve, of necessity, the prerogative of ethnic groups to use their mother tongue in multilingual situations, something which has the potential of causing conflict. Such conflict can only be resolved by means of language planning, and more specifically status planning.” (Kotzé 2001: 326)
Languages, employment and social exclusion

The European Union’s Lisbon Strategy of 2000 aims “to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy” (European Parliament 2000).

The terms social inclusion and its inverse social exclusion are related to the EU Lisbon Strategy and refers usually to employment contexts. Social exclusion is sometimes used to approach the absence of economic well-being, unemployment, and includes the absence of civil and social rights, particularly to healthcare and education (Burchardt et al. 2002).

The varieties that are usually recognized as having limited access to material resources include gender, ethnicity/race, class and citizenship status (Westwood 2005, Yuval-Davis 2007).

In order to understand the relationship between multilingualism and social inclusion, the phenomena of transnational migration and development have to be included (Human Development Report 2009).

As Ingrid Piller (2012) suggests, transnational migration needs to be considered because on the national level, language regimes serve to exclude particularly transnational migrants in ever increasing numbers. Some groups are always in a more privileged position vis-à-vis the state than others – as far as language is concerned, speakers of the standard of the official language of a nation are in a privileged position. Research reports that the relationship between language and (economic) disadvantage has a long tradition. In this respect individuals and states and institutions play a vital role.

The great migration flows in the last decades within and outside Europe witness the dominance of English and at the same time the lack of proficiency in English. Some of the scholars see a direct link between lack of English proficiency and social exclusion, as in was the case with the English instruction of the Americanization campaign (Pavlenko 2005). One of the strongest arguments that migrants need to learn English or other national/dominant language of a host country in order to be included in society has been known for a very long time. The policy results of this belief have often been associated with the attempts to force migrants into English, as is the case with anti-bilingualism or “English Only” legislation in some US states (Gunderson 2006) or language testing for citizenship (McNamara and Shohamy 2008, Piller 2012).

Multilingualism is always mediated by context, particularly language status and speaker status (Heller 2007). Speaker status refers to the fact that the same bilingual proficiency, for instance, in English and Spanish, will be of different value to an illegal Mexican immigrant in the US than to a middle-class Anglo-American citizen. Language status refers to the fact that multilingualism in small languages in many contexts is relatively less useful than monolingualism in English (see de Swaan 2001). A good example of the differential value of the same linguistic skill to different speakers is offered in Grin’s (2001) study of the economic value of English in Switzerland.
The practices could provide the cases where linguistic assimilation has promoted social inclusion: a number of studies of the labour market integration of immigrants have documented that proficiency in the language of the host country is the most important predictor of immigrant earnings (Chiswick and Miller 1995, 1998, Chiswick and Taengnoi 2007). However, there are also examples where linguistic assimilation suspended social inclusion, as is for example the case with a number of immigrant communities in various European countries (Martin-Jones, Romaine 1986). The existing cases suggest that monolingual policies have varied social inclusion outcomes in different contexts, as well as multilingual policies and practices are not by default more inclusive than monolingual ones (Piller 2012).

**LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND MINORITY RIGHTS**

The United Nations’ (2004) Human Development Report links cultural liberty to language rights and human development and argues that there is

... no more powerful means of ‘encouraging’ individuals to assimilate to a dominant culture than having the economic, social and political returns stacked against their mother tongue. Such assimilation is not freely chosen if the choice is between one’s mother tongue and one’s future (2004: 33).

The press release about the UN report exemplifies the role of language as an exclusionary tool:

Limitations on people’s ability to use their native language – and limited facility in speaking the dominant or official national language – can exclude people from education, political life and access to justice. Sub-Saharan Africa has more than 2,500 languages, but the ability of many people to use their language in education and in
dealing with the state is particularly limited. In more than 30 countries in the region, the official language is different from the one most commonly used. Only 13 percent of the children who receive primary education do so in their native language.

The report suggests that:

Multilingual countries often need a three-language formula: A national or official state language. A lingua franca to facilitate communications among different groups (in some cases the official language serves this purpose). Official recognition of the mother tongue or of indigenous languages for those without full command of the official language or lingua franca.

The first two, enabling children through education to become fully competent in one or two languages of wider communication, is what an HRs oriented educational language policy should include. The third suggestion is clearly based on deficiency theories and either/or thinking, characteristic of much of language policy today in indigenous and minority education. Schools often see the mother tongues of minorities as necessary but negative temporary tools while the minority child is learning a dominant language. As soon as s/he is deemed in some way competent in the dominant language, the mother tongue can be left behind, and the child has no right to maintain it and develop it further in the educational system (quoted from Skutnabb-Kangas 2008: 107–119).

The concept of “linguistic human rights” is raised in the work of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 2003, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 1998) in regard to the right to use a particular language as a human right and thus places language itself at the core of social exclusion. According to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, minority children have to be guaranteed a right to learn both their own language and at least a dominant language of the country they live, up to a high formal level, through bilingual education of various kinds, most importantly including a right to mother tongue medium (MTM) maintenance education. She raises many questions regarding children's education in their mother tongue:

Do all children have the right to access high quality education, regardless of what their mother tongue is? Do schools support indigenous/minority communities’ right to reproduce themselves as indigenous peoples/minorities (hereafter LMs, Linguistic Minorities), through enabling and encouraging intergenerational transfer of their languages? In other words, do indigenous and minority children enjoy linguistic human rights (LHRs) in education?

The scholar also provides research results and claims, that: Research on educational performance indicates that LM children taught through the medium of a dominant language in submersion programmes often perform considerably less well than native dominant language speaking children in the same class, in general and on tests of both (dominant) language and school achievement. They suffer from higher levels of push-out rates, stay in school fewer years, have higher unemployment and, for some groups, drugs use, criminality and suicide figures, and so forth. There would appear to be a
strong argument that such children do not benefit from the right to education to the same extent as children whose mother tongue is the teaching language of the school, and that this distinction is based on language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2008: 117–131).

**LANGUAGE RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES**

The status of RM and IM languages in terms of declared language rights will be discussed in this section. As is known, the fundamental freedoms of the individual are expressed in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948. Growing migration and all its outcomes have given the result that the recognition and protection of minorities has become a noticeable issue in international law. At the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993, a Declaration was adopted which confirmed the promotion and protection of minorities.

The *UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) endures as the most significant international law provision on the protection of minorities. Article 27 of the covenant states:

> In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with others of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Article 4 of the *UN Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1992, has some obligations on states:

> to take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, to provide them with adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue and to enable them to participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

At the European level, on numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education have declared that the EU citizens’ knowledge of languages should be promoted. Each EU member state should promote pupils’ proficiency in at least two ‘foreign’ languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of one of the EU states. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages has been left out of consideration in these statements.

The European Parliament accepted various resolutions in 1981, 1987 and 1994, in which the protection and promotion of RM languages was recommended. The first resolution led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. The Bureau has member state committees in almost all EU countries and it has recently acquired the status of *Non-Governmental Organization* (NGO) at the levels of the European Council and the United Nations. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions is the foundation of the European *MERCATOR Network*, aimed at promoting research on the status and use of RM languages.
The Council of Europe, set up in 1949, is a much broader organization than the EU. Its main role today is to be ‘the guardian of democratic security founded on human rights, democracy and the rule of law’. A bottom-up initiative from its Council for Local and Regional Authorities resulted in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which was opened for signature in November 1992 and came into force in March 1998. In October 2002 it has been ratified by 16 out of 41 Council of Europe member states. The Charter is aimed at the protection and the promotion of ‘the historical regional or minority languages of Europe’. Article 1a of the Charter states that the concept of ‘regional or minority languages’ refers to 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 should be noted that the concepts of ‘regional’ and ‘minority’ languages are not specified in the Charter and that (im)migrant languages are explicitly excluded from the Charter. States are free in their choice of which RM languages to include. Also the degree of protection is not prescribed; thus a state can choose for light or tight policies. The Charter asks for recognition, respect, maintenance, facilitation and promotion of RM languages, in particular in the domains of education, judicial authorities, administrative and public services, media, cultural activities, and socio-economic life (Articles 8–13). Article 8 states a whole set of measures for all stages of education, from pre-school to adult education, which are cited here in full ((relevant) regional or minority language(s) abbreviated here as (R)RML):

1 With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State:

a) i to make available pre-school education in the RRML; or

   ii to make available a substantial part of pre-school education in the RRML; or

   iii to apply one of the measures provided for under i and ii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient; or

   iv if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of pre-school education, to favour and/or encourage the application of the measures referred to under i to iii above;

b) i to make available primary education in the RRML; or

   ii to make available a substantial part of primary education in the RRML; or

   iii to provide, within primary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or

   iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient;
c) i  to make available secondary education in the RRML; or  
   ii  to make available a substantial part of secondary education in the RRML; or  
   iii  to provide, within secondary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or  
   iv  to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;  

d) i  to make available technical and vocational education in the RRML; or  
   ii  to make available a substantial part of technical and vocational education in the RRML; or  
   iii  to provide, within technical and vocational education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or  
   iv  to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;  

e) i  to make available university and other higher education in RML; or  
   ii  to provide facilities for the study of these languages as university and higher education subjects; or iii if, by reason of the role of the State in relation to higher education institutions, sub-paragraphs i and ii cannot be applied, to encourage and/or allow the provision of university or other forms of higher education in RML or of facilities for the study of these languages as university or higher education subjects;  

f) i  to arrange for the provision of adult and continuing education courses which are taught mainly or wholly in the RML; or  
   ii  to offer such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education; or  
   iii  if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of adult education, to favour and/or encourage the offering of such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education;  

g) to make arrangements to ensure the teaching of the history and the culture which is reflected by the RML;  

h) to provide the basic and further training of the teachers required to implement those of paragraphs a to g by the Party;  

i) to set up a supervisory body or bodies responsible for monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in establishing or developing the teaching of RML and for drawing up periodic reports of their findings, which will be made public.  

2 With regard to education and in respect of territories other than those in which the RML are traditionally used, the Parties undertake, if the number of users of a RML justifies it, to allow, encourage or provide teaching in or of the RML at all the appropriate stages of education.
As a parallel activity to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the Council of Europe opened the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities for signature in February 1995. This treaty does not focus on language(s). This framework provides definition of ‘national minorities’, however, it is clear from the document that ‘non-national’ immigrant groups are again excluded from the considerations.

Ratification of this framework was more successful than in the case of the European Charter. At the end of 2002, 35 out of 42 Council of Europe member states had ratified the framework.

A final document of the Council of Europe that should be referred to in this context is Recommendation 1383 on Linguistic Diversification, adopted by the Council’s Parliamentary Assembly in September 1998. Article 5 states that there should (...) be more variety in modern language teaching in the Council of Europe member states: this should result in the acquisition not only of English but also of other European and world languages by all European citizens, in parallel with the mastery of their own national and, where appropriate, regional language.

In Article 8i the Assembly also recommends that the Committee of Ministers invite member states to improve the creation of regional language plans, drawn up in collaboration with elected regional representatives and local authorities, with a view to identifying existing linguistic potential and developing the teaching of the languages concerned, while taking account of the presence of non-native population groups, twinning arrangements, exchanges and the proximity of foreign countries.

It is important to note that Article 8i recognizes for the first time the relevance of ‘non-native’ groups in the context of language planning.

Apart from the Council of Europe’s efforts, two other initiatives on language rights should be mentioned here as well. A host of institutions and non-governmental organizations signed the Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights in Barcelona, June 1996. This Declaration takes as a starting point language groups instead of states and explicitly includes both RM and IM languages, in contrast to the earlier mentioned European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Article 1.5 says:
This Declaration considers as a language group any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diasporas.

Articles 4 deals with the issue of integration and assimilation in the following way:
Article 4.1:
This Declaration considers that persons who move to and settle in the territory of another language community have the right and the duty to maintain an attitude of integration towards this community. This term is understood to mean an
additional socialization of such persons in such a way that they may preserve their original cultural characteristics while sharing with the society in which they have settled sufficient references, values and forms of behaviour to enable them to function socially without greater difficulties than those experienced by members of the host community.

Article 4.2:

This Declaration considers, on the other hand, that assimilation, a term which is understood to mean acculturation in the host society, in such a way that the original cultural characteristics are replaced by the references, values and forms of behaviour of the host society, must on no account be forced or induced and can only be the result of an entirely free decision.

Article 5:

This Declaration is based on the principle that the rights of all language communities are equal and independent of their legal status as official, regional or minority languages. Terms such as regional or minority languages are not used in this Declaration because, though in certain cases the recognition of regional or minority languages can facilitate the exercise of certain rights, these and other modifiers are frequently used to restrict the rights of language communities.

In line with the European Charter, the Universal Declaration defines domains of linguistic rights in terms of public administration and official bodies, education, proper names, media and new technologies, culture and the socio-economic sphere.

Another recent and important document on language rights is The Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities, approved by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Oslo, February 1998. The focus of this document is on ‘persons belonging to national/ethnic groups who constitute the numerical majority in one State but the numerical minority in another (usually neighbouring) State’. The document was designed in the context of many recent tensions surrounding such groups in Central and Eastern Europe. Its Explanatory Note contains valuable sources of information on related documents in the domains of (proper) names, religion, community life, media, economic life, administrative authorities and public services, independent national institutions, judicial authorities and deprivation of liberty.

In an earlier separate document, referred to as The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities and published in October 1996, the OSCE focuses on educational measures.

The most important message in most of the documents presented in this section is awareness that cultural pluralism or diversity is conceived as a prerequisite for, and not a threat to, social cohesion or integration. Both types of minorities, ‘historic’ and ‘new’, significantly contributed and contribute to Europe’s cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity. European nation-states are reluctant to recognize and respect this diversity as part of their national, and increasingly European, identity (Text adopted from Extra, Kutlay 2002).
CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. “In this paper I examine the interrelationship of ideologies of national and linguistic identity and the ways in which they impact upon ideologies of citizenship. I describe current naturalization legislation in a number of countries and the ways in which it is based on these ideologies. The paper has a special focus on Germany where naturalization legislation changed on January 1st, 2000. I describe the linguistic tests as they are stipulated by law and as they are conducted in actual practice. Finally, I turn away from the national ideologies behind these language tests to the linguistic ideologies that (mis)inform them. The data for this analysis come mainly from legal texts pertaining to naturalization, but also from newspaper accounts and interviews with naturalization candidates. I will show that the relationship between naturalization and language requirements depends on the different national ideologies that the various countries hold. The paper ends with the conclusion that most of the practices I report on are compatible neither with a contemporary understanding of citizenship nor with recent advances in linguistic research and the study of multilingualism.” (Piller 2001: 259)

Method and data analysis. A description of the legislation and practice of naturalization language testing in Germany in order to reveal national and linguistic ideologies. 8 interviews with naturalization applicants in Germany were taken.

Conclusions. The relationship between naturalization and language requirements depends upon the different national ideologies (often contesting ones) held by various political and social groups of the countries. “The language testing practices as they are imposed upon naturalization applicants in Germany sadly lack both democratic and linguistic validity.” (Piller 2001: 273)

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:

1. Explain the relationship between linguistic requirements, citizenship and social, political, economical rights.
2. What is the relationship between national identity and language?
3. Comment on the relationship between national identity and citizenship.
4. What is the difference between “thick” and “thin” citizenship?
5. What are the language requirements to obtain the citizenship in various countries?
6. Why are naturalization and language testing seen as the politics of exclusion?
7. Provide the background of the naturalization process in Germany.
8. Comment on the limitations of the language testing requirements in the German naturalization procedures.
9. Why do language testing practices lack linguistic validity?

CASE STUDY 2.


Abstract. “In the last 60 years, we have seen the growing development and articulation of human rights, particularly within international law and within and across supranational organizations. However, in that period, the right to maintain one’s language(s), without discrimination, remains peculiarly underrepresented and/or problematized as a key human right. This is primarily because the recognition of language rights presupposes recognizing the importance of wider group memberships and social contexts; conceptions that ostensibly militate against the primacy of individual rights in the post-Second World War era. Drawing on theoretical debates in political theory and International law, as well as the substantive empirical example of Catalonia, this article argues that language rights can and should be recognized as an important human right.” (May 2011: 265)

Method and data analysis. Overview and analysis of political theories and international legislation documents. A case study analysis of Catalonia and the development of the Catalan language rights.

Conclusions. The case of Catalonia shows that a “group-differentiated approach to citizenship”, in line with political engagement and International law make language rights possible. However, the established language rights may be contested. It is of political will to recognise language rights as the key element of human rights.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Comment on “tolerance-oriented” language rights.
2. Comment on “promotion-oriented” language rights.
3. Comment on the key arguments pointed out by Kymlicka in relation to political theory and language rights.
4. Comment on the drawbacks of the international laws with regard to language rights.
5. Describe the background of Catalonia and the Catalan language.
6. What was the status of Catalan during Franco’s regime?
7. What changes did the Spanish Constitution (1978) bring for Catalan?
8. What does the definition of a Catalan include?
9. Comment on the documents that re-established the use of the Catalan language.
10. What is the present situation of the Catalan language?

FURTHER READINGS

REFERENCES
CHAPTER 7
LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: INTEGRATION AND/OR DISCRIMINATION IN VARIOUS SITUATIONS

The community of Ushagram, India. Photo by M. Čubajevaite.

Keywords
Ethnic identity, minority language, language maintenance, ethnolinguistic vitality, immigration, acculturation, integration, linguistic repertoire, linguistic attitudes, language choice, language status, language prestige

INTRODUCTION
Each of us is an entity of various (social, cultural, ethnic, sexual, religious, and linguistic) identities and the language we use may reveal or conceal them. As each individual has a complex multilayered identity, his/her linguistic repertoire is also diverse. Imagine an ordinary Lithuanian who is a prosperous businessmen using standard Lithuanian with elements of his business jargon from Monday to Friday to talk to his employees or Lithuanian business partners. In the evenings, he takes the role of a tired father and speaks baby Lithuanian to his toddlers. At weekends this person, who is a dyed-in-the-wool fisherman, usually tells his friends jokes that only fishermen can understand. When he calls his mum, he starts talking the Samogitian dialect of his native town. As this monolingual’s
linguistic repertoire is diverse, it is even more diverse for a bi/multilingual. The whole of linguistic resources (various languages, dialects, different registers and styles) make up a linguistic repertoire of an individual (Lüdi 2006).

Another focus of sociolinguistic research is linguistic attitudes. They may be not only related to an individual's ethnic, regional, social, or professional dependence, but also on the linguistic situation or context (Garrett 2010). As for ethnic minority individuals, their linguistic attitudes are revealed through their use of their ethnic language in public (Giles, Johnson 1987). According to Baker (1992), one's linguistic attitudes are shaped by the environment one lives in. Research has shown that schoolchildren's linguistic attitudes are directly related to their motivation to learn a language (Castellotti, Moore 2002). Linguistic attitudes are often explored in sociolinguistic research as they influence language choice and linguistic practices.

Language choice is a typical object of sociolinguistic research on bi/multilinguals. It depends on the following factors: interlocutors (their language proficiency, language priority, socioeconomic status, age, gender, position, education, kinship bonds, linguistic attitudes, etc.), the situation of a conversation (place, the participation of monolinguals in the conversation, the level of formality or closeness), the contents of the conversation (the theme, a special vocabulary necessary for the theme) and the function of the interaction (exchanging information, requesting, ignoring the interlocutor, etc.) (Grosjean 2001: 12). Language choice and linguistic attitudes in a multicultural environment are inseparable from policy, power relationships, language ideology and the interlocutors’ ethnic attitudes (Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004). Language choice may as well be related to the ideology and indexicality of a language. Indexicality, the term introduced by Silverstein (2003), could be explained as follows: a language indexes or symbolizes certain things, for example youth, progress, or modernity. Thus, some languages are of high, whereas the others of low prestige (Mendoza-Denton, Osborne 2010). Those that are of high prestige are widely used in public (e.g. cities, schools). Languages of low prestige are the ones used at home and/or rural areas. As for bi/multilinguals this index relationship between language and identity is not always valid as when using a particular language he/she does not necessarily identify with that particular language (Mendoza-Denton, Osborne 2010).

Language and ethnicity are so interrelated that a language is usually the main attribute in ethnicity definitions (Extra 2006, Fowkes 2002, the European Commission 2005). Minority groups are more conscious of ethnic identity that becomes of even greater importance in the context of various conflicts in power relationships and state policy (Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004). Language use becomes
“ethnic” when its users emphasize that and consider the heritage language as a symbol of their heritage ethnicity (Rampton 2001: 321). Ethnic minorities and people from mixed families are always in an ambiguous situation, as a) they always balance between ethnic and civil identity, b) their decisions are influenced by social hierarchy and inequality towards such groups, c) their ethnic identity might change with time. The number of such people in the world is increasing constantly, thus the issue of ethnic identity becomes more important and complex (Extra 2006, Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, Liebkind 1999, Fishman 1999, Fought 2006, Jamal 2004).

As Ehala points out, protection of linguistic and cultural diversity is possible by “constructing a positive group identity, enhancing its cultural distinctiveness, rising in-group loyalty and solidarity or raising the level of intergroup discordance” (2009: 43). The members of an ethnic minority group may distinguish their ethnicity and cultural distinctiveness by using their language, dialect or style in several cases: a) if they strongly identify with their ethnic group and the ethnic language is a symbol of identity; b) if they believe that the status of their ethnic group can be changed; c) is they are aware of the high vitality of their ethnic group; d) if they realise their group boundaries as solid and close and identify strongly with few social categories (Giles, Johnson 1987: 72). Such individuals do not seek to acquire a native speaker’s proficiency in the dominant language and try to retain their ethnic identity in order to distinguish themselves from the mainstream. On the contrary, Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge (2004) claim that strong ethnic ties allow individuals be proficient in more than one language.

ETHNIC IDENTITY, INTEGRATION AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

According to Giles and Johnson (1987), ethnic minority individuals identify with their ethnic group more if they have less other social groups to identify with. For example, an individual who is a retired person or a grandfather only, would more likely identify with his ethnic group more than an individual who is a father, an employee, a member of a golf club, etc. The environment that ethnic minority individuals/immigrants live in also has an impact on their self-identification, linguistic attitudes and linguistic behaviour. On the one hand, ethnic minority individuals are more inclined to differentiate themselves from the others or draw boundaries as a result of negative stereotypes, intolerance and discrimination that they face in society (Extra 2006, Guarnacia et al. 2007). On the other hand, a more homogeneous environment may have an impact on one’s ethnic identity and linguistic behaviour as well: according to some researchers assimilation is more likely to take place in a more homogeneous environment (Xie, Goyette 1997).

As for ethnolinguistic vitality, a number of studies examined ethnic minority/immigrant children and adolescents. Research on children and adolescent’s ethnic identity and linguistic attitudes has shown that young children tend to “absorb” social attitudes
regarding ethnic identity. It happens very early: a three-year-old’s attitudes (likes/dislikes) are already formed and parents have little influence on that (Quintana 1998, Spencer, Markstrom-Adams 1990, Nesdale 1999). Language proficiency and ethnic identity are closely related: the better an immigrant child knows the language of the host country, the more he/she is apt to take a bicultural identity. Rather often children’s ethnic and linguistic attitudes are opposite to what their parents report (Armon-Lotem, Gagarina et al. 2008). The younger the respondents (preschool or primary education age), the more they identify with the dominant ethnic group (Quintana 1998, Phinney 1989). Ethnicity is a difficult concept for adults from mixed families, thus this issue is even more complicated for children (especially ethnic minority or mixed family children) (Quintana 1998, Šutinienė 2008, Spencer, Markstrom-Adams 1990). Children do not give so much prominence to their ethnic identity (unless they undergo discrimination). Full ethnic identity awareness is reached in late adolescence (especially if it is related to some conflict that makes an individual think about his/her ethnicity) (Lichačiova 2010, Phinney 1989, Spencer, Markstrom-Adams 1990, Cross 1991). A number of research studies investigate gender differences and show the earlier maturity of girls (Gurian et al. 2011, Enever 2009). It is also applicable to ethnic identity development (Phinney 1989). Age, gender, linguistic environment, home language, the mother’s role and other social factors are of importance while studying children’s ethnic identity, language use and their relation.

“Language is not only used as a tool for communication and individual expression – the use of a particular language or language variety often serves as an indication of the speaker’s group identity.” (Kotzé 2001: 325)
OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

The issue of ethnic identity and ethnic language maintenance is more salient for ethnic minority individuals (Extra 2006, Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, Liebkind 1999, Fishman 1999, Fought 2006, Jamal 2004). The number of such people in the world has been increasing thus the research on ethnic identity and language has become of more importance.

Scientists of various fields, especially psychologists, examine the effect of ethnic identity and belonging to a minority group to an individual’s identity and welfare and various (Social, psychological, etc.) problems related to that (Phinney 1989, Phinney et al. 2001, Spencer, Markstrom-Adams 1990, Xie, Goyette 1997, Quintana 1998, Guarnacia et al. 2007, Safi 2009). Research of this kind was first conducted in the USA as a reaction to problems related to ethnic diversity and discrimination. In some states “ethnic minority groups already make up the majority” and various ethnic/racial issues are of great importance (Rodriguez et al. 2002: 299). In order to prevent ethnic conflicts, marginalisation and discrimination of ethnic minority groups, more and more research focuses on children’s ethnic identity as the first ethnic attitudes (positive or negative) are developed in childhood and are reinforced with age (Bush, Saltarelli 2005). Phinney’s (1989) study on adolescents of various ethnic groups (black, white, Asian and Latin American) demonstrated differences in ethnic identity development for the different groups. Phinney’s et al. (2001) research identified the positive impact of ethnic language proficiency and use, the parents’ values and interaction with ethnic peers on the ethnic identity of American immigrant adolescents. Bilinguals proficient in their ethnic language identified more with their ethnic group than the English monolinguals. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) emphasize the importance of healthy identity and give recommendations on how ethnic minority children can escape social and economic marginalisation. In their opinion, parents, community, educational institutions, social workers and learning of the ethnic language and culture have a tremendous impact on the development of a healthy identity. Guarnacia et al. (2007) examined Latin American (Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, etc.) immigrants in the US and found out the impact of the proficiency in and the use of Spanish on the ethnic identity (self identification) and interaction with in-group members. Lutz and Crist (2009), on the contrary, found out that the second generation of Latin American immigrants in the US give priority to the English language in order to integrate into the mainstream. Quintana (1998) examined how ethnic attitudes of preschool children change. He claims that not only the parents but the ethnic peers also have influence on ethnic attitudes. Rodriguez et al. (2002) carried out research on adopted children’s ethnic identity development in order educate the caregivers how to help their foster children to develop a healthy ethnic identity and manage ethnic/racial discrimination. The results of their research show that children’s ethnic socialization (first of all communication on this issue with parents or caregivers) has a positive impact on healthy ethnic identity development. Xie and Goyette (1997) investigated the ethnic identity of Asian American children in mixed families. Their results show that Asian identity is determined by higher education of
parents and other social factors, whereas ethnic language has little impact. Chinese and Japanese children are more inclined to identify with Asians than Hindi, Korean or Filipino children. A number of studies were carried out with the Roma ethnic group as their integration is troublesome in many societies. Walsh et al. (2011) examined the Roma’s (refugees from Hungary to Canada) attitudes towards their access to education, health and social services and their quality. It was observed that usually the Roma do not even take advantage of available services or get bad quality service due to linguistic barriers, cultural differences, mutual mistrust and stereotyping. One of the stereotypes about immigrants is the belief in society that immigrants refuse to assimilate and use tax money by demanding social and health security services in their language (Padilla 1999). Negative attitudes increase the marginalisation of minority groups.

For a long time immigration was an uncomfortable issue in the EU, thus research on immigration, immigrant language maintenance, language acquisition, etc. has started rather recently with the increased flows of immigration. Harris (2006) investigated 30 adolescents in Great Britain and introduced a new form of ethnic identity. She claims that East Asian adolescents living in London are identified (or identify themselves) as: a) Sikhs, Muslims or Hindus, b) Hindi, Pakistani or Bangladeshis, c) Panjabi, Gujarati, Hindi or Urdu speakers. However, though closely related to their ethnic groups and keeping their traditions, these adolescents acquired elements of Britishness. Such a combination of two cultures makes them Brasians. Ben Rampton’s (2010) longitudinal research findings on adolescents’ language crossing show that adolescents in one of Great Britain’s cities start using not their ethnic group’s language (e.g. Caribbean Creole, Panjabi or Indian English). When using any language, these adolescents keep to the social class norms.

A multilingual sign in Druskininkai, Lithuania. Photo by I. Dabašinskienė.
A lot of research studies have been conducted in Israel and USA with Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union (Birman, Trickett 2001, Remmenick 2004, Armon-Lotem, Gagarina et. al. 2008). Schwartz (2012) studied Jewish and Arab children's ethnic identity and linguistic attitudes. According to Birman and Trickett (2001), given their low language proficiency and limited participation in the religious life of local American Jews, Jews from the Soviet Union were more likely to identify with Russia and retained Russian culture. This study highlighted differences between generations: parents tended to retain their ethnic language, i.e. Russian, whereas the children retained the Russian identity. Remmenick’s (2004) study has shown that successful social integration depends on the proficiency of the dominant language and that immigrants of a younger age achieved this faster and developed a double Russian-Israeli identity.

European researchers focus on bi/multilinguals’ linguistic attitudes and their relationship to ethnic identity, the use of ethnic/minority language in the educational context, the welfare of immigrants/migrants, etc. Cenoz (2009) analysed the linguistic attitudes towards the Basque language. She observed the parents’ unwillingness of the Basque language to be used in the educational process. Referring to various assessments and testing results, the researcher highlights the advantages of bi/multilinguals over monolinguals and emphasizes the benefits of bilingual education. Safi’s research (2009) on immigrant welfare in thirteen European countries has shown that second generation individuals from mixed families face less discrimination for belonging to their ethnic group and feel better. This is especially true of those who come from mixed families in which one of the parents is a citizen of the host country. The publication on Finno-Ugric minorities discusses the ethnic and linguistic identity of these groups in different countries (Hungary, Finland, Sweden, and Russia) (Grünthal, Kovács 2011). For example, some languages (Nganasan, Khanty or Udmurt in Siberia) are becoming extinct and replaced by Russian, others (Estonian in Finland or Hungarian in Sweden) have a migrant language status and are not well received in society, though they function as a key element of expression of the ethnic identity for these ethnic groups. Avenas (1998) examined Italian immigrants in France, their ethnic identity and linguistic attitudes. His findings show that with each generation of immigrants the Italian language and culture is declining. Their situation is ambiguous: they think that the use of the dominant language at home means the rejection of their ethnic identity, but they also see bilingualism as the reason for the negative image and discrimination. The second-generation more educated individuals are more ethnically conscious. They use their ethnic language at home talking to their children and friends, later these linguistic attitudes are transmitted to their children. Avenas (1998) concludes that all the three generations of immigrants “play” with their ethnic language (i.e. use it whenever they want to and the way they want to), thus it is not possible to judge on their ethnic identity referring to their linguistic behaviour. The educational conditions for immigrants to learn their ethnic languages
in the educational systems of the Netherlands formed by the dominant community are not sufficient and effective for ethnic language and identity maintenance, thus the languages of ethnic minorities are inevitably inclined to extinction (Kroon 1990). Group/community consciousness has more impact on ethnic language and identity maintenance: the longer the community perceives itself as an ethnic group in immigration, the longer the ethnic language serves as a factor that unites the ethnic group members. The maintenance of an ethnic language is reinforced by a stronger and denser social network (Milroy 1987).

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. “To construct a model of the influences on ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families, we surveyed adolescents and their parents from 81 Armenian families, 47 Vietnamese families, and 88 Mexican families. Adolescents completed measures of ethnic language proficiency, in-group peer social interaction, and ethnic identity. Parents completed a measure of support for cultural maintenance. Across all groups, ethnic language proficiency and in-group peer interaction predicted ethnic identity, and parental cultural maintenance predicted adolescent ethnic language proficiency. However, because of differences among the groups, a separate model was required for each ethnic group. The results suggest both common processes and group differences in the factors that influence ethnic identity.” (Phinney et al. 2001: 135)

Method and data analysis. Self-report questionnaires for adolescents on their self-identification, language proficiency and interaction with peers of the same ethnic group. Questionnaires for parents on cultural maintenance. Demographic data on adolescents and their parents was collected in the study as well. To analyse the data bivariate correlations among variables and path models were calculated.

Conclusions. The results for the three ethnic groups differ, but the main tendency is that once immigrant parents maintain their ethnic culture, it is more likely that the ethnic minority adolescents will be more proficient in their ethnic language and identify with their ethnic group. The role of the interaction with ethnic peers is also of crucial importance for adolescents’ ethnic identity.

Write some of your own:
Questions after reading:
1. How is ethnic identity defined in the paper?
2. Why is the issue of ethnic identity particularly salient for minority adolescents?
3. Explain social identity theory.
4. Explain the process of ethnic identity exploration.
5. Which three factors that influence ethnic identity were examined in the study?
6. Describe the Armenian ethnic group in the US.
7. Describe the Vietnamese in the US.
8. Describe the Mexicans in the US.
9. Explain the procedure of the study.
10. Comment on the findings of the study.

CASE STUDY 2.
Read the article Ansaldo U. 2010. Identity Alignment and Language Creation in Multilingual Communities. Language Sciences 32: 615–623 and answer the questions.

Abstract. “In multilingual ecologies there are communities that, in certain sociohistorical environments, undergo significant changes in their linguistic repertoire through contact, which often result in a type of shift that leads to the creation of new grammatical patterns. The ecology of language creation typically involves closely-knit minority/diasporic groups of mixed ethnic origins, often in the position of intercultural brokers. Multilingual contexts in which different languages are negotiated on a daily basis, and where language contact and contact languages are ubiquitous, are in fact quite common in human history, exotic as they may appear to the Western monolingual speaker. This paper argues that in such ecologies the alignment between language and identity is complex, continuously shifting and not easily captured in terms of mother tongue or nativeness. In this sense, multilingual ecologies question the notion of mother tongue and its implicit and explicit role in our current theories of language.” (Ansaldo 2010: 615)

Method and data analysis. Historical and sociocultural analysis of three linguistic communities: the Malays of Sri Lanka, the Babas in Singapore and the Macanese in Macau.

Conclusions. A dynamic linguistic profile of the three communities discussed “periodically realigns itself according to the needs of the shifting ecology” (Ansaldo 2010: 619). Therefore, only temporary identifications between a community and a single linguistic code are possible. The process of alignment is continuous in contact ecologies. It has been observed that multilingual communities adapt to the linguistic norms and maintain the markers of their linguistic identity at the same time.

Write some of your own:
Questions after reading:
1. How is the notion of identity alignment treated in the paper?
2. Describe “language creation”.
3. How do the Malays of Sri Lanka identify themselves?
5. What is the role of Sinhala and Tamil for the Sri Lankan Malays?
6. Explain the advantage that the Peranakan community of Singapore had over other ethnic groups.
7. Describe the linguistic identity of the Babas of Singapore.
8. How is Macanese identity defined?
9. How did Patoá evolve in Macau?
10. Comment on cultural hybridity.

CASE STUDY 3.


Abstract. “This study analyzes the relationships between immigrant adolescents’ ethnic identity, their first and second language proficiency and their psychological and sociocultural adaptation using three models: the ethnic identity model, the language assimilation model, and the language integration model. The study explores what model best explains adaptation processes of second-generation immigrant youth in the Netherlands and Sweden. Participants were 158 Turkish adolescents in the Netherlands and 237 in Sweden (13–18 years). As expected we found support for the ethnic identity model in the Swedish sample and for the language assimilation model in the Netherlands. We also found weak support for the integration model in the Swedish sample. Overall the findings support a notion that in terms of adaptation outcomes there is no such thing as a preferred acculturation strategy that is valid for all times and places. This paper shows that possibilities for optimizing adaptation outcomes as well as choices of acculturation strategies may vary by context with regard to immigrant language policy and corresponding experiences.” (Vedder, Virta 2005: 317)

Method and data analysis. The data was collected with a self-reporting questionnaire focussing on demographic information, language proficiency in the ethnic language and the majority language, ethnic identity, and adaptation variables such as self-esteem, mastery, life satisfaction, psychological problems, behavioural problems, and school adjustment. The questionnaires were in the majority language. Pearson correlations and ANOVAs were used to analyse the data. To explain adaptation scores, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used.

Conclusions. “The ethnic identity model may be used to explain adaptation of Turkish immigrant youth in Sweden, but not in the Netherlands” (Vedder, Virta 2005: 329). The language assimilation model was supported by the data from the Netherlands and weak support for language integration was found in the Swedish sample.
Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Describe immigrant language policies and practices in Sweden.
2. Describe immigrant language policies and practices in the Netherlands.
3. What are the differences between the two countries’ educational practices?
4. How is acculturation defined in the paper?
5. Name and describe the four strategies of acculturation.
6. How is ethnic identity defined in the paper?
7. Explain the ethnic identity model.
8. How is the language assimilation model described in the paper?
9. How is the language integration model described in the paper?
10. Comment on the differences of results in both countries.

CASE STUDY 4.


Abstract. “This study examined language shift from speaking Russian to German longitudinally in a sample of 229 adolescent immigrants (M age = 16.14, M length of residence = 6.26, 67 % female). Our aims were to test whether language shift can be found in adolescent first generation immigrants and to test whether variables indicative of (a) linguistic adaptability, i.e., the efficiency to learn, speak and use a second language, (b) the amount of contact with native Germans, and (c) the motivation to use German, predicted differences in adolescents’ levels and rates of change in German language use. Results showed an overall decelerated increase in German language use over time, which resembled a “learning curve” levelling off at an average “frequent” use of German. Differences between adolescents in language shift were mainly associated with variables indicative of interethnic contact and motivation, but not to linguistic adaptability. In more detail, speaking German increasingly in daily life was related to an increasing share of native peers, a decreasing self-identification as Russian and an increasing orientation towards natives. Language shift thus seems to result from an increasing sense of belonging to the receiving society.” (Titzmann et al. 2012: 248)

Method and data analysis. A longitudinal study on the relationship between language use and variables of linguistic adaptability, motivation and contact in combination. The sample consisted of 229 ethnic German adolescents from the FSU, who filled out self-
report questionnaires at school. Follow up questionnaires were sent by mail. The ques-
tionnaires were in German with Russian subtitles. Multiple regression analyses were used.

Conclusions. The German language use was related to the length of residence: the
adolescents reported to use it increasingly with time. The absolute shift to German did
not occur, as the adolescents maintained their mother tongue. Differences in age at im-
migration were also observed: the younger the age of arrival, the higher the German
language level. The sense of belonging to the receiving country and contacts with natives
increased the use of German significantly.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. How is language shift defined in the paper?
2. Why is adolescence a sensitive age for language use?
3. Discuss the background of ethnic German immigrants.
4. What challenges do migrant groups face?
5. Explain behaviour patterns according to culture learning and shedding theories.
6. What predictors of linguistic adaptability are discussed in the paper and why?
7. Which variables related to contact are analysed in the study?
8. Discuss variables related to motivation that were analysed in the study.
9. What criteria did the participants have to fulfil?
10. Discuss the observed extent to which motivation, contact and linguistic adaptabi-
lity were related to language shift.

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Keywords
Majority/minority/immigrant/migrant languages, language rights, injustice, integration, early language learning, bi/multilinguals, metalinguistic awareness

INTRODUCTION
Increased mobility and migration opened up possibilities to hear, to see, to use, and to learn more languages. Linguistic diversity became a feature of our daily routine in all our public and private activities. Urban spaces, especially big cities, experience growing population with increased linguistic diversity in academic environments. Research reports (Extra, Gorter 2001) hundreds of languages spoken at home in big cities of Europe, but, unfortunately, only very few are supported by education systems. Increased multilingual practices require special educational policies, however, management of linguistic diversity is still a huge challenge in Europe, where the education system is based on European nationalistic ideology and linguistic uniformity. Monolingual schools have difficulties to change their habits and practices, and imagining that multilingual education
could become a norm in education as is the case with monolingual education is a complex issue, because it relates to questions of policy, ideologies, pedagogies, etc. (Helot 2012: 214).

**LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY**

Language policy and planning (LPP) is taking on a new perspective in the past decades, as the idealized model of the linguistically and ethnically homogeneous nation-state collapses in the modern world with rapid changes. EU language education policy and educational agendas in general are related to economic and cultural issues. In past decades a great number of documents related to language diversity, language education policies were developed. Several questions that the EU is concerned about are related to increased multilingualism in internal and external relations. For internal relations, the EU seeks to answer the question about how many and which languages European citizens should learn and be proficient in. External relations focus on the EU’s cooperation with non-member states’ organizations and involve considerations on global communication and economic aspects.

**Upon completing initial training everyone should be proficient in two Community foreign languages (COM (95) 590)**

The requirement to learn two languages in addition to the mother tongue before the end of compulsory education was directed towards pupils in formal education environments. However, later educational strategies were addressed to all citizens of the member states and now the formula ‘1+2’ concerns all citizens of the EU (‘Upon completing initial training everyone should be proficient in two Community foreign languages’ (COM (95) 590)). Additionally, at the Lisbon European Council (cf. Lisbon 2000) ‘lifelong learning’ initiative has included languages as a further implementation of mother tongue + 2. Moreover, the *Detailed Work Programme on the Follow-Up of the Objectives of Education and Training Systems in Europe* (cf. OJ 2002 C 142: 1–22) emphasizes the importance of linguistic abilities: “Encouraging everyone to learn two, or where appropriate, more languages in addition to their mother tongues, and increasing awareness of the importance of foreign language learning at all ages’ is a major issue” (OJ 2002 C 142: 15). The most recent European Parliament resolution of 2009 on multilingualism, namely, the recommendation to the member states, expands the number of foreign languages in academic curricula, where the third foreign language could be optionally studied, starting at secondary school level (2008/2225(INI) EP 2009). Summing up, all the language policy documents reflect development of the model ‘mother tongue + 2’ from a maximum requirement for pupils and students to a minimum requirement for all citizens of the EU (Rindler Schjerve, Vetter 2012: 23). This policy has been implemented in the majority of EU schools; foreign languages have been taught from early age, however, the outcomes of these initiatives are not available yet (see also Eurydice data 2008).
The question which languages should be acquired by Europeans is still very important, as most of the countries facing the fact that only very limited number of languages are offered at schools, and therefore shrinking the linguistic diversity of Europe. The discussions and recommendations on the range of languages are very broad and include languages other than the official EU languages, neighbouring, regional, and immigrant languages, also classical languages (Greek and Latin) or sign languages. The recommendations are based on the EU ideology ‘unity in diversity’ and the equality of languages (especially after 2004 EU enlargement) that are related to social cohesion and economic growth.

The EU language policies with external organizations such as UNESCO and CoE (Council of Europe) play an important role in political and economic activities beyond the EU. Therefore, the European Economic and Social Committee on Multilingualism raises two main objectives in its Opinion on Multilingualism of 2009 (cf. OJ 2009 C 77: 109–114): to preserve the vitality of European languages and to diversify language knowledge to include non-Community languages (Rindler Schjerve, Vetter 2012: 27). The cooperation of the EU with the CoE, especially in the sphere of the evaluation of language knowledge, is very important. The CoE Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (cf. CEFR 2001) is used not only in most of the EU countries (also see European Indicator of Language Competence), but crossing European borders.

The implementation of the ambitious aim of the EU to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy of the world (Lisbon Conclusions 2000) among other skills in a lifelong learning perspective require foreign language competences. Unfortunately, language education policy is still searching for the solution on how to manage the highly heterogeneous linguistic space of Europe and to preserve linguistic and cultural ‘unity in diversity’. Dynamic regional, national and global communication needs require various functional distributions of languages; therefore the attempts to ensure the equality of all the languages encounter great challenges and call for new ideas of language education policy for this millennium.

MIGRANT AND MINORITY LANGUAGES

Political attention to respect regional minorities and their cultural diversity was awaked when minorities started to be active in their demands for linguistic and cultural rights. Various initiatives were developed, but the most important were the establishment of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), the MERCATOR European Network for Minority Languages and Education and the European Parliament Intergroup Committee for Minority languages. European Parliament urges support for the Community Charter of regional languages and Cultures and a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities. This means that member states have to protect and promote regional and minority languages in the spheres of education, culture, economics, social life and mass media. The CoE

“A minority language lives in the shadow of a culturally dominant language, dominant usually because of political factors, which puts the minority language at risk. [...] a minority language is not the language of all areas of activity indulged in by its speakers. It may be excluded from formal spheres such as administration, education, or the mass media and may be confined to the home, religious life, or literature.” (Simpson 2001: 579)

These documents provided the standards for the achievement of minority promotion and protection in Europe, as the main concern was related to the human rights issues of minorities to use their language in public and private spaces and not to be assimilated into national monolingualism. The recent political and economic developments demonstrate increasing sensitivity of minority issues that could not be ignored, and have to solve problems not only of regional minorities, but of immigrant minorities as well. Regional and minority languages are contributing to European diversity and cultural heritage, therefore protecting this diversity is related to equality, human rights, European values, and democracy. However, many questions regarding immigrants’ (especially from outside Europe) languages, cultures and religions are not clear and have to be answered in order to understand what diversity is protected and promoted.

The issue that appears to be very critical is related to schooling of immigrant children: in most of the cases these children receive education in the dominant host language only and their heritage language remains spoken at home. The outcome of this policy is that second-generation immigrants do not succeed well in their primary and secondary education and later have difficulties in social and professional integration and development. The lack of appropriate input, especially in the cases of monolingual education, may cause incomplete language acquisition or insufficient proficiency in both, host and heritage, languages. The PISA reports (Programme for International Student Assessment 2009) have clearly demonstrated that in many of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries most immigrant minority children achieve lower scores than their autochthonous peers. These results empower to rethink education systems in order to provide greater support for L1 of minority children and for bilingual education.
FOREIGN LANGUAGE (ENGLISH) TEACHING FOR YOUNG LEARNERS

Despite quite intensive debates regarding advantages or disadvantages of early foreign language teaching, in most of the countries, including EU, the last decades showed that foreign language programmes tend to start at a very early stage. The increasing number of early foreign language learners around the world is often seen as the outcome of English becoming the global lingua franca (e.g. Graddol 2006). According to Gardner (2012: 251–253), three forces play to prevail when English is introduced at an early age: first, the opinion that is based on the beliefs that “younger is better” and “more is better” is very strong. Second comes from government hopes that the new generation will be able to compete in a globalized economy, to negotiate internationally in English and to follow the advancement of science. Third is related to global English spread through the number of speakers internationally and also through pop culture, music, film, games, and Internet. All these aspects make English visible and available, therefore crucial to include in national education language teaching programmes.

All the different circumstances invite to understand how in a number of different contexts early access to modern languages varies, how young children progress and benefit from an early exposure to foreign languages or fail, and how affective, cognitive, social, linguistic and classroom-related factors interact in the processes is very important (Nikolov, Curtain 2000, Nikolov 2009: Xiii).

Across Europe educational contexts for foreign language teaching vary greatly and different countries introduce different models for early first and second/third foreign language learning. The successful results may be achieved if many variables, such as students’ attitudes, motivation, age, teachers’ competence, study materials, study hours etc., were taken into account, unfortunately early foreign language teaching and learning is a very complex process. As it is known from most of the research on age-related differences in attitudes and motivation, younger learners have more positive attitudes than older learners and that interest declines with time (e.g. Nikolov 1999). Another important factor that has been taken into consideration is the number of hours of instruction. It is emphasized that even young students have to study intensively in order to achieve tangible results and demonstrate their competence; appropriate skills ensure sustainable motivation for future studies. Another very important criterion that guarantees the success of the studies includes teacher’s qualifications and training, quality of teaching and the size of the students’ group. Quality of teaching and language used by a teacher is particularly important at the very early age of learning. Therefore, input of the target language (TL) is crucial for successful foreign language (FL) learning. Teachers’ input of the TL usually becomes crucial for successful language acquisition, therefore it is important for young learners to be exposed to the TL as much as possible in order to develop their language skills (Ellis 1984: 121).
CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. In this plenary speech Gorter examines multilingual interaction in a number of European regions in which minority languages are being revitalized. He points out that education is a crucial variable, but the wider society is equally significant. The context of revitalization is no longer bilingual but increasingly multilingual. He draws on the results of a long-running project on the ‘Added Value of Multilingualism and Diversity In Educational Contexts’ among secondary school students, and shows that there are interesting differences and similarities between the minority language (Basque or Frisian), the majority language (Spanish or Dutch) and English. The Focus on multilingualism is applied inside and outside the school. The discussion demonstrates the complexity of everyday multilingual practices and the outcomes have implications for the gap between education and society and for further research into the linkages between language proficiency and actual language practices. (Gorter 2013)

Method and data analysis. The comparison of the teaching of languages (with the Focus on minority languages, namely Basque and Frisian) in the Basque Autonomous Community and the Province of Friesland in the Netherlands. Multiple methods (questionnaires, classroom observations, student essays, language diaries and photographs) were employed to collect quantitative and qualitative data on language proficiency, language use and attitudes. The target group of the research were secondary school students aged from 14 to 16. The data was supplemented by government reports, teachers’ opinions and university students’ attitudes towards multilingualism.

Conclusions. Multilingualism as well as teaching it are complex phenomena, thus raising multilingual awareness in society is absolutely necessary: “Children can study multilingualism and language diversity through engaging in projects about their linguistic landscapes to gain a better understanding of the socio-political context in which they live” (Gorter 2013: 14). More in-depth studies on multilingual language practices are needed for effective reforms of school curricula.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. How are language practices defined in the paper?
2. Give a definition of a minority language.
3. Explain the term of translanguaging.
4. What is Gorter and Cenoz's approach to a multilingual speaker?
5. Provide a definition of a linguistic repertoire.
6. What is the goal of multilingual education?
7. Why is the notion of “bilingual societies” no longer adequate?
9. Describe the teaching of Frisian in the Province of Friesland.
10. Describe the similarities and differences of teaching and using English in the two areas of research.

**CASE STUDY 2.**


**Abstract.** “Ethnic residential concentration is often found to hamper immigrants’ majority language proficiency. However, there are still several gaps in our understanding of the relationship between ethnic concentration and ethnic minorities’ language practices. This study examines the extent to which ethnic concentration also constrains immigrants’ majority language use, whether contact with natives and co-ethnics mediates these relationships, and whether ethnic concentration relates to second-generation minorities’ minority language proficiency. Structural equation models on data for people of Turkish and Moroccan origin living in the Netherlands (N=2163) showed that ethnic concentration is indirectly related to weaker majority language proficiency and less majority language use through contact with natives and co-ethnics. For second-generation minorities, ethnic concentration is related to better minority language proficiency.” (Vervoort et al. 2012: 555)

**Method and data analysis.** A large-scale survey on integration of immigrants in the Netherlands was conducted in 2006. Target group: immigrants of Turkish (N=1127), Surinamese (N=1057), Moroccan (N=1035) and Antillean (N=997) origin. Face-to-face interviews with bilingual interpreters were used in the survey. Statistical record data on the neighbourhood level was derived from Statistics Netherlands (2010).

**Conclusions.** The study results showed that there was no direct relationship between ethnic residential concentration and immigrants’ majority language proficiency. This is explained as a relatively moderate level of ethnic residential concentration in the Netherlands. This makes it difficult for Turkish and Moroccans to manage their lives in the Netherlands with their minority languages only. This is the reason why they need to learn the majority language.

*Write some of your own:*
Questions after reading:
1. How is ethnic concentration in the neighbourhood related to majority language proficiency and use?
2. Explain the term of language exposure.
3. Explain the term of incentives.
4. How is group pressure defined in the paper?
5. Describe the background of the two ethnic minority groups discussed in the paper.
6. Which dependent variables are taken into account in the study and why?
7. Which independent variables are taken into account in the study and why?
8. What did the results of the survey show?
9. What differences were observed between first and second generation immigrants?

CASE STUDY 3.


Abstract. This paper examines language education policies in African countries, focusing on South Africa and Ethiopia. It highlights some inadequate political decisions that resulted in high rates of illiteracy. It aims at restoring historical, theoretical and pedagogical accuracy in order to “demonstrate the efficacy of mother tongue medium education in dynamic multilingual environments” (Heugh 2009: 106).

Method and data analysis. A comparative overview of language education policies and their results in sub-Saharan African countries.


Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. What are the four layers that have to be revisioned in the domain of language education policy in Africa?
2. Describe the use of African languages in education in pre-colonial times.
3. What was the practice of mother tongue use in education during the colonial period?
4. Describe African lingua franca.
5. Comment on the early transition from mother tongue medium (MTM) education in most African countries.
6. What were the consequences of the advancement of only one African language?
7. What did Zambia's English only policy result in?
8. Describe the language policy and practice in Ethiopia.
9. What was the apartheid education policy in South Africa?
10. What is a mother tongue in the African context?

**CASE STUDY 4.**


**Abstract.** “This paper focuses on the advantages that bilinguals have over monolinguals when acquiring an additional language. Bilinguals are more experienced language learners and have potentially developed learning strategies to a larger extent than monolinguals. They also have a larger linguistic and intercultural repertoire at their disposal. In this paper the methodology and results of studies on the influence of bilingualism on third language acquisition (TLA) will be reviewed and their contribution to the study of multilingualism discussed. A new perspective, Focus on Multilingualism, is presented as a more appropriate way to analyse the effect of bilingualism on TLA. This perspective is holistic and focuses on multilingual speakers and their linguistic repertoires, including the interaction between their languages.” (Cenoz 2013: 71)

**Method and data analysis.** An overview of research on the effect of bilingualism on Third language acquisition and a presentation of an alternative theoretical approach for these studies.

**Conclusions.** The focus on the Multilingualism approach provides more insights in the research of bilingualism's impact on TLA. It also has educational implications: 1) multilinguals’ language proficiency cannot be tested as that of monolinguals, 2) teaching practices could be based on metalinguistic awareness and bilinguals' knowledge and use of languages.

Write some of your own:

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Questions after reading:
1. How is TLA defined in the paper?
2. Name the contexts in which third language acquisition can take place.
3. How does TLA differ from SLA and to what extent are they similar?
4. Who is a balanced bilingual?
5. Discuss the main trends observed in TLA research.
6. Comment on the factors that are associated with bilinguals’ advantages in TLA over monolinguals.
7. Describe an active bilingual.
8. How could a foreign language user be described?
9. Describe the Focus on Multilingualism research approach.
10. Describe the strategies used by bilinguals.

FURTHER READINGS


REFERENCES


INTRODUCTION
Language extinction and death have always taken place in multicultural societies when a dominant/majority language takes over the functions of the minority language or replaces the language itself due to political power, privileges, and social prestige (May 2000). Thus linguists have been talking for quite a while about the extinction of languages and the need to preserve them. However, as David Crystal (2005) points out, languages have never died as fast as they are doing now and that is a huge cultural loss. Similarly, to emphasize the importance of linguistic diversity, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) argues that once linguistic diversity is lost, the cultural heritage and knowledge of thousands of years will also be lost. According to her, linguistic diversity is closely related and as important as biodiversity and the only way
to keep linguistic diversity alive in Europe is to support the learning and teaching of indigenous, minority, immigrant, migrant and refugee languages.

Ethnolinguistic vitality is usually defined as what “makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308).

One of the European Commission’s aims is to encourage linguistic diversity in education and support the research on language maintenance/loss/acquisition/attrition which is especially salient for ethnic minority and immigrant groups. In the discourse about minority or indigenous languages the term of *linguistic vitality* is often used. The theory of Ethnolinguistic Vitality was introduced by Howard Giles (1987). He argued that this phenomenon depends on three factors: demography (population size, birth rate, and geographical concentration), status (economic and political) and prestige and institutional support (the acknowledgement of the ethnic group and its language in media, education and government) (Giles, Johnson 1987: 71).

**LANGUAGE, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND EDUCATION**

The relationship between language and ethnic identity is ambiguous and undefined on the individual and public level. As language is usually treated as an inseparable part of ethnic identity, education in a multicultural society becomes “a battlefield” (Heller 2003, 2006, Bourdieu 1992). A number of researchers (Phillipson 1999, Skutnabb-Kangas et. al. 2009, Extra 2007, Fishman 1999, Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004) analyse issues related to language and education. As language is related to power, governments sometimes use the dominant (or official) language as a political or social control tool (Plasseraud 2006: 164, Anderson 1999). The issue of ethnic discrimination in the educational context becomes important as in most countries ethnic minorities are educated in a language other than their mother tongue. An example of such a language policy conflict in Lithuania could be the situation in 2011 when the Amendments to the Education Law concerning reinforced Lithuanian language teaching in minority schools were passed\(^1\). These Amendments were strongly opposed by the Polish living in Lithuania. The knowledge of the Lithuanian language is important and useful for the Lithuanian Poles, but the possibilities of putting the law into practice is doubted (Salienė, Vilkienė 2006). This is an instance of how people’s emotions are manipulated through language. This also highlights the limited understanding of the complexity of bi/multilingualism and the drawbacks of educational programs that are discriminatory to minority students.

\(^1\) 17 March, 2011 No. XI-1281. These Amendments planned teaching some subjects (geography, history) in Lithuanian at ethnic minority schools and to make uniform the final examination of the Lithuanian language requirements at ethnic minority and majority schools.
In the European Union it is argued that one of the possible solutions of such a discriminatory conflict could be bilingual education, early learning of another language or multiple multilingual education (De Bot, Gorter 2005, Gardner-Chloros 2007, Garcia 2009). Children should learn two or more languages in benefit of community welfare (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson 2001). Such an educational practice has already shown its advantages. According to the data of a longitudinal immigrant children’s observation research in America, the best results are achieved by bilinguals who learn English well and also maintain the cultural bond with the past of their family (Portes, Hao 2002). Research on bilingual and multilingual children’s development (Cummins 1976, Waxman 2006, Van de Craen et al. 2011, Skutnabb-Kangas 2002, Cenoz 2009) has shown that the knowledge of more than one language improves the achievement results of other subjects, including the results the mother tongue acquisition. However, this is still viewed with scepticism in some countries.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) claims that languages of ethnic groups acknowledged by international laws are more privileged in educational and other spheres, whereas immigrant, migrant or refugee languages do not have any rights. She also argues that a mother tongue is every person’s cultural right on which an individual welfare depends. All other languages, including the dominant/official language are necessary to guarantee one's social, economic, political and civil rights (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 58).

In some multicultural societies bilingualism and linguistic diversity is constrained by nationalist movements and those that are proficient in the dominant language gain more power than minority groups and individuals (Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004). The European Union aims at fulfilling the needs of the speakers of all languages. The analysis of the EU documents shows that in the EU, linguistic discrimination is forbidden, linguistic diversity is promoted, and it is aimed at making conditions to learn not only official and regional, but also minority and migrant languages. However, the implementation of such a policy is rather complicated. As Mendoza-Denton and Osborne point out, in bilingual countries, social institutions, for example schools, perform a “homogenizing role and only highlight the problems related to bilinguals” (2010: 114). Though all European countries are multilingual and are ethnically diverse, their educational systems are oriented to one language due to ideological and organisational reasons (Plasseraud 2006: 164). Legislation regarding language and citizenship are

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also usually in favour of the dominant ethnicity (Daukšas, Čiubrinskas 2008: 35). As Phillipson rightly puts it: in the EU “there is manifestly a conflict between the rhetoric of supporting all languages and the realities of linguistic hierarchies and marginalisation” (Phillipson 2009: 95).

ETHNIC MINORITY EDUCATION IN EU

This short overview aims at giving a very basic idea how education of autochthonous and immigrant minorities is organised in the EU. According to Plasseraud (2006), there is a network of primary and secondary schools at the border of Italy and Austria where children are taught in German. In Slovenia it is possible to learn in Hungarian and Italian as there is also a network of primary and secondary schools for that. In the United Kingdom Welsh is taught at Welsh Language Schools. There is a whole educational cycle for education in Basque, Catalan and Galician in Spain. In France there is a private monolingual education sector for each regional language. Greece does not have ethnic minority education institutions (Plasseraud 2006). In Finland, according to Björklund (2005) and Lattoma (2011), the entire educational programme is in two official languages (Finnish and Swedish) and there are extra hours of instruction in ethnic languages for ethnic minority and immigrant students. In Sweden language learning is in the following hierarchical order: first of all students learn Swedish and English, then go other modern European and Scandinavian languages, then follow the regional languages (Sami, Finnish, Yiddish, Roma) and finally the ethnic languages of immigrants (Arab, Polish, etc.) (Lainio 2012). Lainio (2012) acknowledges the importance of bilingual education (Swedish + ethnic language), but claims that even in democratic Sweden it faces financial confines and social stereotypes. In Latvia ethnic minorities have the possibility of learning in their languages (Belarusian, Estonian, Hebrew, Lithuanian, Polish, and Ukrainian) next to Latvian and Russian at the primary and secondary level of education. Latvian as the official language is taught at all educational levels (Druviete 2000, Hogan-Brun at al. 2008). In Estonia in most schools the language of instruction is Estonian. In the areas around Tallinn and the north-eastern part of Estonia there are primary and secondary schools where schoolchildren are instructed in Russian only or in two languages (Estonian and Russian). Higher education is in Estonian except for a few private higher education institutions with the Russian language of instruction (Rannut 2008, Hogan-Brun et al. 2008, Lindemann, Saar 2012). In Poland public schools of all levels hold classes in minority languages, as well as the history and culture of the native country, for pupils belonging to the Belarus, Lithuanian, Slovak and Ukrainian minorities. There are also classes in Lemka and Kashube (the latter has the status of a regional language). Migrants’ children who do not know Polish are entitled in one-year free learning of the Polish language (Ministry of National Education and Sport of the Republic of Poland, 2005). For more detailed information on immigrant children’s integration (that implies the language education) see Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (2009).
ETHNIC MINORITY EDUCATION IN LITHUANIA

The Education Law of the Republic of Lithuania (2002) guarantees the right to learn in the official language and mother tongue. According to the Law, in areas that are more densely populated with ethnic minorities and upon the ethnic community’s request, the municipality has to guarantee education in the ethnic minority language. Then the whole educational process (especially in primary and secondary levels) or some of the subjects are taught in the ethnic language. In such schools Lithuanian is a part of the curricula. If parents (caretakers) wish, some subjects can be taught in the official language (Lithuanian). The Law guarantees that preschool ethnic minority children could have additional learning of their ethnic language (if there is a need, the specialists are available and children are educated not in their mother tongue). A mother tongue can be learnt at non-formal education institutions. At the moment there are 62 schools with Polish as the language of instruction, 36 schools with Russian as the language of instruction, 1 school with Belarusian language of instruction and 54 mixed schools. Higher education is in Lithuanian. Ethnic minority children can learn their mother tongues in Saturday schools. For example, in Kaunas there are Polish, Jewish, German and Armenian Saturday schools. The learning of new immigrant, migrant and refugee languages has received little attention so far due to small numbers of immigration.

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.


Abstract. “Regardless of how children come to be bilingual or multilingual, children throughout the world most commonly engage in translanguaging. [...] But the facility to language bilingually is seldom recognized by education systems throughout the world. [...] Bilingual education programs that insist on two separate languages end up denying the complex multilingualism of much of the world” (Garcia 2009: 140–141). This paper discusses the assumptions about monolingualism and bilingualism and their reflection in multilingual educational programs. It aims at finding solutions to bi/multilingual children’s teaching and learning.

Method and data analysis. Overview and discussion of bilingual education development. Observation of dual language education classes was analysed to illustrate translanguaging.

Conclusions. Bilingual education programs developed in the West according to the monolingualism approach are not adequate for 21st-century children who are mostly multilingual (e.g. in the Philippines, India, etc.). Language education practices of using one or
two languages separately discriminate such children who translanguage most of the time. Multiple multilingual education is proposed as the best suitable way of teaching these children, not only to ensure the social justice and practice principles, but also to enhance the children’s cognitive abilities and achievement. 

Write some of your own:

questions after reading:
1. Define translanguging.
2. What is subtractive bilingualism?
3. What is additive bilingualism?
4. Describe discursive practices of 21st-century communication.
5. Explain recursive bilingualism.
6. Explain dynamic bilingualism.
7. Discuss the background of bilingual education.
8. Comment on the limits of bilingual education developed in the West for 21st-century school children.
9. What is the potential of multiple multilingual education?
10. Comment on the social justice and social practice principles in pedagogical practices.

Case Study 2.


Abstract. “This article looks at the continuities and discontinuities within the European discourse of education reforms and immigrants, starting with the “education of migrant children” to the promotion of “intercultural education” as a means of integrating the immigrant student. This analysis explores the ways in which a process of abjection is engaged within the discourse that serves to refound the boundaries of the European cosmopolitan through the fabrication of the immigrant student as an object of reform. That is, European reforms call for the inclusion of the immigrant student, the discourse also excludes through its very production of human kinds who need to be integrated into cosmopolitanism.” (Kowalczyk 2010–2011: 5)

Method and data analysis. Discourse analysis of the Council of Europe and the European Union documents is employed to find out the reason of how the notion of European cosmopolitanism is constructed.

Conclusions. Over time the European intercultural education reform discourse has fab-
ricated an identity of a European student. The contemporary policy documents perceive a European student as a cultural resource.

*Write some of your own:*

Questions after reading:
1. Comment on the “fabrication of collective belonging”.
2. What is conservative about education reforms?
3. Explain discursive practices.
4. Explain the term abjection.
5. How is cosmopolitanism defined in the paper?
6. How did the term migrant’s child change in EU and COE documents at different periods?
7. Describe intercultural education.
8. How is the Other perceived in European policy documents, according to the author of the paper?
9. Discuss the shift of terms in EU education policy reform documents.

**CASE STUDY 3.**

*Read the article* Schulze J. L. 2010. Estonia Caught between East and West: EU Conditionality, Russia’s Activism and Minority Integration. *Nationalities Papers* 38 (3) May: 361–392 and answer the questions.

**Abstract.** “This article takes a subjective approach to studying norm compliance in order to determine how EU conditionality and Russia’s activism have affected elite altitudes toward minority policies, majority–minority relations, and language use in Estonian society in the post-accession period. The results of a Q method study and semi structured interviews with integration elites in spring 2008 reveal four distinct viewpoints. The study casts doubt upon the success of EU conditionality in Estonia by demonstrating that European minority rights norms remain contested and have not been internalized by a substantial portion of elites. In addition, the study points to an important role for Russia’s activism in the development of a more inclusive society. Russia’s activism actually works against minority integration by reinforcing pre-existing domestic norms that are not compatible with European minority rights standards and by aggravating tensions over history and language, which frustrate integration efforts. This article ultimately contributes to studies on the effects of international pressure on minority integration by pointing to the need for greater attention to the ways in which multiple actors at both the international and domestic levels structure the influence of EU conditionality.” (Schulze 2010: 361)
Method and data analysis. A Q method study was employed in this research. In addition, semi structured interviews with 33 research participants were taken to explore the attitudes on minority integration policy.

Conclusions. European minority rights norms have not been completely internalized by elites in Estonia. The respondents of the study did not show uniform attitudes towards language use, minority integration and the majority–minority relationship.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. Comment on Estonia’s kin state that claims to protect its ethnic kin.
2. Discuss the Estonian background of nation building and restoration.
3. Discuss the Estonian Language Laws and Amendments and their effects on minority integration.
4. Define EU conditionality.
5. Comment on the most recent confrontation between Estonia and Russia.
6. What is a Q methodology?
7. Describe the respondents of the research.
8. How do the respondents view the influence of EU conditionality and Russia’s activism on minority policies?
9. How do the respondents view the influence of EU conditionality and Russia’s activism on majority–minority relations?
10. How do the respondents view the influence of EU conditionality and Russia’s activism on language use?

FURTHER READINGS
REFERENCES

CHAPTER 10
ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF MULTILINGUALISM: PSYCHOLINGUISTIC AND
SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES


Keywords
Bilingualism, international adoption (IA), language attrition, language proficiency, heritage language

INTRODUCTION
Many migrants in Europe cross language boundaries. The children of the migrants usually grow up with at least two languages: the heritage language of their parents and the new language of their peers and education. As it is known, more than a half of the children’s world population are at least bilingual (Grosjean 2010), and bilingualism/multilingualism are welcomed, because of various cognitive advantages, such as protection from Alzheimer’s dementia in old people working memory abilities (Bialystok 2009), pragmatics (Siegal et al. 2007), metalinguistic abilities (Bialystok 2001, 2004), and conversational understanding (Siegal et al. 2007).

“Bilingualism is the alternate use of two or more languages of the same individual.”
(Mackey 2000: 27)
Children acquire language in a specific contexts and different social and linguistic environments which usually have the influence on the patterns and rates of their language development. Europe is not a linguistically homogeneous place, and monolingualism is not a norm anymore in modern world where cultures and languages dynamically intertwine. Therefore, monolingual and bilingual or multilingual children always have different learning experiences that impact their linguistic, cognitive and social development (Bialystok 2007).

However, long-lasting European tradition is marked by linguistic homogeneity where language acquisition is understood as monolingual and other social or linguistic experiences in most cases are ignored. Children growing up with at least two languages demonstrate different linguistic abilities then monolinguals. Bilinguals might show problems in early language development and in language competence towards the school age and beyond. The early lack of language abilities has a long-lasting impact not only on school achievements but also on later carrier of multilingual individuals. Therefore, it is very important to understand children’s social environment, cognitive and linguistic development in order to anticipate academic achievements. Parents, educators and speech and language therapists have to understand the specificity of language acquisition and use of bilingual children as various factors interact and have long-term outcomes for those children.

BI- AND MULTILINGUAL ACQUISITION: PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

Multilingual language learning is the acquisition of two or more, languages during the preschool years – prior to age 5. Bi- or multilingual learning in the preschool years can occur simultaneously, when, for example, parents use two languages with their child from birth; or, it can occur successively, when children speak one language at home during their two years of life and then attend an educational institution in which another language is used. It is important to understand the differences of these two forms of language learning as they have different patterns and rates of development and possibly even the ultimate level of proficiency in the second language (Genesee 2006, 2008).

Understanding bilingual language acquisition in the preschool years is crucial because not only parents, but also professional educators or clinicians have misconceptions and apprehensions about young children acquiring more than one language during their early years (Genesee 2006). It is a common stereotype assuming that children acquiring two languages have an additional cognitive and linguistic burden, in fact this is not supported by the research (see Bilingualism matters). Bilingual children may show different milestones in language acquisition as to compare with monolinguals, but the interpretation of the results is critical, and misdiagnosis for language delay or specific language impairment (SLI) is very common in this domain. What could be evaluated as language impairment for monolingual children could be the typical path of development for a bilingual child.
SIMULTANEOUS AND SUCCESSIVE BILINGUAL ACQUISITION

Simultaneous or bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) is the child’s ability to acquire two languages at the same time. Three main ways in which BFLA could differ from monolingual acquisition are: rate, pattern of development and ultimate level of proficiency (see Genesee 2006, 2008). Usually BFL learners differ from monolinguals with respect to their patterns of language development, although monolingual acquisition is considered to be a norm and any deviation from that norm might be treated as a language deficit. Bilinguals need more time for their first words to acquire and their vocabulary might be less rich in their first years of language development. Parents’ concerns about their child’s linguistic development make them to decide to use only one language at home and to ease the acquisition of the dominant language.

Annic de Houwer (2009) emphasizes that the fact that BFLA children hear two languages from birth does not mean that they will actually learn to speak these two languages. When BFLA children speak only one language but understand two, they are called “passive” bilinguals. When discussion concerns language acquisition is always important to look at the context, especially in case of BFLA. Monolingual children are raised in the context where they hear only one language from their birth. Early second language acquisition environment is also different, where monolingual children’s environment changes in a way that they start to hear the second language with some regularity in parallel with their first language. This mostly occurs when children go to day care and preschools. All these early language(s) learners acquire language without formal instruction: they learn one or two languages from the input – speech that they hear (De Houwer 2009: 2–4).

One of the very common phenomena in bilingual development is Bilingual Code-mixing (BCM). According to Genesee, “BCM is the use of elements (phonological, lexical, morpho-syntactic) from two languages in the same utterance or stretch of conversation. It can occur within an utterance (intra-utterance mixing – e.g., “see cheval” [horse]) or between utterances (inter-utterance mixing). When two languages are used in the same utterance, grammatical incompatibilities between the languages can arise (e.g., different word orders); these in turn can result in patterns of language use that are awkward or illicit” (2008: 11).

Very frequent code mixing in bilingual adult productions demonstrated a lot of various functions in communication, such as marking of ethnic identities, negotiating social roles and status, establishing interpersonal intimacy or distance (Myers-Scotton 1993, Poplack 1980; 1987, Zentella 1999). As suggested by Genesee and Nicoladis (2007), bilingual children start to code-mix at very early stages of language development too. Children’s code mixing might be interpreted as a confusion between two linguistic systems, but the explanation why this phenomena occurs is related to three functions: gap filling, context-sensitivity, and pragmatic or symbolic reasons. In support of the gap-filling hypothesis, it has been found
that young bilingual children mix more when they use their less proficient than
their more proficient language (Genesee, Nicoladis, Paradis 1995). Code-mixing
in young children is a demonstration of the ability to use lexical and grammatical
resources of at least two languages creatively.

Research show that the code-mixing of bilingual children is related to the con-
texts and interlocutors, as bilingual children usually use their languages appro-
priately with different interlocutors (De Houwer 1990, Genesee, Boivin, Nico-
ladis 1996, Lanza 1997, Vihman, 1998), topic (Lanvers 2001), and the purpose
of the interaction (Vihman 1998). Sensitivity to communicative contexts enables
bilinguals to react better and more appropriately to the different communicative
needs of interlocutors. The communicative competence of bilinguals usually is
much more advanced than that of monolinguals, as they understand the neces-
sity of code-mixing and could anticipate conversational strategies.

Preschool children who learn a second language (L2) after their first language
(L1) learning has begun and has been established are called successive bilinguals.
Preschool years of L2 learners are of high importance, as the language abilities
will play a crucial role for a child in school. Educational policies are very im-
portant for the development preschool programs that would support children
linguistically. Many immigrant families with their children living in UK and at-
tending preschool programs in English cannot provide rich linguistic input and
face different difficulties.

The language development of preschool second language learners is complicat-
ed by the fact that they can begin learning a second language at different ages. It
is also a complicated task to establish certain age frames and answer the question
when simultaneous bilingual acquisition ends and child-L2 acquisition begins.
Although there are various opinions regarding age factor, the question, whether
there is a critical age during the early childhood period that marks the ability to
acquire a second language like a first one, is still open today.

INTERNATIONALLY-ADOPTED (IA) CHILDREN: A SPECIAL CASE OF SECOND
LANGUAGE LEARNING

International adoption is a very interesting domain of research because it pro-
vides a natural experiment of second language acquisition in a unique way. To
study IA is important for several reasons. First of all, the language learning and
using of IA children is a very dynamic process where the period of real bilingual-
ism – the usage of their birth language and the new second language – is very
short and unbalanced. Second, the acquisition of a new language or a second first
language is very rapid; and finally, at the same time the exposure to the first lan-
guage is very limited. There are many other concerns related to general develop-
ment of IA children before the adoption, such as poor physical and medical care,
social deprivation, lack of intellectual, emotional, and linguistic stimulation; and/
or delayed exposure to the adopted language (Abrahamsson, Hyltenstam 2009).
The uniqueness of IA is a rapid loss of their first language (Glennen, Masters 2002). The research demonstrates that by adulthood, those children cannot distinguish speech in their first language from speech in an unfamiliar language (Pallier et al. 2003). Most of the adopted children are in their pre-school years, but thousands of older children are also adopted and become fluent speakers of their new language (Pallier et al. 2003).

IA children are usually raised in adoptive homes with higher than average socioeconomic status (SES) (Tan & Yang 2005; Tessier et al. 2005). SES is important to consider when assessing the language outcomes of young language learners since it has been found to have significant effects on children’s language learning environment and on their language development (Hart, Risley 1995, Hoff 2006).

However, after adoption, most parents do not speak the birth language, leading to rapid attrition of that language before the new adopted language is proficient. Evidence suggests that significant attrition of the birth language occurs within 4 to 8 months of adoption (Gindis 2003).

IA children face similar problems as infants learning their first language as they should learn how to communicate in a new language with new families. Usually they have little access to text or bilingual informants and they lack many of the metalinguistic abilities available to older children and adults, however, these children are more cognitively and physically mature than their infant counterparts and have already started to learn one language (Geren, Shafto, Snedeker 2007).

Children adopted at older ages have a lot of issues that increase the likelihood they will require speech and language services. To begin, these children experience longer stays in orphanages or other environmentally deprived institutions. This prolonged deprivation leads to more significant delays in the birth language than what is seen in children who leave the orphanage at younger ages. In addition, because these children are older when they arrive, there is more to learn before reaching age-level proficiency in the new adopted language.

If a child is adopted in a very young age he can reach age-level expectations in the new language relatively quickly because there is less to learn, but a child adopted at older age, for example, age 4, has significantly more language to learn to reach age-level expectations. In contrast to bilingual children, IA children have to learn their new language without the support of the first language. Finally, schooling often begins before language proficiency is achieved (Glennen 2007). These children lose proficiency in the birth language long before gaining proficiency in the adopted language; therefore, academic learning is at risk until proficiency is achieved (Glennen 2007). Any child adopted after age 2, faces many problems and they increase with age of adoption.

Families and schools need to understand emotional, social difficulties and patterns of language learning in children adopted from abroad at older ages. This information can help to recognize which children need extra support during the language learning process, and which children are likely to do well given more exposure to the adopted language (Glennen 2007).
LANGUAGE ATTRITION

The field of study known as first language forgetting, first language loss, or first language attrition (de Bot 1999, Seliger, Vago 1991) has seen a surge of interest in the past decade. This field examines the forgetting of first language (L1) skills as second language acquisition occurs. First language forgetting is typically documented when speakers lose contact with their native language and are immersed in a second language speaking environment.

Although research has demonstrated that second language acquisition has possible effects on first language syntax (Altenberg 1991, Liu, Bates, Li, 1992), the most vulnerable area appears to be first language vocabulary (Ammerlaan 1997, Hakuta, D’Andrea 1992, Isurin 2000). First language forgetting has been predominately investigated by socio-and psycholinguists in individuals or groups of speakers who have experienced deterioration of their native language skills after extensive exposure to a second language environment. Researchers of L1 forgetting do not even agree as to whether L1 constructs are truly lost (Kravin 1992) or just temporarily inaccessible (Ammerlaan 1997, Isurin 2000). Forgetting of L1 vocabulary could be due at least partly to lack of practice and to the length of time since a particular vocabulary item has been used. For example, bilingual children acquiring two languages simultaneously often lose a word in one language when the translation equivalent is acquired in the other (Kravin 1992).

The degree of first language forgetting may also be a function of the amount of exposure to the second language (Mayor 1992, Segalowitz 1991). In studies of children, forgetting tended to increase with increased second language exposure (Isurin 2000). For example, over the course of a year, Isurin tracked language changes in a Russian-speaking orphan who was adopted at the age of 9 by an American family with no knowledge of Russian. Thus, for this child, first language input was effectively ceased, and only second language input was received. Vocabulary knowledge in both the first and second languages was assessed periodically over the year by asking the child to name pictures in either Russian or English. The same set of pictures was named first in Russian, then in English. Rapid acquisition of English vocabulary was accompanied by the child’s gradual forgetting of Russian vocabulary.

Difficulty in accessing particular Russian words appeared to occur after the English translation equivalent had been learned. For example, high-frequency words were acquired more easily in the second language than were low-frequency words. The high-frequency words also were subject to more forgetting and had slower access times than were the low-frequency words. (Isurin, McDonald 2001).
CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1.

Read the article Schmid M. 2013. First Language Attrition. Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 3 (1): 94–115 and answer the questions.

Abstract. “The overwhelming bias for investigation of bilingualism is to focus on the increase of knowledge and crosslinguistic traffic from the L1 to the L2. Developments which concern loss, deterioration or reduced accessibility of knowledge and traffic from the L2 to the L1 are much less well-studied and understood, and are usually treated as a somewhat marginal issue. The present contribution provides an overview of research in first language attrition and argues that changes to the first language system are part and parcel of the development of bilingual knowledge and processing. As such, they can help provide additional insight into controversial issues, such as questions about the existence of maturational constraints in L2 learning, and potentially help resolve these matters.” (Schmid 2013:94)

Method and data analysis. Analysis and comparison of errors in the recorded speech (film retelling or picture description) of L1 attriters, L2 learners and natives.

Conclusions. Research on the L1 attrition may be useful to explain different phenomena in bilingual acquisition, use and processing. It also provides additional information about the role of the age of acquisition for L2 learners.

Write some of your own:

Questions after reading:
1. How is language loss/attrition defined in the paper?
2. Who are attriters?
3. Comment on different opinions on the role of age of acquisition.
4. Explain the notion of critical period.
5. How can the research of L1 attrition be useful in exploring L2 acquisition?
6. Discuss the comparisons of L2 learners, L1 attriters and natives referring to the findings of Schmid and Hopp.
7. What methods are used in analysing L1 attrition?
8. Which systems of language are vulnerable to attrition?
9. Explain incomplete acquisition.
10. What evidence does research of International adoption provide?

**Abstract.** “The focus of this study is the acquisition of grammatical gender in Greek and Dutch by bilingual children whose other language is English. Although grammatical gender languages share the property of noun classification in terms of grammatical gender, there are important differences between the languages under investigation here in terms of both the morphological cues for gender marking available to the child and the developmental path followed by monolingual children. Dutch offers limited input cues for grammatical gender, but Greek shows consistent and regular patterns of morphological gender marking on all members of the nominal paradigm. This difference is associated with the precocious pattern of gender acquisition in Greek and the attested delay in monolingual Dutch development. We explore the development of gender in Dutch and Greek with the aim of disentangling input from age of onset effects in bilingual children who vary in the age of first exposure to Dutch or Greek. Our findings suggest that although bilingual Greek children encounter fewer difficulties in gender acquisition compared to bilingual Dutch children, amount of input constitutes a predictive factor for the pattern attested in both cases. Age of onset effects could be partly responsible for differences between simultaneous and successive bilinguals in Greek, but this is clearly not the case for Dutch. Our findings are also addressed from the more general perspective of the status of “early” and “late” phenomena in monolingual acquisition and the advantages of investigating these from the bilingual perspective.” (Unsworth et al. 2012: 1)

**Method and data analysis.** Children were tested with gender tasks and standardized vocabulary tests. In order to measure the input quantity parents were surveyed to get information about the children’s language use and background. Regression analysis was employed in the study.

**Conclusions.** The age of onset was not observed to be a significant predictor neither for Dutch nor for Greek. There were some crosslinguistic differences in the monolingual development and between-group differences in Greek that could be explained by the timing of the acquisition. “Meisel’s (2009) proposal, which claims that the optimal age for L2 acquisition is before age 4, is simply not relevant to target language properties that are acquired at or after this age” (Unsworth et al. 2012: 29). The quantity of input has some effect on bilingual gender acquisition in both languages.

*Write some of your own:*
Questions after reading:
1. Explain the term “bilingual child”.
2. Why grammatical gender is a suitable property to be examined?
3. Why is the relationship between the input quantity and linguistic development not linear?
4. Comment on the effect of parental input.
5. Explain the gender system in the Dutch language.
6. Explain the gender system in the Greek language.
7. How was the gender tasks’ data analyzed?
8. Comment on the results of the Dutch participants.
9. Comment on the results of the Greek participants.
10. What will be the focus of future studies?

FURTHER READINGS
• De Houwer A. 1990. The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

REFERENCES
• de Houwer A. 1990. The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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