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DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN

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TRANSBORDER POLICIES FOR DAILY LIFE

***LANGUAGE PRACTICES, IDEOLOGIES AND PLANNING IN THE
CROSS-BORDER AREA OF NOVA GORICA (SLOVENIA) AND
GORIZIA (ITALY) – FROM CASE STUDY TO MODELS OF
ANALYSIS AND PLANNING IN EUROPEAN BORDERLANDS***

(Settore scientifico-disciplinare: SPS/08)

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Il faut beaucoup étudié pour savoir peu.

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I. Introduction

Language, border and cross-border interactions are the main key words of our thesis. To observe their possible correlations we have chosen an area that is recently promoted as a very successful model of cross-border cooperation and even integration inside the European Union (hereinafter EU), i.e. the border area of Nova Gorica (Slovenia) and Gorizia (Italy). Undoubtedly, there are several other exemplary models of cross-border practices along the EU's member states borders, but there are several facts that give special weight to the "successfulness" of the chosen area. The common denominator of all these distinctive facts can be expressed as "overcoming differences". Not in the sense of eliminating them in order to melt in a homogeneous unit but in the sense of living together despite them and, still more, evaluating the existing differences as a positive value, a richness of the area. A precious model indeed, since it should be *de facto* realizing the EU's motto of "Unity in Diversity" by functioning as a more and more integrated community, despite incorporating so many differences or, we should say, containing so many borders. Borders between states, cultures, historical socio-political and economical experiences, and, last but not least, languages. Thus, a very large spectrum of occasions for experiencing the We/They distinction.

We are well aware of the above reported contradiction: integration would presuppose disappearance of borders and not their persistence. And indeed, some of the borders in the studied area were recently removed: with the entrance of Slovenia in the EU (on 1 May 2004) customs controls on border posts were abolished, and with the integration of Slovenia into the Schengen area border posts and checks have been removed completely. The EU's goal of a single market in a form of free flow of goods, services, people and capital seems to be achieved in this area¹. Nevertheless, there is a shared opinion on both sides of the border about the persistence of "mental borders". No thoughtful analyses were made about the content of this concept, but there is no doubt that it refers to the perceptions linked to the events people in the area went through in the recent historical period (especially from the 1920s to the 1950s; see below, chapter

¹ For the complete picture of the actual situation regarding the implementation of the freedom of movement of the labour force in the studied area one must consider also the EU labour market restrictions that some of the EU-15 member states succeeded to impose to the new member states that entered the EU in the 2004 and the special agreements between Italy and Slovenia that regulate this field.

IV), when the We/They distinction meant also the engagement for different and mostly strongly opposing political, economical and cultural objectives. In this context, language has often been used as a cue for categorizing people as ingroup and outgroup members. Thus, it naturally raises the question about the sociolinguistic and socio-psychological determinants of speech behavior in inter-group encounters, for the past likewise for the present situation.

I.1 Object of analysis and research questions

Our interest for the subjects that are dealt with in this thesis arose in the time when we began to study the role of language in the historical socio-political and cultural processes of the Goriška/Gorizia region of the 19th century, in the frame of our undergraduate thesis. The interest grew when we discovered that our inability to find satisfactory answers to some of the posed questions was linked to the fact that the social history of the region almost neglects the study of the role of language in the processes of nation state formation². Later on we discovered that, in the studied area, not only was the language aspect scarcely studied for the past periods, but it was almost left out also in the analysis of the present situation, characterized with ever growing cooperation between the two border communities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia.

Then we tried to underline the importance of the study of language concerning issues in the processes of EU integration in our master thesis (Vodopivec 2005), and we found out that in this context language policy is rarely studied in the cross-border communities. Thus, specific areas of interest developed in course of our research, and some of them will be approached in this thesis, for example, the need of establishment of the cross-border area as a specific domain of the language policy interest (especially in the framework of the EU), and the indication, on the bases of personal research experience in a concrete area, of some possible research approaches for the sociolinguistic analysis in this domain.

² See, for example Fabi (1991: 36): “Per varie ragioni, il caposaldo propagandistico della questione nazionale tra gli italiani e slavi [sic] veniva giocato all’interno del problema della lingua [...]. [...] La storia dei connotati, delle tappe e delle resistenze verso l’integrazione – o la netta differenziazione – linguistica costituisce un importante e affascinante problema di storia sociale in gran parte ancora da risolvere.”

The hypotheses that we will try to verify within our thesis with the use of empirical data from primary and secondary analysis are the following:

- A sociolinguistic analysis of language practices and language ideologies in the cross-border area would allow the establishment of the cross-border area as a specific domain of language policy analysis. The significant specificity here is the particular gravitation model/Q-values of languages (Calvet 1999; de Swaan 2001), which differs, for example, from the gravitation model present in the national domain: language practices and language ideologies in the cross-border domain follow particular patterns, being influenced by particular factors. These particularities would consequently lead to a specific approach also in the language planning issues.
- In the cooperation processes of the cross-border area of Nova Gorica/Gorizia the conscious gradual modelling of the cross-border political and economical community is not followed by the conscious gradual modelling of the cross-border community as a specific community of communication. The goal setting in the political and economical agenda is not accompanied by the goal setting in the language planning agenda.
- The actual language planning in the studied area is not congruent with language ideology. People's attitudes towards the neighbouring language would allow the introduction of educational models (foreign language teaching), which differ from the existing ones. The specific gravitation model present in the studied cross-border area contains a potential for the spread of multilingualism (and consequently maintenance of language diversity) in the area.
- The cross-border area of Nova Gorica/Gorizia and the related nation states are neglecting the specificity of language policy of the cross-border domain. By using, in the studied domain, the same language planning methods that are used in the national domain, there is the risk that the gravitational model proper to the nation state situation will prevail, in the future, also in the cross-border.

That would in practice mean the tendency for the future generations to adopt, in cross-border contacts, the use of the global lingua franca, i.e. English.

The four presented hypotheses relate to two different contexts: the first one relates to the theoretical approach concerning the analysis of language policy in the cross-border areas in general, whereas the rest of the hypotheses refer to the specific context, i.e. the cross-border area of Nova Gorica/Gorizia (and the related nation states).

Following Fishman we would say that our idea to study the cross-border area as a specific domain of sociolinguistic analysis originated in the “integrative intuition”: the investigation of language behaviours in the studied area led us to some conclusions about the existence of “underlying sociolinguistic *regularity*” (1972: 450-51, italics in original). Furthermore, we were motivated to engage in elaboration of the research model for the study of cross-border language interaction by presuming its heuristic utility; the construct is useful if it “*helps clarify and organise [the researcher’s] data*” (ibid., italics in original).

An additional motivation to explore language policy in the cross-border area is the fact that it is possible, in this domain, to well observe the relation between language and state/local authorities as authority and power holders. As Spolsky (2004: 40) points out

language policy operates within a speech community, of whatever size. The domain of language policy may be any defined or definable social or political or religious group or community, ranging from a family through a sports team or neighbourhood or village or workplace or organization or city or nation state or regional alliance. There is, of course, a good reason for the attention concentrated on political units, and that is the association of language policy with power and authority.

Finally, we would argue that it is the very positioning of the area of our interests in the frame of sociolinguistics (see below, chapter II), i.e. among the applied issues in macro-sociolinguistics, that calls for “[t]he recognition of locally situated contexts for inquiry and exploration, and thus the importance of needs analyses and variable solutions in differing local contexts” (Grabe 2002: 4). In regards to language planning

Cooper (1989) too is arguing for inclusion of micro sociological levels (e.g. other than governmental) among the scholars' interests: the decisions taken at those levels appear as having also the macro sociological importance, and, moreover, the evidence would show that "the same processes which operate in macro level planning also operate in micro-level planning" (ibid., p. 37)³.

The relevance of the selected subjects of analysis could also emerge when taking into consideration some of the fundamental principles of the EU, e.g. maintaining cultural and language diversity, and evaluating both not as a burden or obstacle to cooperation but as a resource for a higher additional value of material and immaterial products of the European society and consequently its competitiveness on the global level, and assuring to the EU citizens the right to live and work anywhere inside the community and thus develop their own potentials in the best possible way.

The EU has chosen not to interfere in national policies in the field of culture, language policy and education; here it only tries to "guide" the decisions on the national level by the adoption of different resolutions, formulation of specific recommendations, dissemination of good practices, establishment of specific agencies, working groups, etc. This approach proved to be successful since it offered the possibility to the nation states to relinquish some elements of their sovereignty in the economic, political and juridical spheres and thus make progress in economical and political growth, preserving at the same time those elements which the European peoples consider fundamental for their identification: national and cultural identity and the sense of simultaneous belonging to different territorial frameworks, local, regional, national or European, without being forced to give up any of this elements. On the other side, when the EU fosters mobility, the "unity in diversity" model can function as a barrier-full system at a very practical, everyday practice level.

Usually language is the first barrier when moving from one local environment to the other and it seems that the EU has finally become aware of the importance of the

³ However, Cooper (ibid., p.38) ascertains that "most scholars of language planning are reluctant to include decisions by small-scale social units [...] as instances of language planning", since "they may view the inclusion of such decisions as trivializing the field". Cooper on the contrary means that this kind of approach is impoverishing the field.

language related problems for the good function of almost all the EU policies, since it has recently (on 1 January 2007) established the function of the Commissioner for Multilingualism.

With the instigation of the INTERREG founding at the beginning of the 1990s, the EU acknowledged the importance of the cross-border regions and their pioneering role in the process of integration, economic cooperation and overcoming of cultural barriers. Nevertheless, “cross-border initiatives may be bogged down due to lack of founding, entrenched political interest, *linguistic barriers*, and – crucially – the fact that the nation-state is still the major source of policy and strategy affecting their development” (McNeill 2004: 155, our emphasis).

It is with (overcoming the) linguistic barriers in the cross-border areas of the EU that we deal with, and we hope to succeed in demonstrating that besides other factors, also the above mentioned political interests and nation-state interference are in some ways linked to the problem of the language obstacles, since the attitudes towards the language of the neighbour can largely be influenced by some symbolical contents, linked to representations concerning ethnic and nation identities.

1.2 Methodological approach

The themes of our thesis had to be approached interdisciplinary and we tried to include in our theoretical framework some relevant findings from the field of sociolinguistics (and within this discipline especially the findings of the language policy studies and contact linguistics), social psychology of language (e.g. studies of attitudes towards language and language use), sociology (especially the border and border regions studies), social anthropology (e.g. its findings about symbolic dimensions of community), linguistic anthropology, political sociology and political economy of language (see de Swaan 2001), areal linguistics, social geography and policy analysis. The interdisciplinary approach stands at the foundations of language policy studies, which are largely referenced in our work. In this field the need of both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinarity is commonly recognised. The scholars

studying language in society need to borrow conceptual and methodological tools from various disciplines and integrate and apply them appropriately to the problems involving language in different social settings (Ricento 2006).

In our analysis we combine two types of data: the (predominantly) quantitative data, collected with structured interviews, are supplemented with some qualitative data, obtained with open questions. The research also combines both secondary analysis (using a subset of the data collected by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, different Italian statistical offices, Eurostat, and newspaper articles) and primary analysis. For the latter we refer to the data from two researches (case studies) that we were involved in. The first one is named *Perception of Cultural and Language Diversity in Two Bordering Towns - The Case of Nova Gorica (Slovenia) and Gorizia (Italy)*. It was carried out in the years 2003 and 2004 by the Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja (Institute for Ethnic Studies) of Ljubljana, Slovenia, with collaboration of the institute I.S.I.G. - Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia (Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia), Italy. The leader of the project was Dr. Sonja Novak Lukanovič from the Institute for Ethnic Studies, while the responsible researcher for the I.S.I.G. was Dr. Paolo Roseano. Other researchers collaborating in the project were Dr. Katalin Munda Hirnök and Dr. Boris Jesih from the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Dr. Ivan Verdenik, and the author of the thesis.

The second case study was carried out in the frame of the Research Project of the Ministry for Education of the Republic of Slovenia, titled *Competitiveness of Slovenia in the years 2001-2006*. The case study was conducted in three cross-border regions of Slovenia and it thus presents the following title: *Perception of Cultural and Language Diversity in Bordering Towns: The Case of Nova Gorica (Slovenia)/Gorizia (Italy); Gornja Radgona (Slovenia)/Bad Radkersburg (Austria); Lendava/Lendva (Slovenia)/Monošter/Szentgotthárd (Hungary)*. The research was carried out in the years 2005-2007 by the Institute for Ethnic Studies of Ljubljana, Slovenia, with collaboration of the institute I.S.I.G. - Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia, Italy; and the University of Klagenfurt, Austria. The leader of the project was Dr. Sonja Novak Lukanovič (INV), while the responsible researcher for the I.S.I.G. institute was Dr. Giulio Tarlao. Other researchers involved were: Dr. Katalin Munda

Hirnök, Dr. Boris Jesih, Dr. Vladimir Wakounig, Norma Bale, Valerija Perger, and the author of the thesis.

In the thesis, we used comparative method when analysing data from the available literature and documents, while the method of field work (administration of a structured written questionnaire) was employed in order to collect empirical data. Finally, the collected data were analysed by methods of quantitative statistical analysis.

In conducting our research work we encountered two methodological challenges: on the one side the lack of a clear defined theoretical framework in approaching the sociolinguistic situation in such a particular setting as a cross-border area, and, on the other side, the lack of a tested research instrumentary for the same scope. The concept of the attitude towards neighbouring language is a very complex one and as such it required first, to individualize diverse sub-concepts that could contribute to “build” it, and in the next step the integration (or synthesis) of diverse sub-concepts into a general scheme. Due to the complexity of the concept we abandoned the aspiration for exhaustiveness in enumerating all the explanatory variables; we concentrate on those that we consider to be specific for the language communities that reside next to the (linguistic) border.

It is also important here to point out to some limitations regarding the possibility to generalize the findings related to the analysis of the empirical data. First of all, there is the problem of generalizability of the case study research findings in general. Case study is defined as a research that is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question, with the particular aim to provide and in-depth elucidation of the unique features of the object of interest (Bryman 2004; Corbetta 1999; Toš and Hafner-Fink 1997). In case studies thus, “the crucial question is not whether the findings can be generalised to the wider universe, but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings” (Bryman 2004: 52). An attempt to fulfil this goal is made in the third part of the thesis, where we tried to elaborate a possible general model of analysis and planning for the cross-border area in the EU context.

In addition to this general limitation, we would like to point out that the findings related to the Slovene minority in the Province of Gorizia cannot be interpreted as being valid for all the areas where Slovene minority in Italy is settled; Slovenes also live in the Province of Trieste and in the Province of Udine, and especially the situation in the last one greatly differs from the other two (see below, chapters IV and V). Furthermore, in our analysis of language practices and attitudes we are focusing on neighbouring language (NL), defined here as the *official language of the neighbouring state on its whole territory*. Thus, Italian is meant to be the NL for the inhabitants of Nova Gorica, and Slovene the NL for the Italian-, Friulian-, and Slovene-speaking inhabitants of Gorizia. This definition of neighbouring languages in the chosen context derives from the chosen research focus, which is to analyse how language practices, ideologies and planning reflect contents (especially symbolic representations) which are linked to the political unit of the nation state⁴.

Finally, the limitation related to the comparison between different cross-border areas has to be made. Our findings should only be interpreted in the frame of the EU context, since we deal with contents like the process of nation state formation specific for European societies, and cross-border cooperation in light of the EU's principles of integration.

I.3 The frame of the thesis

The thesis is divided in three main parts. In the first part we present the theoretical framework (concepts and theories), which we consider as a necessary bases for the analysis of our empirical data and hypotheses in the second part; this framework is referenced also when developing, in the third part, a model of analysis and planning in the cross-border areas of the EU. We try to underline the importance of considering language as “a social institution, deeply implicated in culture, in society, in political relations at every level” (Cameron 1990: 80). We then focus on the specific role of the

⁴ For the detailed explanation of the definition of neighbouring languages see below, chapter V. Some exceptions were nevertheless made when observing the languages in contact: Friulian, for example, which is “only” a minority language in Gorizia, and is, as such, not fitting the definition, will also be tackled with in some aspects that are relevant for the verification of our hypotheses.

border and cross-border contacts in the language related issues, and try to illustrate how the fundamental issues we are dealing with (language practices, attitudes to language, relation between language and ethnic identity, language planning, etc.) were approached in sociolinguistics studies in the recent few decades. Since we consider that these phenomena cannot be treated adequately without considering the implications of the main socio-historical processes that have shaped western societies in the recent period, we also discuss - with the focus on language – the processes of nation state formation, European integration, and globalisation.

The second part is dedicated to the analysis of the chosen area. Starting from the historical overview, we enumerate the elements that we consider to be pertinent in the analysis of our empirical data. Namely, the chosen unit will be analysed on the bases of the so called “ecological approach” which requests to take in consideration not only the languages and their demographic, territorial and functional distribution, but also the relevant social, political, ethnic, economic and cultural make up of the unit and the way that each of these factors interacts constructively with the linguistic factors (Spolsky 2004: 218). The second part then continues with the explanation of the research design, the presentation and discussion of the statistical results of the empirical data, and verification of our hypotheses.

In the third part we try to build a research model for a specific domain of sociolinguistic analysis, i.e. the domain of cross-border area, and to trace a possible framework for the language planning process in this domain. The thesis ends with some recommendations, inferred from our research work, which could be used as guidelines by the policy makers in the analysed area. Namely, as soon as a social analyst passes over the mere description of social phenomena to their interpretation, generalisation, formulation of new assumptions, and even declarations of possible further development, his/her social engagement is inevitable (Toš and Hafner-Fink 1997, cf. also Cameron et al. 1997). In language policy studies this element is emphasized too: we would agree with Crystal (1992: 364) that the findings of this sociolinguistic field, besides presenting “a fresh perspective for our understanding of linguistic change [...], may assist those (politicians, educators, lawyers, etc.) whose responsibility it is to make decisions about the development of languages in society,

many of whom have no specialized knowledge of linguistic issues”. Or, if we want to define the applicability of language policy studies, the scholars should, in order to advocate specific policies or policy directions, “demonstrate *empirically* – as well as conceptually – the societal benefits, and costs, of such policies” (Ricento 2006: 11, italics in original)⁵.

It is important mentioning here, that the structure of the thesis is influenced by the decision to follow the proposed theoretical framework of Spolsky (2004), who distinguishes three components of language policy of a speech community, i.e. its language practices, language ideologies and language planning (for detailed presentation of the three components see below, chapter II). Our decision was motivated by realizing the heuristic potential of this kind of distinction. The ecological approach always points out to the complexity of linguistic landscapes, thus making their sociolinguistic analysis quite a difficult endeavour. The three-partite model alleviates the efforts by making a sufficiently clear cut between the single elements of analysis, which at the same time prove to comprehend all the necessary variables for a complete investigation of a concrete case. Furthermore, the model is especially useful in showing the interrelation between the elements and it thus furnishes the possibility to point out the probability relations between them. Finally, the model offers to the sociolinguistic analysis the possibility to easily encompass the non-language variables by showing their role in the attitude formation and their consecutive influence on specific behaviours.

The drawback of the chosen repartition might be found in the sometimes forced arrangement of some theoretical considerations in one of the three headings, concerning language practice, language ideology and language planning. While using the repartition as a valuable analytical tool, the fact that the considerations in the respective headings are strongly interrelated must not be overlooked. Indeed, it is

⁵ Ricento is declining the possibility of neutral, objective position of the researcher in these applied tasks: “‘scientific’ detached objectivity in such research is not possible, since researchers always begin with particular experiences and positions on what the social ‘good’ might be and what sorts of changes in social (including language) policy might advance a particular vision of that good” (2006: 11-12; on the goal setting in language planning agendas see below, chapter II.5). See also Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 3): “It is not very controversial, but sometimes disregarded, part of our own approach that everybody (layman’s and scholar’s) theories and suppositions about language and society are powerfully conditioned by the culture and tradition within which he /she works.”

Spolsky as the proposer of the approach himself (ibid.) that underlines the importance of considering this interrelation while trying to capture the complexity of a chosen language situation.

Note: When there are no different indications, all the translations from the sources written in languages other than English are made by the author of the thesis.

PART ONE

II. Language and language policy in sociolinguistic studies

The subject of our thesis pertains to the field of sociolinguistics. This young discipline, dating mainly from the 1950s, was brought into existence when linguists had become aware that by ignoring the social and contextual basis of language their comprehension of language was limited.

The primary concern of sociolinguistics is to study correlations between language and society, and to establish, where possible, casual links between them. According to Coulmas (1997: 2) two “centres of gravity”, differing in research agendas, can be distinguished in sociolinguistic studies: *micro-sociolinguistics* (or sociolinguistics in a narrow sense) investigates “how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex and age”, while *macro-sociolinguistics* (or sociology of language) studies “what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities”. Nevertheless, in tracing out this divide, the author is underlining the necessity of its permeability, since “many questions can be investigated with equal justification within micro- or macro-sociolinguistics” (ibid.).

All the topics addressed in our work can be placed inside the second “centre of gravity” of the sociolinguistic studies, i.e. the macro-sociolinguistics. Namely, we are exploring the “linguistic dimensions of society” not the “social dimensions of language”⁶. More precisely, we address here the theme of the symbolic function of language as a means of group formation and the implications that this symbolic function could have in determining language practices, language beliefs and language planning in a particular context where inter-group relations occur, i.e. cross-border area.

⁶ The two expressions are taken from the chapter headings in Coulmas 1997.

Schematically, we could represent the area of our interests in the frame of sociolinguistics in the following way (see the shaded zone in Figure 1)⁷:

	Micro-sociolinguistics	Macro-sociolinguistics
Non-applied issues		
Applied issues		

Figure 1: Positioning of the field of interest in the frame of sociolinguistic studies

In sociolinguistics the lack of its common theoretical bases is commonly recognized (Coulmas 1997; Coupland and Jaworsky 1997; Ricento 2006). Coulmas (ibid.) proposes two explanations for this situation. Firstly, it seems that many uncertainties in this theory building process are linked to the difficulty of sociolinguists to find a social theory to which a theory of language use can be easily linked. Secondly, the situation could be a result of the great diversity of phenomena that sociolinguists investigate. In our work we felt directly confronted with the consequences of this reality: in relation to our topic we found diverse approaches, but no all-embracing schemes, and we realized a close link-up of different phenomena.

Thus, we became aware of the necessity to proceed in the way in which practical (empirical) work has to interact with different theories proposed from different disciplines. What also appeared fundamental to us was the necessity to discuss, at the very beginning of the research work, (some) theoretically possible links between language and society. Namely, as Ricento points out: “How we understand and conceptualize *language* has important consequences for how we evaluate linguistic *arrangements* and the explicit and implicit policies which contribute – or oppose – such arrangements” (2006: 16, italics in original).

⁷ Cf. also Cooper’s (1989: 42-45) argumentation about language planning in relation to other spheres of inquiry, where he sees language planning as overlapping both with applied linguistics and the sociology of language.

II.1 Language and society

Moving our research in the field of sociolinguistics, where the relation between linguistic and social categories is examined, we would like to build a working definition of language in the following steps. Firstly, “[l]anguage is regarded as a set of rules enabling speakers to translate information from the outside world into sound” (Gumperz and Hymes 1972: 14). The outside world here is seen as composed by social categories “along with physical environments, cultural artefacts, myths, etc.” (ibid.). Moreover, language has to be seen as “an integral part of social life”, since “a good part of our social life consists of the routine exchange of linguistic expressions in the day-to-day flow of social interaction” (Bourdieu 1991: 1).

The first sociolinguist that appears in line with the quoted Bourdieu’s assertion is D. Hymes (1974). From his perspective language and society are not theoretically distinct concepts - language is itself a form of social action. Hymes (ibid., p. 14-15) underlines the importance of the new conception: language can only be fully observed “when one starts from function and looks for the structure that serves it”. Namely, social function gives form to the ways in which linguistic features are encountered in actual life. This being so, an adequate approach must begin by identifying social functions, and discovering the ways in which linguistic features are selected and grouped together to serve them”. The author (ibid.) explains that “the essence of a functional approach is not to take function for granted, but as problematic; to assume as part of a universal theory of language that a plurality of functions are served by linguistic features in any act of community [...]”. Hymes seems pleased with the fact that many important sociolinguists have undertaken their work starting from this perspective (e.g. Labov, Gumperz, Bernstein, Le Page, Holliday).

It follows that language itself and the processes related to it cannot be considered as natural, spontaneous phenomena, guided from the intrinsic linguistic forces that it is not possible to manage or interfere in; this is the usual position of those who claim that we should “leave our languages alone”, seeing language as an organism, with a life of its own, constantly evolving to meet the needs of its speakers. Instead, we believe, language is a socio-historical phenomenon, a “product of a complex set of social,

historical and political conditions of formation” (Bourdieu 1991: 2-3). Although it is still unclear how far languages can be permanently influenced by social manipulation, many historical linguistic and language policy studies have clearly shown that “it is quite possible for social groups to alter the course of the language” (Crystal 1997: 227). Moreover, the process is not one-way: the linguistic interactions both express the social structure and help to reproduce it (Bourdieu 1991)⁸.

As it can be inferred from the above presented standpoints, we are largely inclined to accept the findings of those studies that in the recent decades have tried to “demythologize” language (e.g. Harris 1981, Bourdieu 1991), and clearly showed that the hidden assumptions which underlie linguists’ research models are not immutable truths given by the nature of language itself, but rather historical constructs that should, as such, be subjected to critical scrutiny. As we will explain later on (see below, chapter II.4) “there is no ‘view from nowhere’” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 36), the linguists too are the holders of language ideologies.

However, though taken for granted the necessity to treat language as a part of the social, it still remains the problem of how to relate the social to the linguistic (Cameron 1997). Gumperz and Hymes argue that the relationship between linguistic and social categories (in “correlation sociolinguistics”) could be defined as

a match between closely connected but nevertheless independent systems. [...] Communication is not governed by fixed social rules; it is a two-step process in which the speaker first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own cultural background, personal history, and what he knows about his interlocutors. He then decides on the norms that apply to the situation at hand. (1972: 14-15)

The authors also point out that the process of selection is not an independent, free process: “Social rules, therefore are much like linguistic rules, they determine the actor’s choice among culturally available models of action or strategies in accordance

⁸ Similar is the position that could be grasped from the Cooper’s statement (1989: 182): “ Language is the fundamental institution of society, not only because it is the first institution experienced by the individual but also because all other institutions are built upon its regulatory patterns.”

with the constraints provided by communicative intent, setting and identity relationships” (ibid.).

The author that has recently been very influential in shaping the ways in which the relationship between language and society is viewed, is Bourdieu (especially Bourdieu 1991). He introduced the concept of (linguistic) habitus and (linguistic) market.

The habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are ‘regular’ without being consciously coordinated or governed by any ‘rule’. The dispositions which constitute the habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable. (Bourdieu 1991: 12)

His concept of linguistic habitus comprehends both the forces of deterministic social structure and those of individual agency:

Every speech act, and more generally, every action, is a conjuncture, and encounter between independently casual series. On the one hand, there are the socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus, which imply a certain propensity to speak and to say determinate things and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacities to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation. On the other hand, there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorship. (Bourdieu 1991: 37)

The market is a place where the outcomes of the struggles between producers and consumers are determined by the capital they possess. In the linguistic market, linguistic capital is constituted by the competence in language. The market value of a certain language varies from market to market and accordingly varies also the language behaviour of the individuals (ibid.). The author also points out how cultural and linguistic capital of dominant and non-dominant groups is made unequal by the structure of social institutions.

The concept of linguistic habitus has influenced many important works in sociolinguistics (e.g. May 2001, 2006, and Tollefson 1991). The existence of majority and minority language groups, for example, can no more be seen as a “natural” or even primarily linguistic process. May (2006) clearly points out how languages and the status attached to them are the result of wider historical, social and political forces.

Similarly to Bourdieu, Cameron (1997: 64) points to the already mentioned principle of bi-directionality between language and social structure: “a change in linguistic practice is not just a reflection of some more fundamental social change: it is, itself, a social change”. Cameron is therefore stressing the need, for sociolinguistics, to place at the centre the concept of language seen not as an organism or a passive reflection of society, but “a social institution, deeply implicated in culture, in society, in political relations at every level” (ibid., p. 66). Other scholars are sharing similar views: Mac Giolla Chríost (2003: 9-10) sees language and society as being “locked in a relationship which may be characterised as dialectic”, and “in constant state of tension or conflict”.

To sum up the considerations about the interaction between social and linguistic categories we could say that “language and social context are not conceptually autonomous, but mutually dependent and appear simultaneously. Language functions in a social environment both as a dependent and an independent variable, reflecting and determining society” (Novak Lukanovič 2003a: 2). Linguistic phenomena are thus social realities, the outcome of social changes which they both reflect and shape (ibid.).

II.2 Language policy studies

Language policy/planning in inter-group relations is not a new phenomenon: “whenever two populations speaking mutually unintelligible languages are brought into fairly extended contact for whatever reason, some degree of language planning occurs quite naturally” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: X).

As it was said for sociolinguistics in general, also for language policy as a special area of sociolinguistics holds the finding that it is still largely at the stage of descriptive enquiry; its theoretical base is still widely dispersed and there is no large consensus about the terminology, the scope, and nature of the field (Cooper 1989; Crystal 1992; Kaplan 2002; Spolsky 2004; Kaplan and Baldauf 2005a; Ricento 2006). The definitions of language policy, too, vary from those more restrictive to those that are very broad.

In table 1 we compare different definitions of two basic terms related to language policy studies, i.e. language policy and language planning⁹. The authors to which we refer are chosen arbitrary, though we tried not to omit the names of those who contributed in a decisive manner to the development of the area. The authors are indicated in chronological order of the appearance of their works, offering in this way, despite the arbitrariness in the selection of the referees, the possibility to observe some trends in changes of terminology that occurred in time.

Table 1: Comparison between definitions of language policy and planning by selected authors

term author	language policy	language planning
Haugen 1959¹⁰	/	= preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary in order to settle problems in a non-homogeneous community related to the presence of conflicting norms whose relative status needs to be assigned
Ferguson 1968¹¹	/	= activities related to language problems of the developing nations, i.e. graphisation, standardisation, and modernisation
Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971	/	= not an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society

⁹ When in the original source the term is not in English, we report, under the respective heading, the translation and also the term in the original language. When the heading is not reporting any definition it means that the author does not present it in the cited reference.

¹⁰ Haugen, E., (1959), "Language planning in modern Norway", in *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1, 8-21; here cited from Daoust 1997.

¹¹ Ferguson C.A. (1968), "Language development", in J.A. Fishman, C.A. Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta (eds.), *Language problems in developing nations*, 27-35, New York: John Wiley; here cited from Daoust 1997.

term author	language policy	language planning
Wardhaugh 1986	/	= an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties: it is human intervention into natural processes of language change, diffusion, and erosion
Škiljan 1988	(jezična politika) = the whole of the rational and mainly institutional procedures by which the society is influencing the forms of language of public communication and the perception of these forms among the members of the society	(jezično planiranje) = the process of qualification of a given idiom for public communication
Cooper 1989	/	= deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes
Crystal 1992	/	= (called also “linguistic engineering”) creation and implementation of an official policy about how the languages and linguistic varieties of a country are to be used
Kaplan and Baldauf 1997	= a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system	= an activity, most visibly undertaken by government, intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers; it involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context
Daoust 1997	/	= a deliberate and conscious future-oriented intervention in language which aims to influence language and language use
Calvet 2002	(politique linguistique) = conscious interventions in order to change the language itself, the relations between the languages, or the situation	(planification linguistique) = a concrete implementation of a specific language policy
Spolsky 2004	= the whole range of choices made by individuals or groups in their language practices, language beliefs (or ideologies) and specific efforts to modify those practices by language intervention (management)	= direct efforts (of a person or group) to manipulate the language situation (termed also “language management”)
Grin 2006	= a set of proposals on how to move from one given, existing ‘linguistic environment’ to another, supposedly preferable linguistic environment	/

Nowadays, language planning and language policy seem to be the most wide spread terms, though they were not the first to appear in the literature. As Cooper (1989: 29) informs us, other terminological proposals were: language engineering, glottopolitics, language development, language regulation, and language management. It was Haugen who first introduced the term of language planning to the literature¹². Haugen also mentions that it was Uriel Weinreich who already in 1957 used the term language planning for a seminar at a Columbia University¹³.

Tollefson (2002b: 417-18) points out that the early studies during the 1950s and 1960s were influenced by modernisation theory and that “[i]t was widely believed that LPP [language policy and planning] could play a major role in achieving the goals of political/administrative integration and sociocultural unity”¹⁴. Nevertheless, the stress was on technical procedure, since “efficiency”, “rationality”, and “cost-benefit analysis” were the main evaluation criteria for envisaged plans, while they remained completely separated from political analysis¹⁵. The direct consequence of this fact was the impossibility for the planners to predict the impact of their efforts and, in many cases, the failure of the whole procedure. Another characteristic of this early phase was the focus of language planning in the frame of the nation state, while the impact of the local contexts on national plans was not analysed adequately.

What contributed in a significant way to the understanding of the mutual interactions between language and social context in language policy studies was the introduction of the research in the economics of language. From the 1960s onwards, especially with

¹² In Haugen, E., “Language planning in modern Norway”, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, No. 1, 8-21, 1959, here cited from Daoust 1997: 438.

¹³ E. Haugen, “Construction and reconstruction in language planning: Ivar Aasen’s grammar”, in *Word*, 21 (2), 188-207 (here cited from Cooper 1989).

¹⁴ The early research in language planning studies was carried out mostly in many of the new and developing nations of Africa, South America, and Asia, and it was in a large part concerned with the status planning issues. It is worth mentioning here the fact that “the activities of many sociolinguists were understood (by them) as beneficial to nation-building and national unification; the decision of which language (i.e. colonial or indigenous) would best serve these interest was often based on which language would provide access to advanced, that is, Western, technological and economic assistance” (Ricento 2006: 13). The consequences, as the author points out, are well known: the elevation of the status of the former colonial language led to stable diglossia and perpetuation of the stratified structures of the colonial era.

¹⁵ It is worth mentioning here that political theorists from their side too, have mostly neglected language policy as such. It is only recently (see, e.g., Kymlicka 1995) that they begun to focus their attention on issues of close relevance to language policy (e.g. multicultural citizenship, the politics of difference, etc.).

the work of F. Grin, the following topics were included in the language policy research agenda, opening new lines of research: (native and second) language and earnings, language and economic activity, the economics of language policy evaluation, and recently, for example, minority language promotion. Grin (2006: 78) defines the field of language economics (or economics of language) as “the paradigm of theoretical economics and uses of concepts and tools of economics in the study of relationships featuring linguistic variables; it focuses principally, but not exclusively, on those relationships in which economic variables also play a part”.

From the late 1970s onwards, critical and postmodernist theories along with the effort of some sociolinguists to understand the role of language in the reproduction of social and economic inequalities, brought to new developments in the field:

Thus, linguistic theories adopted by language planners, rather than being neutral, objective, scientific tools, were viewed by critical scholars [...] as detrimental to the development of equitable language policies in complex multilingual settings. [...] Scholars also looked at sociolinguistic arrangements not as inevitable or logical, but rather as the result of political processes and ideologies of state-formation. In this view societal multilingualism - and not monolingualism - was seen as a normal, and its recognition and acceptance were taken as an important requirement for the realization of meaningful democracy [...]. (Ricento 2006:13-15)

Consequently, a broad set of interrelated research interests developed in language policy studies, from linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights, to the studies that correlate migration and language use.

While naming the traditional research emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as “neoclassical approach”, Tollefson (2006: 42) is labelling the new developments as “critical language-policy” (CLP). The term “critical” here, according to him, has three interrelated meanings: 1) it refers to work that is critical of traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research; 2) it includes research that is aimed to social change, i.e. to reduce social, political, and economic inequality by analysing language policies that sustain various form of inequality and proposing the alternatives; and 3) it

refers to research that is influenced by critical theory¹⁶. CLP appears as “fundamentally opposed to positivist approaches that emphasize the researcher’s ‘objectivity’ and distance from the ‘subjects’ of research. In its concern for social change and social justice, CLP research highlights ethical questions of policy as well as of research methodology” (ibid., p. 43).

Another problem that is worth mentioning here is the (in)ability of language policy studies and the studies about language and conflict to give adequate analysis of the ways in which language functions in situations of conflict. What is observed here by some authors is a “widespread failure” and the causes of this are found in “the fact that language policy and planning as undertaken by linguists is inadequately grounded in political theory and that political scientists are inadequately versed in language policy and planning concerns” (Mac Giolla Chríost 2003: 1; similar is the position of Phillipson 1999: 94).

Turning back to our scheme, presented in Table 1, it is possible to observe that the terms language policy and language planning are sometimes used as synonyms, and other times they are hierarchically juxtaposed. Language planning is usually conceived as involving a higher grade of intentionality, since it is viewed as “a deliberate and thus conscious effort to intervene in the future of language”; for example, it “might accentuate the ongoing sociolinguistics direction of the speech community, or aim to curb it” (Daoust 1997: 438). Nevertheless, some questions arose on the exact nature of the relationship between language policy and language planning (commonly abbreviated in LPP), when from the 1990s onwards many works increasingly referred to this field of research (Hornberger 2006): Does planning subsume policy or policy subsume planning? Is policy the output of planning? Does planning have policy as its intended outcome?

¹⁶ Here, Tollefson (ibid., p. 43) defines critical theory as a theory that “generally investigates the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice”. As the main representatives of this theory he enumerates Bourdieu, Foucault, Gramsci, and Habermas. Two fundamental assumptions of critical theory that are widely accepted in CLP research are that 1) “structural categories (particularly class, race, and gender) are central explanatory factors in all social life”, and that 2) “a critical examination of epistemology and research methodology is inseparable from ethical standards and political commitments to social justice”.

The authors cited in our scheme clearly show the terminological divide, even if we not consider, in this respect, the earliest works, when the field was in phase of its first development. Spolsky (2004), for example, prefers to associate the “deliberateness” with the term of language management, which can be implemented at various levels of social organisation, from family to nation state. With language management he refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan about language use, usually (but not necessarily) written in a formal document.

In Škiljan (1988) the stress is on the factors that concern language of public communication. Language policy, he argues, is concerned primarily with language of public domain (e.g. the use of language in administration, politics, education, mass media, and literature); the language of private communication has, in the sociological sense, lower hierarchical status than the language of public communication and it is thus influenced by the latest (ibid., p. 9)¹⁷. In determining the type of communication, the *status* and the *role* of the parties involved in the process are important, as being the constituent parts of the act of communication (Škiljan 1999). Language in public use is determined by the fact that the status and the role of those involved are collectively (explicitly or implicitly) verified as public. Furthermore, the author points out to the fact that the majority of societies place some kind of restrictions to access specific public roles and statuses¹⁸. The author argues for the autonomy of the linguistics of public communication, which primarily has two objects of analysis, i.e. the *context* of public communication and the *language* of public communication. For our purposes this distinction is important for recalling attention on the non-linguistic factors involved in communication processes.

After presenting an overview of the historical development of LPP studies, Hornberger (2006: 25) is explicitly opting for adoption of the LPP designation, “as a way around the lack of agreement” on the exact nature of the relationship between language policy and language planning: “LPP offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue

¹⁷ It is important here to note that the process of globalisation, through modern information technologies, is changing the relationships between language for the purposes of public and private use in important ways, especially in the sense that it is blurring the boundaries between the two (cf. Baggioni 1997).

¹⁸ E.g. age limit, mental health, required level of instruction etc. Also the belonging to a specific national or racial collectivity was (and still is) very often a limiting factor in accession to public communication.

fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn of its insertion in processes of social change”.

Turning back to terminological debates about language policy and planning it is worth mentioning the Calvet’s (2002) proposal of introducing, beside the concepts of language policy and language planning, a new term of “language politology” (“politologie linguistique”). This would be especially useful in the analysis of the language processes in relation to the processes of globalisation, “qui tenterait de nous donner les moyens de lire la mondialisation à travers son versant linguistique, d’élaborer des hypothèses sur l’évolution de cette situation et d’en explorer les voies possibles de gestion” (ibid., p. 10-11; for language issues related to globalisation see below, chapter III.5).

We dwelt upon terminological distinctions quite at length in order to make clear the distinction between the use of the terms language policy and language planning in our work. In choosing the definitions (and consequently the analytical scheme), it was important for us to

view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, *de jure*, official, and ‘top-down’ decision-making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, *de facto*, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the *outcomes* of policy-making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions (Schiffman 2006: 112, italics in original)

In our view, the most appropriate analytical framework that offers an observation also of these non-explicit aspects was proposed by Spolsky (2006). He distinguishes between three components of the *language policy* of a speech community, i.e. its *language practices*, its *language ideology* (or beliefs) and its *language planning* (or intervention, or management)¹⁹. As we already explained (see above, chapter I.3) this framework offers the possibility of an ecological approach, i.e. the possibility to illustrate how language policy functions in a complex relationship among a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables and factors. It offers a strong

¹⁹ The exact definitions of these three components are given in chapters II.3, II.4 and II.5, whereas the interrelations between them are explored in chapter II.6.

support in an often fuzzy situation when elements of language policy and interactions between them are to be defined.

We would thus agree with Ricento (2006: 6) who underlines that in spite of the fact that there does not exist a generally accepted language policy theory, language policy studies have reached the stage when the scholars

do know that the theoretically adequate models or approaches need to consider [...] ideology, ecology, and agency in explaining how and why things are the way they are, and also to evaluate whose interests and whose values are being served when language plans and policies are proposed, implemented, or evaluated.

Ricento also defines (*ibid.*, p. 12) the criteria of evaluating the quality of research in language policy studies, which can be enumerated as follows: relative degrees of clarity and coherence of theoretical and conceptual frameworks or approaches; the representativeness, depth, and quality of data; the relative degree to which the data and conclusions support the theoretical assumptions and hypotheses which follow from those assumptions; the relevance of the findings for particular language policy goals.

II.3 Language practices

According to Spolsky (2004: 5) language practices of a speech community can be defined as “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire.” More precisely, language practices are

the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language. [...] Language practices include much more than sounds, words and grammar; they embrace conventional differences between levels of formality of speech and other agreed rules as to what variety is appropriate in different situations. In multilingual societies, they also include rules for the appropriacy of each named language. (*ibid.*, p. 9)

The quoted definition refers to a speech community, the patterns that its members share and the rules by which the choices in a concrete speech act are governed. At this point, it seems to us necessary to deal with the concept of speech community in more detail, since we will continue to refer to it also in the definition of language ideologies and language planning, and since this concept remains central also in our attempt to appropriately circumscribe the cross-border area as a domain of language policy analysis in the third part of the thesis.

Spolsky (ibid.) defines a speech community as “any group of people who share a set of language practices and beliefs”²⁰. Most generally, in sociolinguistics the concept of speech community is used as a tool to define a unit of analysis within which to analyse language variation and change. It was first introduced in the 1960s by W. Labov, and later on developed especially by Bloomfield and Gumperz.

Another useful concept to define groups of people living within identifiable cultural traditions could be the concept of Bourdieu’s linguistic “habitus” (1991), which we already mentioned in the analysis of relationship between language and society (see above, chapter II.1):

The linguistic habitus is a sub-set of the dispositions which comprise the habitus: it is the sub-set of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts (the family, the peer group, the school, etc.). These dispositions govern both the subsequent linguistic practices of an agent and the anticipation of the value that linguistic products will receive in other fields or markets [...]. (Bourdieu 1991: 17)²¹

After the argumentation of the need to clearly define the unit of sociolinguistic analysis, we would now like to look for an appropriate theoretical framework for the analysis of language practices. We already pointed out (see above, chapter II.1) the need of an all-embracing consideration of the sociolinguistic situation, whenever

²⁰ Cf. also the definition of Hymes (1972: 54): “A speech community is defined as a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of the speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety. Both conditions are necessary.” The author also underlines that “[t]he natural unit for sociolinguistic taxonomy (and description) [...] is not language but the speech community.” (ibid., p. 43).

²¹ Cited from the Editor’s Introduction.

language policy issues are approached. This sociolinguistic situation (or setting) should be interpreted to include anything that affects language practices and beliefs or that leads to efforts at intervention, and the starting point in the analysis of any given unit (domain) should be the description of non-language variables that co-occur with language variables (Spolsky 2004).

If we look back in the history of sociolinguistics, we find out that this holistic approach was attempted relatively early. From the fifties onwards, especially with the works of Weinreich, Haugen and Ferguson, linguistics began to expand its interest to the empirical research on the language usage of different human groups. The study of speech behaviour became an important subdiscipline of language study. As Gumperz and Hymes (1972: 11) notice, the sociolinguistics goal was (and it still continues to be) “to devise schemes for the comparative study of language distribution which allow for the comparison of social systems in terms of what languages are spoken, by how many people in what contexts, and in terms of what the local attitudes to these languages are”.

An important step forward in a sense of systematic analysis of different situational non-language variables was made by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) with their approach to the analysis of the ethnic group’s “ethnolinguistic vitality”, i.e. the analysis by which it could be possible to determine whether an ethnolinguistic group is “like to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (ibid.; p. 308). The authors identify several structural variables - organized under three main headings - which are most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups, and thus also their language practices. The taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality, developed by the authors, is schematically presented in Table 2.

Table 2: A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality

VARIABLE		DEFINITION/DESCRIPTION		
STATUS	Economic status	The degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, religion or community.		
	Social status	The degree of esteem a linguistic group affords itself; it often resembles the esteem that is attributed to the group by the outgroup.		
	Sociohistorical status	The history of the ethnolinguistic group, e.g. the existence of mobilizing symbols (struggles to defend, maintain or assert the existence of the ethnolinguistic group as a collective entity).		
	Language status within/without the boundaries of the ethnolinguistic community	E.g. international importance of the language as media of technology, business, science, culture.		
DEMOGRAPHY	Distribution	national territory	The traditional (ancestral) homeland and its eventual modification (divisions, amalgamations, etc.).	
		concentration	The concentration of ethnolinguistic group members across a given territory.	
		proportion	The proportion of speakers of the ethnolinguistic ingroup compared with that belonging to the relevant outgroup.	
	Numbers	absolute	Numbers of speakers belonging to the ethnolinguistic group.	
		birth rate	E.g. a group's birth rate in relation to that of the outgroup's.	
		mixed marriages	Number of marriages between ingroup and outgroup members.	
		immigration	E.g. the influx of large number of one linguistic group, migrants who adopt the language of the dominant rather than that of the subordinate linguistic group, etc.	
		emigration	E.g. emigration of a vast numbers of young and active members of linguistic minorities from their traditional community (depopulation).	
	INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT	Formal/ Informal	education	The use of the language in the State education system.
			industry	The use of language at work.
religion			The use of language in religion practices.	
government services			Informal (organisation in terms of pressure groups) and formal representation of the members of the ethnolinguistic group's members in the single institutional settings.	
culture				
mass media				

Source: Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: pp. 309-17

The scheme seems to us a useful analytical tool when there is a need to describe any type of speech community, not only those defined on ethnical bases. But what appears more important here is the fact that the aim of this analytical tool is not only to describe but to describe in order to compare. Namely, the authors define the approach as designated to observe the group's (linguistic) behaviour in intergroup contact.

The authors agree that along with the description of variables it is important to take in consideration the interaction between them, and that other factors may sometimes assume salience (e.g. a rapid rate of modernisation in a underdeveloped country or sudden depression in economy). Thus, the final evaluation of ethnolinguistic vitality should take into account the combined effects of all the factors. Finally, the groups could be classified on a continuum of vitality ranging from very high to very low; this kind of classification offers a researcher a possibility to compare different situation and to better observe the eventual changes of the dynamics of ethnic group relations in time.

A decisive step ahead in description of language behaviour was made by theory of speech accommodation. The theory has been developed since the 1970s by Giles and its central insight is "that sociolinguistics needs a sharper focus on social context than on the individual speaker" (Coupland and Jaworsky 1997: 229). The model for theory is a social psychological research on similarity-attraction, which suggests that and individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them (Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Powesland 1997).

The accommodation theory "suggests that people are continually modifying their speech with others as to reduce or accentuate the linguistic (hence social) differences between them depending on their perceptions of the interactive situation" (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 324). A shift in speech toward that of an interlocutor is termed *convergence*, whereas a shift away from the other one's speech represents *divergence*. The convergence towards a high prestige language variety is labelled as an "upward" process and that to the lower prestige variety as a "downward" process.

In accommodation theory the desire for social approval is assumed to be at the heart of accommodation process. Giles and Powesland (1997) explain that the effects of a speech act are manifold. One effect of the convergence/divergence process is the perception of similarity/dissimilarity between the sender and the receiver. Another effect is the understanding of the message that can obviously vary on a large scale from none to complete. The authors suggest that “in certain interaction situations the emphasis with regard to accommodation is on increasing comprehensibility whilst in others it may be on causing the sender to be perceived more favourably” (Giles and Powesland 1997: 234).

With reference to our analysis it is important to point out that since its beginnings the accommodation theory accepted the applicability of the general notion of accommodation to several different levels of sociolinguistic analysis, from accent (phonological) variation to the variation in speakers’ functionally and symbolically motivated choice of different languages (Coupland and Jaworsky 1997). At this last level, it is underlined that convergence can only occur if speakers have the knowledge of the varieties/languages needed to accomplish this process.

In discussing language practices we would like to mention also the question of the so called marked and unmarked language choices (Edwards 1977). Edwards observes that any departure from the expected code is carrying important symbolic messages for the participants of the communicative act. The symbolic value here is interpreted as an action intended to mark a person’s group membership, to express a positive assertion of one’s identity, to express solidarity function, to exclude outsiders, to reject the values of the other group. But this kind of considerations already takes us to the next component of language policy, i.e. language ideologies, since it comprises identity decisions, linked to values, attitudes, etc.

II.4 Language ideologies

When developing a theoretical framework for understanding the interrelationships among language, ethnicity and intergroup relations Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) underline that the tools they propose for describing the ethnolinguistic vitality take into

account only the factors of the objective reality, whereas the subjective perception of the situation by the members of the group may be, to their opinion, of equal importance for the complete understanding of the situation and they call for further exploration in this sense. A special questionnaire about “subjective vitality” was elaborated, which offered the possibility of a more complete determination of how ethnolinguistic groups constitute their socio-psychological reality²².

In (socio)linguistics (and linguistic anthropology) the dimension of the “subjective perception” as an area of inquiry has been approached relatively late and it has been brought into the frame of the studies of language ideologies (see below for definitions).

The ethnography of speaking/communication has given systematic attention to ideologies of language from its beginnings in the 1960s, since “Hymes [...] insisted early on that a community’s own theory of speech must be considered as part of any serious ethnography”, but “a dominant view in American anthropology and linguistics has long cast [language] ideology as somewhat unfortunate, through perhaps socioculturally interesting, distraction from primary and thus ‘real’ linguistic data” (Woolard 1998: 11)²³. It was the American anthropological linguist Michael Silverstein who in the late 1970s argued that language ideology is essential to understanding the evolution of linguistic structure:

The total linguistic fact, the datum for the science of language, is irreducibly dialectic in nature. It is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms

²² The questionnaire was developed by Bourish, Giles and Rosenthal in 1981 (Notes on the construction of a ‘subjective vitality questionnaire’ for ethnolinguistic groups. *JMMD2* (2), 145-155). The information is here cited from Štrukelj 1994. Štrukelj also notes how several empirical enquiries conducted with this research instrumentary showed that in the majority of cases objective and subjective assessing of the situation did not greatly differ: members of ethnolinguistic minorities were able, on the basis of their daily life experience, to ascribe realistic values to the majority of factors that were determining their present and future status (*ibid.*, p. 49).

²³ The author here refers especially to the anthropologist Franz Boas, the linguist Leonard Bloomfield and modern linguistics in Bloomfieldian tradition. Similar are the conclusions about the historical development of the studies of language ideologies in Kroskrity 2000. According to him, W. Labov was trying to diminish the importance of linguistic ideologies in a given community, insisting that they cannot change the socially determined patterns of linguistic variation (*ibid.*, p 7).

contextualized to situations of interested human use mediated by the fact of cultural ideology.²⁴

As Kroskrity (2000: 3) sums up, Silverstein's emphasis on the importance of language ideologies "provided an additional tool or level of analysis [...] that permitted us to use the more traditional skills of linguistic anthropologists as a means of relating the models and practices shared by members of a speech community to their political-economic positions and interests". Nevertheless, the advancement of this approach was not without difficulties and even for the current situation Schiffman (2006) is underlying the fact that "cultural notions about language that influence the underlying ideas about language that are current in a particular culture (and which may also influence, sometimes rather profoundly, the *implementation* of language policies) are often ignored, or treated as impediments that must be overcome" (p. 112, italics in original). But in spite of this kind of difficulties, we could say that sociolinguistic studies now largely accept the fact that something more than language practice and *de jure* language planning matters in the language policy of the speech community. In the search of a definition for that "more", different proposals have been made.

Woolard (1998: 4) uses the terms linguistic ideology, language ideology and ideologies of language interchangeably although recognizing that "differences among them can be detached in separate traditions of use". She also proposes to rethink, "within an explicitly social-theoretical frame of ideology analysis", the materials that have been collected within the "studies that address cultural conceptions of language, in the guise of metalinguistics, attitudes, prestige, standards, aesthetics"; the goal "is not to restrict vision but to focus the attention of scholars of language on the unavoidable significance of the ideological dimension". Similarly, Schieffelin et al. (1998: V) prefers to adopt a broad, unconstrained understanding of language ideology, including "cultural conceptions not only of language and language variation but also of the nature and purpose of communication, and its role in the life of social collectivities".

²⁴ M. Silverstein, "Language and the Culture of Gender: At the Intersection of Structure, Usage and Ideology", in *Semiotic Mediation*, E. Mertz and R.J. Parmentier (eds.), Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, p. 220; here cited from Woolard 1998: 11-12.

Schiffman (2006: 112) is more inclined to use the term *linguistic culture*, defining it as “the sum of totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture”²⁵. Though proposing one all embracing concept, the author is underlying the importance of being able to distinguish between different kinds of ideas about language “instead of lumping them all together into an undifferentiated oversimplified, and reductionist one-size-fits-all rubric” (ibid, p. 121).

The nowadays prevalent terminological proposal for subjective perceptions of the language situation by the members of the speech community is *linguistic* (or *language*) *ideology* (or *ideologies*). Silverstein (1979: 193)²⁶ defined linguistic ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use”. For Spolsky (2004: 14) language ideology is a “set of beliefs about appropriate language practices” that is shared by a speech community. In other words “language ideology or beliefs designate a speech community’s consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire. [...] Put it simply, language ideology is language policy with the manager left out, what people think should be done” (ibid.)

Kroskrity (2000: 7) proposes to think of language ideologies “as a cluster concept consisting of a number of converging dimensions”. Four main features of language ideologies are identified as follows (ibid., pp.7-23):

1. Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.
2. Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites,

²⁵ Schiffman first used the term linguistic culture in the late 1970s, proposing it as a description of that part of culture that has to do with language. For him “[l]inguistic culture also is concerned with the transmission and codification of language and has bearing also on the culture’s notions of the value of literacy and the sanctity of texts” (2006: 112).

²⁶ M. Silverstein, “Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology”, in P.R. Clyne, W.F. Hanks and C.L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979, pp. 193-247, here cited from Kroskrity 2000.

generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership.

3. Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.
4. Members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk.

The holders of linguistic ideologies can be the immediate participants in a local sociolinguistic system, but also the external observers, e.g. linguists and ethnographers who provide descriptive accounts of languages (Irvine and Gal 2000)²⁷.

In the studies concerning language planning situation in different states, language ideology is usually not approached directly, being that on macro (e.g. national) or micro (e.g. regional) level. For example: in providing a common frame for policy monographs to be published in a series about language policy and planning in diverse areas, Kaplan and Baldauf do not foresee a distinct heading dedicated to language ideologies (2005a: 3-4). The authors that are invited to collaborate in the publication of monographs are supposed to give a review of majority and minority languages of the chosen area in the sense of numbers, percentages and (urban/rural) distribution of speakers, descriptions of language education (thought languages, used methods), the role of media in language spread, the effect of immigration on language distribution, current language planning legislation and implementation, historical development of single policies and practices, and prospects of language maintenance. Thus, language ideologies are not supposed to be dealt with in a special, separate chapter. Nevertheless, the authors then take language ideologies into account, to a certain degree, in different context: e.g. in the frame of historical overview, related to the process of nation state formation (nationalistic views on linguistic matters, expressed within political and cultural movements in the second half of the 19th century); considering language as a label of social (ethnic) identity in minority groups; reporting some data about attitudes toward language learning (motives to learn foreign languages); considering prejudices (negative attitudes toward otherness) and feeling of national allegiance to ethnic culture in relation to the prospects of minority language

²⁷ To our opinion, also the policy makers who take decisions on the boundaries, based on criteria linked to sociolinguistic situation, should be included in the category of immediate local participants.

maintenance; and, finally, when talking about attitudes to immigrant languages and cultures. Language ideologies here are not deeply discussed, nor is their relation to language practices and language planning, but it nevertheless appears clear that this relation is close and that deeper inclusion of language ideology analysis could considerably contribute to explain language related issues in the past periods and to formulate more balanced considerations about the future of language situation²⁸.

An emerging field that could be, to our opinion, placed among the themes related with language ideologies, is the discourse about *interculturality*. The term, introduced in the 1980s from Hofstede²⁹, should be related to *multiculturalism*, which refers to the simultaneous presence of two or more cultures inside a concrete geographical area, or inside a concrete social context (Mikolič et al. 2006). It includes the orientation to emphasize cultural differences as a positive value from the moral, social and educational viewpoint, and the establishment of mutual respect among the representatives of these different cultures (Štrukelj 2000). Interculturality, on the other hand, defines a situation where the simultaneous presence of different cultures is not limited to their co-existence, but it offers opportunities to continuous contacts, interactions and collaboration. Still more, this orientation not only emphasizes the need for this kind of opportunities, it requires concrete cooperation, based on mutual recognition and understanding. In interculturality awareness and knowledge about the other culture is thus considered as a bases. If we consider the complex role of language in forming, determining and communicating the culture (cf. below, chapter III.5), the emphasis on language related issues in discourses about multiculturalism and interculturality should not surprise us.

It is worth briefly mentioning here another point of view, dealing with language ideologies and developed recently in critical language-policy (CLP, see also above, chapter III.1). Here the term ideology refers to “unconscious beliefs and assumptions

²⁸ The exception in Kaplan and Baldauf 2005a is Wasa 2005, who at the very beginning of the monograph underlines that “[a]t the one end of the spectrum, language planning is a socio-political value-laden ideology, whereas at the other end it is a linguistic attempt to apply an instrumental and restricted perspective to language diversity, although in the final analysis, both perspectives are political, rather than purely linguistic”. Throughout the description of language planning in Sweden the author than several times clearly points out the interconnection between language planning, language ideologies and language practices.

²⁹ See preface of A. Griselli in Mikolič et al. 2006, p. 6.

that are ‘naturalized’ and thus contribute to hegemony [of the power groups]. As hegemonic practices come to be built into the institutions of society, they tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as ‘natural’ condition” (Tollefson 2006: 47).

II.5 Language planning

According to our analytical approach, we will consider as language planning activities only those that include deliberate efforts to influence the linguistic behaviour, but we will not limit the definition by including only the institutional planning activities, although in the frame of sociolinguistic theories language planning is usually limited to the institutional actors.

As we will see, language planning somehow occurs in every multilingual setting and can involve different actors, being that legislative assembly, local government body, special interest group, business company, or an individual (cf. Spolsky 2004). Multilingualism is not an exception, but the most common situation in the world. If a complete equality of languages is representing the ideal situation, the reality is far from being an ideal one.

All polities are more or less polyglot. But there is never *liberté, égalité, fraternité* of tongues, nowhere a genuinely linguistically ‘leveller society’. Languages are arranged into pecking orders, which are commonly officially enforced. (Burke and Porter 1991: 9, italics in original)³⁰

Recognising that linguistic hierarchy is inevitable, Hymes reminds us to distinguish between *actual* and *potential* equality of languages: while all languages are potentially equal, they are, for social reasons, not actually so³¹. “For language planners and policy-makers in multilingual context, then, the question is not so much how to develop languages as which languages to develop for what purposes, and in particular, how and

³⁰ Burke (2004) is mentioning the fact that already in 1650 an English author was speaking about “master languages” and “subordinate languages”.

³¹ Hymes, D.H. (1992), “Inequality in language: Taking for granted”, in Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, No. 8, 1-30; here cited from Hornberger 2006.

for what purposes to develop local, threatened languages in relation to global, spreading ones” (Hornberger 2006: 27-28).

While the real-world demand of language planning practice is evident, it is acknowledged that language planning (in the sense of development, implementation and evaluation of specific language policies), in the frame of language policy studies, represents an “understudied facet” (Ricento 2006: 18, cf. also Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Not only, it seems, that language planning studies often “develop as an afterthought following a period of socio-political turmoil” (Daoust 1997: 440), thus, not as a “deliberate and thus conscious effort” running in parallel with planned social change (see above, chapter II.2), but as a *post factum* analysis. And even when approaching this kind of analytical work, it appears that language planning studies lack “clear articulated models of analyzing and comparing different policy approaches in defined contexts, and ways to evaluate the outcomes that can be applied in different settings” (Ricento 2006: 18)³². The explanation for this situation could be, first, in the inherited theoretical orientation of the earliest studies in language policy, and, secondly, in the fact that “most sociolinguists and applied linguists have little or no training in the policy sciences” (ibid.). In spite of these deficiencies it is possible to list many theoretical and methodological tools that have been, up to now, developed on these subjects in the frame of language policy studies.

Language planning for a given language never occurs in a vacuum with regard to other languages (Hornberger 2006). Thus, the evaluation of different possible outcomes of language planning in regard to the languages involved as relatively “good/desirable” or “bad/undesirable” is “based largely on extra-linguistic factors related to theories of what constitutes the social ‘good’” (Ricento 2006: 4). As mentioned above, the failure of the early language planning to achieve its goals was directly linked to the incapacity to acknowledge that language planning is inevitably linked to political analysis (Tollefson 2002b). Whiley (1996) even emphasized the need for critical awareness that

³² Other authors called attention to similar problems too. When Cooper (1989) was accounting the state of language and policy studies, he enunciated the need for the theory of social change in order to move the language policy and planning studies forward. Tollefson (1991: 8), on the other hand, tries to “contribute to a theory of language planning that locates the field within social theory”. Ricento (2006:6-7) underlines the importance, for language policy studies, to include in its theoretical frameworks the contributions of political theories, since they are able to provide “useful tools to help us better understand what is at stake in conflicts involving language”.

language planning is not merely a technical undertaking, due to the fact that language is often involved in struggles for power and dominance between groups; thus, language planning can also result in conflicts rather than solving them³³.

In discussing language planning as a problem-solving activity Cooper (1989: 34) points out that “we must distinguish between ostensible and actual, overt and covert goals” of language planning. When analysing concrete examples of language planning, it is usually possible to observe communicative problems, but it is also possible to ascertain that “modifications in language or in the use of language [are] sought in order to attain non-linguistic ends” (ibid., p. 34)³⁴. This characteristic of language planning would, to his opinion, even imply that “[d]efinitions of language planning as the solution of language problems are not wrong, but they are misleading” (ibid., p. 35). Cooper’s statements are in line with the above mentioned observations about the inseparability of linguistic and socio-political objectives in language planning, but it seems that he is making a step further in underlying the importance of non-linguistic goals when language matters are approached by policy makers. His hypothesis seems to indicate that it is doubtful that any language activities directed to solving merely linguistic (e.g. communicative) problems would be carried out if the solution of these problems would not promote the attainment of non-linguistic goals:

Indeed, it is hard to think of an instance in which language planning has been carried out solely for the sake of improving communication, where problems of communication are the only problems to be solved, or where the facilitation of communication is the only interest to be promoted. Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. (Cooper 1989: 34-35)

³³ Ricento (2000: 8) points out that “scholars must examine the implicit assumptions that inform their research agendas as they seek to uncover the ideologies that inform language policies in the contexts they choose to investigate”.

³⁴ Cf. Daoust 1997: 441, who also affirms that “it is socio-political objectives which are pursued by language planning policies”.

One important question in language planning is the question about the need of state intervention. Approaching language policy issues from the economic point of view, Grin (2006: 83-84) is linking the argument to the mainstream economic theories, where state intervention is justified in case of “market failures”. It seems that

linguistic environments exhibit many forms of market failure. For one, future generations cannot bid for the preservation of endangered languages. In a market mechanism, this absence from the bidding process means the same as if they did not care for these languages, which is quite a different matter. Externalities are also present, if, for example, a person’s language learning (or not-learning) behaviour affects the value of another person’s language skills. In fact, it could be argued that almost every form of market failure occurs when it comes to the provision of linguistic diversity. (ibid.)

From the policy-analysis perspective, “it is enough to establish that only one type of failure is present to justify state intervention” and here Grin is decisively opposing any kind of political debate “claiming that languages should best be left to fend for themselves, going as far as to dismiss most language-policy interventions as harmful meddling” (ibid.).

Linked to the question of state intervention is the question about language planning as upward and/or downward process. Cooper’s position is firm: “In my view, language planning activities move upwards as well as downwards. Microlevel, face-to-face interactional circles can both implement decisions initiated from above and initiate language planning which snowballs to the societal or governmental level” (1989: 38).

The next important question in language planning is how to proceed, which are the stages of the process? As it was emphasized in language planning studies since their beginnings, any interventions in the language planning context have to be based on knowledge concerning the past (Haugen 1959)³⁵. Moreover, in the initial phase the policy maker should collect data about “the existing setting to ascertain what the problems are, as viewed both by persons who will execute the plan and by persons

³⁵ In Haugen, E., “Language planning in modern Norway”, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, No. 1, 8-21, 1959, here cited from Daoust 1997: 439.

who will be the targets of the plan”, i.e. to effectuate the “fact-finding” process (Rubin 1971: 218). Within this process the following parameters should be scrutinized: social, cultural, political, and economic (ibid.). In other words, policy makers should detect the “social philosophy” underlying the whole process of the language planning. Daoust (1997: 445) calls to the fact that “[f]ew language-planning policies come close to this ideal”, since

[s]uch a program is time-consuming. It assumes a management-like approach within a decision-making model, as well as the participation of many specialists. Moreover, it implies the willpower to devise a blueprint for society and requires substantial financial resources.

According to our point of view, the stages of an (ideal) language planning process could be schematically enumerated in the way presented in Table 3 (see below). Language planning is viewed as a combination of *descriptive* activities, i.e. the study of what actually happens, and *prescriptive* activities, i.e. the determination of what kinds of activities will optimize the desired outcomes at a given cost (Cooper 1989). Cooper argues that “*aiming* at a management ideal” where language planning is conceived as “a systematic, theory driven, and rational” is perfectly appropriate (ibid., 41-42, italics in original). It is true that in reality “[l]anguage planning rarely conforms to a rational paradigm of decision-making or problem-solving” (ibid, p. 185) or even more, the evidence often shows that “language planning can be a messy affair – ad hoc, haphazard, and emotionally driven” (ibid., p. 41). Nevertheless, it is right to avoid this kind of situation that language planning needs a strong guiding theory.

The involvement of the target population foreseen in the presented scheme about the language planning process is in line with the critical-language theory (CLP, see above, chapter II.1) which “accepts the political principle that people who experience the consequences of language policy should have a major role in making policy decisions”, (Tollefson 2006: 45). If the role of the researchers (sociolinguists) remains defined inside the same paradigm, it stands far away from the positivist neutral and objective approach, as it sees the researchers as those who should “analyze the underlying ideologies of alternative policies and the links between language policies

and social inequality, thereby contributing to the development of an informed and sceptical citizenry” (ibid.).

Table 3: Stages of the language planning process (an integrative framework)

STAGE	DESCRIPTION	TYPE OF ACT	METHODS
identification of broader societal goals	societal linguistic and (related) non-linguistic goals are assessed (over/covert goals)	descriptive	policy analysis
identification of target populations	target populations that should be included in the planning process in order to obtain the goals are identified	descriptive/prescriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis
Fact-finding process about the past situation	determination of variables to be included in descriptive and explanatory studies; study of non-linguistic and linguistic variables that could have influenced the present situation	descriptive	historical studies, sociolinguistic analysis
Fact-finding process about the present situation	identification and description of non-linguistic and linguistic variables, involved in the language planning process (existing language practices, ideologies and planning)	descriptive	sociolinguistic analysis
domain identification	the domains involved are identified, e.g. legislation, public sector, public signs, education business sector etc.	prescriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis
goal setting	the goals that have to be achieved are defined	prescriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis
elaboration of different policy planning alternatives	policy planning alternatives are identified and assessed	prescriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis
evaluation of different policy planning alternatives	measurement, for each of the options considered, of different types of effects (estimation of the net private and social market and non-market value)	descriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis studies
selection of a policy	the policy that most suits the pursued goals is selected	prescriptive	policy analysis
implementation	explicitation of the process	prescriptive	stipulation of (legal) provision and administrative procedures

STAGE	DESCRIPTION	TYPE OF ACT	METHODS
evaluation	periodical re-assessment of the goals and implementation procedures	descriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis
eventual modifications	adaptation to new situations	prescriptive	sociolinguistic analysis, policy analysis, legal and administrative procedure

Sources: Rubin 1971; Cooper 1989; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; Daoust 1997; Grin 2006

The sequence of stages in our scheme should be considered as an ideal one, while in the real world all kind of possible sequences appear. Very frequently cyclical processes are in place where activities of one stage, initiated because of specific needs, trigger activities related to other stages. As Spolsky comments, national or local language practices very often evolve “piecemeal, with combination of law, regulation and custom” (2004: 13).

Even in the ideal scheme, language planning process clearly appears very complex, and the work of language policy planners is being paved with many difficulties. In the frame of the already mentioned lack of analytical tools, many concrete problems have been envisaged. For example: According to Grin (2006: 85), the process of evaluation of different policy planning alternatives implies some more or less arduous steps. The easiest part seems to be the estimation of the *net private market value* of each policy option, i.e. “the effects that can be observed on a market and which accrue to identifiable individuals” (ibid.). On the other hand, the estimation of *social market value* seems to be a much more complex operation, since with this term the author designates the aggregate of private values in a society, considering also the effects of positive and negative externalities. Even harder seems to be the assessment of “the much more complex non-market value – namely, the gains and losses associated with a change in the linguistic environment, but without these gains and losses being expressed through one or another explicit market” (ibid.)³⁶.

³⁶ Grin (2006: 86) is pointing to the fact that, up to this time, no formal attempts to this kind of analysis have been made. As the most promising for these kinds of purposes he sees the methodologies of environmental economics, in which the evaluation of complex, non-market commodities (such as air or water) has developed some good experience.

Grin is also pointing to the fact that too often, in the evaluation of policy alternatives, what tends to be neglected is the *distributive dimension*, i.e. the question about “who gains, who loses, and how much, as a result of the implementation of [the envisaged] language policy” (ibid, p. 86). This disregard could spring out, according to him, from the assumption in economic analysis that “if a policy does give rise to a net welfare gain, then gainers *can* compensate the losers. The problem, however, is whether they actually do so of their own accord, or it is a compulsory compensation mechanism that has to be built into the policy design for such compensation to occur” (ibid., italics in original).

As far as the successfulness of the planned policy, it was found out that “unexpected outcomes are a normal feature of high complex social systems where linear cause-effect relationships between language and society do not apply and where social groups may have covert goals for LPP” (Tollefson 2002b: 419-20). Generally speaking, Cooper (1989: 185) states that “[i]t is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of language planning – to determine either the degree to which goals are satisfied or the relative contribution to various factors to the outcome.” Nevertheless, it seems that the general problem in evaluation of the language planning effectiveness is that it is often only partially assessed, most often in terms of legal texts in which policies are enshrined or in terms of administrative measures taken, while the actual results can only be measured considering the concrete outcomes at the levels of language practices and language ideologies. It is to avoid this kind of partiality and to focus attention on the most relevant evaluation criteria that Grin (2006) is calling for the use of public-policy thinking in considering language planning issues.

With similar approach, Kaplan and Baldauf criticise the “recent direction taken by some scholars [...] to attempt to deal with language policy activities in terms of a dichotomy of *success* and *failure*” (2005b: 7, italics in original). First, there is always the possibility of the tensions between the Self and the Other and thus between the perspectives that individual authors bring to their studies. Moreover, “policy efforts may show some successes and some failures simultaneously”, and there are also “situations in which some language planning occurs as fall-out from some other planning activity” (ibid.). The authors also argue, that it is virtually impossible

meaningfully to discuss success and failure at the micro levels, i.e. other than governmental levels.

It seems that all the exposed problematic points in language planning process are linked to one point: the complexity of the socio-linguistic settings. This fact would confirm the utmost importance of the already mentioned ecological approach, e.g. to consider the language situation in its integrity, formed of language practices, language ideologies and language planning efforts. In our scheme, much of work necessary to integrate this approach seems to be included in the fact-finding process about the past and the present situation. Nevertheless, we would argue for special attention to be given to language (and the related non-language) ideologies throughout the whole process. Schiffman (2006) is warning about the frequent conduct of policy makers, who “are too often confident that their explicit decisions are the correct ones”, and who “often see the implicit factors (which are more embedded in the ‘unconscious’ linguistic culture) as *problematical*, thwarting the well-intentioned plans of the decision-makers, who of course are only trying to do the ‘right thing’” (p. 112, italics in original).

Sociolinguistic theorists usually distinguish three types of language planning activities³⁷:

We may think of status planning as those efforts directed toward the allocation of functions of languages/literacies in a given speech community; corpus planning as those efforts related to the adequacy of the form or structure of languages/literacies; and acquisition planning as efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages/literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both. (Hornberger 2006: 28)

As many authors point out, it is impossible to make a clear cut between corpus and status planning issues; “language-planning issues can never be corpus-oriented or status-oriented exclusively” (Daoust 1997: 448).

³⁷ The first use of the status-planning/corpus planning typology was by Heinz Kloss (in *Research possibilities on group bilingualism: A report*, Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism, 1969, here cited from Spolsky 2004 (cf. also Hornberger 2006: 28).

While corpus and status planning are well established conceptual distinctions proposed early in the language planning literature, the third type of language planning, i.e. acquisition planning, was introduced much later by Cooper (1989)³⁸. Although most of scholarly definitions implicitly include language teaching among the objectives of language planning, Cooper argues for this additional (separate) category for two reasons:

First, considerable planning is directed toward language spread, i.e. an increase in the users or the uses of a language or language variety, but not all planning for language spread can be subsumed under the rubric of status planning. When planning is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls within the rubric of status planning. But when it is directed towards increasing the number of users – speakers, writers, listeners, or readers – then a separate analytic category for the focus of language planning seems to me to be justified.

Second, the changes in function and form sought by status and corpus planning affect, and are affected by, the number of a language's uses. New users may be attracted by the new uses to which a language is put. [...] New users may influence the language through language contact [...]. And new users may introduce new uses [...]. Since function, form, and acquisition are related to one another, planners of any one should consider the others.

Some sociological justifications for this kind of classification can be found also in Bourdieu's (1991) considerations about the laws of transmission of linguistic capital, which according to him are a particular case of laws of legitimate transmission of cultural capital between generations. The two principal factors of production of the legitimate competence are the family and the educational system, and "[i]n this sense, like the sociology of culture, the sociology of language is logically inseparable from the sociology of education" (ibid., p. 62). Similarly to Cooper, Bourdieu establishes the link between institutional language learning and language market:

³⁸ Recently, some authors use, instead of acquisition planning, the term "language-in-education-planning" (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf 2005).

The position which the educational system gives to the different languages (or the different cultural contexts) is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market without which the social value of the linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital, would cease to exist. (ibid., 57).

Although nowadays also other important factors can be recognized as influencing the linguistic market in important ways (e.g. globalized business flows, media, and especially the Internet), we could agree that institutionalised acquisition planning desires special attention in the frame of language planning issues.

II.6 Interrelations between language practices, ideologies and planning

As we have mentioned at the beginning, social aspects of language began to attract linguists' attention when they acknowledged their limited comprehension of language with the social component left out. Similarly, language ideologies studies in sociolinguistics were not approached in a more systematic way until it appeared clearly that "language ideology stands in dialectical relation with – and thus significantly shapes – social, discursive, and linguistic practices" (Schieffelin et al. 1998: V).

However, in the literature the subject of this chapter is rarely tackled autonomously. Most frequently the interrelations between language practices, ideologies and planning are approached in studies about language ideologies. Here the scholars envisaged that "[t]he topic of language ideology may be one much-needed bridge between work on language structure and language politics, as well as between linguistic and social theory more generally" (ibid., p. VII). And also: "Language socialisation studies, for example, have demonstrated connections among folk theories of language acquisition, linguistic practices, and key cultural ideas about personhood" (ibid., p. 14).

Similarly Ricento (2006) is emphasizing the importance of language ideologies, since "[i]deologies about language generally and specific languages in particular have real

effects on language policies and practices, and delimit to a large extent what is and is not possible in the realm of language planning and policy making” (p. 9).

Language ideology seems to matter also in establishing language status which

is widely understood within LPP as the perceived relative value of a named language, usually related to its social utility, which encompasses its so-called market value as a mode of communication, as well as more subjective features rooted in [...] a society’s linguistic culture. The value(s) attached to or associated with a language, therefore, do not depend exclusively, of even necessarily, on any official or legal status conferred by a state through its executive, legislative, or juridical branches (Ricento 2006: 5).

An important observation about attitudes and practices in case of language standardisation is made by Cooper (1989: 184): “Language standardization is more likely to be successful with respect to attitude than with respect to behaviour. People are more likely to agree that an all-purpose preferred variety exists than to use it for all the purposes for which they claim it to be correct.” Cooper would thus agree that language practices and ideologies are “co-operating” in framing language planning.

According to Spolsky (2004: 10) the passage from language practice to planning (management) occurs when the practices “are spelled out by some external authority”³⁹. We would argue here that this assertion could only hold true in case of overt language policies, but we should not forget that there are many so called covert policies. This aspect was recently exposed and studied by Shohamy (2006), who for example places language planning “between language ideology and practice”.

Another example of interrelation between language ideology and language planning can be found in the context of the processes of nation state formation and “maintenance”: “State policies as well challenges to the state around the world are structured by this nationalist ideology of language and identity” (Schieffelin 1998: 17).

³⁹ The author also asserts that “beliefs [language ideologies] derive from and influence practices” (ibid., p. 14). The “circularity” of the influencing processes thus clearly appears.

It appears clear that within the ecological approach the interrelations between language practices, ideologies and planning cannot be analysed without taking into consideration also non-language variables. Schematically we would represent the interaction between the three components of language policy as follows (see Figure 2):

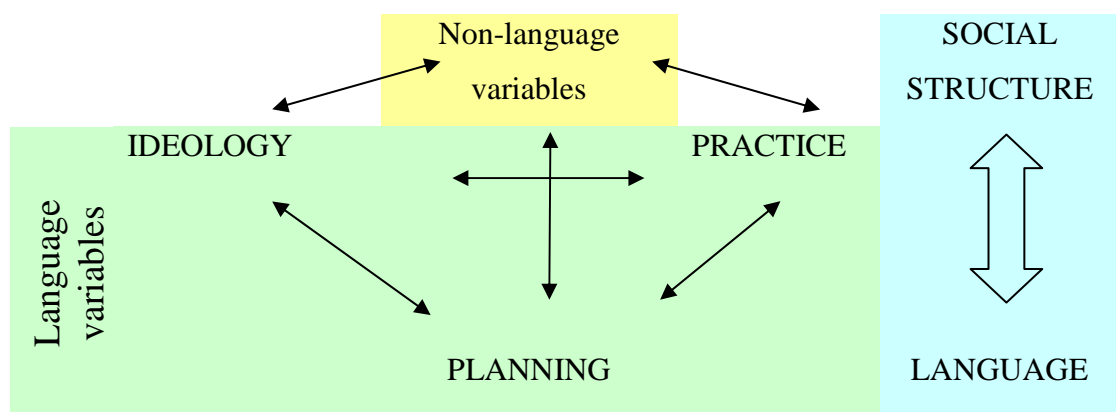


Figure 2: Non language variables and the interrelations between language ideology, practice and planning

The interconnectedness of all the components is clear: changes in any component can trigger modifications in others. Thus, it seems somehow contradictory to affirm, like some authors do (cf. for example Shohamy 2006: 167) that language cannot be controlled, that it is “a free commodity, subject to each person’s interpretation”. There are simply too many “windows of opportunity” excluded from the individual’s influence that can condition the patterns of linguistic use in a specific community to which the individual is then often obliged to accommodate.

III. Language and language policy in inter-group relations

Among many fields of sociolinguistic enquiry there are also the studies that try to reveal the mechanisms through which language occupies an active role in formation of individual and group identities. In accordance to our field of interest, our attention here will be dedicated to the collective, not to the individual aspects of these processes, and we will concentrate on symbolic dimension of community as its defining characteristic and on the role of language in its formation.

III.1 Language and construction of group identities

In the chapter where we discuss how language functions in society (see above, chapter II.1), we declined the view of language as natural, spontaneous phenomena, and we underlined the necessity to always consider its cultural and thus social component. Similarly, when approaching the discussion of the relation between language and identity, we would agree with Joseph (2004: 6) that “our identities, whether group or individual, are not ‘natural facts’ about us, but are things we construct – fictions, in effect”. Similar is the position of Burke (2004): a community that is created on the bases of a common language or language variety is functioning as an “imagined community” with real and important effects, although these are not always in line with the intentions of its creators⁴⁰. Here again we can turn to Bourdieu (1991) who claims that

on a deeper level, the quest for the ‘objective’ criteria of ‘regional or ‘ethnic’ identity should not make one forget that, in social practice, these criteria (for example, language, dialect and accent) are the object of *mental representations*, that is, of acts of perception and appreciation, of cognition and recognition, in which agents invest their interest and their presuppositions, and of *objectified representations*, in things (emblems, flags, badges, etc.) or acts, self-interested strategies of symbolic manipulation which aim at determining the (mental)

⁴⁰ Burke is referring here to the definition of an imaged community as formulated in Anderson’s famous work *Imagined Communities*.

representation that other people may form of these properties and their bearers.
(*ibid.*, pp. 220-21, italics in original)⁴¹

Throughout this chapter we use the term *group* but we consider that it could interchangeably be used with the term *community*. As a concept, community has been largely discussed in sociology and anthropology but it proved to “be highly resistant for satisfactory definition” (Cohen 1985: 11). Cohen is not attempting to formulate another definition, but he proposes valuable tools for approaching community as a symbolically constructed system of values and norms which provides to its members a sense of identity within a bounded whole. He begins with the commonly recognised consideration that community seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference, since its members a) have something in common with each other, which b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups (*ibid.*, p. 12).

According to Burke (2004), the risk with the use of the term community (and this holds true also for the linguistic community) is to consider it as an entity that implies homogeneity, a clear boundary and consensus, while none of these is to be found in reality, when conducting sociological or anthropological field research. In case of language, for example, instead of homogeneity there exist many varieties of the “same” language, used by different social groups of the same community; the boundaries are often blurred and they consist more often of rather mixed zones than of clearly defined lines; and finally, beside the consensus very often conceals conflicts and domination of one group over another (*ibid.*).

As we will see, language plays an important role in the process of identity formation. Joseph (2004: 224) is very determinated: “[A]ny study of language needs to take consideration of identity if it is to be full and rich and meaningful, because identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user, every time it is used”.

⁴¹ According to this, Bourdieu continues, the struggles over ethnic or regional identity can be viewed as “a particular case of the different struggles over classifications,” (*ibid.*).

Dealing with language as one of the components which co-occur in the process of group construction (cf. for example, the role of language in nation state formation, ch. IV.1), we are especially interested in its symbolic function. An important step forward in the understanding of the collective dimensions of language was made in the late 1970s by J. Edwards, who underlined that

the communicative and cultural aspects of language must be differentiated [...]. The first of these refers to the use of language with which we are all familiar on a daily basis. The second refers to the ways in which language, though not serving a regular communicative function, acts as a symbol of tradition, heritage and ethnicity. (Edwards 1977: 262)

In his further work, Edwards points out that the symbolic and communicative functions of language are not immediately self-evident but that they are fundamental in considering the relationship of language and identity and the constitution of the language communities. He argues that “the basic distinction here is between language in its ordinarily understood sense as a tool of communication, and language as an emblem of groupness, as a symbol, a rallying-point” (Edwards 1985: 17). For any speech community in which the language of use is also an ancestral language, the intangible symbolic relevance is tied up with the instrumental function. When people in these communities are communicating, the basic message (communicative component of the message) is underpinned also with different historical and cultural associations and connotations that the community shares (symbolic component of the message). However, the author (*ibid.*) is arguing that the two aspects of language are separable (even if they are usually joined). The symbolic aspect can also retain importance in the absence of the communicative aspect⁴².

Although the distinction between the communicative and the symbolic function of language was introduced in sociolinguistics relatively late it is of the utmost importance in understanding the role of language in the constitution of collective identities (Škiljan 2002). In the process of nation state formation, for example,

⁴² In the case of Ireland, for example, the communicative dimension of Irish is very limited, being this language used by less than 10% of the population, but on the other hand Irish remains a very important value in the symbolic sense. The opposite example is represented by English that is continuously enlarging its communicative dimension, without having a relevant symbolic influence (Škiljan 2002, cf. also Spolsky 2004).

(national) language played an extremely important role for the vast majority of Europeans, both for providing the homogenous national community of communication, and because of its immense symbolic power (see below, chapter III.3).

In describing the sociopsychological processes that can act upon ethnic group members in an intergroup context, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) rely on the Tajfel's (1978) theory of intergroup relations and Giles's (1977; Giles and Powesland 1975) theory of speech accommodation that was underpinned with the approaches from the field of social psychology. The authors find out that language behaviour plays an important role in each of Tajfel's key concepts, i.e. social categorisation, social identity, social comparison, psychological distinctiveness and cognitive alternatives (see the schematic presentation in Table 4).

Table 4: Determinants of the dynamics of intergroup relation and the role of language in the single determinant (schematic presentation)

DETERMINANT	DEFINITION/DESCRIPTION	THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE DETERMINANT
Social categorisation	A fundamental cognitive tool with which individuals define themselves and the world.	In ethnic groups, separate languages or dialects are generally used to manifest distinctiveness.
Social identity	People's knowledge of their membership in various social categories and the value attributed to that membership	Very often a self-evaluation of the group is reflected in its feelings about its distinctive speech style/language. Language is viewed as a salient dimension of a group's identity; it is among the most important symbols of ethnicity (Fishman 1977).
Social comparison	The process of comparison of the group with other groups, by which social identity acquires meaning	In situations of language contact people most easily become aware of the peculiarities of their language, thus language is becoming the symbol of group integrity.
Psychological distinctiveness	An outcome of perceptions and actions oriented in a manner to acquire a favourable and distinct perception from other groups along valued dimensions	Language can be used as a means of attaining cultural distinctiveness.

DETERMINANT	DEFINITION/DESCRIPTION	THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE DETERMINANT
Cognitive alternatives	The extent to which members of a group perceive alternatives to the existing intergroup situation. This awareness depends on the perceived stability-instability, legitimacy-illegitimacy and high-low vitality of the existing intergroup situation.	The awareness of cognitive alternatives in an intergroup situation will influence the speech strategy adopted by dominant and subordinate group speakers in interaction with each other.

Source: Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, pp. 324-33

Developing further the theoretical framework in which to study the interrelationships between language, ethnicity and intergroup relations, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977: 320 ff) examine the role of language in the three major strategies which Tajfel (1978) proposed group members might adopt in search of a positive social identity, once they become aware of cognitive alternatives. The first strategy, which is often adopted initially, is cultural and psychological assimilation with members of the dominant group. A second strategy implies a redefinition of the previously negatively-valued characteristics of the group, whereas the third strategy leads to the creation of new dimensions on which a group may assume a new positive distinctiveness from the other groups.

Schmidt (2006) is attempting to explain some phenomena that could be of relevance to the subject of this chapter by the use of political theory. Difference and interdependence, as two generally present realities of human existence, create the necessity of existence of politics. At the core of most language policy conflicts, he argues (ibid., p. 98), lie questions of identity politics that derive from “the perception that *who we are* matters in political life, and that there is a variety of politically significant answers to the question ‘who are we?’” (italics in original).

It is important to mention here the fact that in the today’s society we are facing the phenomenon of reconstruction of ethnic identity in a more complex manner (Barbour and Carmichael 2000). People are often acquiring the so-called “multi-stratified identity” where they are at the same time carriers of national, regional, local and sometimes (as in the case of European integration) also supra-national identity. Moreover, not only that individuals assume several collective identities, these are also

likely to change over time in dialogue with others, and are also liable to be in conflict with one another (Kramsch 1998). All this, obviously, produces even more complexity in the frame of the language-identity relation.

III.2 Language and border

Dealing here with language in inter-group contacts it seems essential to examine the possible relations between language and border, since contacts between groups/communities necessarily imply encounters with borders/barriers/boundaries/frontiers, being physical or mental (symbolic). In literature language it is sometimes described as “a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river”⁴³. Starting from this kind of descriptions we can pose questions like the following: In function of which entities does language stay as a barrier? What does its importance and sureness consist in? Why is it important for the language as a barrier to present itself as a “sure” barrier?

Initially, some terminological considerations about border and other terms that can be linked to it are needed. As Donnan and Wilson (1999: 19) note, “[b]order has ranked high among the major buzzwords of the 1990s”. Accordingly, they point to the risk of the loss of significance of the term. Malcom Anderson (1996) is dwelling on the existence of many terms in English to designate various aspects of its meaning: frontier, border, and boundary. Prescott (1965) is explicitly warning against the use of the terms frontier and boundary as synonyms; frontier has always to be considered as a zone, not as a line.

Our point of departure in defining border is the approach of G. Simmel⁴⁴, i.e. to regard borders as sociological functions, which are formed in space. When pointing out the sociological origins of the spatial organisation, Simmel “refers to space as a kind of projection, where social relations and actions give space a meaning but space has no

⁴³ Thomas Davies, *Essays and Poems with a Centenary Memoir, 1845-1945*, Gill: Dublin, 1945, here cited from Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 326.

⁴⁴ G. Simmel and K.H. Wolff, 1964, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Free Press, here cited from Schack 2000.

meaning itself” (Schack 2000: 204). Thus, for Simmel “the border is not a fact in space which induces sociological effects, but a sociological fact which forms itself in space” (ibid.)⁴⁵. Accordingly, different types of borders developed and are still developing in parallel with the development of different social systems, for example: state borders were, and still are formed because the modern nation-state system evolved; integration processes in Europe accentuated the differentiation between internal and external borders of the EU; several other geographical areas with margins that cross the state borders are formed, e.g. cultural regions⁴⁶.

Other sociologists came to similar conclusions. Cella (2006: 78), for example, resumes the meanings of the social relations and actions, attributed to the border, as intentions to institute distinctions, favour internal coherences, limit contacts in order to control conflicts, determine differences between insiders and outsiders, create sources of legitimations of the disparities. Cohen (1985) points out that borders are mental as well as geographical entities that can shift according to time, place and the subjectivity of each individual. Re-focusing the analysis “on the meaning, rather than on form”, he suggested that “since people become most sensitive to their own culture when they encounter others’, the apposite place at which to find their attitudes to their culture (or their imputation of meaning to their community) is at its boundaries” (ibid., p.70). Boundary thus “embodies the sense of discrimination” in the relation or opposition of one community to the other.

Similar is the argumentation of Barth, when arguing that ethnic groups are not defined by given cultural attributes but in relations to other groups:

⁴⁵ Cf. Bourdieu (1991: 222): “The frontier, that product of a legal act of delimitation, produces cultural difference as much as it is produced by it”. Cf. also Leach (1976: 34), who defines boundaries as an “artificial interruptions to what is naturally continuous”.

⁴⁶ A useful theoretical approach in distinguishing between different types of borders (e.g. political, social, economic, cultural etc.) is offered by Langer (1999). The author proposes to analyse different “dimensions of the border”, e.g. the age of the border, the mode of emergence of the border (e.g. by negotiation, through external powers, through force), the course of the border (e.g. straight, through difficult terrain, along the river etc.), the border semantics (e.g. appearance of installations like watchtowers, decorations with land art), the border regime (e.g. types of procedures at checkpoints), permeability of the border (likelihood of successful illegal crossing), openness (e.g. necessary documents, taxes and fees), technical equipment and installations (e.g. green border, electronic devices, mechanical traps), status of the border (e.g. border between member states of the EU or external border of the EU), and the emotional loading of the border (e.g. just or unjust border).

[E]thnic categories provide an organisational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different sociocultural systems [...]. The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. (1969: 14-15)

James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd have shown how national borders are “contradictory” in nature and often fail to fit the “nation-state ideal of cultural homogeneity, as national borders do not always coincide with the borders of culture or ethnicity” (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999: 595-6). According to Burke (2004) the difference is between “real” and “imagined” communities in the sense that the first ones are “complicated” in nature, since they are not homogeneous, clearly bounded and thus consensus about their definition is difficult to obtain, while on the other side the definitions and borders of imagined communities are clear.

In sociolinguistics, there is not much literature that would deal with the language–border relations in a direct way. Some considerations related to this subject can be found in the studies which consider linguistic situation at the concrete border, e.g. dialectological studies or geography of language, but most frequently language-border relations are approached in studies dealing with language in relation to the process of nation state formation.

As it will be shown later on (see below, chapter IV.1), language plays an important role in ethnicity. We could also affirm that, inversely, ethnicity plays an important role in language, especially in relation to language boundaries. Namely, as Fishman (1977: 28) points out, “[t]he recognition of language boundaries, the interpretation of language boundaries and the manipulation of language boundaries are all ethnically encumbered behaviours”. That is why “[t]here is considerable similarity between the nature and functions of ethnicity boundaries and the nature and functions of language boundaries” (ibid.). Language boundaries, explains Fishman, are easily involved in the implementation and symbolization of the ethnicity boundaries.

Here we would return to the above reported Bourdieu's (1991) interpretation of the two-way process of the language-society relations, where language interactions both

express and shape social structure. This is clearly expressed in Fishman's interpretation:

The symbolic boundary function of languages is certainly significant above and beyond any natural boundary-function that languages may have on the basis of their mutual intelligibility *per se*. Judgements and evaluations as to the intelligibility, meaning, intent and purpose of utterances often follow upon and flow from pre-established judgements as to the ethnicity (or sub-ethnicity) of their speaker, and therefore, judgements as to their acceptability, character, "proclivity", intent and purpose as interlocutors and as (group) 'representatives' [...]. (Fishman 1977: 28)

Another useful field of research in exploring the relations between language and border are border and border-region studies. The literature about borders and border areas in Europe began to proliferate in the late sixties, "when it became clear that the free flow of capitals, workers and shoppers across European boundaries had some characteristic and not altogether positive effects on border areas" (Strassoldo, Delli Zotti 1982: 7). Another increase of scientific attention to these topics was caused by the intensification of the EU integration process in the mid 1980s and the opening of the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s (van der Velde, van Houtum 2000). Moreover, while the debates on borders and border regions were initially oriented towards the impact of borders on economic development and trade, recently they

are increasingly influenced by sociopsychological, political-geographical, sociological, cultural, and anthropological insights. [...] [T]he language [of border studies] is enriched by terms and groups of words such as identity, narratives, social construction, systems, affection, attitude, feelings of belonging, us versus them, symbolic borders, borderland mentality, rituals and conventions. (van der Velde, van Houtum 2000: 8).

Unfortunately, language is rarely given full attention in this new kind of debates, though it appears clear (see above, chapter III.1) that it is deeply involved in the processes of group formation and it can consequently be treated as an inseparable part of any deeper sociological or anthropological insight. Even when resulting directly connected with the economic development problems, language policy in these studies

is not considered as a necessary part of regional policies that should benefit border regions development. We could thus conclude that in border and border region studies, language has been neglected and continues to be neglected. Similar is the situation in the scholarly work about European integration (see below, chapter III.4) where Wright (2000: 8) is ascribing this disattention to language to the “distaste” that the “emotive and racist dimensions of language to be found within the nationalist tradition” could have provoked between scholars. In our opinion, it is exactly in the border areas that these dimensions came to the fore in the most marked way, and it is thus possible that the same kind of “distaste” hindered the researchers in border region studies to engage in research concerning the role of language in these areas.

Nevertheless, when reviewing some border and border region studies that focus mostly on the domains of regional economics and economic geography, it appears clear that many of them have inevitably come across the language issue at some point of their analysis. Inside the economic categories language is seen as a factor that can lower (when being common) or higher (when being different) the communication and information costs of the cooperating parties (Barjak, Heimpold 2000). Language is considered as one of the factors that influence the feeling of regional identity, and it is recognized that “sharing a common language or dialect on both sides of a border along with a common historical past, can usually foster the development of cross-border relations and the creation of effective cross national structures” (*Cross-border Cooperation in the Balcan-Danube Area*, 2003: 37). Furthermore, it is interesting that within the motivation scheme, language can figure both as a *motive for* and *hindrance to* cross-border commuting (Hansen and Nahrstedt 2000: 72): on the one hand “people may want to improve their career opportunities or human capital, and to obtain a better knowledge of the language and culture in the neighbouring country”, while on the other hand the lack of language (and culture) knowledge can function as an obstacle since it is often the case that “at most workplaces the national language and culture and educational and bureaucratic traditions play a dominant role” (for work mobility and language see also below, chapter III.4).

Schack (2000) includes language in the border context as one of the components of the “cultural layer” of the border, along with traditions, narratives, religion, and concepts

of identity and homogeneity. The other layers in his “multilayer model of borders” are: political layer, economic layer, legal layer, and social layer. The general idea is that “all layers affect the perception of the border. There is no reason why one layer should dominate and act as a meta-differentiation“ (ibid., p. 208). In the construction of his model Schack relies on the Luhman’s theory of functionally differentiated systems, where borders are conceptualised as system borders. The layers thus represent different functional societal systems (jurisdiction, economy, politics, and culture), and they are delimited by abstract borders which in border regions may overlap.

Another theme we are interested in when exploring the language-border relations, is the theme about possible connections between language and territory. The linkage cannot be established directly, but if we proceed step by step, starting for example from the most widespread form of political organisation at the present historical moment, i.e. the nation state, some mutual interdependence could be found.

First, we would point to the established connection between nationalism and territoriality, and here we would agree with Bufon (2004: 41) in saying that nationalism can be considered as “a particular expression of a human territoriality”, having the tendency of the exclusive control of the specific social space; territorial units are thus transformed in territories, i.e. “parts of land with distinguished socio-political and socio-cultural characteristics”. If we consider language as part of socio-cultural characteristics, we establish an indirect link between language and territory. The same connection is evident also when analysing the processes of ethno-regional development.

We could paraphrase the famous Latin expression and say that in the history, one of the principles that were frequently used in the processes of establishment of national borders leaned on the philosophy of *cuius lingua, eius regio*⁴⁷. Acknowledging the

⁴⁷ This “linguistic territoriality principle” has been envisaged by the linguists also in the case of the efforts for safeguard linguistic diversity. Van Parijs, for example, has advocated a strict application of the principle “Cuius region, eius lingua”, meaning that the language is that of the people whose region it is (Philippe Van Parijs, “The Ground Floor on the World: On the Socioeconomic Consequences of Linguistic Globalisation”, in *International Political Science Review* 21.2, 2000, pp. 217-33, here cited from de Swaan 2001). It is our opinion that further research of the connections between language related issues and principles of “territorialisation” would bring significant insights in the macro-sociolinguistic studies.

agency of this principle it becomes easier to understand, why for example, the right to use personal names and toponomastics appeared in the history of minorities as the most “inconvenient” right for the politics and groups with unfavourable attitude towards minorities (Jesih 2007: 38).

One interesting historical example which clearly demonstrates the strong linkage between language, territory and border is a border related language policy reported in Winsa (2005). In describing the historical development of Swedish language policy during and after the 17th century, when Sweden became a great (multilingual) power, the author gives an example of “creation” of a border through language policy means. The example is worth setting forth in some detail, as it well illustrates the interconnection between language planning, practice and ideology in a border region. Namely, “[t]his top-down process slowly developed a linguistic and cultural border that, through language practice, developed attitudes and feelings of ethnic identity. When the community had integrated the ideologies, a true national border developed” (ibid., p. 274). Swedish language planning was similar in many border regions: where mutually intelligible varieties were spoken, “the Swedish strategy seems to have been to settle the Swedish border region with groups speaking entirely different languages; it also supported a general exclusion of the community vernacular language from the high culture” (ibid., p. 274). The most illustrative example is that of the central western part of Sweden, along the border with Norway, which was in the 17th century hardly populated, and Sweden has a long history of wars with Denmark, which maintained control over Norway from the 14th century until 1814.

The many wars between Denmark-Norway and Sweden created desolation in border areas [...]. Forest Finns (i.e. Finns from eastern Finland) were encouraged to settle these border regions through the use of tax incentives. [...] This settlement pattern in the border region distinguished the ‘Swedes’ from the Norwegians by language. Without this strategy, Sweden would probably have had difficulty in establishing a recognisable border because Norwegians and Swedes in these border regions spoke mutually comprehensible languages, and the populations shared the same religions, and had generally similar cultures. These factors favoured social cross-border interaction that could hamper the nationalisation processes. Furthermore, if the newcomers were not allowed to set up any form of administrative structures in Finnish, the Swedish central government would have

complete control of the group and the border regions. If the Finns had been allowed to develop a Finnish-speaking civil society, it would have been perceived as a threat, and their loyalty to the Swedish crown could have been questioned. Consequently, as early as 1647, a decree required the Forest Finns to learn Swedish, and in 1692 King Carl XI published a new decree requiring that Forest Finns return to Finland if they did not learn Swedish. (ibid., pp. 275-276)

We could say that this is a good example of how the “ethnic other is imagined and constructed, mapping on to the body itself as a semiotic object the limits of inclusion and exclusion” (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 284), and where the language played a decisive role in defining the semiotics.

We can conclude this chapter by affirming that although often this does not immediately appear clear, language has an important role in, for example, defining establishing, maintaining, and revitalising borders. With a more accurate study of relationships between language, identity and border maybe we could throw more light on many historical and contemporary social processes.

III.3 Language practices, ideologies and planning in the context of the process of nation-state formation

Smith (1991: 14, 73) is defining *nation* as “a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members”, and *nationalism* as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by someone of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’”. Summarising some other scholars’ points of view we could say that in the processes of nation formation groups tend to acquire self-awareness, to mobilise feelings of solidarity, to see themselves as discrete entities and to be treated by others as such, through a mixture of delimiting factors which may include some or all of the following: shared language, belief in common ancestry, the sharing of a common living space, a single set of laws, shared customs and traditions, shared religion, shared history, a sense of shared destiny, and a common project. None

of these factors is in itself an essential element of the definition and there are examples of groups who see themselves as nations who do not have one or the other. However, Anderson (1983) argues that what is necessary is that there are enough elements from the list for the group to imagine itself to be a distinct community.

The role of language in the process of nation formation is estimated in different ways by different theories of nationalism⁴⁸. Wright (2000) attempted to group the theories in some main categories. In Table 5 we summarise her analysis.

Table 5: Theories of nationalism and the role of language in the process of nation formation (based on Wright 2000)

THEORY OF NATIONALISM	DEFINITION OF NATION	THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE PROCESS OF NATION FORMATION
<i>ethno-linguistic theory</i>	Nation is a natural, preordained entity, possessing its own particular attributes (e.g. language, culture, history, religion).	Language and national consciousness are indissolubly linked; the loss of language equals the loss of national identity.
<i>modernist's thesis</i>	Nation state is a form of political organisation that appears as a result of various social developments, e.g. the economic transformation from agrarian to industrial society and the political development from absolutism to democracy. Industrialisation caused geographical mobility (urbanisation), permitted social mobility (less rigidly stratified society) and brought a need of generic (state) education. All this contributed to the conditions in which nations and national consciousness could develop.	The linguistic dimension is considered as central in this process, and the standardised official language of the state as a by-product of the wider social processes. The acquired literacy in the official language(s) of the state should make possible the existence of a state-wide community of communication. Its existence is fundamental, since the new political organisation demands dialog in which some consensus has to be negotiated. Similarly, access to legal system is regulated through language. Both political representation and legal protection were further reasons, which make acquisition of the standardised language useful and advantageous for the individual.
<i>post-modernists</i>	Nation is a community imagined by its constituent members This community is constructed through the cultural artefacts, the symbols and the representations it produces.	The introduction of printing in vernacular languages aided both the standardisation of such print language and the growth of literacy in them. Printed materials permitted national groups to conceive of themselves as unique and homogenous societies. In this sense language is seen as a tool <i>and</i> the product of the creative process, which constructs the nation.

⁴⁸ Part of chapter II.2 is based on the research work undertaken in Vodopivec 2005.

Wright (2000: 63-64) argues that some of the divergences in views among different approaches arise from the dual role that language plays in national mobilisation: “[t]hose who see language as a fundamental to the process are mainly interested in the communicative functions of language; those who dismiss it, usually do so because they are considering language in its symbolic function”. Nevertheless, it seems that symbolic function of language has been perceived as fundamental by the same actors involved in the process of nation state formation, since

[r]omanticism increasingly validated native tongues as the authentic voice of the *Volk*, and developed the claim, stemming partly from Herder, that language was a kind of collective cultural identity and history. [...] In nineteenth-century struggles for identity, emancipation, and mastery, language ceased to be merely a medium of clear communication, and became the key to the collective soul.”
(Burke and Porter 1991: 10-11)

The communicative function is underlined by Anderson and Gellner. Anderson (1983) presents new and different communities that arose after the advent of Reformation and Enlightenment as being organised according to the geographical areas throughout which a certain standardised language could be understood. Gellner (1983), who saw nationalism as a part of the modernization process, interpreted the growth of national standard languages as part of the need for modern states to have functionally literate citizens.

The theories that are dismissing the importance of language are mostly those of Hobsbawm, Brass, and Kedourie. In her critiques of these theorists who explicitly undervalue the role of language Wright is arguing for language as an ever present element in group formation; it may not be sufficient reason for association, but it is a condition, if not necessarily a pre-condition since

the idea of community seems inextricably linked to the idea of community of communication. [...] The general rule is that those who can understand each other associate more willingly than those who do not. Once this requirement is on its way to fulfilment, those who are promoting the group formation can employ all the other elements to nation building to far greater effect. Language may not be

sufficient on its own for meaningful association but it is an essential element.
(2000: 69-74, italics in original).

Some other critics originate in different understanding of the interaction between the social and language categories (cf. above, chapter II.1). Joseph (2004), for example, is criticising Anderson's (1991) position regarding the language-identity nexus: according to him, the prominent writer is presenting it as a one-way process, although it should be considered as a two-way street. "Anderson gives all his attention to how national languages shape national identities, and none to how national identities shape national languages, which they do very profoundly" (Joseph 2004: 13). Joseph (ibid.) is basing his argumentation on the Bourdieu's point of view about regional and ethnic identities: "although they essentialise what are actually arbitrary divisions among peoples, and in this sense are not 'real', the fact that, once established, they exist as mental representations means that they are every bit as real as if they were grounded in anything 'natural' ". Similar is the position of Jenkins (1997: 169) when he reflects upon the Anderson's "imagined communities":

although it [ethnonational group] is imagined, it is not imaginary. [...] Somewhere between irresistible emotion and utter cynicism, neither blindly primordial nor completely manipulable, ethnicity and its allotropes are principles of collective identification and social organisation in terms of culture and history, similarity and difference, that show little sign of withering away.

It is worth here returning again to the Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic habitus and market. It is important to note that they are both conceptualised in relation to politically structured space, i.e. the sovereign nation-state:

Thus, only when the making of the 'nation', and entirely abstract group based on law, creates new usages and functions does it become indispensable to forge a standard language, impersonal and anonymous like the official uses it has to serve, and by the same token to undertake the work of normalizing the products of the linguistic habitus. (1991: 48)

In relation to the nation state, Pennycook (2006: 63-64) is calling for a new, postmodern approach in language policy and planning. Here postmodernism is viewed

as a sceptical approach toward many foundational concepts and modes of thought, a critical posture where nothing is taken for granted; it needs to be responsive to and engaged with questions of, for example, social and cultural difference, domination, and disparity. Such an approach would raise important questions in language policy related to nation state, as those about “how power operates in relationship to the nation state and in particular how governance is achieved through language” (ibid., p. 64). Building on the notion of governmentality, developed by Foucault⁴⁹, Pennycook proposes to analyse the use of languages in the nation state as a part of *language governmentality*, understood in terms of “how decisions about languages and language forms across a diverse range of institutions (law, education, medicine, printing) and through a diverse range of instruments (book, regulations, exams, articles, corrections) regulate the language use, thought, and action of different people, groups, and organisations” (ibid., p. 65). The new approach is meant to be applied in the analysis of the current situations; however it could be fruitfully used also in diachronical perspective, related to the process of nation state formation.

In analysing the role of language in the process of nation state formation it is important to consider language as “the medium by and through which individuals define and inhabit their own identities and, in the process, assess and ascribe the identities of others. It is often these differences in identities (whether achieved or ascribed) that lead to conflicts in which language may play an important role” (Ricento 2006: 231). Similarly, Cooper (1989: 184) states that “[w]hen counterelites seek to detach a periphery from a center and when elites try to keep the periphery from falling away, they promote collective symbols of affiliation. To the extent that standard languages serve such a symbol, we can expect elites and counterelites to try to establish them if they do not already exist.”

Schieffelin (1989: 16) draws attentions to the fact that sociolinguistic inquiries about the linkage of language to ethnicity and nationalism can be related to the “Karl Mannheim’s question of the ‘social and activist roots’ of conceptions of language(s)”.

⁴⁹ Foucault, M. (1991), “Governmentality”, in G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 87-104, here cited from Pennycook 2006.

Thus, the fundamental role of language ideologies in the socio-historical context of nation-state formation would appear clear. Fundamental here are the

ideas of what counts as a language and, underlying these, the very notion that there *are* distinctly identifiable languages, objects that can be ‘had’ – isolated, named, counted, and fetishized; values associated with particular language varieties by community members; assumptions that identity and allegiance are indexed by language use. (ibid., italics in original)

Following these interpretations, the whole process of nation state formation clearly appears as to be ideologically-laden. Kroskirty (2000) points out to the necessity of problematizing linguistic homogeneity in works on language and nationalism. For him, Gellner and B. Anderson for example, are “naturalising” the process of linguistic standardisation:

Theorists of ethnic groups, like those of nation-states, tend to regard language homogeneity as a natural state rather than something that is constructively produced by language ideologies of the group and/or the analyst in relation to cultural practices. By doing so, they fail to investigate the role language ideologies and related linguistic practices play in helping to create the ethnic groups they are trying to analyse. (ibid., p. 26)

Similarly, Irvine and Gall (2000) point out that homogeneous language is as much imagined as is community. Ager (1997: 2) clearly delineates the process: it is the speech community that defines the standard language as such, and once this has been selected, codified and elaborated, it must fulfil at least the following functions: 1) unify the speech community and strengthen solidarity; 2) form a boundary between this speech community and others and thus exclude members of other speech communities; 3) confer prestige on the community and on the individual who masters it; 4) act as a frame of reference for ideas of linguistic correctness; 5) help its community, through the stage of elaboration and evolution, both to participate in a full range of subject areas or domains – such as science, culture and technology – and also keep up with and develop modern and changing thought and practice.

Many examples across the world, where new political entities were recently formed or are in the process of forming according to the organising principles of nationalism, confirm the opinion that nationalism remains one of the most potent societal organizing principles⁵⁰. Nevertheless, as Ricento (2006: 6) underlines, it is necessary to consider the implications of the recent geopolitical changes on the theories of the role of the state in language policy. The eighteen-century European conception of the nation-state, he argues,

is inadequate to characterize today's world of multinational states, newly born (and newly configured) states, dysfunctional states [...], and divided states, among other possible types. Further, the state system itself has undergone changes, especially with regard to the degree and rate of change in the economic and cultural realms, so that the functions and roles of states are changing in important ways, especially in connection with religious, economic, or political ideologies that become tied to nationalist and pan-nationalist movements. In cases in which states have little control over their populations or territory, cross-border influences and penetrations may dictate language policies in the absence of state control.

Similar considerations about the necessity of change in perspective are found in other authors:

The contemporary interrogation of the nation-state by both macro factors, such as globalisation, and also micro factors, including the resurgence of ethnic separatism points to the fracturing of the modern European habitus. This in turn suggests the emergence of different structuring forces and the forging of fresh perspectives and perceptions on language, in short, a new relationship between language and society” (Mac Giolla Chríost 2003: 21).

These considerations lead us to conviction, that in relation to the recent socio-historical processes, language has to be studied not only from the national but also from the international point of view, i.e. in the context of globalisation processes and the processes of supra-national integration; in relation to the latest, we will concentrate here only on the processes of European integration.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the struggles for independency of the constituent states of the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia, and the strive for autonomy of Catalans, Basques, and Galicians in Spain.

III.4 Language practices, ideologies and planning in the context of European integration

In the following two chapters we deal with language in relation to two rather broad topics, i.e., the European integration and globalisation. Along with the discussion about the role of language in the process of nation state formation, these topics were chosen with the intent to demonstrate how closely language (and language policy) is imbricated in processes of social change on a large scale that occurred in the recent past (and are still in progress).

In this chapter language is briefly dealt with in the following domains and contexts⁵¹: language planning and usage within the EU institutions, protection of minority languages and maintenance of language diversity, and language and labour mobility (with some attention to the cross-border labour mobility). The choice of domains is based on the need to analyse, in the second part of our work, the same domains in the cross-border area, i.e. to see, whether some of the principles and practices applied on the EU level are (or could be) reflected also in the domain of our interest.

As we already mentioned, in the EU there has never been a suggestion that there should be any unified approach to language policy issues. Linguistic diversity is overtly supported as being part of the general principle of “Unity in Diversity”, but as far as explicit language policies is concerned, these are left to the single nation states; the EU is trying “just” to elaborate recommendations, examples of good practices, initiatives that should foster multilingualism, and to offer funds available to those who are willing to develop practices in harmony with its declared principles.

⁵¹ The choice of domains is partially based on the repartition made in Coulmas 1991. Other domains or levels of analysis were proposed by different authors. De Swaan (2001), for example, distinguishes four levels of communication within the EU. The first is that of domestic communication within each member country, the second is the transnational communication between the citizens of Europe, the third is that of formal, public communication in the European institutions (the European Parliament and the European Council of Ministers in their official sessions, and the European Commission in its external contacts), and the fourth one is that of the Commission’s internal bureaucracy.

Language planning and usage within the EU institutions

Many authors commented that the decision to respect plurilingualism in a so broad institutional setting as it is that of the EU institutions is without precedent (Coulmas 1991, Wright 2000, de Swaan 2001). Nevertheless, the legislation about language use by and within the EU institutions is not unified, the approach was always fragmentary, as there are lots of (parts of) documents that refer to language use, and there exist also many unwritten rules.

The linguistic regime (the practices) of each EU institution is established in its Rules of Procedure. The Council of Ministers and the European Parliament apply institutional multilingualism in full. At the European Parliament each legislative document is translated into all official languages and simultaneous interpretation is available at all formal meetings. In the internal meeting of the Commission no interpretation is provided, whereas the weekly meeting of the Commissioners has interpreting between English, French and German. All official documents of the Commission are published in all official language, but working documents for internal use are produced only in French, English and to a lesser extent in German. The European Court of Justice uses French for its internal work, while the procedural language is chosen from among the official languages of the EU. In the case of direct appeal the language is chosen by the appellant, in the case of interpretation or contravention of the EU law by member states, the language will be the language of the member state (Wright 2000).

In the past there were some, although rare, attempts to limit the number of languages used in Parliament and Council but they were always met with hostility. De Swaan is warning how this “not taking decision amounts to taking ‘non-decisions’ – and these will affect the European language constellation as incisively and lastingly as any explicitly adopted policy ever could” (2001: 144)⁵². Nevertheless the author accounts for this situation: the treatment of all languages on equal footing

⁵² Phillipson (2003) too is warning against the *laissez faire* ways to proceed; he is placing them among the worst-case scenarios.

is not just a matter of international courtesy or political accommodation; it touches the very foundations of the Union. First of all, the founding treaties stipulate the fundamental equity of all constituent states, and this also pertains to their languages. Second, the Council, the Parliament and the Commission can take decisions that directly affect the citizens of the member states, and it is a fundamental democratic principle that such laws are written in the languages of the states where they apply. Thus, the institutional multilingualism of the Union is not solely a result of some states refusing to give up outdated and inefficient privileges; it is deeply rooted in the constitution of the Community and the succeeding Union, an issue of equality between member states and of democratic governance. (ibid., p. 166)

Spolsky (2004: 53) is describing the situation that is occurring in the internal bureaucracy language policy of the EU as a “conflict between pragmatic and symbolic considerations”. On the one side, pragmatic concerns favour parsimony, the use of as few languages as possible, on the other side, national interests may accept only the arrangements where a member’s own national language is included in the range of official languages. On the other hand, van Els (2001: 350) is affirming that there is a myth that should be overcome, i.e. the myth that “changes in language policy in one domain, in this case the EU institutions, should necessarily have consequences for other domains, in this case particularly for the language use in the member states themselves”.

Grin (2004) is pointing to the possible negative effects of the spread of English as the dominant (or even sole) working language of European institutions. Non-native and native speakers of English would find themselves in a very disbalanced position in the sense that the last would save many resources (in time, money and psychological effort) since they would not need to learn other languages, and to make any effort to make themselves understood in international settings. Moreover, the native speakers of English would have the possibility to invest the resources thus saved in other growth-enhancing activities, they would get a quasi-monopoly on the market for translation and interpretation into English, as well as on the market for English-language text editing and language teaching. Grin (2006) is designating such a situation as result of *language planning with negative distributive results*, i.e. the linguistic environment

where one group gains a lot while the other's group position is made considerably worse. He also argues (ibid.) that many alternative arrangements can prove superior from the public-policy perspective; though resulting costlier they do not carry negative distributive implications.

Grin (2006: 88) argues that the costs of language policies intended to preserve diversity are "liable to be the stuff of wild fantasies – usually in the form of cataclysmic expectations of uncontrollable expenditure", while according to him the real data more often than not lead us to completely different conclusions. The allegedly prohibitive costs of translation and interpretation in the European institutions, for example, result much more sobering, when the concrete figures are considered: the data about the EU 15 with 11 official languages amounted to € 1.82 per resident per year, representing 0.8% of the EU budget, whereas according to the last official EU's data for the year 2005 (for the situation of EU 25 with 20 languages) total costs of the EU language services, i.e. the translators and interpreters, was € 1 123 million, which is 1% of the annual general budget of the EU - divided by the population of the EU, this would come to € 2.28 per person per year.

Protection of minority languages and maintenance of language diversity

The ideals of unity in diversity, diversity as a treasure, and harmony through mutual respect are being advocated at the highest fora of decision makers. Since the 1980s, the European Parliament has supported linguistic diversity in the European Union by founding The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL). In 1992, the European Council adopted the *European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages*, thereby recognising regional and minority languages as part of Europe's cultural heritage and committing themselves to adopt measures for the protection and promotion of these languages. In 1995 the Council of Europe adopted the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, which entered into force in 1998. This is the first legally binding document on this matter; it contains a control procedure, and the power of control has been given to the Advisory Committee. The Convention considers equality, social and economic development of minorities,

culture, non-discrimination, freedom of association, access to the media, use of language, original names, education and trans-border cooperation.

The scholarly approaches to the subjects of this subchapter are diverse. According to some authors, policies can focus on language rights and thus implement forms of pluralism that would guarantee protection for a wide range of language varieties (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, Skutnabb-Kangas 2002, Tollefson 2002a). Another focus could be on social justice, where a key issue is whether more democratic forms of language policy making can be developed, in which non-dominant ethnolinguistic groups can shape the language policies that affect them. One possible approach in this sense was developed by a political theorist Kymlicka (1995), who conceptualises citizenship in a manner that integrates principles for language use as a central issue. Kimlicka's concept of equality of treatment is based on the premise that any inequalities that exist in our opportunity to realize our "good" must not be traced back to our own choices. He distinguished between "multinational" and "multiethnic" countries; the former were brought together through the melding of two or more previously existing "national" groups (through, for example, conquest, annexation or voluntary merger), and these countries have obligations to protect the rights of individuals that are different from those of multiethnic countries resulting from small-scale migrations based on individual choices⁵³.

As far as the activities related to the maintenance of linguistic diversity are concerned, they are planned, carried out and evaluated by the Language Policy Unit of the Directorate General for Education and Culture. Linguistic diversity as a democratic and cultural cornerstone of the EU is recognised in the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, adopted in 2000. Later on, many resolutions, recommendations, action plans, framework strategies, conferences, consultations and communications regarding preservation of linguistic diversity, fostering multilingualism and regarding it as an asset were issued at the EU level. EU is also carrying out many programmes in order to support (lifelong) language learning (e.g. Commenius, Erasmus, Leonardo, Grundtvig, etc.).

⁵³ However, Kimlicka's analysis does not answer the questions about the linguistic rights of those language communities that have been formed as a result of small scale but long-standing migrations and thus result, in certain settings, even numerically superior as indigenous local language communities.

In reference to our specific interest in cross-border areas, we tried to find examples of the EU documents and initiatives related to language policy in this specific domain. In the *Council resolution on the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning* in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001, there is an explicit recommendation to offer the possibility to learn neighbouring languages to pupils and adults (in the context of lifelong learning): “In order to promote cooperation and mobility across Europe, the supply of languages should be as diversified as possible, including those of the neighbouring countries”.

Next document, addressing teaching of the languages of the neighbouring states is the *Education and Training 2010 work programme*, which is the component of the Lisbon strategy. It states that “[t]he competent authorities should ensure that mainstream education and training policies include provision for teaching regional, minority, migrant and neighbouring languages”.

Moreover, the EU is giving the possibility to the citizens themselves to elaborate projects related to language learning within the Interreg III A initiative, which aims to stimulate cross-border cooperation between adjacent regions (some priorities of actions would allow to carry out this kind of activities, e.g. the ‘initiatives for encouraging shared use of human resources, and facilities for research and development, education, culture, communication, health and civil protection’, and the initiatives for ‘increasing human and institutional potential for cross-border cooperation’)⁵⁴.

It is worth mentioning here also some initiatives of The Council of Europe addressing the importance of teaching languages of the immediate geographic neighbours. Some reference studies on this issue have been elaborated for the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (e.g. Neuner 2002, Piri 2002, Raasch 2002). Another interesting initiative was the publication, in 2003, of the brochure (with the related CD) *Neighbouring languages in border regions* (see Halink et al. 2003). In

⁵⁴ For example, during the European Year of Languages one of the financed project (in France) was dedicated to this issue (“La Langue du voisin: la langue parternaire!”; the leading institution was the Centre Européen Robert Schuman, see *Eveluation of the European Year of Languages* 2001).

the frame of this initiative also the website about the CICERO project⁵⁵ was established, in order to connect people working on projects dealing with neighbouring languages, to spread the related ideas, good practices, publications, and also to “give advice to governments and policy makers at all levels”.

Thus, it could not be said that Europe does not give any importance to the topic of neighbouring language, but it is our opinion that the awareness of its importance in the context of the integration processes has still not been sufficiently underlined, taking into account the importance of the cross-border areas inside these processes.

Turning back to language learning in the EU, statistical data clearly shows significant improvement of foreign language knowledge among Europeans, especially the youngest ones, which means that education plans and different EU initiatives are giving significant results⁵⁶. Nevertheless, it holds true that it is especially English the language that is most studied as the foreign language, and it is again English that is the most used language for communication in the wider space. In this sense, in spite of its *de jure* commitment to multilingualism, EU is *de facto* reducing the variety of the languages in use, becoming increasingly an “English-speaking club” (Barbour and Carmichael 2000)⁵⁷. Other authors are pointing to the utopian nature of the strategies where the desire is to make children learn several languages and participants in multinational groups each use their own language, relying for comprehension on the foreign language competence of the others (see, e.g. Siguan 1996, Wright 2000, de Swaan 2001). The real situation shows as “a brutal, hard-headed acceptance of the laws of the market which make English [...] the most valuable language to acquire” (Wright 2000: 212). When considering the value of the language on the market, the concept of the communication potential of a language (the Q-value) proves to be very helpful. Nevertheless, the right frame to explain this concept in more detail seems to us

⁵⁵ CICERO stands for Coördinatie- en Informatie Centrum voor EuRegionaal Onderwijs (source: <http://www.cicero-net.nl>). However, it seems that from the date of the establishment of the project, only few activities have been carried out.

⁵⁶ See, for example, different Eurobarometer studies concerning languages (2001 and 2005) and Eurydice 1996, 1998, 2000, 2003, and 2005.

⁵⁷ See also Wright (2000: 214): “By virtue of being the most frequently taught foreign language in the education systems of the EU, English is on its way to becoming the unofficial second language of the European Union”.

the next chapter, where we discuss language in relation to the process of globalisation. (see below, chapter III.5).

Language and labour mobility in the EU

One of the key words in the today's world is mobility: mobility of people, goods, services, capitals, mobility across several types of borders, e.g. international, regional, internal borders of the supra-national structures. Here we are especially concerned about the mobility inside the EU and its interconnections with language issues. Especially the labour mobility is recently given considerable attention as one of the factors that could directly be involved in increasing the economic competitiveness of the EU at a global level.

Although the process of European integration has removed legal obstacles to the freedom of movement since 1968, "it has not had a considerable quantitative impact on the development of the European labour market" (Janssen 2000: 47). This low response of the workforce to wage disparities and unemployment differences within the EU labour market seems not to match the neoclassical model based on utility maximisation (*ibid.*). The reasons for these results are undoubtedly complex but it is our conviction that language problems represent one of important elements in the frame of these reasons.

In a more detailed study about labour mobility one could distinguish various forms of mobility, e.g. permanent migration, short-term movement, commuting, etc., but since our focus here is on language, we will not consider these forms separately, with the exception of the cross-border labour mobility (or commuting), which will be shortly treated separately.

Usually, in the studies about labour market dynamics in the EU, language is fleetingly mentioned as one of the costs of migration. When the potential migrant is deciding upon employment outside the home region, both pecuniary and nonpecuniary costs are considered: the first ones are represented for example of the costs of travel, and extra living costs, while the second category includes the psychological costs of living in a

foreign country, e.g. the eventual separation from the family, the possibility of being the object of various forms of discrimination, and the problems of adjusting to living in a different culture, which can include also language problems (Papapanagos and Vickerman 2000)⁵⁸.

An interesting observation regarding the specificity of labour migration within the EU as opposed to the migration flows outside the EU, is the comparison between the share of the pecuniary and nonpecuniary costs. For the migrant workers within the EU the last ones are estimated as being prevailing, as the major difficulties are represented by the psychological efforts to adapt to a different labour market which may involve a different language or working practices (ibid., 44). In the studies about labour mobility, language as a mobility influencing factor is also classified as one of the so-called “soft” (social, psychological) factors (Janssen 2000)⁵⁹.

Some parallels with the findings related to the interregional labour mobility within the EU can be traced also for the cross-border mobility⁶⁰: here too, the assumptions of the neoclassical theories on decision making prove to be problematic in explaining the patterns of (im)mobility. Thus, Janssen is calling the attention to the need of different approaches, e.g. to the inclusion of *mental borders* in future research,

as the world is subjectively ‘regionalised’ daily through individual actions [...]. A differentiation is made between cognition regions (knowledge about the other side of the border), affection regions (valuation and experience of that space), and action regions when the borders are crossed. (2000: 68)

⁵⁸ Our observation here would be that language problems can undoubtedly be seen also as a pecuniary cost, if the migrant tries to overcome them by taking language lessons when moving in the foreign country or even by learning a foreign language before moving, as a part of the preparatory strategy. And finally, the educational processes themselves comprehend several years of language teaching that in recent two decades is given special attention right in the sense of facilitating intercultural communication; these activities imply costs too, with the difference that in this case the burden is carried by the state and not by the individual.

⁵⁹ Along with language the “soft” factors should include deviant system of social security and taxation, the recognition of degrees, lack of labour-market information, lack of cooperation between labour offices, lack of cross-border infrastructure, and cultural differences. Other type of factors consists of the so-called “hard” factors, e.g. legal and administrative factors.

⁶⁰ In exploring the cross-border labour mobility, it must be taken into account that “no specific theory for labour-market mobility exists, which takes the singularities of cross-border relations into account” (Janssen 2000: 67).

The author is expressing conviction about the possible positive contribution of this new research methodology to “deeper understanding of immobility as the most prominent feature of the ‘European labour market’” (ibid.). We would like to add, here, that considering language in its communicative and symbolic function inside these “mental borders” would represent, to our opinion, a significant advantage for the completeness of the analyses.

At this point, some general observation about the EU language policy can be made. There is no doubt that if the EU is to be an integrated organisation, it will need to ensure that its member citizens can communicate freely. There are many practical questions to solve in this regard; to give just the example of teaching and learning dilemmas, which and how many foreign languages should be thought, whether tend to the principle that every EU citizen should have at least one language in common, etc. The main problem in all dilemmas rests how to device a common policy which would not offend national susceptibilities.

We would like to conclude this chapter with U. Eco’s vision of the European linguistic future, where the shift is made from *how* to organise and obtain multilingualism to *why* to do it, and where this focus is offering, by itself, also the solution for practical arrangements in multilingual contacts:

Il problema della cultura europea del futuro non sta certo nel trionfo del poliglottismo totale [...] ma in una comunità di persone che possano cogliere lo spirito, il profumo, l’atmosfera di una favella diversa. Una Europa di poliglotti non è una Europa di persone che parlano correntemente molte lingue, ma nel migliore dei casi di persone che possono incontrarsi parlando ciascuno la propria lingua e intendendo quella dell’altro, che pure non saprebbero parlare in modo fluente, e intendendola, sia pure a fatica, intendessero il “genio”, l’universo culturale che ciascuno esprime parlando la lingua dei propri avi e della propria tradizione. (Eco 1993: 377)

Intercultural contacts and practices are thus the basis for the construction of the European society, and here the medium is not this or that *language* (a code), but the

translation (the system) itself (Balibar 2001)⁶¹. Nevertheless, the meaning of translation in this context should be further elaborated, since it is well evident from the Eco's statement, that the efficient communication does not always require a complete, literal understanding (or translation).

III.5 Language practices, ideologies and planning in the context of globalisation

As an introduction to this chapter we would like to cite a future vision of the global language situation as proposed by Jacques Attali in his *Dictionnaire du XXIe siècle* (here cited from Calvet 2002: 175).

Aucune ne s'imposera comme universelle, toutes se subdiviseront en parlers diversifiés. La première langue utilisée dans le monde sera le chinois, ou plutôt l'ensemble *des* chinois, l'hindi, l'espagnol, le portugais, le bengali passeront devant l'anglais qui, sous ses mille variantes (de l'américain à l'*hinglish*), sera, pendant encore un demi-siècle, la langue de la diplomatie, du commerce, de la banque, d'Internet.

Puis la pression uniformisante disparaîtra. Les biens culturels deviendront disponibles dans toutes les langues des consommateurs. Les chaînes de télévision créeront des filiales dans toutes les langues locales.

Bientôt, cependant, la traduction automatique – d'abord écrite puis orale – ramènera aux langues premières. On lira dans une langue ce qui sera écrit ou dit dans une autre. On saura même modifier les mouvements des lèvres des acteurs par morphisme virtuel pour éviter le doublage.

Une babélisation libératrice s'installera. L'influence de la langue ne dépendra plus du nombre de ses locuteurs, mais du nombre et de la réputation de ses chefs-d'œuvre.

As all predictions also the linguistic ones have a habit of being wrong, and our intention in presenting the futuristic linguistic projection is here limited to the intention

⁶¹ The statement of the Commissioner for Multilingualism, L. Orban, at the occasion of Lunch-Debate on translation and culture, held in November 2008 in Brussels, was similar to these findings: "I see translation as one of the expressions of multilingualism. A society is multilingual not only when its citizens can speak different languages, but also when its languages maintain a constant communication through translation" (source: the EU official website).

of eliciting some fundamental questions that we would like to use as starting points for discussion of language issues in relation to the process of globalisation. The quotation seems to include some implicit assertions, for example: there exists, among the diversity of languages, the process of competition for some international roles; further development of technologies will strongly influence the future language situation; there will be no threat to language diversity in the future. In continuation of this chapter we'll try to verify some of these "futurist" views; we first briefly present the actual world's language diversity status, and then make some considerations about its future perspectives.

Linguists estimate that there are around 5,000-6,700 languages in the world today. Using *Ethnologue* data⁶², Nettle and Romaine (2000) calculate that 90% of the world's population speaks one of the 100 most-used languages, and, on the other hand, that there are about 6,000 languages spoken by 10% of the people on earth. Many linguists believe that at least half of the existing languages will become extinct in the next century. The criteria for defining whether the language is "safe" are not based only on the number of the speakers⁶³. Other significant factors can also be the settlement patterns, social class, religious and educational background of the speakers, government language related policies, patterns of language use, etc. According to Nettle and Romaine (2000: 7) "[language] death occurs when one language replaces another over the entire functional range, and parents no longer transmit the language to their children". Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the processes of language domination and loss have been known throughout whole linguistic history, and are not the consequence of the emergence of the global language(s) (Crystal 1997). The difference between the present and the past situations is that in our time we are facing an extreme rapidness of language loss.

Nettle and Romaine speak about language "death", "extinction", "murder", and "suicide". They argue that these metaphors are useful in describing language development because languages are intimately connected by humans, their cultures,

⁶² *Ethnologue* is an encyclopaedic reference work cataloguing all the known living languages of the world (available on www.ethnologue.com).

⁶³ To give a European example, Icelandic has only about 300,000 speakers but is in no danger of extinction.

and their environment. The authors also correlate cultural (and linguistic) diversity on the one side and biological diversity on the other. They identify some repositories of the greatest “biolinguistic diversity” in the areas inhabited by indigenous peoples. They argue that language endangerment has gone hand in hand with species endangerment. Moreover, they give many examples where “language shift and death occur under duress and stressful social circumstances, where there is no realistic choice but to give in. Many people stop speaking their languages out of self-defence as a survival strategy” (ibid., p. 6)⁶⁴.

Why preserve languages? Nettle and Romaine list the following reasons: a) For scientific reasons, i.e. to perfect the linguistic theories of language structure by the study of as many different languages as possible⁶⁵. b) Languages are considered as a source of accumulated wisdom of all humans. These reasons alone seem to us an incomplete answer to the initial question. Namely, estimating the value of the language only from this two points of view, the future of the endangered languages, if they would survive with the strong support of revivalists’ efforts, could only be viewed as a maintenance of a sort of “‘open museums’ where a once virulent cultural heritage is repackaged to make it palatable to consumers” (Williams 1991: 2-3) and usable in case of e.g. scientific needs. It is important to keep in mind, that apart from generating and determining the culture, language is also *communicating* the culture as a part of group identities (let alone its role as a constituent part of individual identity). The most complete argumentation of reasons for preservation of linguistic diversity has been presented by Cristal (2000). According to him, we should care about language loss because: a) we need cultural (and thus linguistic) diversity for the successful adaptation to different environments; b) languages express (individual and collective) identity; c) languages are repositories of history; d) languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge; e) languages are interesting in themselves.

⁶⁴ In these processes the determining factors conditioning language loss are not always immediately evident. Talbot et al. (2003: 5) are pointing out how “power is exercised through language in ways which are not always obvious. Much power in the modern world is unseen in the sense that it becomes ‘naturalised’. It is exercised not through direct coercion but through the creation of ‘common sense’”.

⁶⁵ The authors argue that in this regard, isolated languages are particularly interesting, since they maintain a high degree of complexity, characteristics that get lost when the languages expand and contacts with other languages.

Due to the rapid loss of languages world-wide, the possibility of language maintenance, forms of resistance to language shift and language revitalisation remain an important concern of current language policy studies (Fishman 1991). The approaches are diverse. Phillipson (1992), for example, built an important theory of linguistic imperialism, which attempts to explain how languages of the politically and economically influential states (former colonizers, mainly the US, England, and France) have been promoted in former colonies through a process of economic, political, social, cultural, and educational domination and exploitation, and how this process has had devastating effects on indigenous languages. His studies can be placed in the field of critical language policy research (see above, chapter II.2) where the spread of English as a global lingua franca is not viewed as a process in which individuals willingly learn a new language for their own benefit, but is seen as “a mechanism for the destruction of cultural identity and the imposition of an economic order that demands workers and consumers without ties to traditional institutions that might serve as a counter-balance to the state and the capitalist economy” (Phillipson 2006: 347).

On the other hand, Pennycook (2003) provides empirical evidence that the spread of English is not necessarily leading to the “homogenization of world culture”. The author argues that language mixing in some contexts (e.g. in rap and hip-hop music) is contributing to the development of a global popular culture, which on the one side transcends national boundaries, and on the other reflects local cultural and linguistic forms⁶⁶.

Part of these conclusions, regarding the presence of the local elements, could be underpinned by Cohen’s (1985: 36-37) findings about the “myth of inevitable conformity”, which would suggest that culturally imperialistic influences inevitably dissipate cultural distinctiveness of the influenced community, thus leading to monolithic cultural system. Cohen shows how this view was effectively undermined by findings in social psychology, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, by pointing out the fact that “alien forms are not merely imported across cultural

⁶⁶ Elsewhere (Pennycook 1994) the author also argues for development of “critical pedagogies to confront the worldliness of English”, where teaching practices are directed to offer greater possibilities of success to the disadvantaged groups.

boundaries. In the act of importation, they were transformed by syncretism – by a process in which new and old were synthesized into an idiom [i.e. cultural form] more consonant with indigenous culture” (ibid.). Moreover, it was found that “the transformation went beyond a mere marriage of idioms. Communities might import structural forms across their boundaries but, having done so, they often infuse them with their own meanings and use them to serve their own symbolic purposes” (ibid.). Nevertheless, as far as sociolinguistics is concerned, we would agree with Pennycook (2006: 61) who points out that in this field of research too little work on language in the global context has adequately engaged with the complex changing economic and political condition in the postmodern world: “One of the principal challenges from this perspective is to combine sophisticated analyses of globalisation with complex understandings of how new flows of language and literacy relate to new flow of capital, media, technology, people, and culture”.

Other approaches to language issues in the global context have addressed ways to neutralize or minimize the negative effects of the spread of the globally dominant languages on minority languages⁶⁷. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) have developed an approach, which underlies the right of every individual to use and learn his/her native language, and which argues that this right has to be defined as a basic human right. As for the minorities, they argue that language is one of their most important cultural assets. Therefore, if their language use is restricted, the survival of the entire group comes under threat⁶⁸.

Another important argumentation, supportive of the pluralist position on citizens’ language rights, comes from political theorist Kymlicka (1989). He is arguing that the individual self is the proper moral foundation for any just political community. Thus, the key to political justice is the well-being of the individual, and this well-being must be defined by the individual him/herself. Further, Kymlicka (ibid.) argues that

⁶⁷ Crystal (1997: 2-3) defines a global language as a language that achieved a special role that is recognized in every country, being that by making that language the official language of a country, or by making it a priority in a country’s foreign-language teaching. The author underlines the basic link between language dominance and cultural power: “Without a strong power-base, whether political, military or economic, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication” (ibid., p. 5).

⁶⁸ Cf. also Bourdieu (1991: 57): “One cannot save the *value* of a competence [a threatened linguistic capital] unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers” (italics in original).

individual choices about him/herself are necessarily made within a cultural context, since the individual cannot be defined outside the culture that he/she has inherited from the family and from the society. The community's cultural structure (which includes also language) provides for the individual the "context for choice" which is thus important (and necessary) to preserve.

Reactions on the influence of English as lingua franca do not come only from small and minority languages. For example: for Swedish (about 8.8 million of speakers), there exists a fear of "expansion of English language domains" (Winsa 2005: 321). Apart from being the most widely studied second language, English is rapidly advancing in universities⁶⁹, in major Swedish companies, which often adopt English as their internal working language, and in advertising business. In this context an interesting observation is made about possible further developments of the process of "Anglification" in school, academic and professional environment:

Teachers and students will acquire an analytical but not a fully adequate English. Researchers and professionals will, on the other hand, seemingly not acquire proficient Swedish in their professional field and incomplete English in other fields, i.e. they will not acquire full literacy in Swedish in every domain of their occupations. The discrepancy between a *context-reduced* English and a *context-bound* Swedish may widen the gap between analytic rational reasoning and emotions and empathy [...]. (Winsa 2005: 321, our emphasis)

The fact that in the world there are around 6,000 languages and only about 200 states means that most states are multilingual. It is worth mentioning here again the arguments concerning the costs of language policies engaging in diversity preserving. As it was already mentioned in the context of languages in the EU, these costs are usually overestimated. For example, Grin (2006) shows that where evaluations have been made, the moving from a monolingual to a bilingual education system entails the increase of 3-4% of the costs. And what is important here is to consider these costs in the "counterfactual optics" (ibid.). As it is possible to conclude from the above described negative effects of globalisation on language loss, the costs of *not* engaging in diversity-preserving policy measures can prove to be much higher than expected. In

⁶⁹ Winsa reports about the already visible diglossia within faculties of medicine and technical sciences.

this perspective, the attractiveness of all language planning activities that enhance the use of endangered, small and less worldwide spread languages should result higher. We will attempt to demonstrate (see below, chapter VI) that boosting language learning of the neighbouring language(s) in cross-border communities can occupy an important role in this frame.

It appears that the problem of maintenance of language diversity on a global level could be viewed in two ways, from the perspective of the single states and from the perspective of communication on a global level. In fact, in spite of an enormous language diversity on a global level and a prevailing multilingual situation in the single states, it is the case that

in most (but not all) states there is usually only one ‘national’ language (official or not); this means that, by definition, those who command the national language(s) will tend to enjoy greater recognition and socioeconomic status than those who do not speak or write that language. If individuals or groups are barred access to the national language, and especially the standard ‘prestige’ written variety of it, they are expected to assimilate into the dominant language and abandon their mother tongue (and cultural identities) without a realistic expectation of access to the political economy and the benefits it provides, there is the potential for conflict. (Ricento 2006: 230)

An important point that concerns both the protection of minority rights and the maintenance of linguistic diversity is underlined by Tollefson (1991): when aiming to prevent linguistic inequality, the society will not be able to reach this goal solely by assuring respect for diversity; the respect itself is important but ultimately inadequate as a solution to linguistic inequality:

This is because it tends to locate the problems of minorities within their personalities, families, and cultures rather than within social structure. In addition to respect for diversity, a commitment to *structural equality* is necessary [...]. Structural equality differs from equality of opportunity, which is a mechanism for sustaining inequality by placing the responsibility for minorities’ problems on their lack of motivation or effort [...]. Instead, structural equality refers to a

system for making decisions in which individuals who are affected by policies have a major role in making policies. (p. 211, italics in original)

Shifting to the global perspective it is interesting to observe how history is full of examples on how people tried to alleviate the difficulties with the existence of so many languages in international communication (cf. Eco 1993): the solutions vary from translations, interpreting, tentatives of establishment of different international auxiliary languages (such as Esperanto), use of an existing language for international use (such as the case of Latin in Western Europe throughout the middle ages, French as a language of international diplomacy from the 17th to the 20th centuries and, recently, the actual case of English as a world lingua franca), initiatives to foster the growth of multilingualism in individuals and societies (through the promotion of teaching foreign languages and mobility, as it is nowadays the case of the EU language policy). The rapid growth of international contacts due to the availability of modern communication technologies and transportation systems, especially from the 1950s onwards, puts urge on the need of a global language(s) and the availability of people and technologies that would help to overcome language divides by offering translation and interpretation services. We would agree with Crystal (1997) that the future situation of the world language system(s) should be thought and planned by taking into consideration two linguistic principles that from the first sight could appear contradictory, i.e. the value of multilingualism and the value of a common language. “The first principle fosters historical identity and promotes a climate of mutual respect. The second principle fosters cultural opportunity and promotes a climate of international intelligibility” (ibid., p. XI).

In order to understand the linguistic changes on a large scale, and more precisely to devise schemes for the comparative study of language distribution in diverse social systems several studies have been made in sociolinguistics. As one of the first attempts in this direction Gumperz and Hymes (1972) mention Ferguson’s and Stewart’s (1962) studies. Already with the introduction of the concept of *diglossia* in 1959 Ferguson offered the possibility to compare different multilinguistic situations on the basis of one common criteria: the presence of the so called high prestige language/variety, and another low prestige language/variety. Furthermore he (1966) developed a system of description of different plurilinguistic situations (societies), which offered, by being

formed of formulas, a rather simple way to compare and classify these situations. For example: in a situation x there may be x languages, and among them x may be majoritarian (standardised or vernacular), x may be minoritarian (again standardised or vernacular) and there can also be specialistic languages (e. g. classical, religious): $x L = x L_{maj} (St, Vr) + x min (St, Vr) + x L_{spec}$ ⁷⁰. Considering the communicative function of language Ferguson classifies languages as private or in-group media; languages of wider communication used as scientific idioms; trade languages, etc.

Karl Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication* (1953) can be considered as a pioneer work in global and systemic vision of communication networks. One of the major steps in the study of the contemporary world language system (from the sociolinguistic point of view) was made, according to our point of view, by de Swaan (2001) and Calvet (see especially 1995, 1999 and 2002)⁷¹. De Swaan's intent is to demonstrate how the present globalizing process entails also the global integration of language system. In the astonishing global multiplicity of languages, it is multilingualism that has always permitted to different groups to communicate and it has thus kept the entire human species connected. According to de Swaan (2001) the multilingual connections between language groups do not occur haphazardly. On the contrary, they constitute a strong and efficient network, where the hierarchical pattern of the connections "closely corresponds to other dimensions of the word system, such as global economy and the worldwide constellation of states" (ibid., p. 176).

In this hierarchical structure de Swaan distinguishes four "groups" of languages. According to him, the vast majority (some 98 %) of the today's world languages could be denominated as *peripheral languages*. These languages are used by less than 10 % of humankind and are mostly used for oral conversation (they are usually not written). The second group is formed by the so called *central languages*. These languages are

⁷⁰ The formula could obviously "describe" only those sociolinguistic situations where categories of languages (majoritarian, minoritarian, vernacular and specialistic) are defined in a more or less rigorous way.

⁷¹ Both authors developed very similar concepts and models of analysis of the world language system and the primacy of one or another in developing these theoretical frames is not clear. De Swaan (2001: 195) however is noting about the Calvet's studies: "After an initial reference and a faithful, at times almost verbatim summary of my 'galactic' model, he rebaptizes it a 'gravitation model'". De Swaan is referring here to Calvet 1999, where in fact the author is presenting the "modèle galactique", which is very similar, if not identical, to the de Swaan's model. Calvet (ibid.) is adequately quoting some of the de Swaan's contributions to the subject but it is referring to them only as a starting point, claiming the originality of the entire developed model.

used by approximately 95 % of humankind; they appear in print, in elementary and usually also secondary education and frequently also in television. In general this group is formed by national languages and these are often also the official languages of the states. The third level is occupied by the *supercentral languages*, which serve the purposes of long-distance and international communication. De Swaan names the following supercentral languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. They are spoken (except Swahili) by more than one hundred million of speakers and they serve to connect the speakers of different central languages. At the top of this hierarchy there is a “pivot of the world language system. This ‘*hypercentral*’ language that holds the entire constellation together is, of course, English” (ibid., p. 6, our emphasis).

De Swaan shows how the present language constellations are determined by political events of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and also how they often survive long after their political base has disappeared⁷². He also points to the fact that English as the hypercentral language is a very recent phenomenon, since it acquired primacy only after 1945. He proposes also a very mathematical system of “calculating” the position of a single language in the overall language global constellation, i.e. its communication potential. According to him this could be expressed as the *Q-value* of a language, and it is “the product of its prevalence and its centrality”. The *prevalence* of language is defined by the author as the proportion of the speakers of that language in the overall language constellation, while *centrality* means the way this language is connected through multilingual speakers to other language groups in the constellation:

The prevalence of a language is an indicator of the opportunities it has to offer for *direct communication* with other persons in the constellation. The centrality of that language provides an indication on its connectedness to other languages, and, as the case may be, of the chances for *indirect communication* it provides. (ibid., our emphasis)

⁷² Here the author mentions an interesting phenomenon of “linguistic inertia”: since it takes a major effort to acquire a new foreign language and the language once learned is not easily forgotten or abandoned, the language constellations tend to lag behind when the political constellations change.

Translated in a mathematical formula, the communication potential of a language is expressed as: $Q_i^S = p_i \cdot c_i$, where p_i means prevalence of language and c_i means its centrality.

With his approach de Swaan further elaborates the Bourdieu's concept of language market (see above, chapter II.1). It is important that the author points to the fact that the Q-value is an approximate quantity, since it conveys the speakers' considerations about the spread of language and their notion of its connectedness to other languages in the constellation; these considerations are based on impressions, intuitions and estimations⁷³. Calvet (2002) is pointing out how the values of the languages do not have "de partié fixe": in fact they can, in the same way as currencies do, loose or acquire value.

As for the future situation regarding the world's linguistic future, due to the situation without historical precedents in a sense of intensity of language contacts on a global level, a careful approach of language planning seems necessary in order to maintain languages of identity and to guarantee the access to the global lingua franca:

Governments who wish to play their part in influencing the world's linguistic future should therefore ponder carefully, as they make political decisions and allocate resources for language planning. Now, more than at any time in linguistic history, they need to adopt long-term views, and to plan ahead – whether their interests are to promote English or to develop the use of other languages in their community (or, of course, both). If they miss this linguistic boat, there may be no other. (Crystal 1997)

III.6 Conclusions

We illustrated how during the processes of nation state formation the ideologies of the proto-national elites made use of languages for political projects, i.e. "politicizing" vernacular languages through their standardization and by linking languages and the

⁷³ Bourdieu (1991: 77) similarly points out how "the constraint exercised by the market via the anticipation of possible profit naturally takes the form of an anticipated *censorship*" (italics in original).

language communities formed through corpus and status planning to concrete territories.

In the process of defining the borders of the languages (through standardisation processes) and assigning territories to languages (through nation state formation) it happened, for many different reasons, that language borders and nation state borders in most cases do not coincide, producing thus a very complex mosaic of idioms with very different sociolinguistic ranges. The situation is nowadays made even more complex by the process of globalisation, which introduced new dynamics in the local, regional and national language markets (Orioles 2000).

The heritage of the organising principles of nationalism is still widely conditioning the statuses of languages in national and trans-national settings, e.g. in the EU. For example, minority rights still depend on a fact, whether the minority was present on the territory in time of constitution of the nation state and it is thus qualified as “autochthonous” or not. And the EU, to give another example, recognises as official languages only those that were “able” to acquire the status of national language in their own home state.

Bourdieu (especially Bourdieu 1991) and the sociolinguists that followed his approach clearly demonstrated how language is not only a means of communication but also an instrument of power⁷⁴. With this theoretical instrumentary it became much easier for sociolinguistics to explain many intricate processes where language tended to be viewed as a “natural” entity, but it afterwards appeared very clear how much it was linked to different ideologies. In fact, the “capacity” of language to function as a carrier of symbolical contents made it susceptible to many manipulations and in studying these processes it soon became clear to those studying language planning how little language planning is directed to obtain linguistic goals and how strongly it is, as a matter of fact, put in effect for other, non-linguistic reasons, where establishing, maintaining or changing power relations is at forefront.

⁷⁴ Cf. for example Tollefson (1991: 202) on the necessary research focus for language policy studies: “Because language policy is embedded in the rise of the state, research must evaluate policies with relevance to their role in the exercise of state power and their effect upon the lives of individuals. [...] The effort should be made to understand relationships between language policy, social organisation, and political power.”

Although having developed considerable theoretical frame, language planning studies have to face difficult tasks when approaching whatever context in the today's society, right because of complexity of the modern phenomena, i.e. the intricate interplay of language and non-language factors in any sociolinguistic situation. The very recent tendency of the field is thus to stress the necessity for deeper involvement of political analysts when approaching language planning issues. As Schmidt (2006: 97) underlines, the utility of political theory for language policy analysts consists in enabling them "to better understand just what is at stake when political conflicts erupt over issues of language policy". What lies "at the core of the politics of language", according to him, is "a form of *identity politics*, in which language policy partisans compete to shape public perceptions about the 'we' that constitutes the relevant political community, and to embody their aims in the language policy of the state" (italics in original).

European cross-border communities, as specific domains of communication, framed and still in the course of further framing throughout the process of European integration, are "installed" right at the cross-section of the spaces, so painfully moulded during the era of nation-state formation. Very often the process of "territorialisation" produced experiences that are still conserved by the present generations as collective memories where the "other one" is seen as an antagonist, not to say an enemy. The EU, oriented toward integration with the goal of obtaining more welfare for all the integrated people, overcoming antagonisms and securing to its societies a competitive advantage in the globalized world, has to dedicate more attention to cross-border areas as precious "windows of opportunity" in obtaining the desired goals. However, inherited mental schemes are not easy to overcome and this holds especially true when the parties, incapsulated in "non-comprehension conditions", do not understand what is at stake when debates are not constructive. In language related issues miscomprehensions are easy: we have shown how power relations and symbolic representations stuck to language interfere with neutral, purely communicative problems. In our further analysis we will try to unveil at least some elements that are involved when language planning is approached in a cross-border area with troubled history and contact of languages that were hardly charged, during this history, with symbolic values.

PART TWO

IV. Language practices, ideologies and planning in the studied area – historical overview

In sociolinguistics, many authors insist on the fact that a description of a given language situation would not be complete without giving also the diachronic dimension of the factors that are influencing the present state of affairs (see e.g. Škiljan 1988; Baker 1992; Tollefson 2006; Williams 1988; cf. also Table 3 in chapter II.5). In fact, it is from the seminal work on language policy in the 1960s onwards that language policy research insists on placing its investigation within a broad social, political, and historical framework. The historical-structural approach for example, elaborated in the frame of critical language policy studies (see above, chapter II.2), emphasizes the necessity of understanding of the political nature of language policy processes, the need for the explicit analysis of the links between language policy and such socio-economical processes as, for example, migration, state formation, and political conflict (Tollefson 2006: 49). Nevertheless, as Baker (1992: 98) notes, in analysing language policies “the description of historical attitude change, and the analytical evaluation and interpretation of causes of change, are rarely examined by social psychological theorists nor sociolinguists”. The same founding about the lack of a systematic (and thus also socio-historical) approach to the sociolinguistics themes in the researched area was noted by the historians exploring the critical period of shaping of national awareness in the Goriška/Goriziano area (see, for example, Fabi 1991).

In previous chapter we tackled with language within the processes of nation state formation, European integration and globalisation in order to illustrate the close link of language (and language policy) and the processes of social change on a large scale. According to our point of view, these topics are important in the analysis of the chosen area too, since it is quite impossible to find people in any local situation conducting their daily practices in an isolated vacuum, without partaking in the larger socio-historical processes. Even more, as it will be shown, the chosen area was (and still is) strongly marked by various implications of these processes. It is for this reason that we

have chosen to structure our historical description of the studied area along the lines of description of the three processes.

In our historical overview we mostly tried to focus on the period that we consider critical in moulding the attitudes of the studied population, i.e., the period from the 1850s onwards⁷⁵. Though the studied area occupies, in a geographical sense, only the towns of Nova Gorica and Gorizia, a complete diachronic overview has to include a larger area, i.e. the Goriška/Gorizia area as it has been shaped in different historical periods. The delimitations of this area are to be found in the respective administrative organisations, and consequently in the network of socio-economical linkages of the population.

IV.1 Language(s) and the process of nation state formation

The roots of the ethnical and linguistic heterogeneity of the studied area could be found in its geographical position. It is the region where for ages Slavonic, Latin and German ethnic groups have been in contact, and often also in opposition. The ethnic border in the area began to shape in the 7th century, when the ancestors of the Slovenes penetrated up to the Lombardic line of defence (limes).

Gorizia was first mentioned in the written documents in the year 1101. Its name derives from a topographical feature of the place, namely the castle hill (in Slovene language “gorica” means “a small mountain”). From 1117 the castle was for four centuries the residence of the Counts of Gorizia, a powerful family of German origins. In the region, the German population was the most numerous in the 14th and 15th century, which were the last centuries of the domination of the Counts of Gorizia. Nevertheless, also in that period, the German element represented only the minor part of all the residents; the majority of the local inhabitants were the Slovenes and the Friulians.

⁷⁵ Part of this subchapter is based on research work carried out in Vodopivec 2005.

The Romanic population has been more and more present since the 13th century, when aristocrats, bankers and craftsmen from Friuli, Carnia and Tuscany immigrated to the area. From this period onwards many documents register several family names of Romanic origin that played important roles in the development of the region (e.g. Rabatta, Attems, and Orzone).

The Slovenes were settled mainly as peasants in the hinterland of Gorizia but since the beginning of the 14th century some Slovene family names are mentioned also in the documents regarding the inhabitants of the town (e.g. Budigoj, Šinigoj, Vodopivec, Zlatolasec).

In the 1500, when the last member of the Counts of Gorizia died, Gorizia and its surroundings came into possession of the Habsburg monarchy and it remained under its administration until the end of the First World War, when, in the 1920, it was annexed to the Italian state according to the Treaty of Rapallo.

In the centuries of their domination, the Counts of Gorizia used to give German names to the villages populated by the Slovenes and the Friulians and they germanised names and family names of the local inhabitants. In the historical sources from the 12th and 13th century it is noted that the Counts were able to speak only their own German-Tyrolese dialect and that they made use of translators for the communication with their subjects. Still in the 14th and 15th century the administrative affairs were carried out exclusively in the German language, although the German population was, as mentioned above, only the minority of the whole population (c.f. Czoernig 1891, Fabi 1991, Gruden, 1992). For the 16th century, some information about language practices in the area can be deduced from the “Descrizione della Patria Friuli fatta nel secolo XVI”, written in 1567 by the count Hieronim Porcia. The author noticed that the habits of people living in Gorizia are German when considering eating, drinking, and dressing, and that in most cases they use three languages: German, Slovene, and Italian (Porcia 1897: 87). Similarly, in his description of Gorizia in 1571, Hugo Blotius observed that local people were speaking in Slovene, Italian and German (“loquitur hic illyrice Italice et Germanice”), while the sermons were given only in Italian and in Slovene (cited from Marušič 2001: 16).

In 1606 the Patriarch of Aquileia officially recognised the necessity to teach religion in the language(s) of the people. Priests were thus recommended to use local languages and summaries of the catechism in local languages of the single parishes were hanged on the churches' doors (Gruden 1992: 814)⁷⁶. For the everyday use, in 1660 the Friulian historian Giovanni Francesco Palladio observed that beside Italian and Friulian in Gorizia there are present also the German and the Slovene language (Marušič 2001). In fact, it is from the beginning of the 17th century onwards that the local élites gradually began to replace the previous German cultural models with the Italian ones, and that holds true also for the languages. Italian began to be largely used even in bureaucratic procedures and its growth in importance continued until the middle of the 18th century, when the enlightened imperators decided to reintroduce an exclusive use of German in public life.

Until 1770⁷⁷, higher education was organised by Jesuits, present in Gorizia from 1615 to 1773; in their colleges lectures were given in Latin. Lower education was not completely neglected: in Gorizia and its surroundings there were some private "German schools", meant for those who intended to continue the studies at a higher level. Peasants got the possibility to educate their children only after the State's takeover of schooling. Yet, in all three types of schools that were established (schools in big centres, medium centres and in the country) the only language of instruction was German, the State using in this way the school as "an instrument for de-nationalisation" (Brancati 1978: 65).

Some useful information about the language situation in the second half of the 18th century can be found in the school inspectors' reports related to the assessment of the successfulness of the introduction of compulsory education in the area. In fact, the process did not proceed according to the governmental plans, and as it can be deduced from the reports, the delays were not due only to financial and organisational problems, but with all probability also to the language problems. For example: In 1777 the count Emmanuel Torres complained when visiting Gorizia in the role of a school

⁷⁶ It is linked to these changes of language use in religious practices the activity of the priest Alasia da Sommaripa, who in 1607 published the first Italian-Slovene dictionary (*Vocabolario italiano e schiavo*) with the purpose to alleviate the work of priests speaking Italian, working in the areas with Slovene population.

⁷⁷ From this year onwards the organisation of education pertained exclusively to the State.

inspector that German has disappeared in this area, and that it is partly used only by the aristocracy, by the province government and by educated people. Moreover, he noticed that the majority of pupils were completely unable to read and write in German, and that some of them did not even understand that language (Gruden 1992). The reported facts clearly show the divide between the official school programmes and the effective language practices of the population. To ameliorate the situation, special “preparatory” courses were organised in order to prepare young Italian, Slovene and Friulian speaking pupils for the German schools. Later on, the necessity to use local languages in primary education was recognised also by the government and some basic textbooks were translated in Italian, Slovene and Friulian.

During the period of Napoleonic occupation, Gorizia was included (from 1809 to 1813) in the frame of Illyrian Provinces. The Slovenes on the whole Provincial territory largely benefited from the new rights acquired (economic and cultural initiatives, creation of schools with Slovene language of instruction) and so was for the Slovene part of the population of Gorizia that began to strengthen its national consciousness (Valussi 1974). Italian too, was introduced to schools and even to the offices.

After the Congress of Vienna (1815), when Gorizia was reassigned to the Habsbourg Empire and during the centralised rule of Francis Joseph the exclusive use of German was reintroduced again, but with very limited results for what concerns the effective language practices in multilingual border areas of the Empire.

To illustrate the linguistic situation in the recent history of the town of Gorizia also some statistical data about the ethnolinguistic groups are available from the end of the 19th century onwards⁷⁸. In 1880 on the whole population of 19,133 inhabitants there were 71% of the Italians, 18% of the Slovenes, and 11% of the Germans. In 1890 the percentage of the Slovenes slightly decreased to 15%, and it rose again to 18% in 1900. According to the last Austro-Hungarian census, made in 1910, the Slovene

⁷⁸ All the cited data are from Bufon 1995 (25, 79) and Bufon 2000 (114-118). In the data referring to the Romance population in most cases it is not possible to distinguish the percentage of Italians and Friulians.

population in the town of Gorizia augmented considerably as it reached 30% of the whole population.

The only Italian census that took into consideration the nationality of the inhabitants was made in 1921, but it did not register the differences between the urban area and its immediate surroundings, since the data relate to the whole Municipality of Gorizia. According to this census, the Slovenes represented 29% of the total population⁷⁹. For the period after the Second World War only some estimations exist (still for the whole municipality). According to the governmental estimation, in 1952 there were 19% of Slovenes, and according to the estimation of the research group Alpina in 1974 there were 77% of the Italians, 14% of the Slovenes and 9% of the Friulians. In the last governmental estimation which was made in 1983 the presence of the Slovenes is judged to be 11%.

Turning back to the situation in the area during the last decade of governance of the Habsbourg Empire, we can observe that the European nationalistic movements, originating in Germany during the late 18th century, reached the area of our interest only in the second half of the 19th century. As far as the role of the Italian language as a marker of identity in general, Ruzza (2000: 168) sees it as “a relatively weak indication of identity, despite the substantial coincidence of linguistic, national, and state boundaries”. He explains this situation with the characteristics of the emergence of the Italian language, i.e. with the difficult gestation and late development of the standard language, which would reduce the possibility for it to function as a strong marker of national identity. It nevertheless appears from the history of Italian language that the process of Italian unification was accompanied by intensive language planning (especially corpus planning) activities to provide a written standard as a common national language. But Ruzza (ibid.) argues that nationalism in Italy was, more than in other countries, a concern of a small elite and thus “the majority of Italians was never particularly interested in the process of national unification, or in the creation of a national language”. Additional factor that contributed to the creation of this situation

⁷⁹ According to De Marchi et al. (1991) the data from the census of 1921 are the most contested ones.

was a very low literacy rate among the Italian population (at least until the 1930s) that denied access to the standard Italian to all but the elite⁸⁰.

While this can hold true for the Italian situation in general, we would argue that the situation in Gorizia was different, in respect of the fact that Gorizia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where a compulsory schooling was introduced far earlier than in the Italian state. Moreover, what decisively distinguishes the analysed area is the situation of inter-ethnic (and linguistic) contact, which produced a specific process of rising of national consciousness among both the Italian and the Slovene speaking communities. According to its characteristics this process could be labelled as a so-called “ethno-linguistic variety of nationalism”. As it was already explained (see chapter III.3), in this branch of nationalism language and national identity are believed to be indissolubly linked.

Speaking about the Slovene population in the 19th century in general, it appears that during the processes of acquiring self-awareness and the movements of unification, Slovenes perceived themselves to possess a common culture and language; ‘blood’ and culture (and in its frame language in the first place) were thus the fundamental criteria for association. Namely,

[t]he two basic elements that define Slovene throughout its entire history, i.e., lack of statehood (in terms of complete functionality) until 1991 and, at least in the European terms, its small number of speakers, had been counter-balanced with a strong sense of linguistic and general cultural commitment of its speakers to their national entity.⁸¹

The same situation appeared in the Gorizia area. In fact, all the activities organised by the Slovene proto-elites of the area to awake the national consciousness had a common characteristic: language constituted the distinctive element (Fabi 1991; Marušič 1985)⁸².

⁸⁰ All these argumentations of the author regarding the situation in Italy in general can be largely underpinned by the findings of De Mauro (1963).

⁸¹ A. Vidovič Muha, ‘Razvojne prvine normativnosti slovenskega knjižnega jezika’, in A. Vidovič Muha (ed.), *Jezik in čas. Razprave Filozofske fakultete*, Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 1996, pp. 15-40, here cited from Nečak Lük 2003: 13.

⁸² For example, already in 1848 a special kind of associations, called ‘čitalnice’ (reading clubs) were created to spread ideas that would further strengthen the awareness of the appurtenance to the common national group.

As we already mentioned, it is from the second half of the 19th century that in the area processes took place, which later on strongly influenced inter-ethnic attitudes and thus indirectly also all the elements of language policy. It is therefore worth trying here to reconstruct, with the help of available historical data, language practices, ideologies and planning in the area from the 1950s to the end of the Habsbourg Empire, since it is acknowledged that these elements were at the centre of the “national question“ between the Italians and the Slovenes in the area (Fabi 1991).

To a certain extent language practices of Gorizia in the examined period can be deduced from the description of Austro-Hungarian statistician Czoernig (1891). He noticed that in the time of his writing all intelligentsia used Italian, and mostly also German, both languages having also the status of official languages. In the everyday practices, he observed, the use of Friulian was most largely spread in the centre of the town, whereas in the surrounding area the use of Slovene prevailed. The author is concluding by noticing that there were certainly few towns where educated middle classes were able to use two, three or even four languages⁸³.

For what regards the conflicts between the Slovenes and the Italians (and the governmental structures) in the period of rise of nationalisms, far more illustrative as the above presented (rather idyllic) description is the situation regarding several changes in the school system of Gorizia in the same historical period, as they well reflect the rivalries between the two ethno-linguistic groups, the Italian and the Slovene one. The Italian language as a medium of instruction was introduced in Gorizia after 1848 but only to elementary schools. With the State provision of 1852 the use of local languages as languages of instruction was allowed also in secondary

⁸³ It is important to note that through generations a myth of “old multilingual generations” developed in the area (Carli et al. 2003; the authors note that this phenomenon occurs in more than one western community). According to this myth the members of older generations, by living in particular historical conditions, had the opportunity to learn and speak more than one language beginning in their youth: the mother tongue, the language of the “other”, and the official one. “They lived in a sort of Eden, characterised by tolerance, respect and peaceful coexistence” (ibid.). The authors point out that the linguistic reality of the Austro-Hungarian Empire does not legitimate the myth and argue that the descriptions of mythical periods of this kind “should be read as a sort of strategy for justifying the present ‘ignorance’”. In this way, the ignorance of the language of the other would appear as a result of the historical and environmental factors created during recent times, which have destroyed the conditions that allowed reciprocal knowledge. As the authors underlined, this is a useful mechanism to cancel the individual responsibility.

schools. Moreover, in 1867 the law about general rights of citizens guaranteed to all the nationalities of the empire inviolable right to use and cultivate their language and nationality (Claricini 1873). There were no problems to accomplish legal provisions in case of elementary schools since the government assured instruction on this level both in Italian and in Slovene. As for secondary schools, the implementation lagged behind and the government offered as a pretext financial problems, arguing that the situation of the County would require three different secondary schools: the German, the Italian, and the Slovene one. Therefore the government found the maintenance of the (only) German gymnasium as the most suitable solution. It was only in 1910, after continuous pressures of the Italian population that the first secondary schools with the Italian as language of instruction were established. “Austria hardly tolerated the fact that the Italians were defending their own nationality with measures that the Constitution and the law allowed” (Brancati 1978: 171). At the same time, “the Italians [...] were unwilling to accept the creation of sections in the Slovene language. They wanted the Slovenes to attend Italian schools in order to assimilate them, continuing in this way the same policy that Austria performed with regard to their requests and that they decidedly rejected” (ibid., p. 176). The Slovenes overcame the period of hard opposition by establishing private schools, and finally in 1913 their community benefited from the creation of the state gymnasium in the Slovene language⁸⁴.

Soon after the First World War multiethnic cohabitation in the area begun to be strongly opposed and later on completely cancelled by the Fascist regime. In the first years of the Italian occupation, according to the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), the declarations of the Italian representatives towards the Slovene population were positive. The king Vittorio Emanuele III declared that “the territory, which was annexed to Italy is placing us in front of new problems. Our liberal tradition will show us the solutions that tend towards preservation of autonomous institutions and local traditions”, and the military governor Petitti di Roreto in November 1918 issued a proclamation designed for the Slovene people: “Slovenes! Italy, the great country of freedom, will give you the same rights as to the other citizens, schools in your

⁸⁴ In the above-sketched ‘rivalries’ between Slovene and Italian we did not include Friulian since the aspirations to assert this language as a medium of culture and school education emerged only from the beginning of the 20th century onwards.

language, your religion [...]” (Peruško 1968: 50, 51). Klein (1986: 69)⁸⁵ is explaining this initial “liberal” attitude as a consequence of the world’s public opinion immediately after the Italian annexation, which would be perceived as discussible. In spite of this kind of declarations Italy was carrying out, from the beginning of its government in 1918, the policy of assimilation towards the Slovenes and the Friulians.

From the Fascists’ assumption of power in 1922 onwards the situation changed for the worse. No bounds were set to the official politics of oppression, since Italy has not committed itself to respect national minorities, nor with any peace treaty neither with the Rapallo treaty. During the period of Fascism new attention to the language emerged in the Italian state, “one that required that the language should reflect the revolutionary zeal of the Fascists” (Ruzza 2000: 174). The ultra-nationalist agenda also led to suppression of minority languages in general. The actions against the Slovene community were basically oriented towards the language as an element of national distinctiveness. Calvet (1995) is mentioning four constant elements of the language policies of the Fascist regimes, individualized by K. Bochman⁸⁶: 1) xenophobic purism on the level of the national language; 2) anti-dialectal oriented centralism; 3) nationalistic centralism aimed against national minorities; 4) colonialism or linguistic expansionism out of the state's border. In case of the Slovene-speaking community in the Gorizia area, the third characteristic was deleterious since Slovene was forbidden in the public sphere as well in the private one. It was even enforced to replace the Slovene names and surnames with the Italian ones, extending this procedure as far as the alteration of inscriptions on tombstones. The exclusive use of Italian was enforced in schools and public offices from 1923 onwards (Brecelj 1983). Until 1925 it was possible to teach Slovene as supplementary subject, later on also this possibility was denied⁸⁷. In 1927 all bilingual public inscriptions were prohibited (Klein 1986). Besides these elements, in case of the Slovenes, fascist policies were also “aimed at the

⁸⁵ The work of Klein (1986) is considered as the most systematic analysis of the attempts of the Fascist government to find “solutions” to language related problems (Foresti 2003).

⁸⁶ Bochman is analysing the language policy of the Fascist states in his study ‘Pour une étude comparée de la glottopolitique des fascisms’, in *Problèmes de glottopolitique*, Ruanski univerzitet, 1985, pp. 119-129; here cited from Calvet 1995.

⁸⁷ The “de-nationalisation” processes were underpinned with several laws: the law about the revision of toponomastics (1923), the law about the obligatory use of Italian in all civil and legal practices (1925), the law about the “reaffirmation of the Italian form” of family names in the annexed territories (1926); see Klein 1986, Foresti 2003 and Salvi 1975 for details.

elimination of the minority language via the fragmentation of the originally spatially and functionally close-knit minority community” (White 1991: 58).

It was found that very often linguistic oppression may carry as much mobilizing power as a victory does⁸⁸. It is thus not surprising that populations suffering from the described state’s intervention very soon manifested attempts to safeguard their cultural and linguistic heritage, usually by organizing private classes and through the clandestine activities of the clergy (Kalc-Hafner et al. 1995, Verginella 2008).

In the period of Italian occupation during the Second World War the anti-Slovene repression continued and it became more and more brutal: the violence was expressed by various additional prohibitions, sentences to death, deportations to concentration camps, confiscation, destruction of property, etc. The long period of Fascist repression did not run out without long lasting consequences for what regards the attitudes of the repressed population. “The most lasting effect of the fascist policy was that it has instilled the idea into the minds of the Slovenes that Italy stands for Fascism and [...] made them reject almost everything that seemed to be Italian” (Kacin Wohinz and Troha 2001:136).

At the end of the Second World War Friuli Venezia Giulia experienced several events which strongly marked the future relationships between the Slovenes and the Italians⁸⁹.

[T]he expulsion of Germans from Friuli Venezia Giulia was mostly to the credit of the large Yugoslav military units, and partly also of the Allies. [...] Slovenes experienced double liberation: from the German occupation and from the Italian state. At the same time, the population of Friuli Venezia Giulia in favour of Italy experienced Yugoslav occupation as the darkest moment in its history due to the fact that in the areas of Trieste, Gorizia and Koper, it was accompanied by a wave

⁸⁸See, for example, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977. Cf. also Williams (1991: 2): “Language is often both the symbol and the substance of group resistance to assimilation or annihilation and thus becomes inherently politicised as a group marker, suggestive of a far wider socio-cultural reality.”

⁸⁹ Because of the sensitiveness and disputable character of many issues in the recent history of the Slovene-Italian relations, we refer to Kacin Wohinz and Troha 2003 for all the historical data related to the post war period. This report is a result of the research conducted by the Slovene-Italian Historical and Cultural Commission, a group of experts from both Slovenia and Italy, which on Governments proposal worked from 1993 to 2000 in order to reach a consensus on the debatable interpretations of the recent historical events.

of violence, manifested in the arrests of several thousands, mostly Italians, and also the Slovenes who opposed the Yugoslav communist political plan. Some of the arrested were released at intervals; the violence was further manifested in hundred of summary executions – victims were mostly thrown into the Karst chasms (foibe) – and in the deportation of a great number of soldiers and civilians, who either wasted away or were killed during the deportation; in prisons and in the prisoner-of-war camps in various parts of Yugoslavia [...].

[After the 1947], the return of the Italian authorities to the area of Gorizia was accompanied by a wave of violence against the Slovenes and individuals favourably disposed to Yugoslavia. The Italian authorities treated Slovenes with general mistrust; although they respected their individual rights, they, nevertheless, did not support their national development, and in some cases even tried to assimilate them (Kacin Wohinz and Troha 2001: 148-153).

Since the 1950s, a very relevant role of opposition towards the Slovenes in Italy has been played by a sizeable community of “Istria exiles”, i.e. Italian-speaking people who left the coastal-regions of Yugoslavia after Second World War⁹⁰. For a series of complex reasons they became the champions of “Italianess” of the bordering area, aggravating with their point of view the position of the Slovene minority.

Until the establishment of the border with the Paris Treaty in the 1947 the Goriška/Gorizia area functioned as a unified administrative area with its centre in Gorizia. After the war, when the border in the area had to be established, the Yugoslav and the Italian part presented each their own arguments. The Yugoslav part advocated the necessity of preserving the integrity of the natural, cultural and gravitational areas, where in the areas with condensed monoethnic population the political border should be based upon an ethnical one, whereas in the case of ethnically mixed urban centres the centre should belong to the area with ethnically majoritarian population (Bufon 2004: 221). Opposite to this concept was the Italian one, which argued for defining the border according to “the geostrategical natural boundaries and the primacy of

⁹⁰ “Among the reasons for emigration, one should above all mention the oppression by the regime, which with its totalitarian nature made it impossible for people to freely express their national identity, oppose the redistribution of the leading national and social roles in Istria, and refuse major changes in the economy” (Kacin Wohinz and Troha 2001: 160). For more details on emigration in Istria see also Donato 2001, that somehow continues the work of Kacin Wohinz and Troha 2001 by treating sensitive issues of the recent history involving specialists from both sides of the border.

ethnically majoritarian urban centres in relation to their hinterland” (ibid.). It is possible to say that none of these concepts prevailed, since according to the treaty the area was divided in a very uneven way: Italy was assigned 8% of the whole disputed territory and 74% of the population of the area, including the consistent Slovene minority. The centre of the region, Gorizia, belonged to Italy and it was thus cut off from its hinterland⁹¹.

The barbed wire placed on the frontier in 1947 in some cases divided family members and completely changed the way of life and the point of references of the people living in the area. This situation changed considerably after 1949, when the agreement which enabled the opening of the first local border crossings for the owners of the land on both sides of the border was signed.

Nova Gorica was planned and built only after 1948. The birth of the town of Nova Gorica is peculiar; not because it meant the construction of a twin town along the border, since such phenomena are relatively frequent in Europe and in the world, but rather because it had to grow virtually overnight for a precise (political) purpose: that of joining the two villages of Solkan and Šempeter into a larger and more attractive urban centre which would have to overshadow the “old” Gorizia⁹².

After the annexation of Trieste to Italy the border regime was further liberalized and the direct consequence of these processes was the fact that the local cross-border exchanges between the years 1955 and 1960 increased for about 900% (Bufon 2004). Cross-border cooperation further improved after the Osimo Agreement in 1975 and, from 1994 onwards in the frame of the European integration processes.

The Paris Treaty did not contain any provisions about the protection of minorities and it was until the mid-1950s that the Slovene community in Gorizia experienced several attacks that remained unpunished (Bufon 1995). Even in the normative sense the

⁹¹ It is interesting to add here the information reported in Valussi (2000): During the years from 1915 to 1954 there were fourteen attempts to define the border in the studied area and seven of them were put into effect. The author also points out that the decisive factor in determining the border line in the case of Gorizia in 1947 was the course of the Transalpine Railway, becoming the eastern limit of the urban area (Valussi 2000: 155-158).

⁹² The integration of Solkan and Šempeter did not succeed, since those villages still keep their independent character; they are still perceived as distinct entities by their inhabitants.

situation did not change a lot: the prohibition to give Slovene names to newborn children remained in force until 1966, and the claims for bilingualism in official acts and public inscriptions were all rejected (Komac 1989). Later on the situation gradually improved, although several problems remained unsolved (see below, chapter V.1.1).

IV.2 Language(s) and the processes of European integration

While Italy is one of the founding members of the EU, Slovenia applied for membership in 1996, and entered the EU on 1 May 2004⁹³. Nevertheless, the borders between the two states were definitely removed only recently (on 21 December 2007) when Slovenia joined the Schengen area.

The situation of finding themselves (politically, economically and culturally) in a multi-national setting is not new for the Slovene people. If we look only to the recent historical period, until 1918 they shared the fortunes and misfortunes with other peoples in the frame of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, after that date they were included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes⁹⁴ and after the Second World War the Slovene Republic formed part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia⁹⁵. The period of "real" independence for Slovenia was thus really short, from 1991 to 2004, and its community had therefore to face two different and opposing processes in an accelerated manner: on one side the acquisition of national sovereignty, on the other its dissolution. It is important to point to this aspect of the Slovenian integration in the EU to understand some manifestations of concern related to preservation of key national attributes, and among them especially the language. By leaking the power from the state to the supra-national community of the EU, Slovenia as a small country with two million of inhabitants sometimes expresses a fear (that is shared also by other less numerous communities and minorities) to be threatened by numerically superior nations with greater economic, cultural and political power.

⁹³ Slovenian people manifested a very high support to the entrance of their state in the EU. Namely, on the referendum that was held on 23 March 2003, 89.61% of the voters were in favour of this decision.

⁹⁴ Renamed in Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929.

⁹⁵ Renamed in Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963.

Nevertheless, these processes should be considered in the frame of general characteristics of communication, work and collaboration in the post-modern era of integration and globalisation where beside positive aspects people face also questions about their “identity, representation and civil rights in a context which is no longer completely dominated by a single sovereign state” (Eskelinen et al. 1999: 3) and are therefore thinking not only about integration and collaboration but also about defence mechanisms. As we already argued elsewhere (see Vodopivec 2005) it appears that in many cases concerns and fears (and consequently defence mechanisms) appear without the actors having a clear idea of the threatening elements and the elements that are menaced. As we will see, some similar mechanisms can also be observed in the case of language related questions in the studied border area.

The Goriška/Gorizia border area (on both sides of the Slovenian-Italian border) was dedicated thought studies in the context of the geography border studies in Slovenia (Bufon 2004: 222). Special attention was given to the effects of the new political delimitation on the traditionally unitarian regional environment and the gradual development of the forms of cross-border exchanges and collaboration (ibid.). The analyses that were made so far pointed out the presence of different elements that constitute a fruitful grounding for the development of more integrated forms of coexistence. On a more general ground the Slovene geographers exploring border areas directed attention to the “apparently paradoxical fact that the areas having most possibilities for the development in the [“successful”] cross-border areas are those that in the near past experienced most problems at the moment of the splitting of the before unified administrative, cultural and functional spheres” (ibid., p 224). As it is evident from the above presented historical overview, focused on the process of nation state formation, the Goriška/Gorizia border area could be considered as an exemplary case in this sense: the most stable element in the cross-border contacts are considered to be the “socio-cultural bindings, originating from the need of people living next to the border to preserve the cultural spaces of their origin” (ibid., p 236)⁹⁶. It was also emphasized, in the context of these studies, that the crucial element in maintenance and

⁹⁶ Also the results of some other researches (e.g. Sussi 1973, Delli Zotti 1979) showed that official cross-border contacts developed and consolidated on the basis of cultural exchanges between people living along the border.

consolidation of the cross-border linkages is the function of the minority⁹⁷. The functional cross-border movements (shopping, work, free time) are much more instable, since they depend on the momentary economic situation.

It was already pointed out how the contacts between the Slovene and the Italian part of the Goriška/Gorizia area were becoming more and more intense from the 1950s onwards. By constantly continuing in the tradition of the so called most opened eastern border this collaboration somehow “naturally” spilled into the cross-border cooperation in the frame of the processes of integration of Slovenia in the EU. A few years before the Slovene independence, in 1987, a special agreement was made between the Municipalities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia about collaboration in environmental, economic, territorial-planning and socio-cultural field. This agreement then constituted the basis for the so-called Agreement of coexistence stipulated in 1991, and the later Cross-border Territorial Agreement, signed in 1998, that was later on, after the official recognition of the Italian and Slovene government, renamed in Protocol of cooperation (Vršaj 2002). Cross-border collaboration intensified especially from the 1994 onwards due to the EU policies, particularly with regard to Interreg/Phare CBC programme, which was a very important means of developing the cooperation between the Autonomous Region Friuli Venezia Giulia and the Republic of Slovenia (Cosattini 2003, Gasparini 2001a). At the time being, six working groups are active in the framework of the Protocol: for urbanism and traffic, for environment, for tourism and agriculture, for health care, for information science, and for culture, youth politics, education and sport. Working groups are meeting periodically to discuss the development of cooperation in respective sectors.

It is especially in the last decade and a half that the two municipalities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia were particularly active in strengthening the integration processes, and many studies were made to underpin the cross-border initiatives (e.g. Bufon 1995, Bufon 2002, Delli Zotti 1995⁹⁸, Gasparini 1998, Gasparini 2001a, Gasparini 2001b,

⁹⁷ See for example Bufon 1992 and Klemenčič and Piry 1982, who emphasize also the fact that the minority represents the population that can speak both languages, and it is important also in this regard for the successful development of cross-border cooperation and regional integration.

⁹⁸ In the study of Delli Zotti there are some interesting findings regarding the inter-group relations between the majority and the two minorities in Gorizia. Using the data obtained in an Isig survey on “The weight of ethnic groups in the planning of integration in the New Europe” the author exposed the

Jan 1997, Zago 2000). From one of these studies (Zago 2000) it emerged that the inhabitants of Nova Gorica and Gorizia appear very favourably disposed towards the processes of integration. The majority of the population sees the enlargement of the EU as an opportunity for the future development of the area, and they see their future identity as composed of local, national and European components⁹⁹. Another sociological study (Zago 2001) found out that among the obstacles for the cross-border cooperation in the economical and socio-cultural field, language barriers figure at the top of the list of impediments¹⁰⁰. In affirming that the interviewed persons indirectly confirmed that the knowledge of the language of the “other” represents “the first and the most basic element of cultural integration, that is to say the very condition for cultural exchange between the two neighbouring border communities” (Bufon 1995: 329). Nevertheless, as it will be possible to see in the continuation of this chapter, language issues continue to be “left out of the cross-border policy agenda.

In order to check in detail how much the language issues are tackled by different actors included in cross-border contacts during the last few years, we made a survey in which we analysed the articles that appeared in two Slovene daily newspapers, i.e. the local newspaper of Primorske novice and the national newspaper Delo¹⁰¹, between April 2002 and February 2009, where language practices, ideologies or planning are mentioned in the context of possible transfrontalier implications, being that for the present or for the future situation. We excluded the articles referring to the situation only in one area (only on the Slovene or Italian part), if the language issue was not

following findings: a) the degree of rejection between the groups was comparatively low; b) the ethnic groups revealed internally divergent attitudes towards questions of interethnic relations, depending on variables of gender, age, occupation, education and political ideology. From the survey it emerged that the Italians rejected the Friulians (11.1%) more than the Friulians rejected the Italians (0.7%); the Slovenes rejected the Italians (3.8%) far less than the Italians rejected the Slovenes (17.8%); the Slovenes rejected the Friulians (11.1%) much less than the Friulians rejected the Slovenes (20.7%).

⁹⁹ From the same study it nevertheless emerges that the support for the mentioned processes is higher on the Slovenian part and that to some extent the two communities still see each other as rivals for some resources (e.g. working places).

¹⁰⁰ Other obstacles listed (in a decrescent order of importance) were: fiscal and duty problems; different levels and/or rhythms of economical development; reactions to the proposals of non-existent or very weak socio-cultural cooperation; existence of negative national and/or regional stereotypes; different levels of technological development; reactions to the proposals of non-existent or very weak economic cooperation; protection of the labour market; reticence due to increasing competition.

Cf. also Štrukelj (1994: 45) who also affirms that language diversity represents the most important hindering factor in intercultural communication along the borders (and elsewhere).

¹⁰¹ Primorske novice is a local daily paper, edited in Koper (Slovenia), which is largely read in Nova Gorica and its surroundings. Delo is a Slovene national daily newspaper with one page assigned to the local issues in the Slovene municipalities.

explicitly linked to the process of cross-border collaboration (for example issues linked to the processes of implementation of the law on protection of the Slovene minority). The list below is summarizing the language related information found in the articles that were reviewed in this survey¹⁰².

Title: PROUD OF LIVING NEAR THE BORDER

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 23-4-2002

Summary of the language related issue: On the round table “Goriška/Gorizia area – do I know you?” organized in Nova Gorica, one of the guests, the researcher M. Zago from the institute ISIG of Gorizia, exposed some findings that emerged of the researches carried out along the border area; it appeared that the population of Gorizia, and especially the young generation, is positively inclined towards bilingualism in their own town and towards the processes of cross-border collaboration.

Title: MINISTER OVERTHROWN BY NATIONALISTS

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 9-11-2002

Summary of the language related issue: Commenting the oppositions of the right wing parties to the implementation of the law about the protection of the Slovene minority in Italy, the author of the article mentions a readers' letter to the daily newspaper of Trieste, where three readers point out to the historical presence of multilingualism in Gorizia before the advent of Fascism and the value that the revival of this situation could have with regard to the integration processes.

Title: NEARLY PROVOCATIVE INITIATIVES OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE FOR THE CROSS-BORDER COLLABORATION

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 19-9-2003

Summary of the language related issue: During the international summer seminar about the cross-border collaboration in the Goriška/Gorizia area, organized by the Club of the students of Nova Gorica and the European house of Nova Gorica, the declaration was adopted that among other issues considers the necessity of implementation of the Slovene-Italian bilingualism in the whole cross-border area and it points to the necessity of language courses in both languages available to all population.

Title: THE MISSING VIEW “ACROSS”

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 20-4-2004

Summary of the language related issue: On the cross-border meeting of the journalists working in the border area, the director of the local daily newspaper, B. Brezigar, underlined the importance for the journalists to know the local history and the language of the people on both parts of the border.

Title: LINE, CROSS, LINE, CHURCHILL, ROOSVELT, STALIN. ON THE FRONTAGE

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo (Saturday's supplement), 30-4-2004

Summary of the language related issue: On the eve of the entrance of Slovenia in the EU the author carries out several interviews with some key figures in the political and socio-economical life of the Goriška/Gorizia region, but also with some common people having experienced the event of the border in 1947. The conversations relate to the perception of

¹⁰² The articles are cited in chronological order. The analysis included both reports of different events and journalists' commentaries, and it took in consideration also the articles from the area that can be considered as a gravitational area of Nova Gorica and Gorizia.

the border and the expectancies about its abolishment. One of the interviewees, M. Marinčič, the responsible for the cross-border cooperation at the Province of Gorizia, is pointing out to the importance of reciprocal language knowledge in the area. The actual situation is strongly disbalanced, and according to him the Italians do not speak the language of the neighbour because of the school system, forejudgments, politics, and also because after the First World War all German bureaucracy was replaced by Italians from the inland, who were not interested in Slovenia and its language.

Title: DISREGARD OF THE MOTHER TONGUE

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 4-5-2004

Summary of the language related issue: In discussing the imminent disappearance of the border between Slovenia and Italy, the journalist is mentioning the frequent practices of the Slovenes to disregard their mother tongue when communication with the neighbours. He also mentions the initiative of the former mayor of Trieste Cecovini to introduce, on the whole area of the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, the compulsory teaching of Slovene, and the consecutive reaction of the education authorities in Trieste, commenting that learning Slovene would be unproductive since Slovene is spoken by less than two million of people.

Title: PORTRAITS AND IDEAS OF THE NEIGHBOURS

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 19-1-2005

Summary of the language related issue: On the presentation of the book Goriziani&Novogoričani, which collected perceptions about the vanishing of the border and the integration process, one of the authors underlined the cultural and linguistic diversity of the area as its significant resource.

Title: THE LANGUAGE IS OPENING THE DOORS

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 12-2-2005

Summary of the language related issue: After the conclusion of the free Italian language courses, organized in the frame of the programme Interreg in Bovec (Slovenia), the organizers and the participants acknowledge the importance of language knowledge when learning about the culture of the other one and when establishing friendship. The local authorities on both sides of the border declared that they are seriously taking in consideration the inclusion of the neighbouring languages in the regular programs of the primary schools on their territory.

Title: THE MYTHS ABOUT EUROREGION

Newspaper and date of publication: Delo, 19-1-2005

Summary of the language related issue: Commenting the discussion about the establishment of the euroregion in the Goriška/Gorizia area, the journalist is observing that in cross-border communication a clear disparity is present, since the Slovene side is addressing the Italian side in Italian, while the Italians do not take initiatives in this sense.

Title: ON THE COMMON WAY WITH MORE KNOWLEDGE

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 10-12-2005

Summary of the language related issue: During the conference about the possible directions in development of the border regions along the Slovene-Italian border, organized by the association G4 in collaboration with the Office for European affairs and cross-border collaboration at the Province of Gorizia, Office for European affairs of the Municipality of Trieste and the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, the director of the institute ISIG pointed out to the fact that collaboration will necessarily require also to overcome language barriers, and mentioned the use of English as one of the possible solutions.

Title: ON THE WAY OF ITALIAN SCHOOLS IN ISTRIA

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 3-11-2006

Summary of the language related issue: Two representatives of the Slovene minority in Italy discussed increased interest of the Italians living in mix territories to enroll their children to the Slovene schools. The president of Slovene cultural and economical union, L. Semolič, underlined the importance of the Slovene minority schools as becoming, with their politics of openness, the main protagonist of the integrational dynamics. He sees the increased interest in learning Slovene not only as an important step forward in increased inter-cultural exchange between majority and minority, but also in the function of serving the needs of the developing cross-border integration.

Title: THERE IS NO REAL EU WITHOUT COHABITATION AND CREATIVE COLLABORATION

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 30-11-2006

Summary of the language related issue: During the project “Majorities learning about minorities” carried on in the frame of Interreg IIIA Slovenia-Italy, students on both side of the border are learning about the multilingualism and multiculturalism of the areas where minorities live and learn to consider these characteristics as a positive value and a prerequisite for a successful integration.

Title: THE MINORITY NETWORK

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 8-12-2006

Summary of the language related issue: Minority organizations of the Slovenes in Italy and the Italians in Slovenia pointed out, in the frame of the project of collaboration SAPEVA, the importance of language and cultural diversity of the border regions and the importance of minorities in the transmission of these elements as highly positive values.

Title: THEY WILL LEARN THE NEIGHBOURS’ LANGUAGES

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 12-3-2007

Summary of the language related issue: The municipality of Bovec (Slovenia) and some neighbouring border municipalities in Italy and Austria are planning to promote, in the frame of their common project of collaboration Terra amicitiae, language courses of the neighbouring languages in their primary and secondary schools and even on a preschool level.

Title: SLOVENE ALSO FOR THE ITALIANS

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 5-9-2007

Summary of the language related issue: The Youth centre of Nova Gorica is organizing free courses of Slovene for children and teenagers from the former republics of Yugoslavia and it is planning, in the future, to offer the same kind of courses also to the young people from across the border.

Title: STUDENTS CAN CHOOSE

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 19-12-2007

Summary of the language related issue: One of the town councillors in Nova Gorica raised the question about learning of Italian in primary and secondary schools since the recommendation of the EU would be to introduce neighbouring languages in the curriculum very early. According to the opinion of the councillor the grammar school of Nova Gorica is neglecting the Italian language by offering the possibility to study it only as a third language in the second year. The headmaster’s response denied these affirmations and stressed the freedom of the students to choose among many languages offered in the programme.

Title: LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE

Newspaper and date of publication: Primorske novice, 29-5-2008

Summary of the language related issue: The mayor of Nova Gorica is drawing attention to the fact that the Slovene Ministry of education, by changing some disposition for framing the schools' curricula, indirectly reduces the possibilities for the students in the secondary schools to learn Italian. This language is, according to the mayor, very important in the border area of Nova Gorica. The ministry explains that the changes are directed towards larger possibility of choice of non obligatory subjects directly by the schools and that the possibilities to choose Italian after the amendments will remain the same.¹⁰³

It is indicative that among the many articles published in the examined period of almost seven years about the cross-border collaboration, only 17 dedicated some attention to language issues and that none of them was entirely dedicated to the importance of language in cross-border collaboration and the process of European integration¹⁰⁴. According to the last article appeared in the local newspaper dedicated to the planned cross-border projects for the near future (Primorske novice, 20-1-2009), none of these projects is meant to consider language issues in any regard. Additional observations about the published articles can be made about the actors exposing language in the frame of cross-border relations and giving some opinion about it: in one case it is the journalist himself as a commentator, in seven cases these are different nongovernmental organizations, and in seven cases these are different representatives of the local authorities. Nevertheless, the language issue was never raised in the frame of formal cross-border meetings between the local decision makers.

In the analysed period we found also four newspapers' articles about commuting in the area¹⁰⁵, but none of them was mentioning language related problems. This shows both that commuting until now did not get much attention in general and that the language issues in this frame have been completely neglected.

¹⁰³ There were two other articles published on the same subject some days later in the analysed newspapers, trying to give a more detailed information about the position of both, the mayor and the Ministry. At the end the schools' representatives explained that in practice it is possible that the introduced system could result in a certain level of restriction of learning Italian in professional schools of Nova Gorica, but that reductions are neither automatic nor significant.

¹⁰⁴ Distributed by years the articles mentioned language issues with the following frequency: two articles in 2002, one in 2003, three in 2004, four in 2005, three 2006, three in 2007, and one from the beginning of 2008 until the end of February 2009. In comparison to other examined years, more articles appeared in the year of entrance of Slovenia in the EU (2004) and the year immediately after.

Other articles on cross-border collaboration in the examined period were mentioning different kind of activities or projects where cross-border partners were involved (sports, health care (supplementary health care services in the hospitals), infrastructure (railway, bike tracks), urbanistic planning, tourism, artisans' collaboration, ecology (common purification plant), culture (sharing information about the cultural offer on both sides - concerts, theatre, libraries, exhibitions), cross-border office, etc.).

¹⁰⁵ Primorske novice, 3-5-2004: No obstacles for workers crossing the border; Primorske novice, 27-10-2004: Neighbours would like our bricklayers; Primorske novice, 11-4-2007, There is enough work along the border area; Thousands of workers daily across the border, Delo, 21-8-2007.

Another interesting aspect in the frame of cross-border collaboration is the use of languages in the formal contacts of the local municipalities and in the ways that these institutions present themselves on their official web sites. The web page of the Municipality of Nova Gorica is functioning only in Slovene, that of the Municipality of Gorizia only in Italian, the web pages of the Province of Gorizia and the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia are partially trilingual, i.e. they offer full texts in Italian and a good part of information also in Slovene and in Friulian. The common web page of the three border administrations of the municipalities of Nova Gorica, Gorizia and Šempeter-Vrtojba offers information in Slovene and Italian, but there is not a complete parallelism in covering the contexts in all the three languages¹⁰⁶. For the formal cross-border meetings and the related documentation the local authorities make use of translation and interpretation from Slovene to Italian and vice versa. No initiatives or formal documents were proposed, until now, to fix the rules related to language policy in these kinds of activities.

IV.3 Language(s) and the process of globalisation

In this chapter internationalisation and globalisation in relation to language issues in the examined area will be addressed especially in order to examine, how the role of English in business, education, media and science has become more accentuated and how the local (and national) structures eventually reacted to these processes¹⁰⁷.

Cross-border area of Nova Gorica and Gorizia is not very strong in a sense of economic development, due to its specific peripheral positioning (Bufon 1992). Even in the latest years this marginalisation has not been overcome, and a considerable role in this regard can be attributed to weak infrastructure connections with central, more developed parts of the relative nation states. It is thus understandable that the area,

¹⁰⁶ See for the Municipality of Nova Gorica <http://www.nova-gorica.si/>, for the Municipality of Gorizia <http://www.comune.gorizia.it>, for the Province of Gorizia <http://www.provincia.gorizia.it>, for the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia <http://www.regione.fvg.it>, and for the common web page of the three bordering administrations <http://www.nolimesgo.net>.

¹⁰⁷ Many authors in language policy studies have shown that globalisation has shifted the focus in the analysis of language policy issues: though preserving its central importance, nation state has to share its influence with other institutions, such as, for example the EU, and the multinational corporations.

after becoming more and more opened from the 1950s onwards, functioned predominantly as a transitional zone¹⁰⁸. With the difference of Italian more developed centres, Gorizia did not have to approach very high rates of immigrants and school problems with the official language illiteracy of immigrants' children¹⁰⁹. It can be said the same for the Slovenian part of the area, where nevertheless the considerable number of immigrants from the ex Yugoslav republics have to be taken into account, although their presence did not have any impact on the local language policies (see below, chapter V.1).

In the new globalised situation, it is especially Slovene, as one of less widely used languages (with approximately 2 million of speakers and thus a very low Q-value) that has begun to be discussed. Slovene society has important tasks to attend to in the future if it wishes to maintain and develop its own language in all domains of society¹¹⁰. A core area in that respect is the area of scientific life. Even though the tradition of using Slovene is still strong in scientific writing, young researchers in science and technology often write their reports and articles only in English, no longer using Slovene¹¹¹. Nevertheless, Italian in science is facing similar problems, although having a considerably higher communication potential; the loss of scientific registers of languages other than English is nowadays considered as a general problem (Carli and Calaresu 2007).

In the studied area the consequences of enforcement of English as a global lingua franca are visible especially in the school programmes where English as the first foreign language has been largely introduced in the last three decades¹¹². Considerable

¹⁰⁸ Due to the weak physical barriers and relatively weak border control the area represented the door between Slovenia and Italy for many illegal crossings of immigrants from Asia, the Middle East and the Balkans. After the joining of Slovenia to the Schengen area the focus in this sense is now more on the new external border of the EU, i.e. the Slovene-Croatian border.

¹⁰⁹ For situation in big Italian centres for what regards the problem of immigrant languages cf. Vedovelli 2004.

¹¹⁰ Some authors pointed to considerable delays in language planning activities on the national level, directed to approach the new situation (e.g. Štrukelj 1998).

¹¹¹ The situation is comparable, to a certain extent, to the Swedish situation described in chapter III.5. Researchers in humanities and social sciences use both their first language and English and this could perhaps be a good model for all academic fields in the future not to risk situations of diglossia.

¹¹² It was already pointed out that the effects of globalisation on language issues have a very strong impact also on the language issues in the EU: "English has de facto become the connecting language of the European Union, and at the present trends of growing secondary school enrolment and increasing instruction in English will only reinforce its predominance within the EU" (de Swaan 2001: 161).

is also the raise of its importance in working environments where for example in cross border contacts English supplanted previously more used German and Serbo-Croatian.

Before the split of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian was usually chosen from the Italian business partners in contacts with the Slovene counterpart because of the much wider communicative potential. In fact, this was the language which foreign partners could use on the whole territory of Yugoslavia (with approx. 22.4 million of inhabitants in 1985) and that the Slovenes had no problems communicating in. Like in many other similar situations of predominance of one language over another, also in this case it was argued that Serbo-Croatian was easier to learn than Slovene. It is obvious that structural factors did not matter at all and that the reasons were of purely economic nature, i.e. the higher value of Serbo-Croatian on the linguistic market. German on the other side was used to a certain extent since on both sides of the border it was present in the school curricula. Nevertheless, most frequently the Italian and the Slovene partners communicated in Italian, since this language was always well known by the Slovenes.

For what regards the media, during the past decades television in Slovenia has given extensive input in a number of foreign languages, as all foreign programmes shown on the national TV channels were (and still are) subtitled and not dubbed. Foreign language programmes on the Italian TV are regularly dubbed, but it is important to point to the fact that new telecommunication technologies (both in Slovenia and in Italy) offer now the transmission of a wide range of original programmes from all over the world, offering thus the possibility of a direct linguistic contact. Nevertheless, English tends to predominate also in these settings, not even mentioning the Internet, where the predominance of English is an acknowledged fact from its very beginning. The consequences of these phenomena for the observed population in the cross border area are visible especially in lower spread of Italian knowledge among the young generation on the Slovene part, where in the decades before the large spread of English on TV and the wide use of “English speaking” Internet among the young generation the Italian language was mostly acquired through TV programmes (Bufon 1995, Vodopivec 2005).

Many of the examined aspects in this chapter can be observed also in the analysis of our empirical data regarding the use and the evaluation of importance of English and other languages in business and in educational processes (see below, chapters V.3.4 and V.4).

V. Language practices, ideologies and planning in the studied area – present situation

In previous chapter about the historical overview of the studied area we pointed to the fact that for the complete understanding of different historical periods, different socio-geographical areas have to be considered, since the socio-economical networks of the population are closely linked to different historical administrative organizations. For the continuation of our work it is nevertheless necessary to find an appropriate definition of the cross-border area, and the following seems to suit the needs of analysis of our issue area¹¹³: Cross-border area is a relatively complex bordering region characterised by the high level of mutual connections, complementarities and integration. It cannot be defined merely as a region “comprising a border” or as a “sum of two delimited regions”, since also all the dimensions of the cross-border linkages have to be taken into consideration.

Underlining the importance of cultural elements in the identification of local communities and therefore formulating a “cultural/geographical interpretation of the space and territoriality”, cross-border area could further be defined as

a ‘region’, constituted according to the principle of functionality, originated from the existing disproportions and from the conformation of the border population to this disproportions in the frame of a certain ‘field of tension’. At the same time this region is shaped also by the principle of homogeneity, as both parts often share an appurtenance to the same cultural landscape. (Bufon 1995: 16)¹¹⁴

Next step requires verifying whether our cross-border area could be defined as a speech community and then the description of its characteristics.

¹¹³ The definition is based on Bufon (1995: 16).

¹¹⁴ Interaction is a fundamental factor also in Cohen’s view of the boundary: “The consciousness of community is, then, encapsulated in perception of its boundaries which are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction” (1985: 13).

V.1 Studied area as a community of communication

In the theoretical part of our work (see above, chapter II.3) we already presented the concepts of speech community and that of linguistic habitus. It is useful to briefly revise the two definitions. According to Bourdieu (1991) a linguistic habitus is a sub-set of dispositions of the habitus to which it relates, where this sub-set is governing language practices and perceptions of their value on the (linguistic) market. Dispositions which constitute the habitus, argues Bourdieu, are acquired in particular contexts, e.g. the family, the peer group, the school, etc.; they “are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable” (ibid., p. 12). The speech community, on the other side, if we choose the above reported definition of Spolsky (2004), is a group, characterised by sharing a set of language practices and beliefs. Language practices are the result of a common, habitual pattern of selection among the varieties, available in its linguistic repertoire, the same kind of selection procedure could hold true also for language beliefs. It is thus possible to say that the patterns of selection, which are adopted by a speech community, are conditioned by a certain linguistic habitus.

Applied to our specific case, it would not be possible to say that the studied area could be defined as a single speech community. It clearly appeared, through the historical analysis (see above, chapter IV), that more linguistic habiti were produced in the sociohistorical processes. Nevertheless, what seems to us very important in the present situation of the analysed cross-border area is the “high level of mutual connections”, the very criteria that is defining the area as a cross-border setting. This makes us believe that it is possible and necessary to treat this area as a *community of communication*, composed by more than one linguistic habitus (and consequently more speech communities). Identification of the number of possible habiti is not intended as a goal of our research work; we would rather prefer to focus on discovering the complexity of the setting, and showing how this complexity is conditioning the language related issues in the cross-border contacts.

In the continuation we present some data that illustrate the area of Nova Gorica and Gorizia according to the taxonomy of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977, see above,

chapter II.3). Many useful information in this regard can be found also above, in the historical description of the area (see chapters IV.1, IV.2 and IV.3). As for the minorities we give attention to the role of the state in facing and securing their rights. As Tollefson (1991: 202) points out, “the struggle to adopt minority languages within dominant institutions such as education, the law, and government, as well as the struggle over language rights, constitute efforts to legitimize the minority group itself and to alter its relationship to the state”.

V.1.1 Situation in Gorizia

In the year 2003 in the municipality of Gorizia there were about 37,000 inhabitants, from which the majority was Italian, with the Friulians and the Slovenes as minority groups¹¹⁵. The total number of the Slovenes in Italy is about 100,000, while that of the Friulians is estimated to be 794,000 (*Ethnologue*, cf. also Orioles 2003). There are no statistical data about the number of the Slovene and Friulian minority members in the single provinces.

As far the definition of minority is concerned, it is interesting to ascertain that so many difficulties exist in trying to find a general definition, capable to encompass all the variegated situations. Differences are present starting from the very denomination, which is most frequently the result of historical-political development in the concrete area (Jesih 2007). In Italy, for example, the term language minority is used in the constitution¹¹⁶, while in Slovenia the two autochthonous minorities (Italian and Hungarian) are addressed as national communities¹¹⁷. Definitions in the scientific literature and political texts vary too. Comparing some definitions used in the context of the EU institutions, Council of Europe and United Nations it seems that all

¹¹⁵ Source: The official website of the Municipality of Gorizia (www.comune.gorizia.it). There are no data available about the percentage of the inhabitants belonging to the two minorities. Problems related to numerical assessment of minority groups are discussed in Strassoldo 1977, where the author points to the fact that statistics related to minorities' data usually risks to be (ab)used in political contentions and conditioned by the needs of State's interests. Khubchandani (1997: 155) individuates two dominant patterns in the censuses where governments try to influence language returns: a) maximisation of the apparent proportion attributed to the dominant language; b) corresponding minimisation of the size of linguistic minorities.

¹¹⁶ Art. 6 of *The Constitution of the Italian Republic*, cf. also The legislation on the Protection of the Slovene minority.

¹¹⁷ See Art. 64 of *The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia*.

definitions relate to the minorities' characteristics of being statistically small-sized, and differing in language, culture and other features (e.g. ethnicity, religion, history) from the majority population; some definitions include also the criteria of being the minority members citizens of the appointed state; of establishing longstanding and strong relations to this state; of being numerically representative enough in relation to the rest of the population; of expressing the intention to preserve their own collective identity; of being generally in the subordinate position in relation to the majority population. For the Slovene and the Friulian minority in Gorizia all the listed characteristics and distinctions can hold true, apart from religion, which they share with the majority group.

Since the end of the Second World War, the Romance speaking community in Gorizia has been characterised by the following speech repertoire: Venetian–Julian dialect (similar to that used in Trieste) as the low variety, standard Italian as the high variety, and Friulian. As for the Slovene speaking community in Gorizia the speech repertoire can be divided as follows: Collio/briško- or Carso/kraško-dialects as the low variety, standard Slovene as the high variety.

In Gorizia, Italian is the official language, but to a certain degree also Friulian and Slovene are acknowledged some rights as minority languages (see below for detailed information about their status)¹¹⁸. For Italian as an official language on the whole territory of Italy we find no specifications about its official status in the text of the Italian Constitution or special laws regarding its use in specific domains¹¹⁹. It is a mother tongue of about 55 million people in Italy and of about 6.5 million people in other countries.

In case of minorities, it is recognised that a set of “special rights” is needed in order to

overcome the marginal position of minorities and to establish a democratic dialog between majority and minority, to obviate the dissents between minority and

¹¹⁸ Members of the Slovene minority in Italy live in three provinces of Friuli Venezia Giulia – in the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine (for the detailed distribution of the Slovene speaking population in Italy see Orioles 2003: 90-93).

¹¹⁹ As we will see later in the case of Slovene as the official language of Slovenia is different.

majority, and to accomplish the actual equality of minority's members with the rest of the citizens of the state. (Jesih 2007: 35-36)¹²⁰

The legal status of the Slovene minority is defined in the Constitution, general regulations, special laws, and international treaties¹²¹. According to the Italian Constitution, the Republic has not only to treat all its nationals as equal but also to eliminate any obstacles, which might prevent equal treatment of its nationals in practice. Under Article 6, language minorities are protected by special laws. A selection of the *general regulations* governing minorities in Italy is given as follows: a) Law 935 of 3/1/1966: the right to give children foreign names; b) Article of Presidential Decree 634 of 2/6/1972 Regulation of registry tax: the right to make entries in legal documents in the foreign language. *Special basic laws* also relate to specific minorities in Italy. In case of Slovene minority, this mainly involves the Statute of the Autonomous Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, which gives equal status to all nationals living in the Region (“In the Region, all citizens shall receive equal treatment, irrespective of the language group to which they belong, and therefore their ethnic and cultural characteristics shall be preserved.”)

As for international treaties, the basic text in respect of minorities was the Memorandum of Understanding between the Italian, United States, United Kingdom and former Yugoslav governments, signed in London in 1954. Since the Treaty does not set out any territorial provisions, the geographical distribution of the minorities was the subject of vigorous debate in the decades following the Treaty. In the Osimo Treaty (1975), a sub-section of the Preamble to the nine Articles of the Treaty stipulates the greatest possible loyalty towards the minorities in the two countries, based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of

¹²⁰ The author (ibid., pp. 35-49) is considering these special rights as being composed of a) *basic special rights* (e.g. the right to recognition, the right to belong to the chosen community, the right to collective protection); b) *special basic (compensative) rights* (e.g. the right to use one's own language, to preserve and cultivate one's own culture, to free development of contacts, to education, to information, to employment in public service, to the use of personal names and toponomastics in one's own language, to preservation of homeland, to use of one's own [ethnic] symbols); and c) *procedural rights* (e.g. the possibility to carry into effect the appurtenant rights by being assured different forms and levels of autonomy and participation).

¹²¹ The legal status of the Slovene minority will be not discussed here in details; we will try to give the basic information about the subject.

Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Covenants on Human Rights.

The Law 482/1999 is intended for the protection of all the historically present minorities in Italy (in Friuli Venezia Giulia in this regards, apart from Slovene, also for the Friulian and German minority). For the Slovene minority also the specific Law N. 38 was issued on 23-2-2001 (*Norme a tutela della minoranza linguistica slovena della regione Friuli-Venzia Giulia*), which should ensure to the Slovenes high levels of protection in all provinces of the Autonomous Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, also to the Slovenes in the Province of Udine where those rights were not recognized before. Recently an Advisory Committee was established in order to define details that are needed to implement the law. Unfortunately the implementation process is very much linked to the temporary political conditions and it thus happens very often that the procedures are hindered by some members of the Italian right wing parties, which still perceive language issues as a convenient battle field where to build their own carriers on inter-ethnic confrontation¹²².

The Slovene minority has developed a network of institutions and associations that take care of linguistic, cultural and economic development of the community. One daily newspaper is published (*Primorski dnevnik*) and several periodicals (*Novo delo*, *Novi glas*, *Galeb*, etc.). The only bilingual (Slovene/Italian) periodical is *Soča-Isonzo*. In the frame of RAI (Radio Televisione Italiana) one Slovene broadcasting station is active, and recently also a TV programme in the Slovene language is active. For radio broadcasting there exists the Slovene department of the regional studio of the public broadcasting corporation RAI, Radio Trst A, which is producing transmissions exclusively in Slovene. Still inside the RAI Corporation, from 1995 on there exists a TV broadcasting in the Slovene language (inside the so-called “terza rete-bis”), but only with a half an hour of programme daily¹²³. The possibility to acquire information through media in their mother tongue is crucial for the members of the minorities in order to preserve their identity and language; in this regard it is also important that

¹²² Cf. also *Slovenci v Italiji – zaščita 2001* and *Brezigar 2001*.

¹²³ For detailed overview of the cultural and political organization of the Slovene minority see *De Marchi et al. 1991*.

information is given from different (combined) sources, e.g. radio, TV programmes, newspapers etc. (Munda Hirnök 2000).

In the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia children have the possibility to be schooled in the Slovene language; there exist kindergartens, primary and secondary schools¹²⁴. In minority schools the programme (learned subjects) does not differ from the programme of the Italian schools, with the exception of the additional subject, the Slovene language and literature, and some specific contents in geography and history¹²⁵. The programmes are organized by the minority community itself. Pupils of these schools come from families with both Slovene parents, families of mixed marriages (Slovene and Italian), and also from families with parents belonging to other nationalities (e.g. both Italian parents). Nowadays, pupils from mixed and non-Slovene families form about 50% of the school population of Slovene minority schools (Mikolič et al. 2006, cf. also below, chapter V.3.3).

It is not possible to study in Slovene at the university level; nevertheless one can study the Slovene language and literature at the University of Trieste (at the Faculty of arts and at the High school of modern languages for interpreters and translators) and in the frame of the University of Udine (at the Faculty of foreign languages and in the dislocated unit at Gorizia in the programme for interpreters and translators)¹²⁶.

As far as the right of public language use is concerned, it appears to be satisfactory secured only in some small municipalities of the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia (Mikolič et al. 2006). Recently, the Municipality of Gorizia introduced the possibility to use Slovene (and Friulian) in official practices through special offices - Ufficio per la minoranza slovena (and Ufficio per la minoranza friulana). In July 2005 an inquiry office was opened in order to give information about services in the administration on the municipal, provincial and regional level in the Italian, Slovene and Friulian

¹²⁴ In the province of Udine there is only the bilingual kindergarten and primary school in Špeter (San Pietro del Natisone); not long ago also the secondary bilingual school was established in the same town.

¹²⁵ In sociolinguistic literature this kind of programmes is categorized as language maintenance or language shelter programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). It is important to keep in mind that the domain of school is of utmost importance in influencing the maintenance of the minority languages (Novak Lukanovič 1998 and 2003a). As it was ascertained in the LPP studies, “the minority language policy of a country is manifested most clearly in its educational policy” (Kaplan and Baldauf 2005a: 177).

¹²⁶ The study of the Slovene language and literature in Italy is possible also at the universities in Rome, Padova and Napoli.

language. Juridical authorities have to guarantee by law that the investigations and the proceedings of members of a minority may take place in their mother tongue and that records of proceedings may be drafted in their language. In practice, Slovene is used only optionally if a witness is a Slovene speaker, otherwise Italian predominates.

As De Marchi et al. (1991: 23) found out, from the legal point of view,

[l]’incontro con l’italiano, o detto in termini più concreti, il fatto che la comunità slovena sia una minoranza a fronte di una maggioranza italiana, non trasforma lo sloveno in lingua L [low], ma piuttosto restringe i domini dello sloveno lingua H [high]. La diglossia cioè, è diretta conseguenza di un bilinguismo limitato al solo gruppo di minoranza.

Also, another fact was pointed out that is negatively influencing the cultivation of the Slovene language by the Slovene minority in Italy: there are very little concrete speaking situations, where it would be possible to use the Slovene language on a high technical and intellectual level, since there is a lack of “organised forms of higher social life” (Toporišič 1991: 54). Besides this, the Slovenes are mostly employed in Italian working environments, with the exception of those who work in minority institutions and associations. The possibilities to use and develop Slovene are thus very restricted: minority language is limited to the use inside family, Slovene associations, schools, Slovene enterprises and institutions (Mikolič et al. 2006, cf. also below, the results of our analysis in chapter V.4.1)¹²⁷.

All the members of the Slovene minority in Italy master both Slovene and Italian, and can be thus considered as bilinguals or plurilinguals if we take into consideration also the low varieties of the two languages. As Bourdieu (1991: 82) points out, “the sense of the value of one’s own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space”. In this regard, the present situation can be evaluated as more positive if compared with that described in Kaučič Baša (1993: 53), where Slovene as minority language appears as officially not

¹²⁷ Cf. the opinion of Rupel (2000), who is considering Slovene as being politically, economically and socially weak, but strong from the cultural point of view.

recognized at all and therefore with very limited access to public use¹²⁸. Kaučič Baša (ibid.) is ascertaining that in the analysed period Slovene was perceived “not only by majority but also by minority members themselves - as an inferior code, not legitimate for public communication”; this situation would have generated among the Slovenes “a sense of linguistic and consequently ethnic inferiority”. It is our opinion that the recent processes of Slovene independence, its successful integration in the EU, and fast economic growth have strongly influenced the perceptions of the Slovenes in general and consequently also the members of the Slovene minority in Italy. Another clear example of how linguistic issues are strongly linked to wider socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of the community’s life.

In the literature concerning linguistic minorities we found, in White (1991: 44), an interesting approach to the analysis of the following question: “Why certain minority language groups have raised issues that have disturbed the political equilibrium of the states concerned whilst others have had very little of no such effect”¹²⁹. Since from the above described situation of the Slovene minority is evident that the cohabitation between the minority and majority was not always “unperturbed”, we followed the authors attempt to answer the posed question, which was especially interesting since the practical example he used to test his methodological approach included the Italian minorities, and the Slovene one, too.

The author elaborated a typology of minorities, where the following geographical characteristics (spatial location and connections) of minorities are considered:

- a) “Absolute minority” (where the minority language is not in a majority position in any state) vs. “local minority” (that is a majority elsewhere);
- b) “External” geographical relationship that can be that of *contiguity* (i.e. location against the border of other community speaking the same language – being that minoritarian or majoritarian language group), or of *non-contiguity* (i.e. of no direct contact of similar speakers in another state);

¹²⁸ The described situation refers to Trieste but for the same period the situation in Gorizia can be evaluated as being very similar.

¹²⁹ The reported description is completing in an important way the description of the variables, that Giles, Bourish and Taylor (1977) consider important in affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (see above, chapter II.3).

- c) Internal spatial structure (distribution) of the minority community, where difference is identified between “close-knit” internal structures and “diffuse” structures.

Combining these variables the author develops ten types of minority situations (see below, Table 6).

Table 6: A typology of minority language situations

<i>Type No.</i>	<i>Minority type</i>	<i>External structure</i>	<i>Internal structure</i>
1	Absolute, unique to one state	/	Close-knit
2	Absolute, unique to one state	/	Diffuse
3	Absolute, minority tongue elsewhere	Contiguous	Close-knit
4	Absolute, minority tongue elsewhere	Contiguous	Diffuse
5	Absolute, minority tongue elsewhere	Non-contiguous	Close-knit
6	Absolute, minority tongue elsewhere	Non-contiguous	Diffuse
7	Local	Contiguous	Close-knit
8	Local	Contiguous	Diffuse
9	Local	Non-contiguous	Close-knit
10	Local	Non-contiguous	Diffuse

Source: White 1991

According to him, the Slovene minority in Italy would appertain to the Type 7, where the minority is local, close-knit and contiguous to the majority state. This type, according to the author, “might be the most significant in generating political protest and in guaranteeing their own futures”, especially if the minority situation was originally created by a sudden change in frontiers (ibid., p. 57)¹³⁰. By proposing the typology, the author is not pretending to give an exhaustive explanation of the different minority situation; in fact, he is considering the analysis of the sociolinguistic circumstances of language use as a necessary parallel to the complete study of the examined situations. Yet, what it is important for him (and for us, too) is that the geographical factors can help explaining differences between the levels of vitality and of political salience of minorities of different types. According to us, interesting

¹³⁰ The author is also considering this type of minorities as “potentially the strongest and most viable in modern democratic states” (ibid., p. 63).

analytical results could be achieved by including similar space-related considerations in the frame of the language-identity relationship research, with special attention on the function of the border, with its function of “embodying the sense of discrimination” (see also above, chapter III.2).

To complete the sociolinguistic description of the today’s Gorizia, some words should be spent also about the Friulian speaking community, another linguistic minority present in the researched area. Friulian is popularly referred to as eastern Ladin and is a member of the Romance subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages¹³¹. The Friulian-speaking area covers the Provinces of Udine, Pordenone and Gorizia in the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, and it is also spoken in the Province of Trieste. According to Euromosaic sources (1996) Friulian is spoken more frequently in rural areas, while its use in the major cities is on the decline. Orioles (2003) points to the fact that from all the population estimated to belong to the Friulian minority, only 57% of that population effectively actively uses Friulian in their daily life.

According to the Italian Constitution, Friulian community should be, as a language minority, protected by special laws. Nevertheless, as Cisilino (2004) points out, no provisions in this regard were adopted until the last decade. The first important step was the Regional Law 15/96¹³², which for the first time established the territorial delimitation of the Friulian minority, defined the “official graphisation”, and defined the rules of use of Friulian in toponomastics and inside the schools¹³³. The National Law 482/99 finally gave official recognition to the Friulian minority. Possibility of radio and TV broadcasting in Friulian was foreseen, as well as the use of Friulian in the juridical procedures and in the public administration. The Autonomous Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia was given the competence in the organisation of instruction (Legal Decree of 12 September 2002, No. 223): Friulian could take part of the curricula both as a language of instruction or as a subject.

¹³¹ Cf. Roseano 1999 (pp. 145-159 about two different theories of criteria of differentiation of Friulian from other Romance languages.

¹³² Before that, Friulian was only mentioned inside the normative texts in the Law 547/77 establishing the University of Udine, and in the 1980s in the provisions establishing the courses of the Friulian language and literature inside the Universities of Trieste and Udine.

¹³³ It was not possible to use Friulian as a language of instruction or to teach it as a subject; the law foresees only the possibility to use it as a supplementary language in the school activities (Cisilino 2004).

In the present situation Friulian is an optional subject in a few nursery schools and in a very few schools at the primary level¹³⁴. At the secondary level, Friulian is also taught in a few schools but never as a compulsory subject (in 8% of the secondary schools there is about one hour a week of Friulian). As for the higher education, Friulian Language and Literature is taught at the Universities of Udine and Trieste. The already mentioned inquiry office gives the possibility to use Friulian in public administration. The situation regarding the juridical use is similar to the situation described above for the Slovene language. There are no daily papers or periodicals published entirely in Friulian, but there are some which use this language partly, e.g. *Voce Isontina*, *Friuli nel Mondo*, *Ce fastu*, *Sot la Nape*, etc.

It is Cisilino's (2004) opinion that the initiatives of the Council of Europe (the already mentioned Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of 1995, and the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages of 1998) have decisively contributed to the development of the legal provisions regulating the position of the Friulian language in Italy. Though he is also recognising that the implementation of these provisions is lagging behind, and that there are also sectors where legislation is still insufficiently defined (e.g. in the school sector).

V.1.2 Situation in Nova Gorica

According to the last census of 2002¹³⁵ in Nova Gorica 88.5% of the inhabitants declare Slovene as their mother tongue, 0.3% Italian, 0.5% Albanian, 1.1% Bosnian, 1.5% Croatian, 0.4% Macedonian, 2.1% Serbian, 2.1% Serbo-Croatian, and 3.4% other languages or they do not declare themselves. Thus, the languages of the former Yugoslavia represent at least 7.2%.

Article 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991) specifies that Slovene is the official language of Slovenia. However, in the areas where Italian or Hungarian communities reside (in the so-called ethnically mixed areas), the official language is

¹³⁴ See Euromosaic on <http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/>

¹³⁵ Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, *Census of Population, Households and Housing*, 2002. The same census gives a number of 32,193 inhabitants for the whole municipality of Nova Gorica.

also Italian or Hungarian. Additional regulations for the use of Slovene as official language (and Italian and Hungarian where established by the constitution) are defined in the *Law about public use of Slovene*¹³⁶.

People who in the last census declared the languages of the ex-Yugoslavia as their mother tongues do not have any particular rights with regards to the use of their mother tongues, although on the whole Slovenian territory they represent at least 8% of the whole population (Italian is declared as mother tongue by 0.2% of the whole Slovene population, and Hungarian by 0.4%). In the former Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian¹³⁷ was seen as a prestigious language, and it also had among the Slovene-speaking community the status of a fall-back language¹³⁸; it was also present in the school curriculum with two hours per week in the 5th year of the elementary school. Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, the language developed highly negative connotations in Slovenia, and, as a result, was withdrawn from the primary school syllabus (Požgaj Hadži and Balažic Bulc 2005)¹³⁹. At the same time the language separated into different variants or languages, such as Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, and more recently Montenegrin has slowly been taking shape. Today, all these languages in Slovenia are seen as foreign languages on the one hand, and, on the other, there comes increasingly to the fore the issue of the use of these languages (or at least of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian) as a first languages in the schools, i.e. as a medium of instruction.

V.1.3 English and neighbouring language learning in the studied area

In Italy, a foreign language (in most cases English) has been introduced as a compulsory subject from the first year of primary education onwards with the reform in the school year 2003/04 (Eurydice 2005), but already since 1992/93 this practice has been gradually introduced for all pupils aged 7 (Eurydice 2000). The opportunity to be

¹³⁶ Official gazette RS 86/2004 from 5- 8- 2004.

¹³⁷ The term Serbo-Croatian is used to designate all the language standards that in the 1990s split into separate languages, i.e. Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and recently also Montenegrin.

¹³⁸ Above (chapter IV.3) we mentioned that the use of Serbo-Croatian prevailed in business contacts among Italian and Slovene partners, when the adopted language was not Italian.

¹³⁹ This is another case demonstrating the close interconnectedness of socio-political and language policy issues.

taught two foreign languages during full-time compulsory education occurs solely within a flexible curriculum devised by each school; pupils have the possibility to choose between German, Spanish and French. Also the number of compulsory foreign languages at the secondary level can be freely decided by schools. Where schools decide to do this, all pupils thus either have to learn this further language, or may select it as a core curriculum. These languages are additional to those covered by centrally specified requirements¹⁴⁰.

In Gorizia the Slovene language never figured in the programmes of Italian primary schools (i.e. the schools with Italian as a medium of instruction), neither as a compulsory subject nor as an optional one, and the same applies for the curricula of the Italian secondary schools. Even though already in 1987 the agreement between the Municipalities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia foresaw the possibility to introduce the neighbouring language in the curriculum of the schools on both sides of the border (Bufon 1995), this possibility was realised only in Nova Gorica.

In Nova Gorica in the period from 1945 to 1990 the teaching of the neighbouring Italian language was ignored¹⁴¹. As it was already mentioned Italian was acquired by the local population mostly through direct contacts with Italian speaking population of Gorizia and through the media (radio and TV programmes). From the 1990s onwards Nova Gorica began to introduce Italian language in the school curricula in a more or less organized way. Until 1991, when Slovenia parted from Yugoslavia, the schools of Nova Gorica followed the same curriculum in foreign language teaching as the schools in the rest of the Federative Republic of Slovenia, regardless of their particular border position. The primary-school curriculum included four years of one foreign language as a compulsory subject (from the age of 10/11 onwards)¹⁴². On the whole Slovene

¹⁴⁰ This room for manoeuvre exists both in Slovenia and in Italy at all levels of education, particularly at the secondary level, and it is especially marked in Italy.

¹⁴¹ It is interesting to note that elsewhere in Slovenia Italian as a foreign language was taught before 1990. If we consider only the schools outside ethnically mixed area of the Slovene Istria, the numbers are the following: 362 pupils learnt Italian in the school year 1988/89 and 1586 in the school year 1998/99 in the primary school; for the secondary school the numbers are: 4714 pupils in the school year 1978/79, 5017 in 1988/89, and 11485 in 1998/99 (Nečak Lük 2003).

¹⁴² A special situation occurred in the ethnically mixed territories of Slovene Istria and Prekmurje, where respectively Italian and Hungarian were also languages of instruction in some schools. In these areas Slovene was taught as the second language (i.e. language of environment) in the schools with the Italian or Hungarian language of instruction. The choice of foreign languages in mixed areas was the same as in the schools in the rest of Slovenia, but along with this, Italian and Hungarian here were compulsory

territory, mostly English and to a lesser degree German were the most widely spread as foreign languages. On the secondary level another foreign language was included along with the first one; pupils could choose between English, German, French and Russian. Russian and French were losing ground rather quickly, and soon English and German were figuring as the only two languages in most schools.

Italian was present in secondary (grammar) school in Nova Gorica for the first time in the school years 1980/81 and 1981/82¹⁴³. In the second half of the school year 1983/84 the status of Italian was reduced, in the same school programme, to the third foreign language and just as one of the optional subjects. It maintained this status for another two years, and it was abolished after this period. With Slovenia becoming an independent state, Italian was reintroduced in secondary (grammar) school programmes but it never figured as the first foreign language; this role was, and is still reserved to English. Nevertheless, the interest for Italian in the 1990s grew considerably, and several pupils are now studying it as a second or a third foreign language, some of them taking it even as a compulsory *matura* (baccalaureate) subject that requires 210 hours of teaching in the programme of the fourth year (i.e. six lessons per week). According to some data, 29% of students of the secondary school in Nova Gorica choosed Italian as a third language in the school year 2007/2008¹⁴⁴.

Before the school reform of 1996, in Nova Gorica the Italian language was never taught in primary schools. According to the school reform of 1996, in Slovenia one foreign language is a compulsory subject in the primary school curriculum from the age of 9 onwards (two years earlier as with the old curriculum). A second foreign language can be introduced in the primary education as an optional subject at the age of 12. Foreign languages that can be offered in full-time compulsory education are German, English, Spanish, French, Croatian, Italian and Latin.

subjects of curriculum as second languages on all levels of the educational system in the schools with the Slovene language of instruction. The situation in ethnically mixed territories did not change after the independency of Slovenia, it was also not altered after the last Slovenian school reform introduced in 1996.

¹⁴³ Exactly in the third and the fourth year of 'pedagoška gimnazija' (pedagogical grammar school). All the data regarding the teaching of Italian in secondary (grammar) schools of Nova Gorica are from Perko 1997.

¹⁴⁴ See Primorske novice, 19-12-2007.

In the primary schools of Nova Gorica approximately 20% of pupils choose Italian as a second language¹⁴⁵. This percentage covers almost all those pupils that decide to learn one additional language, and there are very few pupils that choose other languages (mostly French). In accordance with the EU recommendations, some amendments of the primary school curricula are currently discussed in Slovenia, which would introduce obligatory teaching of two foreign languages for all pupils in the last three years of the primary school (between the age of 11 and 13). In case of implementation of this reform Italian language will most probably figure as the second obligatory language in the border area.

V.2 The two case studies - methodological considerations

V.2.1 Some general problems and guidelines

Before moving to the case specific methodological considerations we would like to draw some attention to the general difficulty in sociolinguistics to build a common theoretical ground (see above, chapter II.1) and the implications that this fact could have for the methodological issues that we are concerned with.

According to Coulmas (1997: 6) the lack of “a single all-embracing sociolinguistic theory” can be interpreted as a result of “the great diversity of phenomena that sociolinguists investigate” and cannot be linked to “the empirical inclination of sociolinguistics and its emphasis on descriptive studies”. Nevertheless, in our case, dealing prevalently with data from case studies, this “empirical inclination” had some direct consequences. As it was already pointed out (see above, chapter I.2), case studies are mostly carried out in order to investigate in details the object of analysis and later on use the findings not to generalize them to the wider contexts but to interact with the existing theoretical framework by producing some new theory. Consequently, the lack of an established theoretical framework regarding the role of language in

¹⁴⁵ It must be mentioned that pupils have to choose three optional subjects in each of the three final years of the primary school. All optional subjects, except languages, require one lecture per week; when choosing foreign languages pupils have to include one additional hour per week in their programme.

cross-border inter-group interactions intensified the difficulties in building an adequate research instrumentary.

Methodological difficulties in observing language policy in a cross-border area may be linked also to other ascertained problems of language policy studies. Namely, “the concepts of language policy are fuzzy and observer dependent. [...] Social categories with which sociolinguists generally work, such as gender, age, class and ethnic group [...] are not ‘brute facts’ but categorisations dependent absolutely on the user” (Spolsky 2004: 41). Moreover, “not just the elements, but also the interactions between them, are likely to be fuzzy. Causal direction will be slippery and difficult to ascertain” (ibid.). Thus, for example, when we find that we can associate certain language behaviour with a certain social category, it is difficult to decide which causes which. As a consequence, a methodological advice could be the following:

While the interaction between factors and policies is often expressed causally, it is wiser to think of it as a probable association or constructive interaction. Rather than saying that a given factor causes a specific policy, it is better to think of it as the *probability relation* of the form: ‘if the situation S is true, then language policy P is more likely to occur’. These situations, considered better as conditions [...] are co-occurring and interactive, producing stronger or weaker probabilities as they interact constructively. At the most general level, in language policy the conditions are conditions for choice of a language element or variety. (Spolsky 2004: 41, our emphasis)

By examining various attempts to explain social constitution of linguistic features, Cameron (1997: 59 ff.) points out the “correlational fallacy”. She observes that it is a commonplace in sociolinguistic analysis to take the statistical correlation between linguistic and non-linguistic variables as a terminal point of account. She further concludes that this procedure rests on the assumption that “language reflects society”, and that “it does not in fact explain anything”. [...] Rather, one is obliged to ask in virtue of what the correlation might hold” (on the correlation between social and linguistic categories see also above, chapter II.1). Similar are the observations of Kaplan and Baldauf (2005b). The authors ascertain that in examining various aspects of language planning and policy a wide variety of methodological perspectives have been

used, though evaluative work continues to be relatively rare, since the descriptive approach remains a prevailing tendency, language policy and planning authors “often forgetting the basic tenet of science that association is not causation” (ibid., p. 6)¹⁴⁶.

Cooper (1989) is not so pessimistic. He identifies four tasks of language planning scholars: 1) to describe, 2) to predict, 3) to explain language planning processes and outcomes in particular instances, and 4) to derive valid generalizations about these processes and outcomes (ibid., p. 46). As for the explanatory task, he defines it as the “ability to ‘account for’ a particular outcome”, and the aspiration to “identify the causal or determining factors and their relative importance in the case at hand” (ibid., p. 50). He further distinguishes three levels of explanation, i.e. *correlative* (when trying to determine cause and effect through statistical accounting, by relating independent variables to the outcomes of interest); *observational* (when trying to reach the same goal by careful observation of ongoing behaviour); and *experimental* (when attempting to reach an explanation by conducting a quasi-experiment). He seems confident in the results of adequately conducted enquiries, though warning, he too, that “correlation, of course, is not causation” (ibid., p. 52)¹⁴⁷.

V.2.2 Research design and some case specific problems

In the introductory chapter we already presented some data about the two case studies that consist the database for our empirical analysis, i.e. the leader, the collaborators, and the responsible and participating institutions. In order to simplify the references in quoting and interpreting the data we will hereinafter indicate the two studies with the abbreviations CS1 (for the 1st case study) and CS2 (for the 2nd case study).

¹⁴⁶ As a consequence of this kind of approach, the authors even report that “there has been a global tendency to view LPP as on fad (or one ‘innovation’) after another, each with a typical life span of five to ten years [...]. It is rare that anyone critically examines the evidence that validates one or another new practice. This soft approach to LPP research has led to redundancy and has inspired cynicism and existential fatigue among policy makers, journalists, and the public. In the process, LPP research has become a low-status undertaking, increasingly open to critique, although unfortunately much of the critique has focused on the way the discipline is seen to operate through its ‘involvement’ in issues like ‘linguistic imperialism’ or ‘minority language rights’, rather than on developing research based studies that appropriately address and try to understand the issues involved”.

¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Cooper (ibid. p. 56) preserves some criticism in relation to language policy theories. He asserts, for example, that the difficulties in determining the relevant variables to be included in descriptive, predictive and explanatory studies are related to the deficiencies in this field of scholarship.

As far as the choice of appropriate methods for a particular research topic is concerned, general directions would recommend considering: a) the goals of the research; b) the existence and availability of various types of data and informants; c) financial, human and technological resources available (Ricento 2006: 134). In our case we would consider as an important factor also the possible relations between the two studies.

The main goals in both case studies were to clear up the following questions:

- How important is considered the knowledge of the neighbouring language on both sides of the border;
- Which is the subjective evaluation of the neighbouring language on both sides of the border;
- Which are the relations between the Italian and the Slovene language and the other languages (especially English as a global lingua franca);
- To which extent does the socially and historically determined position towards the languages determine the relations between the communities (are there any problems of a symbolic kind with an impedimental function towards the solution of practical problems of communication between the communities);
- Are there any generational differences in the evaluation of the importance of the knowledge of foreign languages;
- Which is the “index of expansiveness” (Calvet 1995)¹⁴⁸ of the Italian and the Slovene language respectively in the studied cross-border area;
- Which kinds of social interaction promote multilingual communication;
- Are there any differences between the Italian and the Slovene community in the way of communicating; if yes, which are the determining factors of these differences;
- Which is the orientation of the Slovene minority in the present communicational situation.

¹⁴⁸ Index of expansiveness expresses the ratio between the whole number of speakers of a language and the number of speakers to whom that language is a mother tongue. To ascertaining this value was the goal during CS1, while during CS2 the interest shifted to the Q-value of the languages present in the area (see above, chapter III.5, and de Swaan 2001).

Moreover it was planned that the two researches should provide data for the evaluation of the situation before and after the joining of Slovenia to the EU, offering in that way the possibility for comparative analysis.

Our research aimed specifically at drawing conclusions about two target populations (population strata) in the cross-border area of Nova Gorica-Gorizia. The first target group were 12-14 year-old pupils, i.e. the young population that is finishing primary school and is therefore not yet divided into different categories of pupils attending different types of secondary schools. Our second target group were the pupils' parents, i.e. the adult population of the age between about 30 and 55. Without avoiding the above-mentioned selection the sample of parents would have been much more characterised by variables like e.g. curriculum, degree of culture, social position and living standard, and that would considerably limit the possibility to generalise the results to the target populations on the whole. By obtaining, in this way, larger possibilities of generalisations, the sample of parents was meant to be used as "purposive sample", where the chosen cases are judged to be typical of the population in which the researchers are interested, assuming that errors of judgment in the selection will tend to counterbalance one another (Judd et al.1991).

The investigation was carried out in the schools of Nova Gorica and Gorizia, in the 7th class of primary school on the Slovene side and in the 3rd class of the lower secondary school on the Italian side (which is the corresponding level of education to the Slovene parallel). The questioning was realised in three schools selected by chance: on the Slovenian side in one of the schools in Nova Gorica (Osnovna šola Milojke Štrukelj), on the Italian side in one school with Italian as language of instruction (Scuola media statale Vittorio Locchi) and in one school with Slovene as language of instruction (Nižja srednja šola Ivan Trinko). There were two classes of pupils involved in the research in each school.

At the same time the questionnaires were delivered also to the parents of the selected pupils. For the sake of the definition of eventual sex differences both of the parents, mother and father, were asked to participate.

Table 7 sums up relevant information about the process of data collection in the two case studies, the sample and the response rates.

Table 7: Data collection in the two case studies: periods, samples and response rates

case study	researched cross-border area	period of data collection	sample	response rate ¹⁴⁹
CS1	Nova Gorica (SI): Štrukelj School	October 2003	44 pupils 88 parents	43 pupils (97.7%) 65 parents (73.9%)
	Gorizia (IT): Locchi School	November 2003	38 pupils 76 parents	38 pupils (100%) 48 parents (63.2%)
	Gorizia (IT): Trinko School	November 2003	41 pupils 82 parents	41 pupils (100%) 39 parents (47.6%)
CS2	Nova Gorica (SI): Štrukelj School	March 2005	40 pupils 80 parents	40 pupils (100%) 36 parents (45%)
	Gorizia (IT): Locchi School	March 2005	39 pupils 78 parents	37 pupils (94.9%) 49 parents (62.8%)
	Gorizia (IT): Trinko School	March 2005	40 pupils 80 parents	40 pupils (100%) 36 parents (45%)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

The distribution of respondents according to gender in the case of the parents was rather equilibrated, with the (expected) predominance of female responders in all three schools.

The total number of delivered questionnaires to pupils and parents in both studies was 726, while the total number of the returned questionnaires was 512. The high response rate in the case of pupils that approaches 100% is explicable by the fact that the desired population in this case was “captive”, since the written questionnaires were mass administered to the whole group of pupils in a lecture hall. As for parents there was a considerable difference in the response rate of the parents in the Štrukelj School between CS1 and CS2; unfortunately we do not have any elements to explain the decline.

In both CS1 and CS2 empirical data was collected by self-administered structured questionnaires in the case of parents and by a collective interview in class in the case of pupils. The questionnaires for the Štrukelj School were in the Slovene language,

¹⁴⁹ The data about the response rate include only returned valid questionnaires. The percentage of invalid questionnaires in case of pupils was irrelevant, in case of parents it ranged among 2 to 3 percent.

those for the Locchi School in the Italian language, whereas the questionnaires for the Trinko School were bilingual (Slovene-Italian).

The questionnaires for pupils and those for parents were composed of 35 and 37 questions respectively; counting the sub-questions contained in many of the questions, the total amount of individual responses varies from approximately 124 to 129 for the pupils and from 134 to 139 for the parents¹⁵⁰. In this way, the requirement to use a relatively short questionnaire in the case of self-administered written questionnaires was maintained at the extreme level and we may say that increasing the length would, with all probability, decrease the response rate (Judd et al. 1991). The questionnaire was mainly composed of close-ended questions, with some open-ended questions, mainly used to help researchers in the formulation of new hypotheses in further research. Topically related questions were kept together, e.g. questions related to different network domains (family, work, education, and neighbourhood). The questionnaire concludes with a set of questions about the respondents' social and demographic background (e.g. age, education, working place). The time for the completion of the whole questionnaire was about 30 minutes.

As it is shown in Table 7 the response rates in the researched areas vary from 45 to 100%, and these values of response percentages were considered sufficient to give weighted information for the researched populations. For example, the population between the age from 30 to 55 in the town of Nova Gorica according to the census in 2002 numbered 5457 people, and 65 adult respondents in CS1 represent 1.2% of this population. The situation in CS2 is less favourable, since 36 respondents represent only 0.7% of the target population. That is why in some cases we decided to present the data of the two studies in aggregate form, i.e. presenting the average value for both studies¹⁵¹. Nevertheless, comparing the two studies, the response rates in the case of the other two schools did not differ a lot.

¹⁵⁰ The number is varying because the questionnaires for pupils and parents from the Trinko school included some more (exactly 5) questions, related to the specific situation of the Slovene minority.

¹⁵¹ This procedure was used only in cases where the responses between the two case studies didn't differ considerably.

The examination of data related to the education of the parents gives us a structure visible in Table 8. The parents of the Trinko School result to be far more educated, since 79.5% of them finished a secondary school or have a university degree. They are followed by the parents of the Štrukelj School (66.1% in the mentioned category)¹⁵², whereas in the Locchi School this level of education is reached by 56.2%.

Table 8: Parents' education by schools (percent)

	<i>Štrukelj</i>	<i>Locchi</i>	<i>Trinko</i>
	CS1	CS1	CS1
Compulsory school	10.8	37.5	7.7
Professional school (2-3 years)	18.5	6.3	12.8
Secondary school	29.2	35.4	38.5
University degree	36.9	20.8	41.0
Other / non declared	4.6	-	-

Source: Fieldwork 2003

It is interesting to compare these data with those from the census' data from 1961 and 1971 reported in De Marchi et al. (1991), where Slovene minority population results to be less instructed. Another research that gives us the possibility to compare our results about the educational structure of the parents in the minority school is described in Bogatec 2004, i.e. the research about the evaluation of the public Slovene schools in the provinces of Gorizia and Trieste. The sample in Bogatec 2004 was quite important (5,093 parents) and the response rate was considerable (75.3%). In the comparable group of parents of pupils aged 13 who attend primary school (or, as it is denominated in the study, lower secondary school), only 15% of parents declared to have a university degree¹⁵³. We could thereby conclude that in our survey, with an approximately 47% response rate for the Locchi School, the results can be interpreted, at least to a certain degree, as conditioned by a high degree of education.

To complete the demographic picture of our adult respondents, we present also the data regarding the sphere of their employment (see Table 9 for CS1; the data of CS2 are very similar).

¹⁵² The data comprising the category of university degree for the Štrukelj School are not completely comparable with the same category in the other two schools. In analysing the data in an aggregate form (jointly for the secondary school and the university degree) we tried to avoid this limited comparability.

¹⁵³ On the other hand our data are in congruence with the findings in Bufon 1992, where the author registered a continued raise in level of instruction among the Slovene population in Gorizia.

Table 9: Parents' sphere of employment by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
Public administration	15.4	27.1	7.7
Industry, craftsmanship	27.6	18.7	17.9
Commerce	7.7	18.7	17.9
Bank, insurance	-	2.1	7.7
Agriculture	-	-	5.1
School, culture	13.8	8.3	20.5
Tourism	10.8	-	-
Health	12.3	4.2	17.9
House wife / house husband	1.5	18.8	2.6
Unemployed	3.1	-	-
Pensioner	3.1	2.1	2.6
Not declared	3.1	-	-

Source: Fieldwork 2003

V.2.3 Innovative aspects and limitations

The realisation of the two case studies was important in the sense that it was realized in an environment where many of the treated concepts can be labelled as sensitive, due to the events in the recent history (see above, chapter IV.1). The sensitiveness can be attributed to the fact that language in the examined area, beside its communicative function can also be considered as a carrier of symbolic contents (see above, chapter V.1). As far as the author of the thesis knows, the only similar attempt in analysis of the attitudes in the cross-border regions in the EU was carried out between the years 1998 and 2002 in the frame of the project named "EU Border Identities. Border Discourse: Changing Identities, Changing Nations, Changing Stories in European Communities". The project was carried out within the EU Fifth Framework Programme in six geographically contiguous communities on the border between the EU of that time and some of its eastern and southern neighbours. Among these communities there were also included the Italian-speaking and the Slovene-speaking communities of Gorizia, and the (Slovene-speaking) community of Nova Gorica¹⁵⁴. The data was gathered in semi-structured interviews with participants from three

¹⁵⁴ Other areas included in the project were situated along the borders between Germany and Poland; Germany and the Czech Republic; Austria and Hungary; Austria and Slovenia; and along the previous border between East and West Germany. Detailed information is available on the <http://www.euborder.soton.ac.uk/>.

different generations, using symbolically charged images as triggers¹⁵⁵. The findings regarding the “linguistic universe” of the communities included in this research are reported in Carli et al. (2003)¹⁵⁶. In general we could observe that sociolinguistic studies of languages in border areas are more concerned with how social structure influences the language than with what societies do with their languages.

The major innovative aspect of the two analysed case studies should be considered the inclusion, in the questionnaire, of a broad set of questions related to language ideologies. If the measurement of language practices in general would appear as a relatively unproblematic from the methodological point of view, the attitudes appear as a much more evasive field of research. Placing the research in a setting where two or more cultures came into contact, aggravates even more the situation, especially if we pose the attitude towards the language of the “other” in the function of revealing the attitude towards the “other group”.

Since with the two studies the researchers were doing a pioneering work in “measuring” language ideologies and practices in the specific context of cross-border area, it was not possible, in this first phase, to include more indicators about non-language variables. This is precisely the aspect that in our opinion should be further developed and included in the research design for eventual repetitions of similar enquires. In fact, for a complete analysis of attitudes to language and language choices, researchers should combine qualitative and quantitative research methods and develop an adequate instrumentary to assess also non language related attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, allegiances and antipathies (Baker 2006). The research methods should thus be broad enough to give access to cognitive processes as well as to the facts of language use (ibid.)¹⁵⁷. In our case, especially the concept of perception of the neighbouring community should be elaborated further in a way to define its basic

¹⁵⁵ The samples of the following persons have been targeted: the young generation, i.e. the 14-19 years old; the middle generation, i.e. the 35-65 years old; and the older generation, i.e. the 70 + age range.

The photographs used in the research represented socially recognisable events or locations in the changing socio-political realities of the investigated communities (processes of division, unification and cooperation at regional, national and European level).

¹⁵⁶In continuation of our work we will refer to this study in order to compare some results for our analysis.

¹⁵⁷ In similar (multilingual) settings, some researches already tested introduced the instrumentary for observing such variables as ethnic awareness, attitude towards the secondary culture and intercultural values (e.g. Mikolič 2004).

components and to identify the possible indicators (cf. below for the proposed model of further research, chapter VI.3)¹⁵⁸.

The tendency in the two case studies was to the quantitative approach, but as it appeared after the final analyses, the quantitative data would be useful both for accessing the above described aspects, and for individuating new, unforeseen dimensions. In fact, many authors (e.g. Gumperz, Labov, Barth) underline the importance of the qualitative approach in analysing the interaction of the communities in contact zones¹⁵⁹. Nevertheless, by “enlarging” the questionnaires in this way, it would be also necessary to “economize” the question batteries, since our list of questions was, as explained, at the very extreme of acceptable length.

Additionally, what appeared as a limiting characteristic of the selected instrumentary for the uses of our own research was the fact that the posed questions did not offer, in all the cases, to compare language practices and language ideologies. Just to make a few examples, the ideal grid of questions would provide the answers along the following parallels (see below, Table 10):

Table 10: Required “parallelism” when examining variables related to language practices and language ideologies - examples

PRACTICES	IDEOLOGIES
Use of neighbouring language in contacts with people of the neighbouring community	Evaluation of importance of neighbouring language in contact with people of the neighbouring community
Use of neighbouring language in business contacts with people of the neighbouring community	Evaluation of importance of neighbouring language in business contacts with people of the neighbouring community
Use of English in contacts with people of the neighbouring community	Evaluation of importance of English in contacts with people of the neighbouring community

¹⁵⁸ The analysis of non-language variables is essential to ascertain how people perceive the other's group and that “clothe these perceptions within linguistic attributes” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 2).

¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, very often the frequency of interactions does not represent a decisive factor; the determination of the situation by the actors through attitudes can result as a much more important aspect in determining language choices (Novak Lukanovič 2003a: 4).

PRACTICES	IDEOLOGIES
Use of English in business contacts with people of the neighbouring community	Evaluation of importance of English in business contacts with people of the neighbouring community

V.3 Analysis of language practices

Before proceeding with the data analysis, some attention should be dedicated to the terminology used in the research. In sociolinguistics many “concepts of language policy are fuzzy and observer dependent” (Spolsky 2004: 4), and it was thus proposed that concepts should not be treated as “brute facts” but that categorizations should depend on the user. For our purposes the below listed categories should be interpreted as follows:

- *Own community (OC)*: the community to which the interviewee belongs, i.e. Nova Gorizia is the OC for its inhabitants, and Gorizia is the OC for the Italian, Friulian and Slovene speaking inhabitants of Gorizia;
- *Neighbouring community (NC)*: the community “on the other side of the border”, i.e. Nova Gorica is the NC for the inhabitants of Gorizia and vice versa;
- *Own language (OL)*: the official language of the State where the community is situated, i.e. Slovene is the OL for the community of Nova Gorica, and Italian is the OL for the Italian, Friulian, and Slovene speaking inhabitants of Gorizia;
- *Neighbouring language (NL)*: the official language of the neighbouring State, i.e. Italian is the NL for the inhabitants of Nova Gorica, and Slovene is the NL for the Italian, Friulian, and Slovene speaking inhabitants of Gorizia.

The research addressed both private and public communication, being though primarily interested in the latest (for the differences cf. above, chapter II.2 and Škljan 1999).

V.3.1 Mother tongues

In our samples of the two case studies mother tongues were distributed as follows (see below, Table 11):

Table 11: Mother tongues - parents and pupils by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj				Locchi				Trinko			
	Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils	
	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2
Slovene	76.9	80.6	83.7	90	8.3	12.2	5.2	18.9	61.5	77.8	75.6	83.3
Italian	3.1	-	-	-	100	89.8	97.4	89.2	38.4	40.7	58.5	61.7
Friulian	-	-	-	-	14.6	14.3	23.7	10.8	5.1	13	4.8	12
Croatian/ Serbian/ Bosnian	18.4	25	21	17.5	-	12.2	-	5.4	7.6	5.6	-	4.3
German	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.6	5.4	2.6	-	-	-

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

The data show a considerable variety of mother tongues especially on the Italian side of the border. Confronting the data between the two case studies it is particularly interesting to observe the rise of percentage of parents and pupils in the Locchi school declaring Slovene as their mother tongue, the decreasing of percentage of pupils in the Locchi school declaring Friulian as their mother tongue and, vice versa, the rise of percentage for the same language both for parents and pupils of the Trinko school.

It is also important to note the much higher percentage of pupils and parents declaring one of the ex-YU languages as a mother tongue in the Štrukelj School if we compare these data with the data from the last census regarding Nova Gorica (see above, chapter V.1.2: in Nova Gorica as a whole, 7.2% of inhabitants declared one of the ex-YU languages as their mother tongue).

In Figures 3, 4 and 5 we present data concerning mono-, bi- or trilingual individuals in CS2. It clearly appears that there exists much greater linguistic variety on the Italian side of the border, while mono-lingual situations are predominant in the Štrukelj School, most evidently in the case of pupils. The differences between generations deserve some attention, too. They are most evident in the case of the Trinko School and could probably be explained with a high percentage of mixed marriages: a

considerable part of children having Slovene and Italian parents acquires mixed identity, declaring as mother tongues both Slovene and Italian¹⁶⁰.

As we will see in the continuation of our analysis, the generational difference in declaring mother languages can be linked to differences in language practices inside family and in the wider social environment (see below, chapter V.3.3).

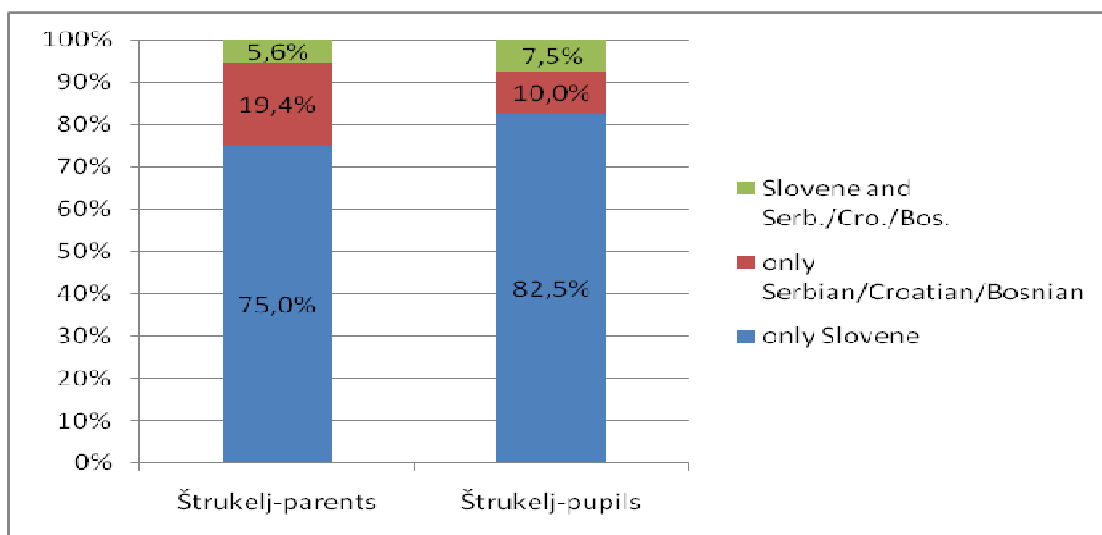


Figure 3: Mother tongues (mono- and plurilingual individuals): Štrukelj School (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

In interpreting the generational differences regarding mother tongues it is important to keep in mind the fact that while in the case of pupils the response rate was very high, that of parents is resulting relatively low. This fact is considerably limiting the possibility of formulating conclusions about the “transmission” of mother tongues from parents to children.

¹⁶⁰ For some more comments about mixed marriages and mother tongues see also below.

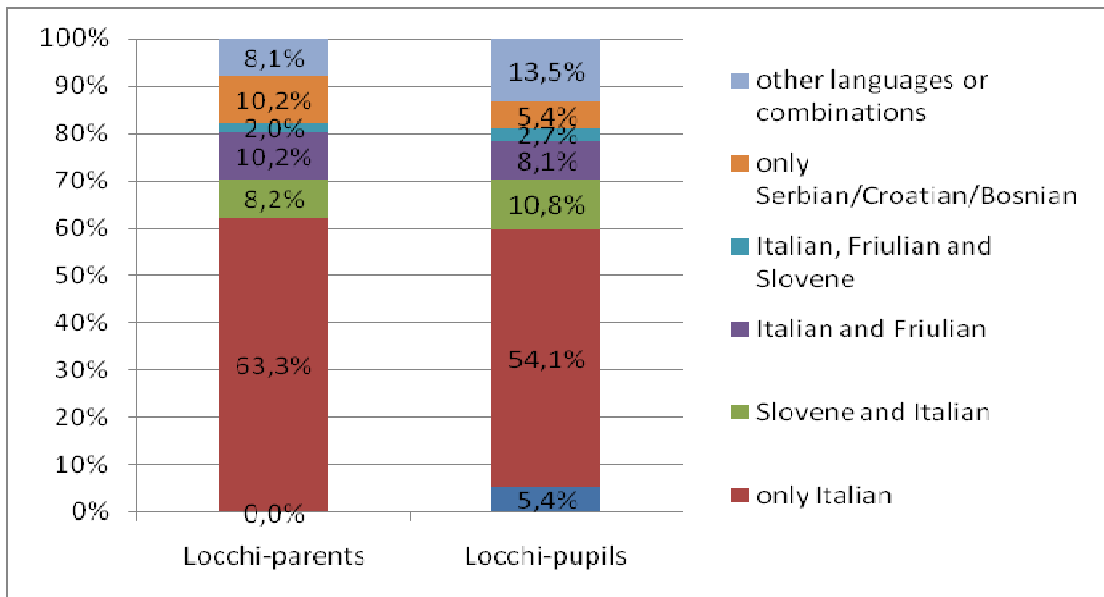


Figure 4: Mother tongues (mono- and plurilingual individuals): Locchi School (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

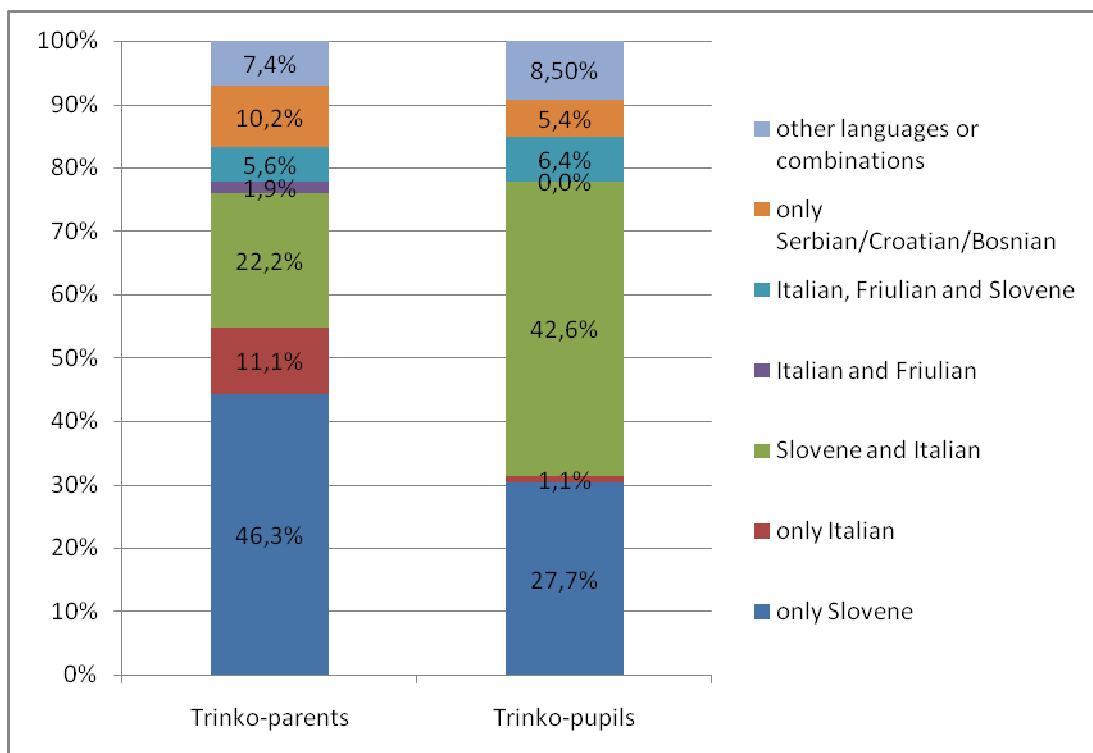


Figure 5: Mother tongues (mono- and plurilingual individuals): Trinko school (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Some useful data to comment the situation of parents and children in the Trinko School see above, Figure 5) can be found in Sussi 1993. We already mentioned that

generational differences in this case can probably be linked with a high percentage of mixed marriages. From the data gathered in the field research in 1989 among the members of the Slovene minority in Italy, Sussi (*ibid.*, pp. 41-42) found out that in the Italian-Slovene mixed marriages there exists a “relatively equilibrated understanding of the two languages” and that there is a “relatively consistent tendency to attribute to the children a ‘combination’ of the two identities”. Our data would clearly confirm these findings.

V.3.2 Language knowledge

Our decision to range language knowledge among language practices could appear questionable. But it is our opinion that these data could give us valuable information not only about the (possible) effective practices but also about future trends. As it was ascertained in sociolinguistic studies, the data about language skills of young people can anticipate the distribution of foreign-language competence (and thus potential language practices) in the general population by two or three decades (de Swaan 2001).

In both case studies we collected data about perception of proficiency and not those about the objective mastery of a certain language. The interviewees were not submitted to language tests but were asked to self-evaluate their language knowledge (oral comprehension, reading comprehension, writing, and speaking) on a pre-defined scale (I understand/read/write/speak the language not at all/very bad/ bad/neither well nor bad/well/ very well)¹⁶¹. Despite this strong element of subjectiveness deriving from the auto-evaluation we consider these data informative enough to indicate the spread of familiarity with different languages, and, as indicated above, also about the trends of interest in language learning.

Our respondents were asked to evaluate their passive and active knowledge of a list of given languages; the answers are evident in Tables 12 and 13. The high percentages in

¹⁶¹ For what regards generational differences, it has to be kept in mind that pupils’ perception of proficiency relates to the requirements of the school curriculum. Thus, the real mastery of a pupil and a parent, both declaring to possess an active knowledge of some language, could differ considerably.

case of German knowledge by the pupils of the Trinko and especially the Locchi School are explicable with the school curricula in these schools: pupils have the possibility to choose two foreign languages and many of them opt for German. Spanish also gained a lot among the young generation (especially in the case of the Štrukelj School) and this can be probably attributed to the popular soap operas in this language, which are regularly followed by a high percentage of adolescents.

Table 12: Passive knowledge of languages ('I understand the following languages') - parents and pupils by schools (percent)

I understand...	Štrukelj		Locchi		Trinko	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
Slovene	100	100	29.2	13.2	74.3	100
Italian	84.6	83.7	100	100	97.4	100
Friulian	13.8	-	66.7	44.7	58.9	56.1
English	63.1	95.3	50.0	97.4	61.5	95.1
German	20.0	16.3	22.0	65.8	28.2	43.9
French	4.6	11.6	14.6	18.4	2.5	2.4
Spanish	6.2	34.9	18.8	44.7	7.7	19.5
Croatian	90.8	83.7	6.3	2.6	46.1	29.2
Serbian	76.9	46.5	2.1	-	33.3	12.2

Source: Fieldwork 2003

Table 13: Active knowledge of languages ('I speak the following languages') - parents and pupils by schools (percent)

I speak...	Štrukelj		Locchi		Trinko	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
Slovene	98.5	100	14.6	10.5	71.8	100
Italian	63.1	44.2	100	100	97.4	100
Friulian	1.5	-	27.1	18.4	23.1	17.1
English	46.2	88.4	35.4	89.5	35.9	78.0
German	6.2	9.3	14.6	63.2	17.9	34.1
French	4.6	7.0	10.4	5.3	2.6	-
Spanish	1.5	11.6	10.4	7.9	-	2.4
Croatian	78.5	46.5	2.1	-	30.8	12.2
Serbian	67.7	27.9	2.1	-	25.6	-

Source: Fieldwork 2003

If we compare the results concerning active knowledge for those languages, that we are mostly interested in, i.e. Slovene and Italian as NL, English as a lingua franca and

Friulian, as a language of the second minority group in Gorizia, we obtain the following picture (see below, Figure 6):

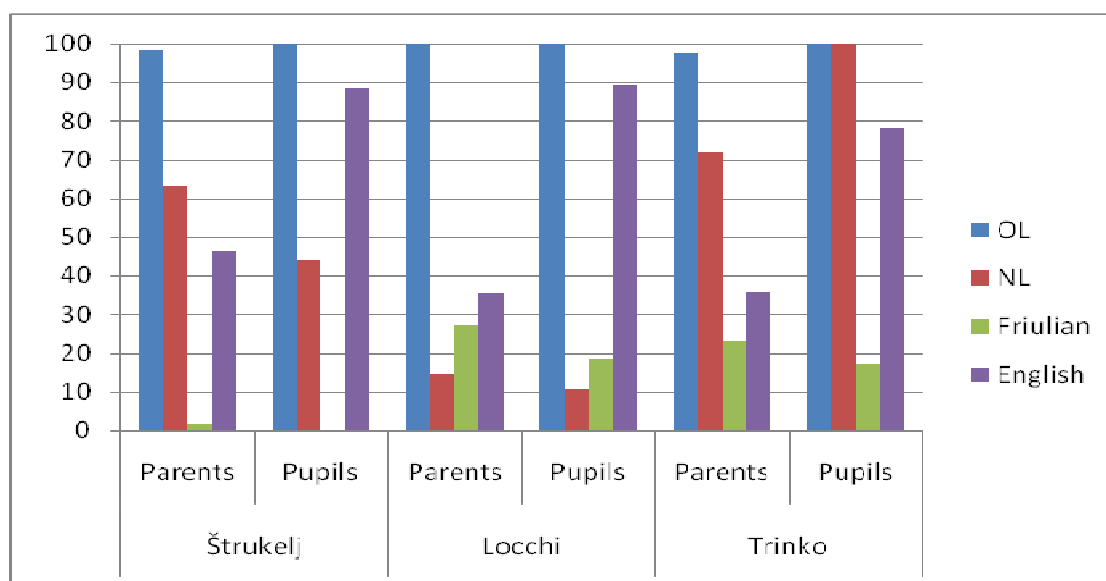


Figure 6: Active knowledge of own language, neighbouring language, Friulian and English by schools – pupils and parents (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003

Knowledge of the observed languages is very unevenly distributed; there are considerable differences both between the schools and between the generations. Similarly as it appeared with the declared mother tongues, the knowledge of Friulian is losing ground on the Italian side since young generations master it to a very low degree. On the Slovene side just few parents know it, while it is completely unknown by the pupils. As for English knowledge, there is a considerable difference between parents and pupils: the latest declare to actively master it to a much higher degree than their parents do. Here the explanation is clear: these differences can be attributed to the school programs which in the last two decades increasingly introduced English as the first foreign language. Satellite TV programmes, popular culture (e.g. songs) and the Internet only completed the picture. The knowledge of the NL is analysed in more detail in the continuation, but here we would like to point to the differences between the two generations in the Štrukelj School: while in the case of parents the knowledge of the NL is outranking that of English, the relation in the case of pupils appears inverted. Although being strongly grounded in the linguistic repertoire of parents, the NL is losing terrain in that of their children.

Further on, we are especially interested to compare passive knowledge (mere understanding) and active mastery (ability to speak) of the neighbouring language in the three schools. Considering the Trinko school as a special case for what regards the presence of mother tongues (see above, Figure 5), we focus on the analysis of results for the Štrukelj and the Locchi School. The asymmetry is very accentuated both for passive and active knowledge: while a very high percentage of the respondents of the Štrukelj school masters the Italian language, the knowledge of Slovene by the respondents of the Locchi school is very scarce (see below, Figure 7)¹⁶². Our data confirm also the findings of De Marchi et al. 1991 (p. 12): “[in the Provinces of Trieste and Gorizia] Slovene it is scarcely known by the majority members, both on the level of linguistic production and on the level of the mere comprehension”. Other sociolinguistic studies report about the same state of affairs (Carli et al. 2003, Kaučič Baša 1993, Rupel 2000).

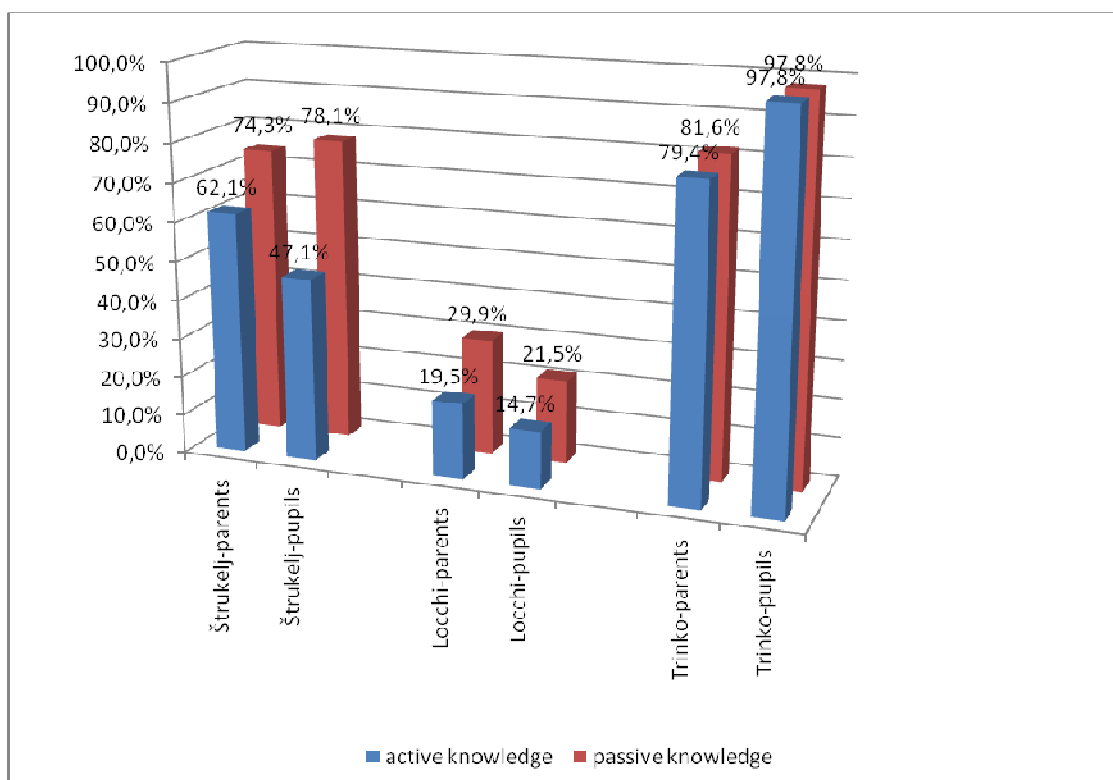


Figure 7: Active and passive knowledge of neighbouring language – parents and pupils by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)¹⁶³

¹⁶² For more detailed data about language knowledge in the two case studies see also Tables 25 and 26 in the Appendix.

¹⁶³ The values here are given in averages between the value of the CS1 and CS2.

With an adequate graphical representation we can clearly point to the decisive variables in knowledge of neighbouring language and knowledge of English: while for the NL the major distinction is by schools, in the case of English the differences are linked to the generational factor (see below, Figures 8 and 9).

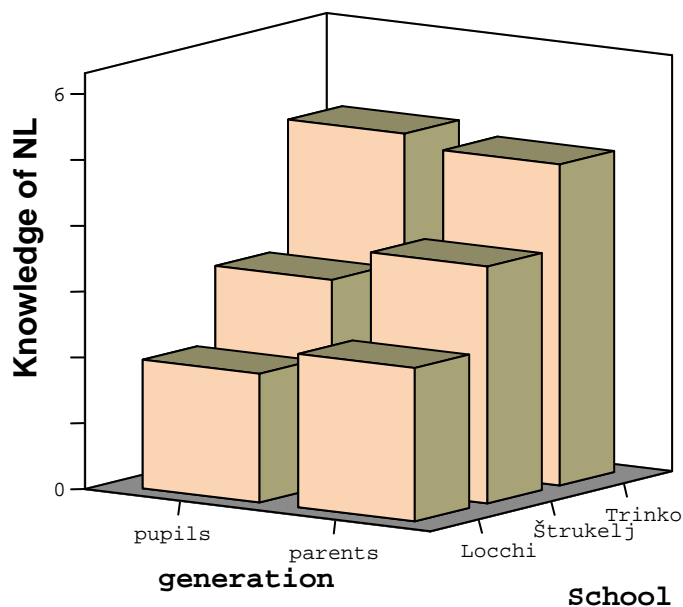


Figure 8: Knowledge of neighbouring language by schools and generations (Friedman Test-Rank)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

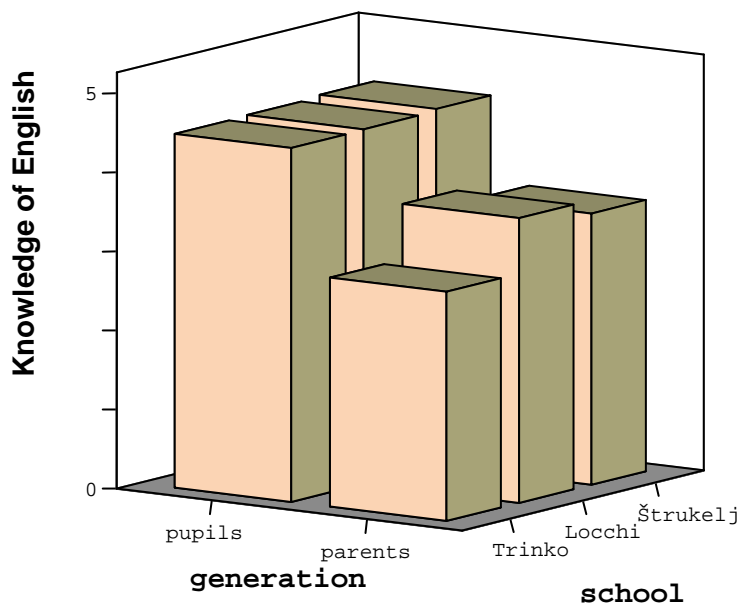


Figure 9: Knowledge of English by schools and generations (Friedman Test-Rank)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

There is some evidence that the interest for learning the Slovene language on the Italian side of the border among the Italian population is increasing¹⁶⁴. There were even expressed some opinions that if the Slovene language would be introduced as an optional subject in Italian schools, this would be accepted with a general consensus¹⁶⁵.

It is interesting to observe also the following phenomenon: It seems that in the recent decade non Slovene parents in the Italian border region are expressing increased interest for enrolling their children in the Slovene schools (and nursery schools). This would hold true for parents of mixed marriages and to an interesting extent also for families where both parents are Italian. The research of Bogatec (2004: 14) showed the following ethnic structure of parents of pupils attending Slovene schools in border area, divided by different types (levels) of schools (see below, Figure 10):

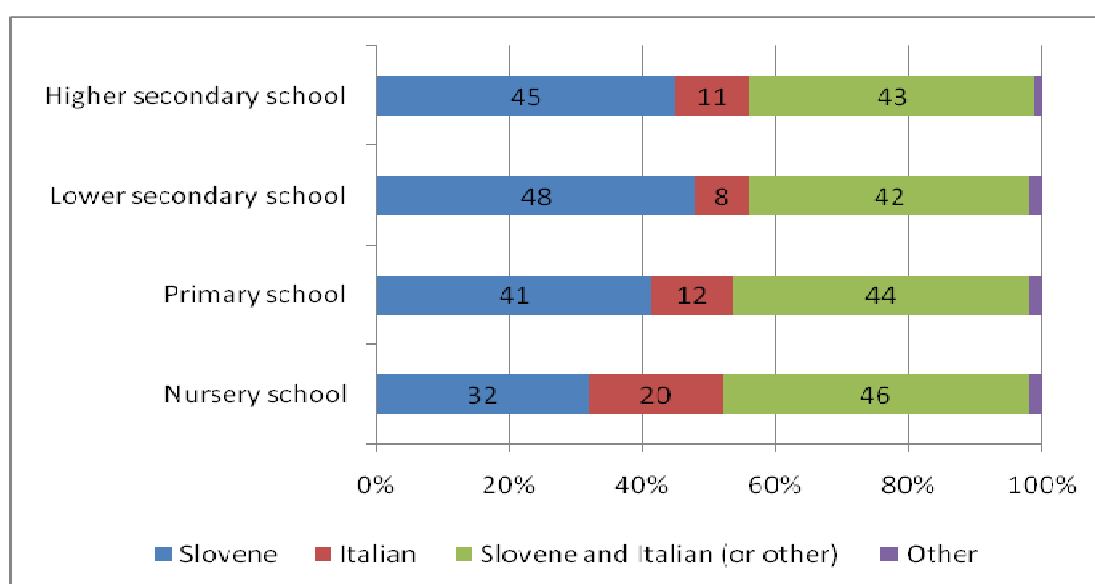


Figure 10: Ethnic structure of parents of pupils attending Slovene schools in border area (percent)

Source: Bogatec 2004

Our data is not completely comparable with that of Bogatec 2004, since our respondents were not asked to express their ethnic allegiance but to indicate their mother tongues. If we would nevertheless consider the declared mother tongues as a

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, the newspaper articles in *Primorske novice*, 7-2-2006 (Strangers here and there); *Primorske novice*, 24-11-2006 (Queuing for learning Slovene); *Primorske novice*, 29-6-2007 (“I expect a governmental approval”).

¹⁶⁵ See the interview with B. Brezigar, the president of the Parity committee for the Slovene minority in Italy, *Primorske novice*, 29-6-2007, and our data analysis of the opinions regarding the introduction of the NL in the school curricula (chapter V.4.3).

possible indication of ethnic appurtenance, we would find that the situation in Bogatec for the lower secondary school (which would match the population observed in our research) highly corresponds to our data (see above, Figure 5).

We do not possess any other data from longitudinal research in order to see whether the number of non Slovene children in Slovene schools is increasing, but we were able to collect some testimonials of this phenomenon from newspaper articles: there is information about insufficient place because of the increased interest both in schools and nursery schools¹⁶⁶. Up to now, no structured approach has been presented to analyse these changes which appear to influence both the function and the identity of Slovene schools in Italy. Some newspaper articles, that tackled the argument, ascribe the increased interest in attendance of Slovene schools among non Slovene population to the recent changes of the status of Slovenia (entrance in the EU, competitive economic growth, cultural vitality) and the attractiveness of the Eastern countries for economic activities and investments. As the eventual drawback of this situation the commentaries mention especially the decrease of the level of knowledge of Slovene in Slovene schools, due to the allegedly increased use of Italian in conversation among pupils.

With our data we are able to test these suppositions to a certain degree, since we asked pupils to evaluate their knowledge of Slovene (and Italian) in a detailed way, i.e. to evaluate their level of understanding, speaking, reading and writing. For the sake of comparison we report the data of both Slovene and Italian language knowledge for the pupils of the minoritarian Trinko School (see below, Figure 11).

Considering the limited objectiveness of the data because of the self-assessment method, we would nevertheless observe that our information shows a quite good level of knowledge of both languages and a better knowledge of Slovene. These findings would thus not underpin the supposed considerable deterioration of the knowledge of Slovene in minority schools, but we would like to repeat that caution is needed in interpretation, since there can well be a gap between what pupils and their teachers

¹⁶⁶See Delo, 5-4-2008 (The climate over the border finally changed); Primorske novice 3-11-2008 (On the way of the Italian schools in Istria?).

would consider as a good linguistic knowledge. Yet, at least the fact that Italian in this context is not the strongest language can be confirmed.

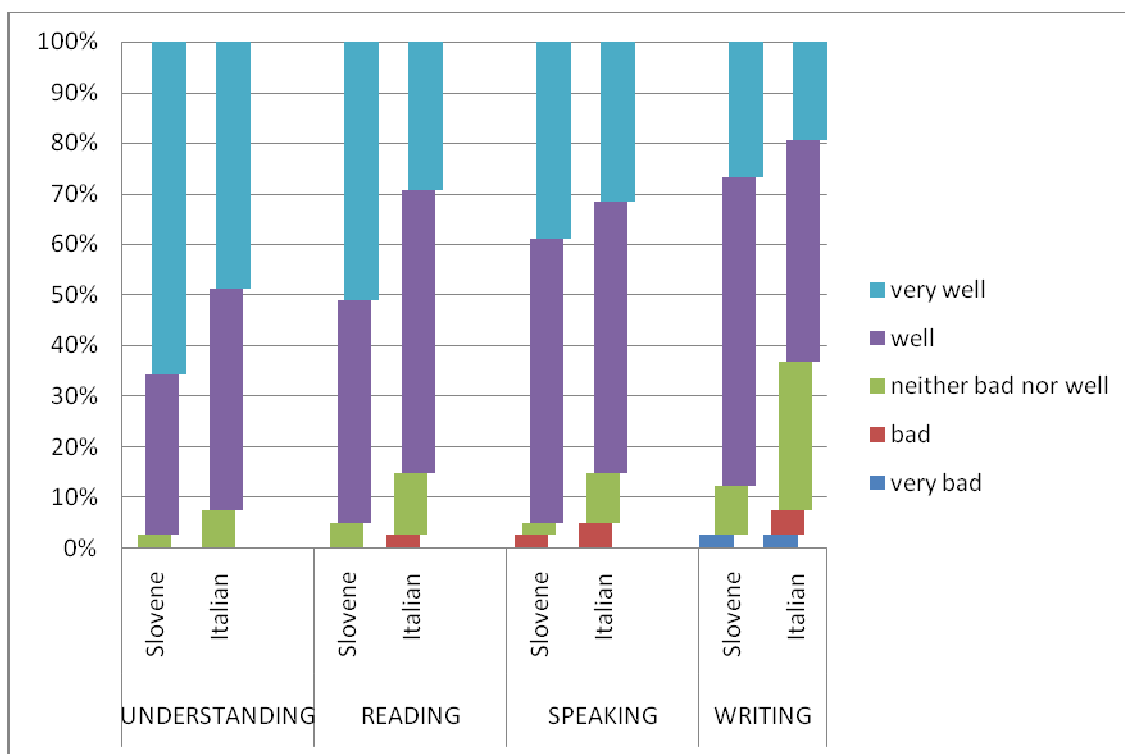


Figure 11: Knowledge of Slovene and Italian at Trinko School (self assessment) – pupils (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Rupel (2000) reports some information about the increased interest in the learning of Slovene among the adult Italian population in Gorizia, mainly through language courses. He points out how passive knowledge of Slovene is perfectly meeting the needs of successful integration. As an illustrative example he cites the case of Italian parents who decide to enrol their children in Slovene schools. They are involved in the school life, and if they possess passive knowledge of Slovene they are able to actively participate for example in the parents' meetings which are held in the "official" language of the school, i.e. Slovene: they understand the interventions in Slovene of the other parents while they actively participate to the debate in Italian, which is understood by the rest of the audience.

V.3.3 Communication in own community

The data about communication inside families shows that language practices in this context, both in case of parents and pupils do not correspond to a high degree to the assertions about mother tongues. Figures 12, 13 and 14 represent the patterns of communication of parents in all the three schools, and the data about the declared mother tongues are offered in parallel as a reference. A detailed interpretation of the clusters of data gathered in this way would require an analysis of the language-identity links on the individual level. Our empirical data do not offer such a possibility, which is understandable since the research focus was not directed to this problematic. Our intent with this kind of representations here is only to illustrate a great variety of patterns of language use and to point to the significant influence of the predominant (majoritarian) language in the single environments.

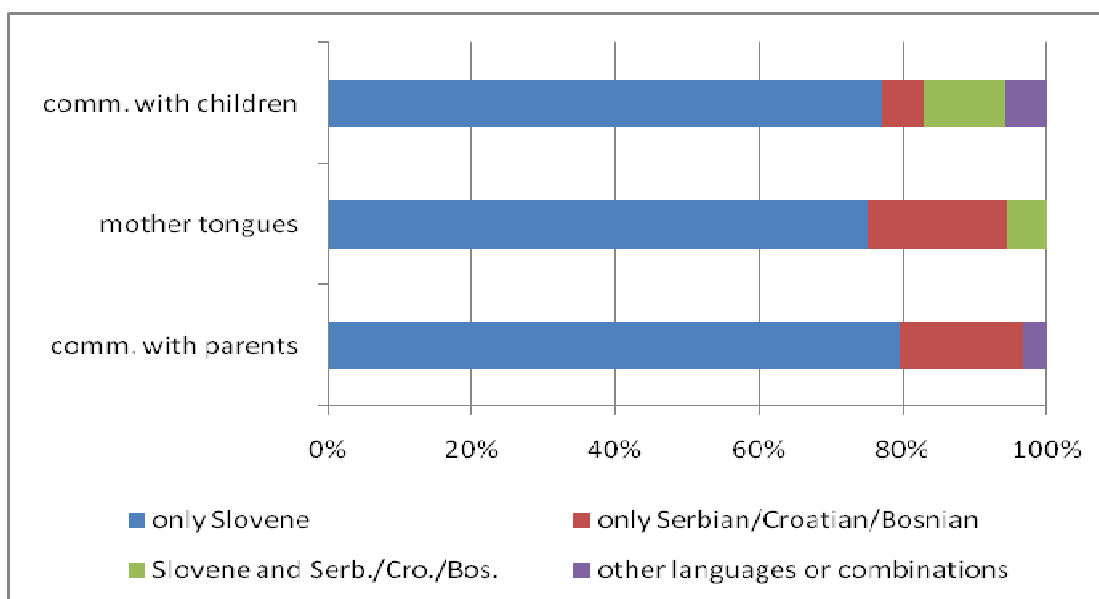


Figure 12: Mother tongues and inter-generational communication (communication with children and parents) – parents of the Štrukelj school (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

The data for the Štrukelj School (see above, Figure 12) show a considerable reduction of exclusive use of the ex-YU languages in relation to children; there is an evident influence of the predominant official language, i.e. Slovene (see also below for the detailed analysis of the use of ex-YU languages in different domains, Figure 15).

Similarly, we can observe a reduction in the use of Friulian (alone or in combinations) through generations in the case of the Locchi School (see below, Figure 13; see also the detailed analysis of the use of Friulian in different domains, Figure 16).

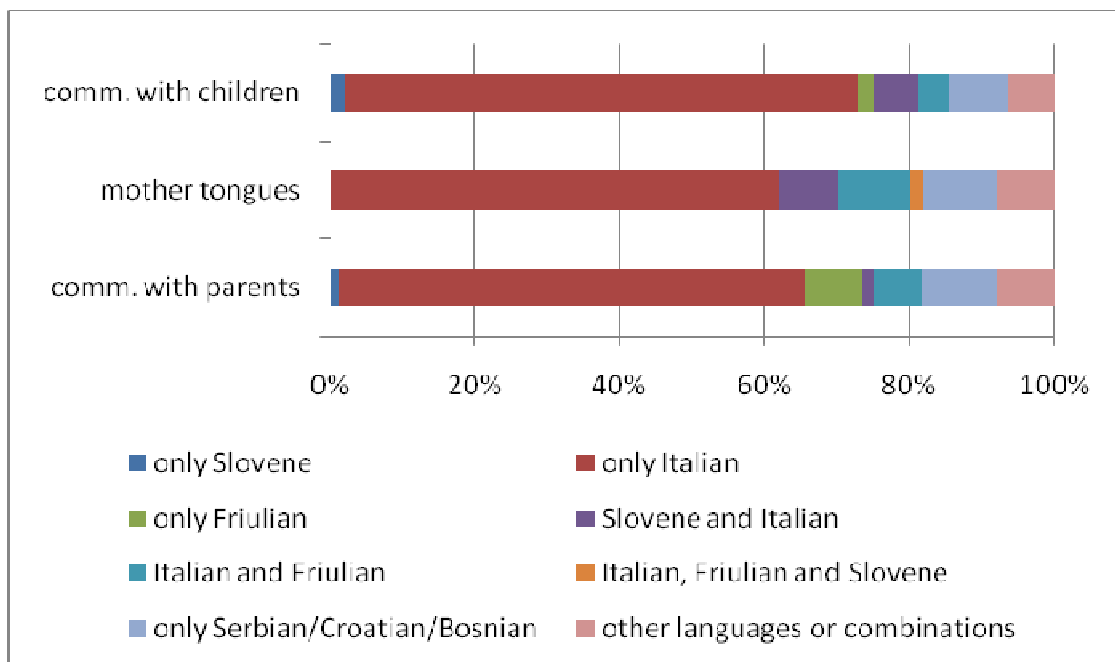


Figure 13: Mother tongues and inter-generational communication (communication with children and parents) – parents of the Locchi school (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

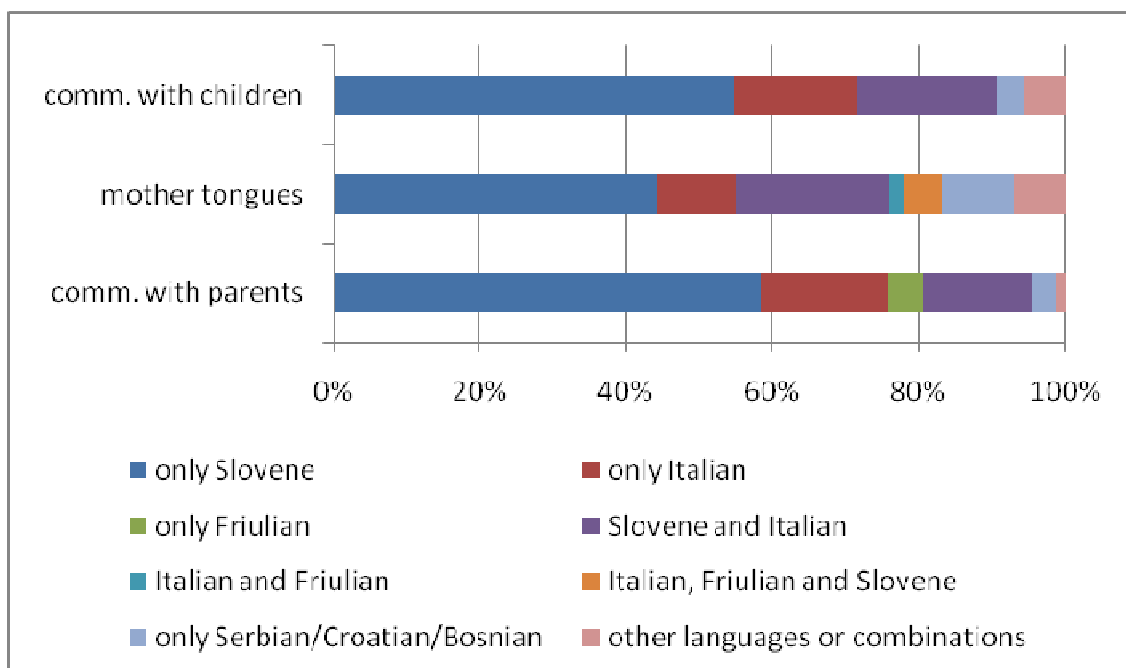


Figure 14: Mother tongues and inter-generational communication (communication with children and parents) – parents of the Trinko school (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

For the Trinko School we have the possibility to compare the results about the communication inside the family with the results of the already mentioned research described in Bogatec 2004. If we consider the communication of parents with children, the comparison gives us the results, presented in Table 14. While in Bogatec 2004 the tendency is more towards the use of both Slovenian and other languages (especially Italian) simultaneously, in our research the communication appears as more polarised (more frequently Slovene and Italian are used separately).

Table 14: Comparison of communication between parents and children: SC2 and Bogatec 2004 (percent)

	<i>CS2</i>	<i>Bogatec 2004</i>
Use of Slovene only	55	49
Use of Italian only	17	12
Use of Slovene in combination with other languages	19	37
Other languages	9	2

Source: Fieldwork 2005 and Bogatec 2004

We continue our analysis of communication inside families by giving attention to the patterns of communication between the three generations: parents, their children and their grandparents¹⁶⁷. As Cooper (1989: 37) observes, the decisions parents make about what language to speak at home with their children are important inasmuch as individual “family policies” cumulate in language maintenance of language shift.

To complete the picture about communication in own communities we examined also the frequencies about the communication in a wider social environment (see Appendix, Tables 29 and 30). Namely, with the use of language (or languages) inside his or her own community the individual is establishing a linguistic network, which shows us whether he or she is monolingual, bilingual or plurilingual in language practice (Novak Lukanovič et al. 2005). Our special interest in examining the two border areas separately was directed to the use of languages that figure among those considered as mother tongues, but are not official languages of the community (e.g. the ex-YU languages in Nova Gorica), or are considered as minority languages and have restricted access to public use (e.g. Slovene and Friulian in Gorizia). The reason for this special

¹⁶⁷ Some caution has to be applied in interpreting these data in a sense that only the answers of those respondents who declared to have contacts in the investigated relation were considered. Since this means an additional reduction of the samples, the possibilities of generalisation are further reduced.

interest was in that these languages define the local language diversity. The data shows that, in general, the more the domain of use is linked to the family, and thus to a great extent influenced by a personal choice (e.g. contacts with family friends), the more the language practice resembles that inside the family, and it has the characteristic of being variegated. On the other side, the more the domain is distant from the domestic circle, and the more the situations are formal (e.g. shops, public offices), the minor number of languages is used and the official language of the state where the community resides tends to prevail (i.e. Slovene in the case of Nova Gorica and Italian in the case of Gorizia). Figures 15, 16 and 17 show the patterns of communication in the examined languages.

Note: The percentages in Figures 15-17 are rounded. Communication in the examined languages is registered both if happening only in one of the examined language or in combination with other languages¹⁶⁸. The values about the communication of children with parents represent the average value of the two values related to the communication with father and mother and the same procedure was applied in the case of their communication with grandparents¹⁶⁹ and in the case of communication of parents with their own parents. The values slightly differ from those reported above regarding communication of parents with children (see Figures 11, 12 and 13), since they come out from two different case studies (the above data from CS2 and the below reported data from CS1). The percentages were calculated only for those who declared to have contacts in the examined relation.

¹⁶⁸ That means that the reported percentage sums up the answers about the use of, for example, Friulian alone, and the answers where the respondent has declared to use this language in combination with other languages.

¹⁶⁹ In this case the average is made from the values regarding communication with grandparents from the mother's and from the father's side.

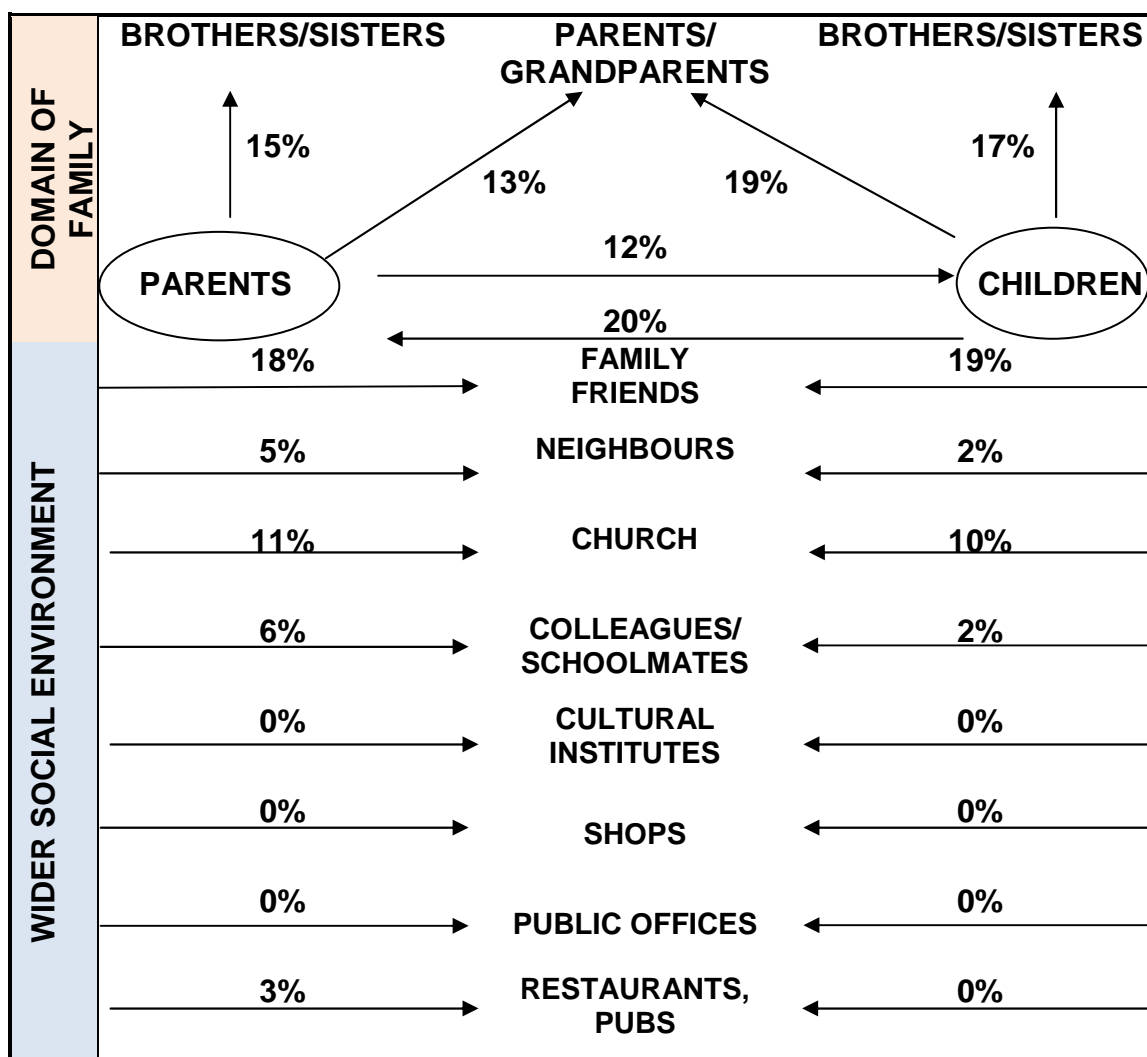


Figure 15: Use of Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (alone or in combinations) in inter-generational communication inside family and in wider social environment – Štrukelj School, parents and pupils

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

The strongest domain of use of the ex-YU languages clearly appears to be the family, but what is surprising here is that within this domain (and even in communication with family friends) children exceeded their parents in the use of this language. Here again our interpretations are limited by the relatively low response rate of the parents, but the results at least open an interesting perspective for further enquiry.

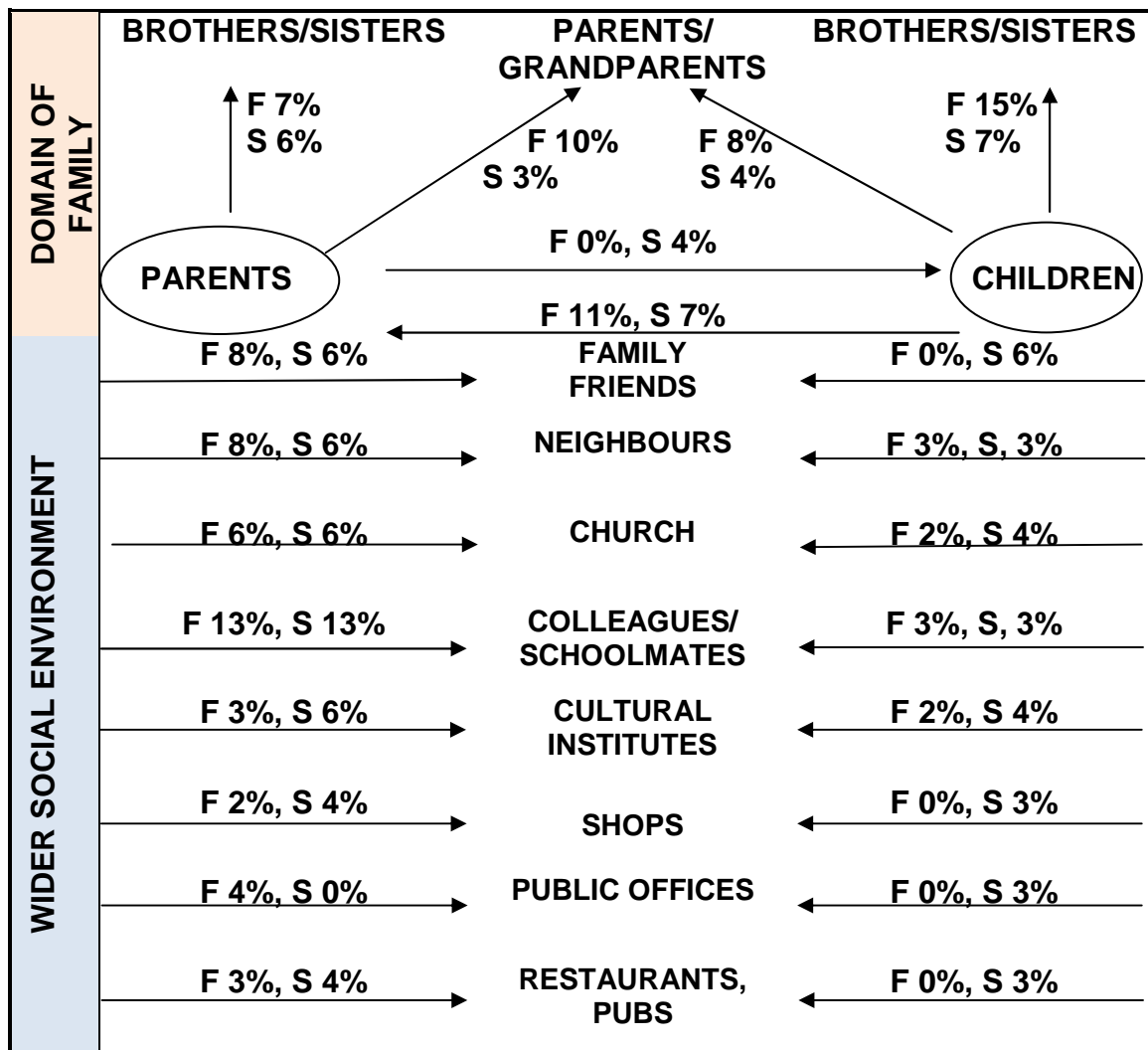


Figure 16: Use of Friulian (F) and Slovene (S) (alone or in combinations) in inter-generational communication inside family and in wider social environment – Locchi School, parents and pupils

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

In the case of the Locchi School there appear relatively high rates of children's communication in Friulian with parents, grandparents and with brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, we would consider this data as not very informative since the communication in Friulian was here registered both if realised in Friulian only or in combination with other languages. In case of combined use it is possible that Friulian is being used to a very low degree. What is important to observe, is the generally low use of Friulian and the tendency of giving up its use among the younger generation in a wider social environment. For what regards the transmission from an older to a younger generation, the conclusions cannot be so pessimistic, if we complete the data in Figure 16 (from CS1) with those from Figure 13 (from CS2), where Friulian is not

completely neglected in relations between parents and children. It would thus appear that while Friulian is being, although to a limited extent, transmitted from one generation to another, it is especially the extra-familial environment that seems not to stimulate the use of this language. The information about the use of Slovene in the case of the Locchi School is not very illustrative for us, while that information related to the practices in Slovene in the case of the respondents from the Trinko School is of special interest (see below, Figure 17).

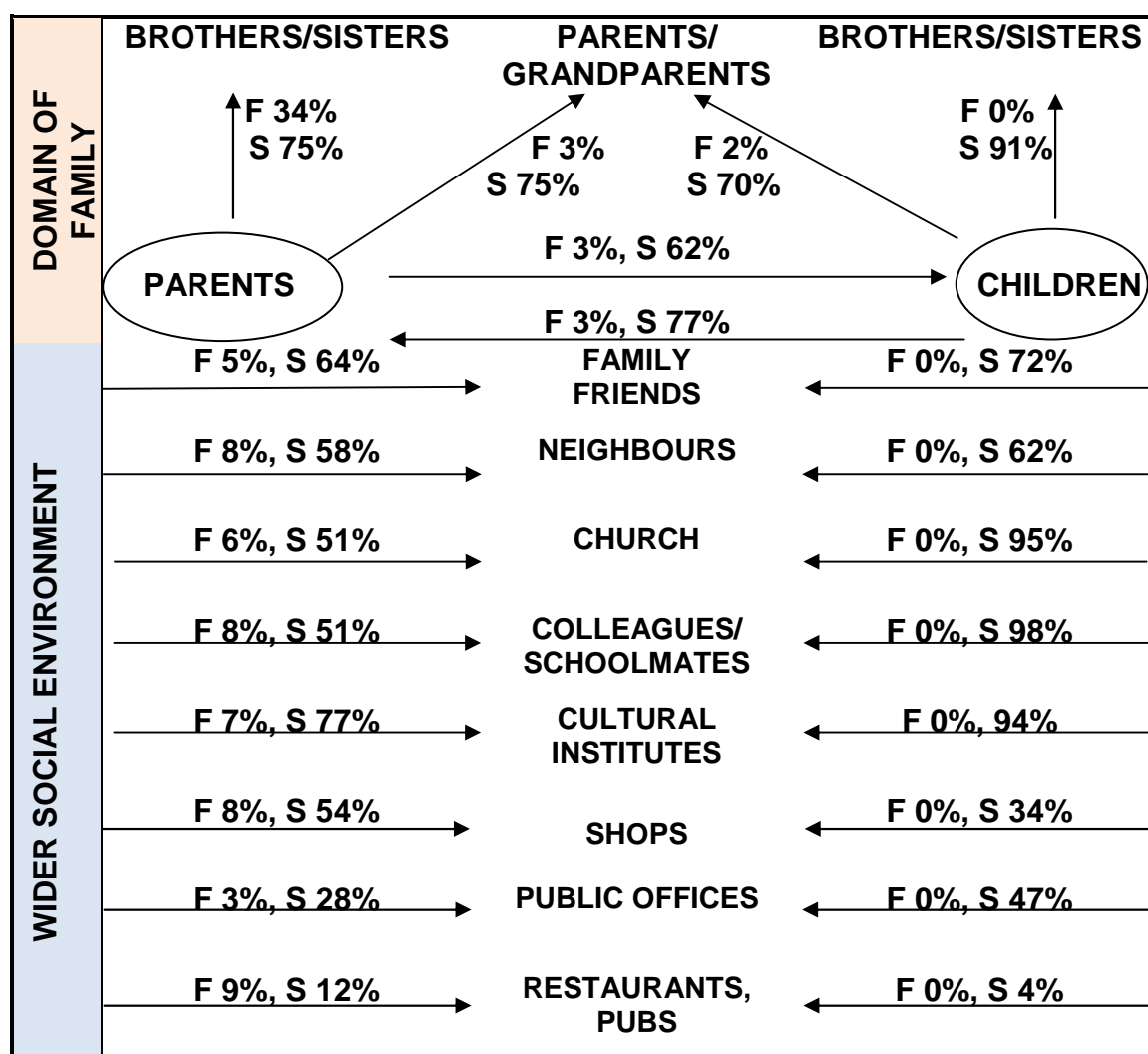


Figure 17: Use of Friulian (F) and Slovene (S) (alone or in combinations) in inter-generational communication and outside family – Trinko School, parents and pupils

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

The data about the situation in the Trinko School¹⁷⁰ does not confirm that from Sussi 1993 (p. 42), where the author finds out that there is a tendency towards a major “weight” of the dominant language (Italian) not only in relation to relatives of Italian origin, but also “in communicative relations with friends and neighbours, with their own parents of Slovenian origin and with brothers and sisters”. In our case, what gets lost here (as in the case of the pupils of the Locchi School), is especially the communication in Friulian (alone or in combinations).

The main purpose in presenting the schemes is to show how “local” language diversity is getting lost. We used the term local in order to distinguish language use of locally present languages from the languages that are acquired as foreign languages, to a lower or higher degree, through schooling or work contacts. In fact, if we would observe the knowledge of the languages in total, counting both the local and the foreign ones, it would appear that the young generations are not losing plurilingual competences. The important point, though, is that in young generations English is gaining very much, while the local languages seem to lose importance in effective practices.

Spolsky (2004) distinguishes between multilingual and plurilingual societies, defining the first ones as societies where more than one language is being used, and the second ones as societies where there exist differentiated skills in several languages of individual members. We already pointed to the fact that foreign-language competence could mean also potential language practices and it therefore seems to us necessary to observe, in relation to maintenance of language diversity, both multilingualism and plurilingualism. Moreover, it clearly appears from our presentation of the influences of globalisation on language issues, how today more languages in a sense of plurilinguistic competence means very often just more English or some other language with very high Q-values, while less widely spoken languages are neglected.

What also clearly appears from the reported data is the enormous importance of organized cultural life of the Slovene minority in Italy. Through schooling in own language and also through the activities of cultural centres ethnolinguistic vitality is being significantly invigorated. Institutional support (and in its frame especially

¹⁷⁰ It has nevertheless to be kept in mind that in Figure 17 we are reporting the use of Slovene alone, and in combinations, which does not offer the detailed picture of the effective use of Slovene.

education) as one of the variables, affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, see also above, chapter II.3) would result as a determining factor in the analysed situation. In our opinion this would hold true both for Slovene, which from this point is affected in a very positive way, and for Friulian, that would obviously require more action in this sense, if the local community desires to cultivate it and preserve as a precious element of cultural and linguistic diversity.

V.3.4 Communication in cross-border contacts

Before starting to analyse language practices in communication in cross-border contacts we would like to present some non language practices in the observed area, i.e. the frequencies and the motives of visiting the neighbouring cross-border area.

The data from our case studies shows that parents visit the NC in the following percentages:

- Štrukelj School: 95.4% in CS1 and 100% CS2;
- Locchi School: 89.6%, in CS1 and 68.7% in CS2;
- Trinko School: 100% in CS1 and 96.3% in CS2.

Still observing the results concerning the parents, the motives for visiting the NC (among those that are visiting it) are evident from Table 15 (it was possible to list more than one motive). For every group of respondents the two highest values are marked in bold. In CS1, shopping and tourism resulted to be the most frequent motives in all groups, while in CS2 visiting restaurants and pubs represent the second most frequent motive both for the parents of the Locchi and the Trinko School. From 2003 to 2005 shopping in Italy seems to be less attractive while shopping in Slovenia gained in importance.

Table 15: Reasons for visiting the NC - parents by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj		Locchi		Trinko	
	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2
Pay a visit to relatives	30.8	38.9	12.5	33.3	33.3	57.4
Pay a visit to friends or acquaintances	35.4	38.9	18.8	39.6	41.0	64.8
Shopping	89.2	80.6	47.9	56.2	56.4	81.5
Restaurants, pubs	29.2	38.9	41.7	56.2	48.7	81.5
Bank, post, exchange	15.4	19.4	2.1	22.9	12.8	63.3
Tourism	41.5	47.2	50.0	45.8	56.4	64.8
Cultural events	33.8	36.1	4.2	10.4	30.8	38.9
Sport events	21.5	16.7	10.4	22.9	2.6	29.6
Public offices	6.2	16.7	2.1	17	5.1	37
Other	12.3	11	6.2	8	25.6	14

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

Grouping the results in three categories, i.e. the motives mostly related to personal relationships (visit to relatives, friends or acquaintances), to economic relationships (shopping, visit of restaurants, pubs, bank and post and tourism), and to inter-cultural relationships (visit of cultural and sport events and visit of public offices), the comparison of the data from CS1 to CS2 shows the general rise of exchange in all three categories, most significantly from the parents of the Trinko and the Locchi school (see below, Figure 18).

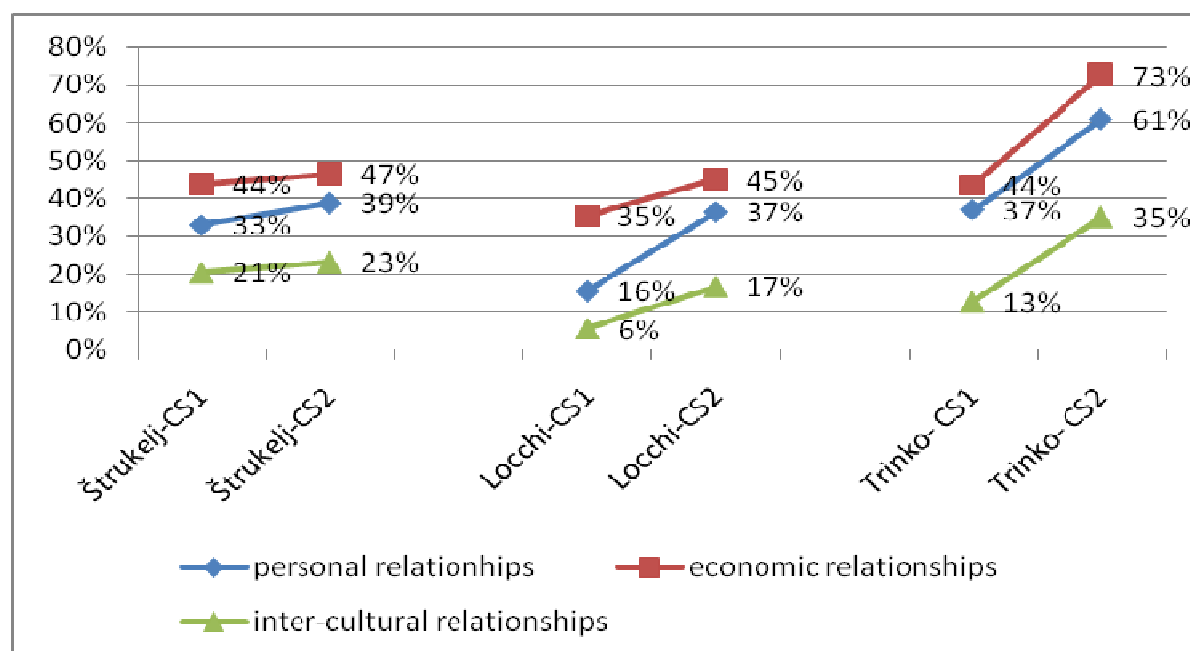


Figure 18: Comparison of the motives to visit the NC between CS1 and CS2 (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

In his analysis of the Slovene-Italian border area Bufon (2004: 237) mentions the following motives for visiting the neighbouring area (see below, Table 16):

Table 16: Motives for visiting the neighbouring area along the Slovene-Italian border (from Bufon 2004)

<i>People from the Slovene side cross the border mostly for:</i>	<i>People from the Italian side cross the border mostly for :</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - shopping of food, clothes and footwear; - visiting relatives and acquaintances - work (regular work of men in industry, seasonal men work in vineyards and women's work as housemaids) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - buying fuel; - buying some foodstuffs (especially meat) - visiting relatives and acquaintances - visiting taverns and restaurants - trips

Source: Bufon 2004

Our results are not comparable with those from Bufon 2004 because of the non-comparable samples and categorisation of the motives. What attracted our attention in observing this and other analyses about the cross-border contacts was the idea of the utility of some level of “standardisation” and collaboration in the cross-border studies. If some basic variables would have been jointly defined and shared between the scholars dealing with inter-related phenomena, this could result very helpful for longitudinal observations. Moreover, defining the “key variables” maybe these could be included in more research projects; e.g. a research on commuting although not directly dealing with language variables could include some “key language related questions” that sociolinguists are primarily interested in, and obviously, the sociolinguist should do the same “favour” to the colleagues when conducting their own research. It was our own experience after the two case studies that some economy in number of questions should be made after the researchers were able to ascertain the level of validity of the chosen indicators, which would consent to include some other questions.

Turning back to our analysis of the frequencies of visiting the NC, we can observe that these data in general shows the major discrepancy between CS1 and CS2. This would confirm the findings about the functional cross-border movements (as shopping and free time activities) as being the most instable, since depending on the monetary and

economic situation (see above, chapter IV.2). Another interesting observation in this regard is also the considerable increase of personal and inter-cultural cross-border relationships in case of both parents, those from the Locchi and the Trinko School. Here again the modest sample is hindering us from making any generalisations and the lack of other indicators does not offer us the possibility to conclude anything about the causes of the observed changes. We would nevertheless argue that the joining of Slovenia to the EU had influenced the perceptions of many Italians living in the border area in an important way and that this fact could be linked also to the observed differences.

We continue our analysis by observing language practices in cross-border contacts with particular focus on the use of NLs and English. Tables 17 and 18 give detailed information about the observed languages, while Figure 19 sums up the findings for the Štrukelj and the Locchi School for language practices in shopping activities across the border.

Table 17: Use of languages when visiting the NC for shopping - parents and pupils by schools
(percent)

	<i>Štrukelj</i>		<i>Locchi</i>		<i>Trinko</i>	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
Slovene	80.0	62.8	12.5	5.3	66.6	78.0
Italian	69.2	53.5	58.3	42.1	25.6	9.7
English	4.6	14.0	10.4	18.4	5.9	-

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Table 18: Use of languages when visiting the NC for tourism - parents and pupils by schools
(percent)

	<i>Štrukelj</i>		<i>Locchi</i>		<i>Trinko</i>	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
Slovene	35.4	30.2	12.5	2.6	66.6	65.8
Italian	47.7	27.9	50.0	26.3	23.0	19.5
English	9.2	14.0	14.6	5.3	23.5	2.4

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

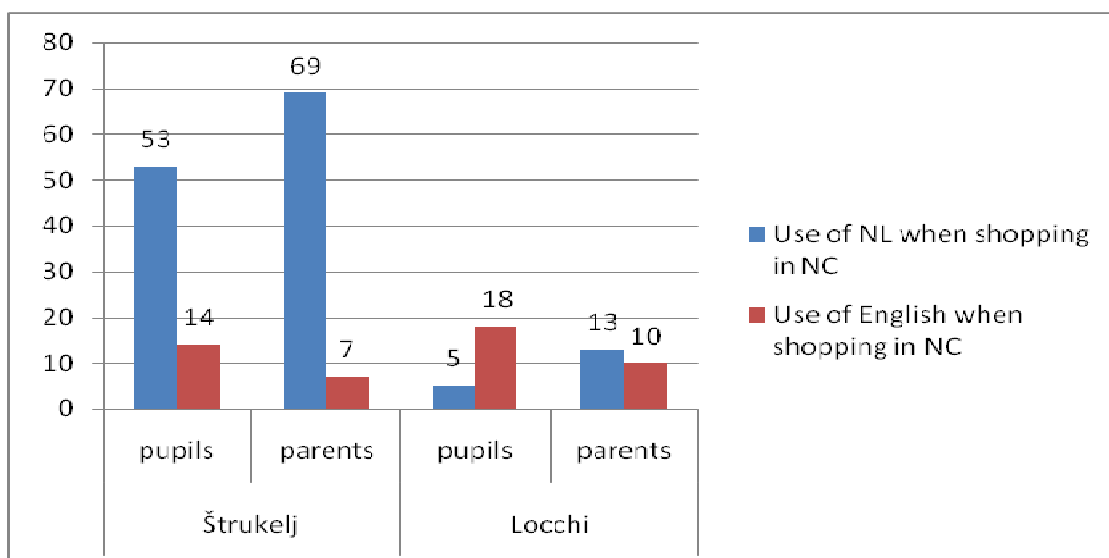


Figure 19: Use of NL and English in cross-border contacts, parents and pupils by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

If we recall the data about the NL active knowledge, the observed patterns of use in cross-border contacts should not surprise us. Comparing the data about active knowledge from Table 13 (see above, chapter V.3.2) and those from Table 17 in this chapter, we can observe an interesting occurrence: in the case of the respondents from the Štrukelj School the results regarding NL use are higher than those regarding NL knowledge while the case of the respondents from the Locchi School shows the reverse picture (see below, Figure 20). While the Slovene respondents demonstrate to fully use their communicative potential in NL (even “transforming” some passive knowledge - which, as we saw, is considerably higher than the active one - in language practice), in case of the Italian speakers this is not happening. The most plausible explanation here could be the usual pattern of language accommodation in the observed border area: in the encounter between the Slovene and Italian speaker the Slovene speaker usually follows the pattern of convergence (i.e. a shift in speech/language toward that of the interlocutor), the Italian speaker is usually diverging in his/her language practice (i.e. shifting away from the other’s speech/language)¹⁷¹. If for the Italian speaker we consider also the passive knowledge of Slovene, it clearly appears in our case that a lot of linguistic potential in NL is being lost.

¹⁷¹ For language accommodation theory cf. above, chapter II.3.

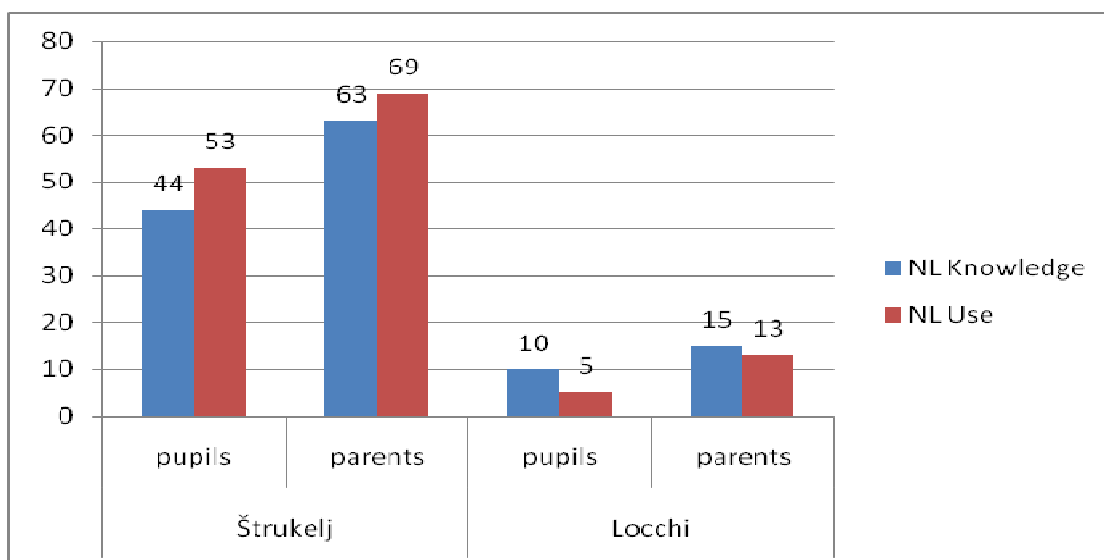


Figure 20: Comparison between NL knowledge and use in cross-border contacts – Štrukelj and Locchi School (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

When Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) reported, that divergence is receiving little empirical attention in sociolinguistic studies, they noticed that “this is an important oversight since non-converging speech is an important medium often used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness” (p. 323). We would like to recall here the fact that sociolinguistic theory elaborated some definitions on the role of language behaviour in determinants of the dynamics of intergroup relations (i.e. the Tajfel’s concepts of social categorisation, social identity, social comparison, psychological distinctiveness and perception of cognitive alternatives; see above, chapter II.4). In the examined setting it is interesting to analyse the mechanism of divergence of the Italian speaking majority member in relation to the Slovene speaking minority member in this framework.

The theory points out that “an important determinant of the dynamics of intergroup relations is the extent to which members of a group perceive cognitive alternatives to the existing situation”, i.e. the possibility of eventual change of the existing status relationship (ibid., p. 331). For example, in a situation where a dominant and a subordinate group are in contact, it may happen that, for different reasons, the dominant group perceives the ethnolinguistic vitality of the subordinate group as a threat. In this kind of situation, where the intergroup situation is perceived as unstable,

the speaker of the dominant group may use a divergence mechanism to accentuate the speech differences in interaction with a member of the competing outgroup. For instance, “the more vitality the subordinate group is perceived to possess (and hence the more threat it holds for the dominant group), the more likely it will be that the dominant group will wish to differentiate linguistically from an outgroup speaker (ibid, p. 334).

The refusal to converge to the Slovene speaker, i.e. to use his language, can of course be linked to a number of individual and social factors, but we would like to point to the fact that whenever in this specific situation language is not used neutrally, as a communicative code, we can observe the pursuit of other than communicative goals. On the one side, the members of the Slovene minority are trying, through activities meant to secure a full recognition of linguistic rights in public sphere, to reach full recognition and respect of their identity, the majority Italian speaker on the other side is trying, when intentionally declining the use of Slovene language, to secure his privileged position, even more, to negate the existence of any other acceptable code that would confirm the presence of diversity, perceived as a threatening factor. Through this process, the negation of plurilingualism is meant as a negation of pluriculturalism, and it is important to recognize how the whole process is driven by the power related struggle.

In returning to our Italian speaker and his divergence behaviour in the accommodation process in the cross-border contact with the Slovene speaker, we would like to advance the hypothesis that in this contact there exists a possibility of transfer of the relationship that the Italian speaker is practicing in his/her own community towards the speaker of the Slovene minority member. Over the border, the group with the same distinctive linguistic code is encountered, and since this group shares also other distinctive factors with the minority in question (e.g. history and culture), the transposition is easy to happen.

To complete the picture of our analysis of communication in cross-border community we also present the same relationship between the level of the declared active language knowledge and its use in cross-border contacts for English (see below, Figure 21). The

relations between use and knowledge in this case follow the same pattern in both schools, the declared knowledge being constantly far higher than the effective use (especially in the case of pupils). We already pointed to the fact that the shift from NL to English in cross-border contacts is most explicit in the young generations (especially in the Locchi School). Considering the potential of English as a global lingua franca, its strong presence in the school curricula and the high evaluation of its considerable importance in the daily life of our respondents (cf. below, Figure 22 in chapter V.4.1), we can affirm that the so far unexploited potential of English knowledge could well be transformed, in the future years, in the augmentation of English language practices in the cross-border contacts, especially by the young generations.

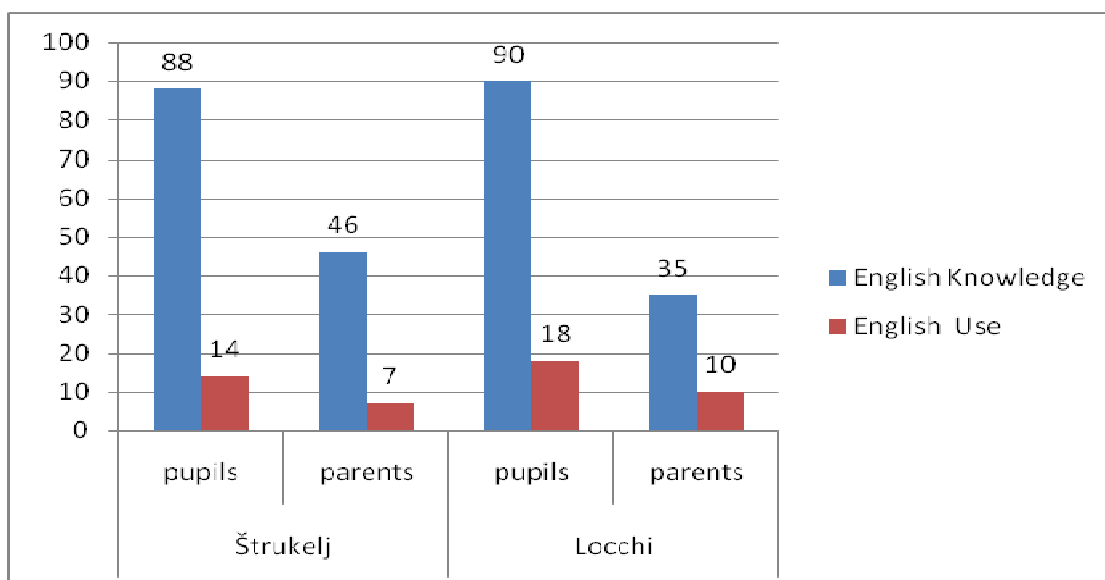


Figure 21: Comparison between NL use and knowledge – Štrukelj and Locchi School (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Our sample was too small to give us any meaningful information about the use of languages in commuting¹⁷². As we found out in chapter IV.2 the role of language in this context has never been studied so it only remains us a possibility to make some hypotheses on the bases of our research results. It is our opinion that the patterns of the actual language practices in commuting are pretty similar to those observed in other types of cross-border contacts. We would nevertheless argue that it is especially in the period of the last few years that in this context many important changes are in the

¹⁷² There were very few cases where parents (from the Štrukelj School) declared to visit the NC for work.

course. The very low rate of economic growth in Gorizia and its surroundings in making Nova Gorica more attractive for the Italian citizens and as far as the author knows there are already several cases where people with high technical qualifications have searched and found work on the Slovene side of the border. For this special category English is probably bridging the communication gap due to the low knowledge of Slovene by Italians. There nevertheless remains the problem of the possibilities of integration of people not speaking local languages in a wider local social environment. But here we would like to turn back to our observations about the urgent need of considering language issues an important element in the frame of general labour mobility in the EU (see above, chapter III.4).

V.4 Analysis of language ideologies

A major proportion of the questionnaire was devoted to obtaining information about the respondents' beliefs and attitudes and not of factual information. As beliefs and attitudes are often complex and multidimensional, the responses are dependent on details of question wording, and question sequence. Thus, when composing the questionnaires, special attention was devoted to these aspects. Since attitudes also have a dimension of intensity, which is an important adjunct to the measurement of attitude position (Judd et al. 1991), in many questions we asked the respondents to rate directly the intensity of the attitude (e.g. by answering the question: How strongly do you feel about this issue) and giving a response set in a Likert scale involving the dimension of agreement (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree).

At the beginning of the questionnaire the researchers decided to put two open questions about the characteristics of Nova Gorica and Gorizia. The goal was to find out whether the respondents spontaneously perceive the "bordering character" or the presence of cultural/linguistic diversity of the area as one of its main characteristics. The answers to those questions could thus constitute materials to illustrate ideologies concerning non-language variables. Borderiness and/or cultural or linguistic diversity of the area were perceived (in CS1):

- in the Štrukelj School: by 12% of pupils and 31% of parents;
- in the Locchi School: by 45% of pupils and 19% of parents;
- in the Trinko School: by 20% of pupils and 46% of parents.

Generally speaking it is possible to observe a higher level of perception of the observed elements in the culturally mixed environment of Gorizia. The high value in the case of parents from the Trinko School can be attributed to their tendency to evaluate cultural differences as a positive value; both in the case of mixed marriages and in the case of Italian speaking parents who decide to enrol children in Slovene schools, this element lies at the very basis of their decision to educate their children in both the majority and minority language. What remains to us inexplicable without the possibility to get other clarifying data, is the very high percentage of pupils of the Locchi School considering borderness and/or cultural diversity as positive elements of their home town.

Only by five (adult) respondents borderness was perceived as a negative element (in two cases due to allegedly higher rate of criminality because of its presence, and in the remaining three cases due to the heritage of historical contrasts between the cultures) while in all other cases both the location near the border and the presence of many cultures were assessed as positive aspects (e.g. possibility to learn more languages, larger offer for the consumers, rich history, larger employment possibilities (in the case of Slovene respondents), more possibilities for education, multiculturalism as a value per se, etc.)

V.4.1 Importance of languages in own community

Our respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of a set of languages in their free time. For what concerns the evaluation of the languages of which we examined the use in OC in more detail (ex-YU languages in Nova Gorica and Slovene and Italian in Gorizia), there is a considerable consistency between the evaluation of importance and the declared language practices (see above, Figures 15-17 in chapter V.3.3 and Tables 34 and 35 in the Appendix). As we will see later on, this is also the only case where this kind of consistency appears.

From those data, we compare, in Figure 22, the ranked values attributed by the interviewees in the Štrukelj and the Locchi School to OL, NL and English. Focusing the attention on English it is possible to observe, that although it was not registered as being important in the language practices (see above, chapter V.3.3), it is very highly rated for what concerns its importance. This would clearly show how this language is attributed high prestige for appearing in the role of the global lingua franca. To our opinion, more than its effective use here the interviewees evaluate its high communication value.

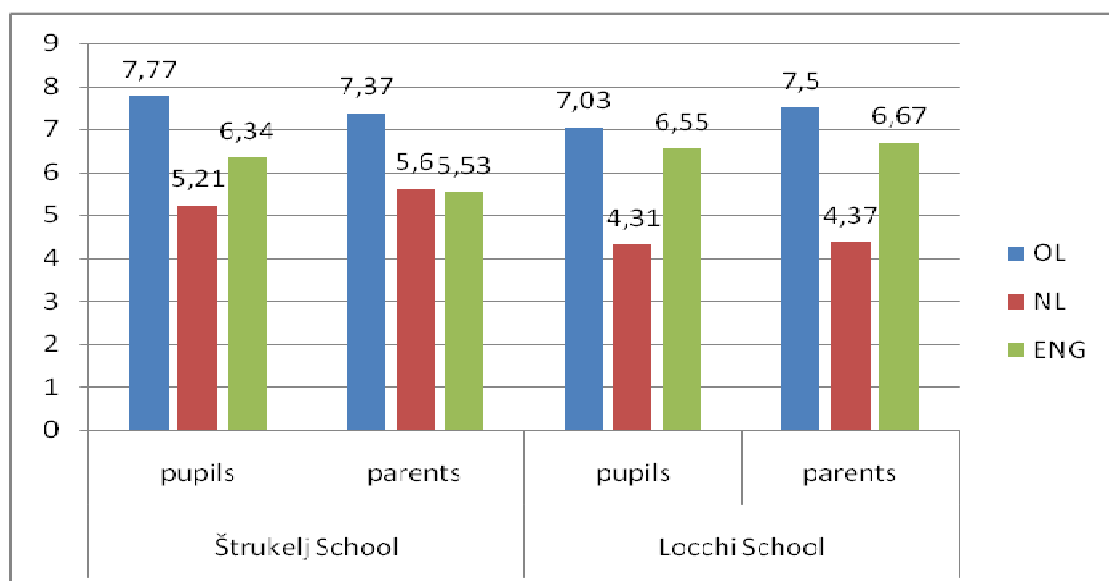


Figure 22: Importance of own language, neighbouring language and English in everyday life (free time) – Štrukelj and Locchi School (pupils and parents) – Friedman Test- Rank¹⁷³

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

The assertions about the prestige of English can be verified by presenting the interviewees' answers to the explicit question about this dimension. For this purpose we summed up the responses of those who fully or quite agreed about the statement "Knowledge of English is important in my community for social prestige". Representing the obtained values beside those related to the evaluation of the NL from the same perspective, an informative picture appears: although having much greater communicative value in the NC, the NL obtains inferior values for what regards its social prestige (see below, Figure 23).

¹⁷³ Higher value means higher level of agreement

It is important also to compare the data regarding the prestige of the NL by the respondents from the Štrukelj and the Locchi School: the values do not differ to a great extent which could be interpreted as a positive attitude towards the NL. As we will see in the continuation of this chapter this positive attitude constantly continues to emerge. As in many other cases here too it is not possible to make generalisations, in this case especially because of the fact that it is well possible that those parents who decided to participate to the research were also those who are more positively oriented towards cultural diversity in general. The answers to the open questions analysed at the beginning of this chapter would confirm this hypothesis, since to a great extent they registered this positive inclination.

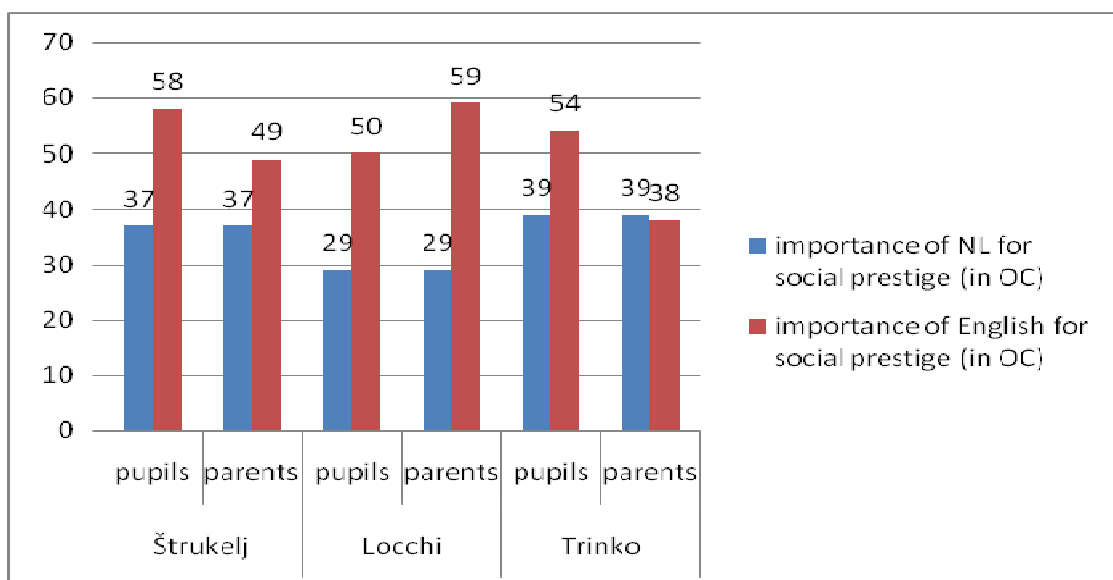


Figure 23: Importance of NL and English for social prestige (fully agree/quite agree) – pupils and parents by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

One important aspect in analysing language ideologies in our specific case, where Slovene is both NL and minority language in Gorizia, seems to us to be the evaluation of importance of Slovene as minority language for employment in Gorizia. The results are interesting. As it appears from Figure 24, the most convinced that Slovene counts in the working context in Gorizia are the parents from the Locchi School, and they are closely followed by their children. These findings are important since it was ascertained that the evaluation of importance of the language at work reflects the motivation for learning and use of language (Novak Lukanovič 2003a: 104). In this

sense our information could maybe be linked to the findings of Rupel (2000) about the increased interest for the learning of Slovene among the Italian population in the border area.

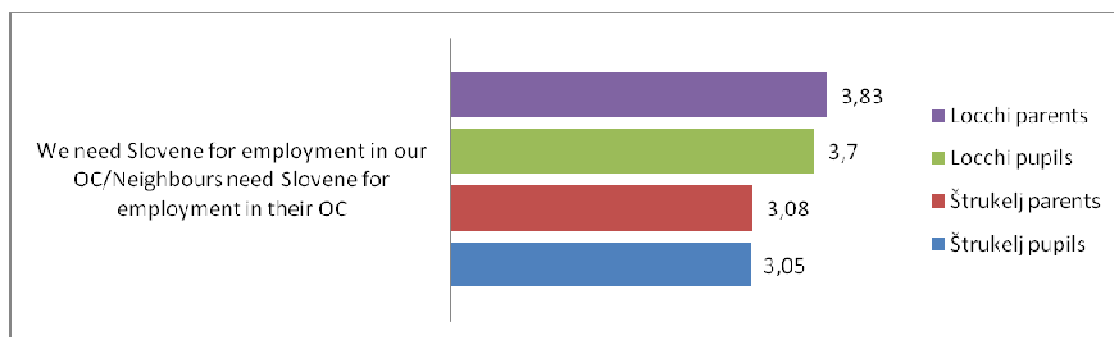


Figure 24: Evaluation of the importance of Slovene for employment in Gorizia – parents and pupils from Štrukelj and Locchi School (average values)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

V.4.2 Importance of languages in cross-border contacts

In our survey we also asked pupils and parents to express their point of view about the importance of the NLs in the cross-border contacts between people of Nova Gorica and Gorizia. The answers (on the Likert scale, from 1, in case of complete disagreement, to 5, in case of complete agreement with the statement) regarding the two NLs are visible in Figures 25 and 26. In these figures we gathered estimations about the value of NLs in three different contexts (employment in NC, contacts with people from NC and business contacts with NC) in order to give a common frame for comparison between the examined contexts, to observe the eventual generational differences and the differences between the schools. Figure 25 relates to the evaluation of Slovene as NL, while Figure 26 gathers the answers regarding Italian as NL (both report data from the Štrukelj and the Locchi School)¹⁷⁴.

For Slovene, the most evenly distributed are the estimations about its importance in business contacts. Pupils of the Štrukelj School are the most convinced that people

¹⁷⁴ To make interpretations easier in these figures we avoided the use of the abbreviation NC (neighbouring community) and we replaced it with NG for Nova Gorica and GO for Gorizia. Every statement regarding the examined language (Slovene and Italian) in the single contexts is given in two forms, depending on the subject expressing his/her opinion.

from Gorizia need Slovene for employment in Nova Gorica, while their parents have a considerably lower opinion about this necessity.

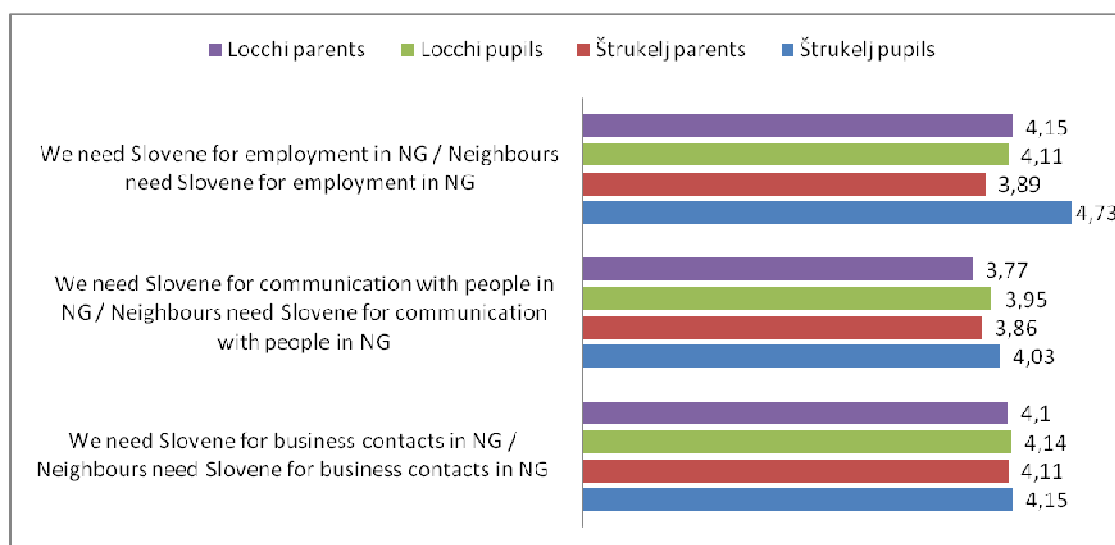


Figure 25: Evaluation of the importance of Slovene as NL in cross-border contacts – parents and pupils from Štrukelj and Trinko School (average values)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Using these data some light could be thrown on language as a hinderance to cross border commuting in the observed area (cf. above, chapter III.2). Since a relatively high importance is attributed to knowledge of Slovene for employment in Nova Gorica, it could be that the lack of this knowledge among the Italian speaking population of Gorizia is diminishing the interest for employment accross the border. What are the effective practices is not so much important here since expectations are usually the driving forces behind people's actions. Until very recently commuting has been almost entirely happening in the direction Slovenia – Italy, but as we already mentioned, the socio-political and economic changes in the last years may change this picture to a certain extent.

The evaluations of the importance of Italian in cross-border contacts are much less evenly distributed through schools and through generations. There is a considerable disparity between parents and pupils from the Štrukelj school, since parents attribute much more importance to Italian in the Italian working environment. Pupils from the Štrukelj school are those who give the lowest values to Italian in all the contexts, and it

is worth remembering that this was also the group of respondents with the tendency to use English in cross-border contacts (see above, Figure 19, chapter V.3.4).

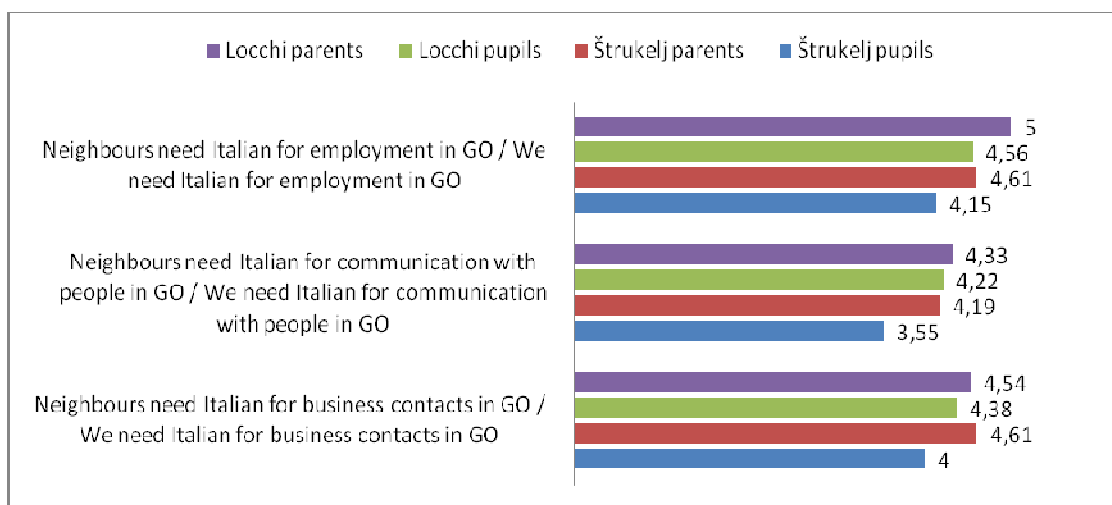


Figure 26: Evaluation of the importance of Italian as NL in cross-border contacts – parents and pupils from Štrukelj and Trinko School (average values)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Unfortunately we do not possess any data about the use of English in cross-border business contacts in order to compare practices and ideologies, but we can compare the opinions of the interviewed groups in assessing the importance of English and that of the NL in the business context. As Figure 27 shows, NL is attributed higher values as English from all the respondents, and these findings would lead us to presume that although English in general is perceived as a language with high communication value and as being important in a sense of social mobility (for prestige), it is not replacing NLs in the cross-border business contacts.

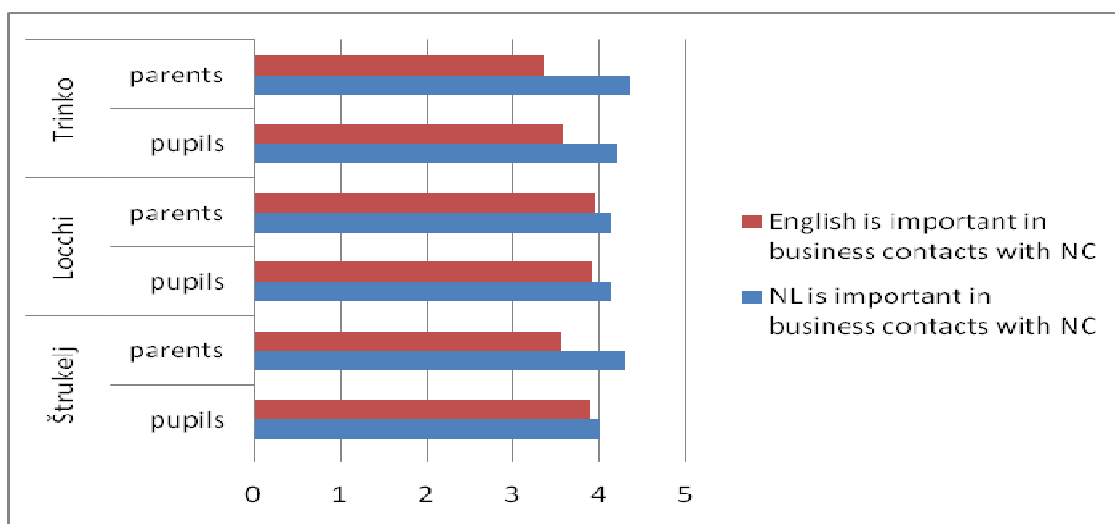


Figure 27: Evaluation of the importance of English and NL in business contacts with the NC – parents and pupils by schools (average values)

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

V.4.3 Importance of languages in language learning

In our study, we asked respondents to evaluate the importance of knowledge of foreign languages in the present-day situation on a scale from 1 (not important at all) to 5 (very important). The interviewees of all the schools were quite concordant in confirming that the knowledge of foreign languages is important or very important (see below, Table 19). It is also evident that the general tendency between CS1 and CS2 is the raise of estimation of the importance of foreign languages.

Table 19: Importance of the knowledge of foreign languages today - parents and pupils by schools: grade 4 or 5 - important or very important (percent)

Štrukelj				Locchi				Trinko			
Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils	
CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2
92.3	94.4	86.1	97.5	93.7	100	97.4	97.3	100	96.2	90.2	95.7

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

In the debates about language learning designed to develop multilingual competences there are no doubts about the first foreign language to be thought in the non English speaking countries: this primacy is almost unanimously assigned to English. As for

the second and eventually the third language to be thought, there were elaborated several, sometimes very complicated proposals (Wright 2000). Since third foreign language is usually learned only in secondary schools, within more demanding programmes, the languages that figure in this role are less likely to be mastered by a large number of people. Thus, the “winning” language, besides English, is usually the second language in the school curriculum. We were therefore interested to find out what are the opinions of our respondents about the presence of different foreign languages in the school curriculum of their secondary schools, and we were especially interested to see whether NLs would fall immediately after English, given their considerable communicative value in the examined area.

The most frequent choices for the 1st, the 2nd, and the 3rd foreign language were the following (see also Table 39 in the Appendix):

- As the 1st foreign language: English for the pupils and the parents of all three schools;
- As the 2nd foreign language: NL (Italian) for the pupils and the parents of the Štrukelj School; German for the pupils and the parents of the Locchi school; German for the parents and English or German (with equal percentage) for the pupils of the Trinko School;
- As the 3rd foreign language: NL (Italian) or German (with equal percentage) for the pupils and German for the parents of the Štrukelj School; Spanish for the pupils and NL (Slovene) for the parents of the Locchi School; German for the pupils and the parents of the Trinko school.

It clearly appears that languages with higher communication potential in a larger, European context are given precedence between the respondents from the Locchi School.

Analysed in more detail, the choices regarding NL as a language in the school curriculum are the following (see below, Figure 28).

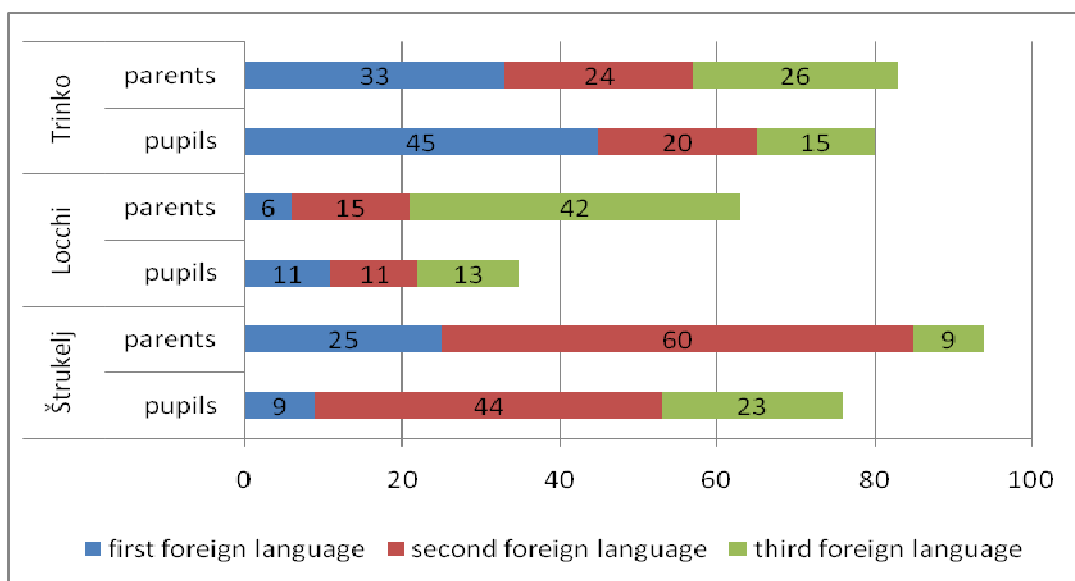


Figure 28: “In my OC, the NL should be included in the school curriculum as...” – parents and pupils by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Not surprisingly, the most favourable towards the introduction of the NL in the curriculum of their own community are the pupils and the parents of the Trinko School. Their answers should be interpreted as related to the desired situation in the Italian schools, since Slovene figures as the language of instruction in the minority schools. Their opinions would also show the desire for institutional support in promoting bilingualism among the majority members. The second group in importance for high values in this aspect is represented by the parents and the pupils of the Štrukelj School. Especially the parents show high support to Italian, placing it to a large extent as a first or a second foreign language. The lowest support is given to the NL by the parents and the pupils of the Locchi School, especially if we consider only the choices for the first and the second language.

Our respondents were also asked whether NL should be included in the school curriculum of their own community as a compulsory or as an optional subject, and it was also possible to declare here one’s own opposition to inclusion of the NL in any form. The responses are evident below, in Figure 29. As it appears, the large majority of the parents and the pupils from all three schools largely support NL as an optional subject. The most negative in this respect are the pupils from the Štrukelj School, the most positive again the respondents from the Trinko School.

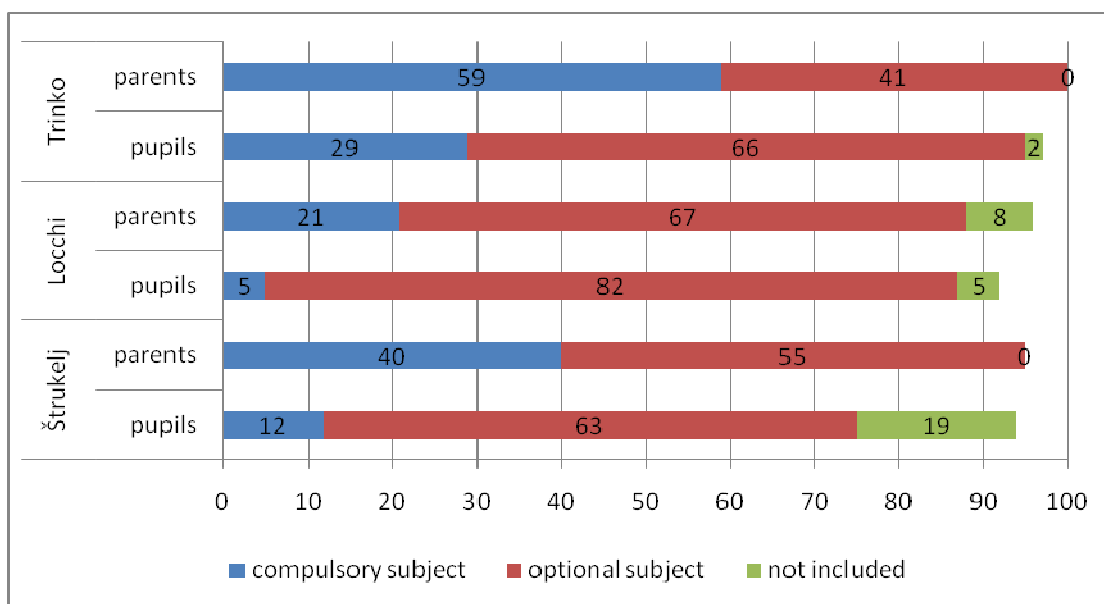


Figure 29: “The NL should be included in the school programmes in my OC” – parent and pupils by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Turning the last presented question round, the interviewees were also asked whether the language of their own community should be included in the school curriculum of the NC (see below, Figure 30). When we compare these data with the data reported in Figure 29, it appears that the most equilibrate is the position of the parents and the pupils of the Trinko School (equally distributed opinions about the NL as a compulsory subject on both sides of the border), while there is a considerable difference in the case of the other groups. Especially the pupils of the Locchi School are much less willing to see Slovene as a compulsory subject in their own schools, as they agree on the fact that Italian should be taught obligatorily in the neighbouring community.

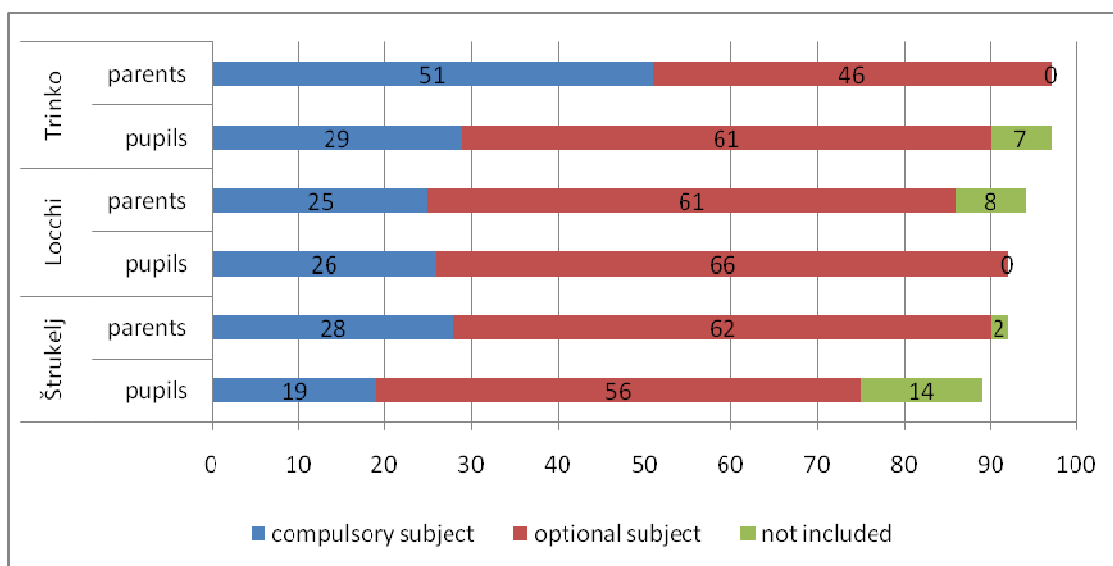


Figure 30: ‘Language of my OC should be included in the school programmes of the NC’ – parents and pupils by schools (percent)

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

In analysing language ideologies we found out that many of the expressed attitudes could reflect motivations for learning and use of neighbouring language. Language learning and multilingual practices do not have only a pragmatic dimension of enabling people to communicate. By communicating people also have the possibility to collaborate in accomplishing common goals and to bridge cultural distances. It has been observed, that this process is not automatic (Mikolič 2004), but language learning is nevertheless more and more considered as an important factor in building contexts of interculturality (see above, chapter II.4).

V.4.4 Comparison between language ideologies and language practices

When in one of the preceding chapters we analysed the phenomenon of divergence in communicative act between the speaker of Italian majority and the speaker of Slovene minority, it clearly appeared, how strongly non-linguistic ideologies (e.g. the perception of the other’s group) are interwoven with language practices. The dispositions of one (linguistic) habitus are determining the practices of one speech community in relations to the other, characterised itself by a set of determinants, deriving from another habitus. As it appears, there exist, in these processes, some causal relations between societal and linguistic components. We underlined at the very

beginning of our work, that language and society have to be seen as having a dialectic relationship, determining reciprocally each other. We could thus affirm that not only are the dispositions of the habitus determining language practices and ideologies of a speech community, but that also the inverse relationship exists.

In course of our analysis we were faced with some indications that perhaps changes in the socioeconomic context (independence of Slovenia, its joining to the EU and its accelerated economic growth) have had some influence on people's perceptions in the examined area. Keeping in mind the already exposed methodological limitations for our two case studies, it is possible to observe, by comparing the data from some other researches, a more positive attitude towards Slovenes among the Italian speaking community in Gorizia (see above, chapters V.4.2 and V.4.3)¹⁷⁵. Nevertheless, as it was already pointed out, we found a considerable gap between the language ideologies and language practices when examining our empirical data. The most pronounced difference was detected in the case of the respondents of the Locchi School. In Table 20 we summed up some data regarding language practices and ideologies for the three schools and in Figure 31 we give a graphical representation of some differences between the Locchi and the Štrukelj School.

¹⁷⁵ Brezigar (2004) points out how the prestige of Slovene as a minority language in Italy is closely linked to the perceived prestige of Slovenia as a country.

Table 20: NL in language practices and language beliefs –parents and pupils by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj		Locchi		Trinko	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
<u>LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES</u>						
NL should be present in the curriculum of my OC as the 1 st , the 2 nd or the 3 rd f. Language	82.4	76.8	62.6	34.3	93.8	68.2
NL should be present in curriculum of my OC as compulsory or optional subject	92.3	74.0	87.5	86.9	100	95
Knowledge of the NL is necessary to communicate with people of the NC	87.7	44.2	77.0	57.9	89.8	61.0
NL is important in my everyday life	67.7	65.2	27.1	21.1	61.5	78.0
NL is important in my professional environment	69.2	0	41.6	0	66.6	0
Knowledge of the NL is necessary for people of my OC for social prestige	37.0	37.2	29.2	29.0	25.6	39.0
<u>LANGUAGE PRACTICES</u>						
I use the NL when shopping in the NC	69.2	53.5	12.5	5.3	66.6	78.0
I use the NL when visiting the NC as a tourist	47.7	27.9	12.5	2.6	66.6	65.8
I understand the NL	84.6	83.7	29.2	13.2	74.3	100
I speak the NL	63.1	44.2	14.6	10.5	71.8	100

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

In trying to find some explanation for the existing gap we can again make use of the accommodation theory. The theory distinguishes several dimensions, one of them being also the subjective (or perceptual) accommodation that is related to the perceptions of listeners in an interaction (Shepard et al. 2001). It is emphasized that this dimension does not necessarily correspond with objective behaviours; for example, in the case when subjective accommodation is positive, this does not necessarily produce convergence in a speech act. Kaučič Baša (1997), for example, showed how communicative competence, as a decisive postulate for code choice, determines the minority/majority language choice. In our case we would argue that, in the case of communication between the Italian and Slovene speaker, the Italian speaker does not converge in communication, even with the changed subjective

accommodation, because of the lack of communicative competence in the Slovene language¹⁷⁶.

We are well aware of having very much simplified the situation by proposing this kind of explanation of the gap between the (positive) linguistic ideology on the one side and the (non converging) language practice at the other. Rather as naming it as an “explanation of the causes” we would prefer to label it as one possible model of interplay of the elements involved in the communicative act.

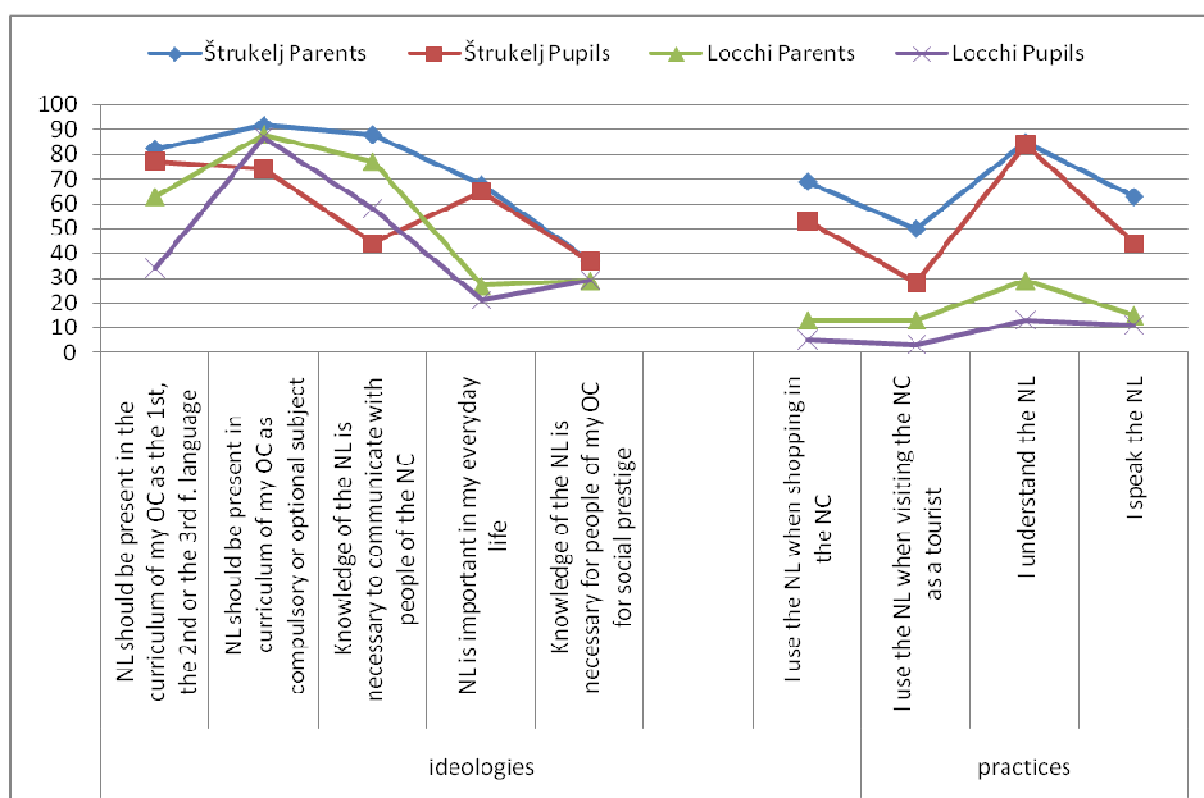


Figure 31: Differences between language ideologies and language practices – parents and pupils form the Locchi and the Štrukelj School

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Another possible explanation of the higher values in registering indicators of language ideologies and lower values when assessing language practices may be found if we

¹⁷⁶ Similar were the findings in Novak Lukanovič 2003a, where the author analysed language accommodation in ethnically mixed regions of Slovenia: some patterns of communication showed a positive psychological dimension (intentions of speakers) of accommodation and language divergence. In all cases of this type it appears that the lack of language knowledge of the interlocutor (or the low subjective evaluation of that knowledge) was the explanation of the effective non-accommodation result.

explore the Q-values of the languages in the cross-border area. Ideologies might be reflecting a perceived Q-value of a language.

It was explained, that the *Q-value* (or communication potential) of a language is the product of its prevalence and its centrality, the prevalence being defined as the proportion of the speakers of that language in the overall language constellation (i.e. number of the speakers of that language divided by the number of all speakers in a chosen constellation), while centrality would mean the way this language is connected through multilingual speakers to other language groups in the constellation (number of multilingual speakers who are also competent in that language divided by the number of all multilingual speakers in a chosen constellation) (cf. also above, chapter III.5). In other words, this value tells us how useful a language is in a chosen constellation, by measuring the possibilities of communication in that language, either directly or indirectly.

The Q-values of languages considerably vary on the bases of the chosen constellation. To assess the Q-value of a language, one first thinks about the unit, within which he/she would like to communicate (connect). Examining for example, the possibilities to communicate in Slovene within the EU, we immediately find out that its Q-value is very low, since both its prevalence and its centrality appear low. Since on the bases of the existing high level of connectedness we decided to qualify our cross-border area as a community of communication, we consider it also eligible to be examined as a constellation, within which to assess the Q-values of the chosen languages. Repeating the “test” for Slovene in this setting, its Q-value appears considerably higher. It is well possible, that Italian speakers in the examined cross-border area shape their language ideologies on the bases of the perceived Q-value of the NL, while the practices are conditioned by, for example, their knowledge (as we tried to explain above), the occasions of use¹⁷⁷, and probably also other factors that were not analysed in the frame of our analysis.

¹⁷⁷ The converging language behaviour of the Slovene speakers, due (mostly) to their good level of knowledge of Italian, is considerably limiting the possibilities of the Italian speakers to eventually use Slovene. This aspect was highlighted also in Brezigar 2004, when examining the possibilities for promotion of the use of Slovene as minority language. It is our opinion that besides the linguistic competence other factors may be involved in the process of linguistic convergence of Slovene speakers (e.g. language ideologies concerning Italian as a language of prestige, as its power in a sense of being a

It is important to notice that when comparing the EU and the cross-border area as two different constellations with reference to the Q-values of the languages, not only Slovene gains a lot, but also Italian. And it obviously also holds true that by the effect of people further learning the examined two languages, their Q-value is gaining in points. “Precisely this effect operates in the case of languages as they gain new speakers: for every actual speaker of the language, the number and variety of possible conversation partners or correspondents increases with each new speaker added” (de Swaan 2001: 30)¹⁷⁸.

If we turn for a moment to English and to how it was evaluated by our respondents in terms of language ideologies, it appears that English obtained higher values as a language of prestige when compared to NL (see above, chapter V.4.1, Figure 23) although being evaluated as less important, for example, in business contacts (see above, chapter V.4.2, Figure 27,) or as a language effectively used in cross-border communication (see above, chapter V.3.4, Figure 19). We connected its high value as a language of prestige to its high Q-value. Here we would only like to add the following: If we made the same type of comparison between the EU and the examined cross-border area as constellations where to evaluate the communication potential of this language, it appears that English in the EU, with the process of globalisation, during the last decades gained enormously and that this fact is reflected in our issue area by an increased number of English speakers in the young generation. The Q-value for English in the cross-border area as a constellation is thus conditioned by the variable of age. Throughout our analysis we also found some indications that in the future there could be a more pronounced tendency to replace the use of the NL in cross-border contacts with the use of English. Of course, if all other conditions remained the same. By changing, for example, the presence of the NL in the school curricula or by offering more other possibilities to acquire knowledge of the NL, there is room to influence these processes.

majority language in the examined setting etc.). It would be both interesting and important to explore in depth the patterns of accommodation in the cross-border area and we would consider it as a possible continuation of the work initiated in the two case studies.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. also Calvet (2002: 171) who describes the process as “un effet boule de neige”: “plus une langue est apprise, plus elle acquiert de la valeur”.

V.5 Analysis of language planning

The main focus in this chapter will be the analysis of the language planning activities, related to the role of the NLs in the process of cross-border collaboration. A great amount of data useful in this regard can be found in chapters IV.2, IV.3 and V.1.

It has to be emphasized from the very beginning that both parties, the municipality of Gorizia and the municipality of Nova Gorica, have had (and still have) at their disposal the necessary legal means to frame the policy that would support reciprocal knowledge of the bordering languages. Laying for a moment aside the question whether this would be the optimal kind of language planning to support the ongoing process of cross-border collaboration, we would like first of all to explore, which options the two parties had, and which they used (or not).

In Italy the teaching of the minority languages in the nursery and other schools (with Italian as language of instruction) is made possible by the law 482 of 15-12-1999 (Norme per la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche). The Article 4 foresees the introduction of the minority language upon the request of parents, while the methodology and the criteria for teachers' employment are defined by schools themselves. In Slovenia, in concordance with the school autonomy principle (White Book 1996: 43-46¹⁷⁹) "schools prepare the range of foreign languages taking account of traditions, wishes of parents and pupils, and the possibility of employing suitably trained teachers. The proximity of the Italian and Austrian borders also influences the selection of foreign language"¹⁸⁰. Apart from these legal dispositions, it was already mentioned that the two municipalities already in 1987 adopted a special agreement where also the declaration about the teaching of the neighbouring languages was made (see above, chapter V.1.3). But as it was shown when analysing language teaching in the two communities, while in Nova Gorica Italian from the 1990s onwards has begun to be present in the school curricula to a large extent, in Gorizia Slovene never entered in Italian schools.

¹⁷⁹ Here cited from Nećak Lük 2003: 28.

¹⁸⁰ Considering the argumentation in favour of more scholarly attention to small-scale social units when analysing language planning, Cooper (1989) would, in our opinion, perfectly agree that the choices of the school authorities on which foreign languages to teach, and for how long, is just as much a policy decision as it is a creation of some prescriptions by, for example, the Ministry of Education.

From the newspapers articles that we analysed focusing on the language issues in relation to the cross-border cooperation (see above, chapter IV.2), it is possible to deduce, that policy makers from Nova Gorica and Gorizia never approached language planning in the context of their projects¹⁸¹. Not even one of the stages from the (ideal) language planning process, presented above in Table 3 (see chapter II.5) was dealt with. We would not say that there was no language policy planning in this case, on the contrary we would affirm, that this is a case of planning with “deliberate non-planning”, in a sense that language planning issues are deliberately, not by chance, neglected. In the continuation we will try to offer some possible explanations, linked to the particular socio-cultural and political characteristics of the border area.

As it was mentioned above (chapter II.4) one important and often neglected aspect in evaluation of the selected language planning is the evaluation of its distributive dimension, i.e. the evaluation of eventual acquirements and losses of the parties involved in the process. According to Grin (2006) it is well possible, that the compensation between the “gainers” and the “losers” will not occur automatically and that in this case compensation mechanisms have to be built into the policy design. We introduced the concept of distributive dimension in order to help us to explain how by neglecting this important feature of language planning room can be created for manipulative interpretations of the eventual language planning consequences.

In discussing the implementation of the rights, deriving from the Law on global protection of the Slovene minority in Italy (see above, chapter V.1) we mentioned that several obstructions were made, during the implementation procedures, from the right wing parties. Their representatives from time to time very loudly raised concerns about the fact that further implementation of certain aspects of the mentioned law would secure privileged positions to bilingual speakers belonging to Slovene minority with regard to employment possibilities. Since policy makers did not provide any analysis of the distributive effects of the law in the way of implementation¹⁸², the eventual

¹⁸¹ To complete the reported information we should point out the fact that when there were expressed some intentions or adopted some declarations related to the NLs learning, these were not followed by any actions (apart from the case of the language courses organized at Bovec (approx. 70 km to the north of Nova Gorica).

¹⁸² Not even was, at no time, evident that there existed any kind of interest in preparing some documentation that would support the implementation procedures of the mentioned law.

fears, induced by this kind of political actions, were always available to serve as a perfect mobilizing tool for the right wing parties in yielding the public opinion against the acceptance of the mentioned legislation. In their endeavour to “preserve intact the Italianity” of the bordering cities (especially centres) these politicians were thus taking advantage of language related issues for their political purposes. They are creating fears about bilingualism basing it upon people’s concern about possible discrimination in competing for work places (as a scarce resource).

The issue about the implementation of the law related to the Slovene minority in Italy is not presented here incidentally. It is our conviction that the attitudes related to the Slovene minority are to a considerable extent transmitted also to the Slovenes on the Slovene part of the border, and that this holds true also, or primarily, for the attitudes towards the language, due to the very close link between language and ethnic/national identity in this case. Our thesis would be that language issues in the frame of the cross-border contacts are avoided for political reasons, where the central issues on the Italian side are those linked to the relations between the Italian majority and Slovene minority.

Questions related to national identity may play an important role in mobilising the electoral body. Wodak et al. (1999: 305) pointed out how “there is *no such thing as the one and only national identity* [...] but rather that different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is according to the social field, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed” (italics in original). The authors further argue that the discursive construction of national identities always runs hand in hand with the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness (ibid)¹⁸³. Following this interpretation lines we would argue that in the studied area, where distinctiveness and uniqueness of identity is importantly based on language differentiation, it is very easy that language issues are manipulated in different discursively constructed identities, e.g. the nationalistic ones. Due to the troubled events in the recent history of the area (see above, chapter IV.1) it seems that part of

¹⁸³ Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 14) see “linguistic behaviour as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles”.

the electoral body¹⁸⁴ is still rejecting multicultural cohabitation and intercultural relationships with the members of the Slovene minority¹⁸⁵. Rejecting them means in the first place rejecting their language, as the most prominent indicator of their distinctiveness. Rejecting the minority language means, in the observed context, automatically rejecting also the language of the neighbours¹⁸⁶.

The population on the Slovene side of the border, partaking to the same historical events, carries collective memories that do not allow, at least in certain circumstances, to consider Italian as a “neutral” communication code. There were never any negative considerations about, for example, the presence of Italian in the school curricula¹⁸⁷, but there were cases when inscriptions in Italian (e.g. names of shops) triggered reactions in defence of Slovene public inscriptions, along with reminding the oppressive Fascist regime. When politicians consider that it would not be wise to irritate (part of) the electors with sensitive issues, these issues are left out from the agenda. This was, and still is, also the case of the language planning issues in the considered cross-border area.

At this point we would like to recall the argumentations in the sociolinguistic theory that recently underlined the necessity of a more intensive involvement of political analysts when approaching language planning issues. Our example clearly confirms this necessity. According to our point of view, a complete analysis of the language

¹⁸⁴ It seems that this part is sufficiently big to influence the political agenda. We introduced Wodak's view about the existence of different discursively constructed national identities because it is our opinion that in the issue area there exist many different representation of the “Italianess” and the “Sloveneness” which then also influence different language ideologies. These multiple constructions of national identity, formed by distinctive “meaningful social divisions” can consequently lead to multiple language ideologies (cf. Kroskrity 2000, and above, Chapter II.4).

¹⁸⁵ It was ascertained that “dominant groups are rarely inclined to give up their advantage and accept pluralist policies, especially because changes are likely to lead to a redistribution of wealth and to a realignment in political power” (Shohamy 2006: 40). Cf. also Haugen 1980: “The many instances where language contact has led to conflict are those where the knowledge and the use of one language have given its speakers a socioeconomic and political advantage over others. *Only when a language becomes an instrument of power can it create a conflict, i.e. a social problem.*” (p. 151, italics in original).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Nelde (1995: 69-70): “Language is usually a secondary symbol for the underlying primary causes of conflict, the historical, religious, political bases of dissension”. And, moreover: “Language is a potent rallying code. The climax of a political language conflict is reached when all conflict factors are combined in a single symbol – language – and disputes and struggles in very different areas (politics, economics, administration, education) can and do all appear under the banner, *language conflict.*” (italics in original).

¹⁸⁷ On the contrary, one of the reported newspaper articles reports the reaction of the local authorities in favour of maintaining Italian in border schools, due to its importance in cross-border contacts (see above, chapter IV.2).

policy in the studied area would be possible only in parallel with the thought analytical approach from the political perspective, in order to clearly identify the non-language ideologies linked to the political spectrum of the activities in the examined setting¹⁸⁸. Our work is meant to point to this needed relationship between the two analytical approaches and to give evidence of the necessary elements to take into consideration in the (common) analytical framework.

Some additional issues should be tackled within this chapter, e.g. the language planning alternatives. Granted that policy makers would agree to discuss language planning, it is important to evaluate in this frame the possibility to foster English as a language to be used in cross-border contacts. English would allegedly represent a neutral communication code, since none of the communicating parties, neither Slovene nor Italian, would be privileged in using it. Considering all the factors that secured to English the position of the world's lingua franca, it nevertheless clearly appears the fallacy about its neutrality. When considering the possibilities for English to function as a "postethnic language", Phillipson (1999: 103) argues that

a conclusion that particular functions of English may be de-ethnicized should not be taken as meaning that the language is neutral or has no cultural or ideological baggage. As English is often a language of power [...] the power relations exercised in and through English are decisive for the choice of this language rather than others.

As far as the economic expenditures to support language learning we would shortly agree with Grin (2006) that these are usually overestimated, and that the most important thing, when some language planning related decisions, is to first assess the market values, e.g. how the fact of learning neighbouring language affects commuting, investments, business relations, and, on the other side, the non-market values, e.g. mutual understanding, respect of diversity, integration processes etc.

With regard to language learning and the practical questions about which languages should be taught and for how long, it is important to remember how sociolinguists

¹⁸⁸ It should be remembered that sociolinguistic theory clearly pointed out that there is no language planning that is detached from some aspect of ideology (cf. above, chapters II.2 and II.4).

generally are in favour of developing *linguae francae*, in our case English. Crystal (1997), for example, points out how early language learning is essential in order to prevent disadvantages of those who are not native English speakers. The question arises thus, whether in this context of an early introduction of English beside the native language, there is place for other languages. Here Crystal seems to see no obstacles for an “education guided” three- or plurilingualism: “Some two-thirds of the children on earth grow up in a bilingual environment, and develop competence in it. There is a naturalness with which they assimilate another language, once they are regularly exposed to it” (ibid., p. 14). There is no need to say that cross-border areas, when meant to function as integrated areas according to the guidelines of the EU policies, represent an environment that with a high level of contacts “naturally” offers the necessary conditions for the spread of multilingualism. It remains than to ascertain what kind of multilingualism¹⁸⁹ best suits the chosen setting. In our case it was shown that in some circumstances also passive knowledge of Slovene can perfectly secure effective integration in a multicultural setting (see above, chapter V.3.2).

The last part of our analysis of language planning in this chapter, regarding the policy alternatives, was meant to show how different aspects would emerge and how sociolinguistics would have some answers to offer if there arose the need to engage in any type of language planning process. But as we explained, this never happened and we can only hope that in the future language planning will find its place in the agenda of the local policy makers as one of the *sine qua non* issues if the two collaborating parts have serious intention to function as an integrated economic and socio-cultural unit¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁹ There exists a considerable amount of publications in the frame of applied linguistics dealing with different types of multilingualism to promote and the ways that multilingual competences should be attained (e.g. Rubin 1984, Edwards 1994, Willems 2002, Byram 2008). Nelde (2000: 442) underlines the fact that “[s]ymmetric multilingualism and the often sought equality of existing language remain a metaphysical desideratum: they just do not exist. European multilingualism is asymmetric by definition, never free of conflicts”.

¹⁹⁰ Cooper (1989) points to a very important element in language planning: the existence of communicative problems does not constitute the trigger, which is important enough, to undertake language planning activities in a certain situation. The solution of ascertained communicative problems will only be looked for if in parallel this solution promotes the attainment of non-linguistic goals.

V.6 Conclusions

Summing up the most remarkable results of our analysis of the empirical data we can observe that:

1. Both parents and pupils in the whole cross-border area give high importance to the knowledge of foreign languages.
2. The knowledge of the neighbouring language is very unevenly distributed on the two sides of the border.
3. Those with the most diversified language knowledge and also language practices are the parents and the pupils of the Slovene minority school.
4. There is a considerable generational difference in English language knowledge in all the three examined settings: children declare to master the global lingua franca to a considerably higher degree.
5. Friulian is hardly known on the Slovene part of the border, and there exists a generational difference in knowledge of this language on the Italian part: pupils know it and use it less than their parents.
6. Institutional support (schooling in mother tongue) is positively influencing the ethno-linguistic vitality of the Slovene minority.
7. There exist a gap between language practices and language ideologies in case of the respondents from the Štrukelj School (from Nova Gorica, with mainly Slovene speaking population), and from the Locchi School (from Gorizia, with mainly Italian speaking population, belonging to the Italian majority), being this gap far more pronounced in case of the respondents from the last school.
8. There are no major gaps between language practices and language ideologies in case of the respondents from the Trinko School (from Gorizia, with mainly Slovene speaking population, belonging to the Slovene minority).
9. Although the younger and the older generations have formed their attitudes in different political and socio-cultural settings, it appears that this does not influence their perceptions in a considerable way. The most marked differences (e.g. knowledge of lingua franca) were linked to globalisation processes.

With the analysis of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic dimensions of the issue area we got enough information to confirm our first hypothesis, i.e. the existence of

some specific characteristics of the domain of cross-border area in a sociolinguistic sense. It was shown how the communication potentials of the neighbouring languages when assessed in the cross-border area differ from those assessed in a wider constellation, e.g. the EU, and it was also shown how the perceived communication values of the NL in the examined setting influence language ideologies.

As one of the basic characteristics of the cross-border area as a sociolinguistic unit of analysis appeared the fact that cross-border area is a specific area of social and cultural contact, where from the point of view of language used in communication not only communicative efficiency is important to evaluate, but there is also present a very strong symbolic component of language use. If we can agree with Bourdieu (1991) that in general it is rare in everyday life for language to function as a pure instrument of communication we would argue that this “neutrality” practically never happens in communicative acts in cross-border areas.

It was also argued, at the beginning of the thesis that the sociolinguistic particularities of the area would consequently lead to a specific approach also in language planning issues. It was nevertheless possible to observe that in our issue area this did not happen, which confirms our second hypothesis about the disequilibrium in the policy agenda of the local policy makers: In the cooperation processes of the cross-border area of Nova Gorica/Gorizia the collaboration in the economical and socio-cultural field is not accompanied by any policy activities that would consider important to approach the area as a community of communication. We also approached a hypothesis of explanation of this situation, affirming that this neglect is due to political reasons, i.e. the fact that language issues in both areas (and especially on the Italian part) are linked, by processes of representing distinctiveness in a set of elements that characterised different habits of the bordering communities, to other unsolved problems. It also appeared that by maintaining the *status quo* the communities are hindering the possibility for the development of a higher level of intercultural communication and mutual understanding (Michael 1997).

Our third hypothesis was that the actual language planning in the studied area is not congruent with language ideology of the population. This hypothesis can be

confirmed, too. While the language planning of the type of “no planning” is constantly present, people’s attitudes towards the neighbouring community and consequently language seem to have changed in the recent years. Factors influencing the Italian population in Gorizia could be linked to the transformed image of Slovenia after its independence, democratisation, economic growth and entrance in the EU, while for those influencing the Slovene side we would suppose them to be mostly linked to the fact that the memories of the recent past (especially that of the Fascist period) are less strongly conditioning the symbolic representations of the generations that did not directly experience periods marked with inter-ethnic confrontation. As one of the examples of the “openness” in attitudes, we can point to a positive attitude regarding the inclusion of NLs in the school curricula for both, the Italian and the Slovene side. Since the potential success of the chosen language management strongly depends on its congruity with language ideologies (Spolsky 2004) our findings could represent an indication, that an increased offer of language learning programs in NL (both for adults and children) would be positively accepted on both sides of the border area. It was shown how the increased number of learners and users of a language increases the factors of prevalence and centrality of the language, and since cross-border area by its high level of contact offers a suitable environment for language learning, we can confirm our initial hypothesis that the issue area, in its present sociolinguistic conditions, contains a potential for the spread of multilingualism¹⁹¹. Multilingualism was recognized as an important tool in the maintaining of language diversity, and we would like to point out that in this sense cross-border areas in the EU should be evaluated as important environments.

Our last hypothesis was that the cross-border area of Nova Gorica/Gorizia and the related nation states are neglecting the specificity of language policy of the cross-border domain, and that by behaving in this way there is the risk, for the future generations, that English will replace NLs in cross-border contacts. This hypothesis can be only partially confirmed. We found out that national governments are not framing border language policies in a way to impede appropriate adaptations of, for example language learning curricula. On the contrary, the national legislations provide

¹⁹¹ Especially the less used languages would gain a lot in this regard, which in our case holds true for Slovene and for Friulian (teaching of Friulian, for example, is currently offered across the border in the frame of the university studies at Nova Gorica).

the local communities with all the necessary tools to elaborate language planning that would most suit their needs. It is the local structures that continue to implement the agenda of “no discussion and action about language issues” and as it appears from our data it is well possible that the consequences of this, formulated in our hypothesis about the use of English in cross-border contacts, will come into practice in the future. It is completely understandable that people choose to learn languages with higher Q-values (it was illustrative in our case, how parents and pupils of the Locchi School gave precedence to German before Slovene as a second language in the school curriculum), but when a cross-border community identifies as its goal also the increased level of mutual knowledge and development of intercultural competences of its population, the shift to English in cross-border contacts could be addressed as a “market failure” (Green 2006)¹⁹². Namely, as Mikolič et al. (2006: 42) argue the most deep intercultural education is reached through language learning and usage; it is through different communicative situations that we penetrate the culture of the ethnic/national community we are in contact with¹⁹³.

Some additional and important findings emerged from our research. In the context of the post war development of cross-border contacts in the researched area we already mentioned the importance of the Slovene minority in fostering the socio-cultural contacts in the area by maintaining a great part of the “institutionalized” cross-border linkages in the field of culture and sport, economy, information and collaboration between the municipalities. In the case of cooperation between Nova Gorica and Gorizia it seems that what were the auspices for the period after the integration of Slovenia in the EU are slowly being carried into effect. Namely, as Bufon (2000: 180) points out, the new role of the minority’s institution would be in “offering, to the population in the border areas, a multilingual and multicultural dimension, on which to build up the social integration”. As it appeared from our analysis of language learning (see above, chapter V.3.2) the number of “consumers” of multicultural (and multilingual) contents in last decades is increasing and it seems that the Slovene

¹⁹² As we already pointed out, Grin’s opinion is that “almost every form of market failure occurs when it comes to the provision of linguistic diversity” (ibid.).

¹⁹³ The authors also make the point that “it is already with the understanding or passive competence of the language of the other that deeper knowledge about the co-existing or neighbouring culture is made possible” (ibid., p.48). This would confirm the findings of Rupel (2000) about the passive language knowledge as a sufficient tool for successful integration, reported in our analysis.

minority, with its “natural” functioning as a mixed, multicultural setting is the only entity that was available to offer adequate response to these increased needs.

In the 1990s, an extensive research was made in Slovene minority schools (Bogatec and Bufon 1996: 128-133) that among other questions addressed also the motivations to enrol children in a minority school. According to the collected data, the main motives were the sense of belonging to the minority group and the high evaluation of the importance of knowledge of both, the majority and the minority language. As Brezigar (2004) points out, these motivations constitute the key factors when (if) promoting the Slovene minority schools¹⁹⁴. It seems that in the changed socio-political circumstances this kind of promotional activity would find some audience between the majority members, and it is clear that this time again, the minority group could play a decisive role in contributing to the quality (and the quantity) of cross-border collaboration, namely through fostering interculturality in their own community¹⁹⁵.

Due to the processes of the EU integration and globalisation, the comprehension of several languages and cultures seems to be necessary today. The populations living in areas where more national groups are present are certainly in a privileged position; since in this kind of environments people have the opportunity of daily contact with diverse locally present communities, they have better possibilities to develop intercultural competence. The whole border area between Slovenia and Italy seems to offer now this kind of advantageous setting: in spite of some negative heritage of the past (forejudgements and stereotypes resulting from historical and political circumstances), a spirit of collaboration seems nowadays to prevail.

¹⁹⁴ The author shows that there exist many other examples of this kind of promotion in Europe, e.g. in Wales and in Spain among the Basque minority.

¹⁹⁵ As we already mentioned, these trends, if further accentuated in the future, would represent an important shift in the function of Slovene minority schools which would urgently require investigation and action in the sense of an adequate support.

PART THREE

VI. Language policy in cross-border areas of the EU: some elements for developing models of analysis and planning

In framing the third (and concluding) part of our thesis we found a useful point of departure in Cooper's approach when he is trying to find an appropriate definition for language planning. This definition should, on a proper level of generalizability, give satisfactory answer to a precise question: "*Who plans what for whom and how?*" (1989: 31, italics in original). Appropriately modified, the question in our case should be worded as follows: In cross-border areas of the EU, *why* should language policy be analysed and planned, *what* exactly should be studied and planned in this context, and *how* should this study and planning be carried out? Before moving to the exposed question we should, nevertheless, first try to ground our specific domain of analysis, in the frame of the sociolinguistic theory.

VI.1 Cross-border area as domain of language policy studies and language planning

In the introductory chapter we argued for the study of the cross-border area as a specific domain of sociolinguistic analysis supposing for it some kind of "underlying sociolinguistic regularity", and presuming that such a construct would help us to clarify and organize our data (cf. Fishman 1972: 450-51). It is not the aim of our work to be exhaustive in finding these regulatory patterns, but we would nevertheless list some observations that emerged from our analysis.

Williams (1988: 14) recognises that important research questions for sociolinguistics surely consist in studying who speaks which language to whom, when and under which conditions, but he adds an important additional research dimension: it is important also to acknowledge that "*where* a language group is physically located in

macro, environmental terms it is also germane to the range of possibilities given to such a group”.

Border areas, for example, represent a special sociolinguistic context in this regard. In case of ethnic overlapping in border areas, very often conflicts are fuelled by non adequate accommodations (or solutions) to this overlapping: material and ideological conflicts then often make use of language as a marker of group differentiation and socio-political mobilisation. It is thus vital according to the author “to be able to demonstrate the effect which living within a border region has upon the attitudes, behaviour and loyalties of frontier communities” (ibid., p. 100).

In our work we defined the researched cross-border area as a community of communication, due to high level of mutual connections, and we viewed it as being composed by more than one linguistic habitus (and consequently more speech communities), due to ascertained different sets of dispositions, that were influencing language ideologies and practices. We also underlined how important is, in the cross-border area, the symbolic component of language use. Symbolic components refer to extra-linguistic contents of the society and what happens between persons when using languages to communicate derives its particular form from the objective relation between the groups who speak those languages (Bourdieu 1991).

The cross-border community is usually composed by more than one symbolic space. In these symbolic spaces language can function as an indicator of diversity¹⁹⁶. While on the one hand the communication space forms itself in a spontaneous way, through practices of communication and only with the purpose of communication, the symbolic space is formed through encounters with the “other”, with the distinctive elements of the “otherness”. If the language in communication is chosen to indicate this distinctiveness, the communication act loses the spontaneity of mere communication and it assumes a character of being an intentional act of demonstration of symbolic appurtenance.

¹⁹⁶ In chapter III.3 we saw how in the frame of modern ideologies of nation state formation language is quite inevitably included in this frame, but we would like to stress that language as a group marker is not an indispensable precondition.

In order to make the language function in this way, the speaker needs to apply, to the communicative act, some kind of “reduction of individuality”:

When a group of people engages with some other, it has to simplify its message down to a form of generality with which each of the members can identify their personal interests. [...] Thus, when a position is stated ‘on behalf of’ a community – ‘we want ...’ ‘we think ...’ – it implies a generality of view tantamount to the expression of sameness, of equality. Dissent would impugn this egalitarianism, just as it would offend the integrity of the boundaries thus contrived. (Cohen 1985: 35, italics in original).

By formulating such general positions the community is informing its sense of self, embellishing its symbolic boundaries and giving vitality to the boundary (ibid.)¹⁹⁷.

It is important to notice that beside the content of the message, also the choice of language can be the carrier of similar *we* positions. As Kramersch (1998: 70) puts it: “By crossing languages, speakers perform cultural acts of identity”.

The listed observations show how complex the communicative acts in cross-border areas are, and how broad the range of analytical tools has to be in order to “capture” the meaning of the communicative act, performed in this setting, in its entirety. It is also possible that these characteristics will change if the representation schemes change (e.g. the close links between language, nation and territory that so strongly characterized the process of nation state formation). It would be especially useful, for example, to observe, which are the effects of the disappearance of the (material) borders in the EU on the symbolic components of the communicative acts in the border areas (if there are any). This kind of research would be important not only for the understanding of the concrete settings, but it would be precious also for the general understanding of the dialectic interaction between language and social structure.

¹⁹⁷ Joseph (2004: 111) shows how in the Romantic thought, where what defines nation most clearly is its language, mixture with other nations (and thus languages) means dilution of the nation's essence. Namely, according to Fichte, “[s]uch a whole [as the nation defined by language], if it wishes to absorb and mingle with itself any other people of different descent and language, cannot do so without itself becoming confused, in the beginning at any rate, and violently disturbing the even progress of its culture” (J.G. Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, Berlin, Realschulbuchhandlung, 1880, English version, *Address to the German Nation*, New York: Harper Torch Books, here cited from Joseph 2004).

VI.2 Why to study and plan?

Contemporary studies of border areas are focusing with more attention on the cultural aspects of the studied areas, and are thus exploring also questions about regional, ethnic and language identities of the people living in these areas. One of the personal motives to involve in the research of the language practices, ideologies and planning in the particular domain of the cross-border area was our belief that language related issues are of utmost importance in understanding the cross-border relations. Sociolinguistic theory is nowadays firmly underpinning this kind of reasoning since it shares the belief that “any studies of societies that exclude [...] language are limited” Spolsky (2004: IX-X). Every aspect of human activity, that implies contacts, implies also a language component. Consequently, border studies that exclude or emarginate language studies, do not offer a complete understanding of the studied areas. Language cannot, for example, be excluded from the accounts about the mobility (commuting), cooperation and economical development in the cross-border regions; it is clear that language issues are involved in many of the concepts that have been recently suscitating the scientists’ curiosity in relation to border areas, e.g. identity, social construction, systems, affection, attitude, feelings of belonging, us versus them, and symbolic borders. Thus, this recent more “people-oriented approach”¹⁹⁸ in border and border region studies should, in any case, include also studies about sociolinguistic situations in border areas.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, cross-border areas of the EU should be considered as interesting, as mentioned above, because of big sociological changes that they went through in the recent decades. Phillipson’s (2003) recommendations for research priorities, for example, include the need for the state-of-the-art reports about linguistic situations in different groups where the patterns of communication have changed as a result of globalisation and europeisation. With no doubt, cross-border areas represent a kind of setting with these characteristics.

As for the language planning activities, we already pointed out that studies/analyses of a sociolinguistic context are a prerequisite for an appropriately conducted language

¹⁹⁸ The term is used in van der Velde and van Houtum 2000.

planning process. Moreover, Daoust (1997: 441) points out that, “no clear-cut line can be drawn between the different types of objectives so that, in the long turn, even linguistic aims serve socio-political goals. This is why language planning is more and more often seen as a way to resolve social, economic, and political problems through interventions in language”.

To our opinion language planning in the cross-border area can also be seen as a precious tool for maintenance of language diversity. As it was possible to understand from the analysis of the empirical data of our two case studies, languages in cross-border areas acquire different Q-values as the same languages have in the frame of wider units (e.g. nation states or supra-national structures). It could be said that these areas are a kind of “radiation zones” for the growth of the Q-values of languages.

We already listed several arguments in order to support maintenance of language diversity (see above, chapter IV.3), and in the same context we have also shown that in parallel with the activities aimed to protect diversity, others have to be carried out, guaranteeing people the access to lingua francas with the role of facilitating international communications. But, as Crystal (2000) points out, the last kind of activities do not necessarily require to be performed on the expense of the first ones. In other words, maintaining local and regional languages is not hindering communication the potential of people using them if in parallel they are offered opportunities to learn also languages that in respect to global communication figure on higher levels of communication potential.

Maintenance of cultural and linguistic heritage and thus individual and collective identity on the one side and intelligibility on the other do not therefore have to be in conflict. It is important to acknowledge that post-modern societies need both, despite of the costs. The costs to cope with the diversity of the world’s languages can be considerable (e.g. guaranteeing interpretations, translations, language learning), although several studies clearly demonstrated that they are very often subject to manipulative interpretations with other than language related aims (cf. Green 2006 and above, chapter III.4). When speaking about the costs, the most important thing, in order to persuade governments to work towards bilingual or multilingual world is to

see, why this money is not wasted, but on the contrary, it produces an important value. By establishing some parallels with the importance of maintenance of biological diversity, Crystal (2000: 33-34) argues that cultural diversity is a “prerequisite for successful humanity”¹⁹⁹, and that consequently preserving linguistic diversity is essential

for language lies at the heart of what it means to be human. If the development of multiple cultures is so important, then the role of languages becomes critical, for cultures are chiefly transmitted through spoken and written languages²⁰⁰.

VI.3 What and how to study?

We already underlined that sociolinguistic studies are indispensable in completing the sociological studies of any setting, and that, accordingly, we consider the cross-border analysis as a necessary completion of cross-border sociological analysis.

In the cross-border studies it was found that the borderline is often breaking the symmetry of the models of interaction, being this for the positive or magnet effects of the border, or for the hindering effects (Janssen 2000, Bufon 2004). The task of sociolinguistic analysis in this context would be to establish to which extent the existence of language border functions as a magnet or/and as a hindering effect.

As for the general frame of the sociolinguistic approach to the cross-border area, we consider that the variables and the relations between them should be studied as represented in Figure 34 (see below). As we pointed out in discussing the limitations of our research (see above, chapter V.2.3), enough attention should be placed in analysing the non language variables. The perception of the neighbouring community could be, for example, observed as having different dimensions: 1) the cognitive dimension (e.g. knowings and ideas about the neighbouring community); 2) the

¹⁹⁹ Crystal (ibid.) reports argumentation of different scholars who demonstrated how the success of human development, i.e. the success of colonizing the planet has been due to the ability to develop diverse cultures which suit diverse kinds of encountered environments.

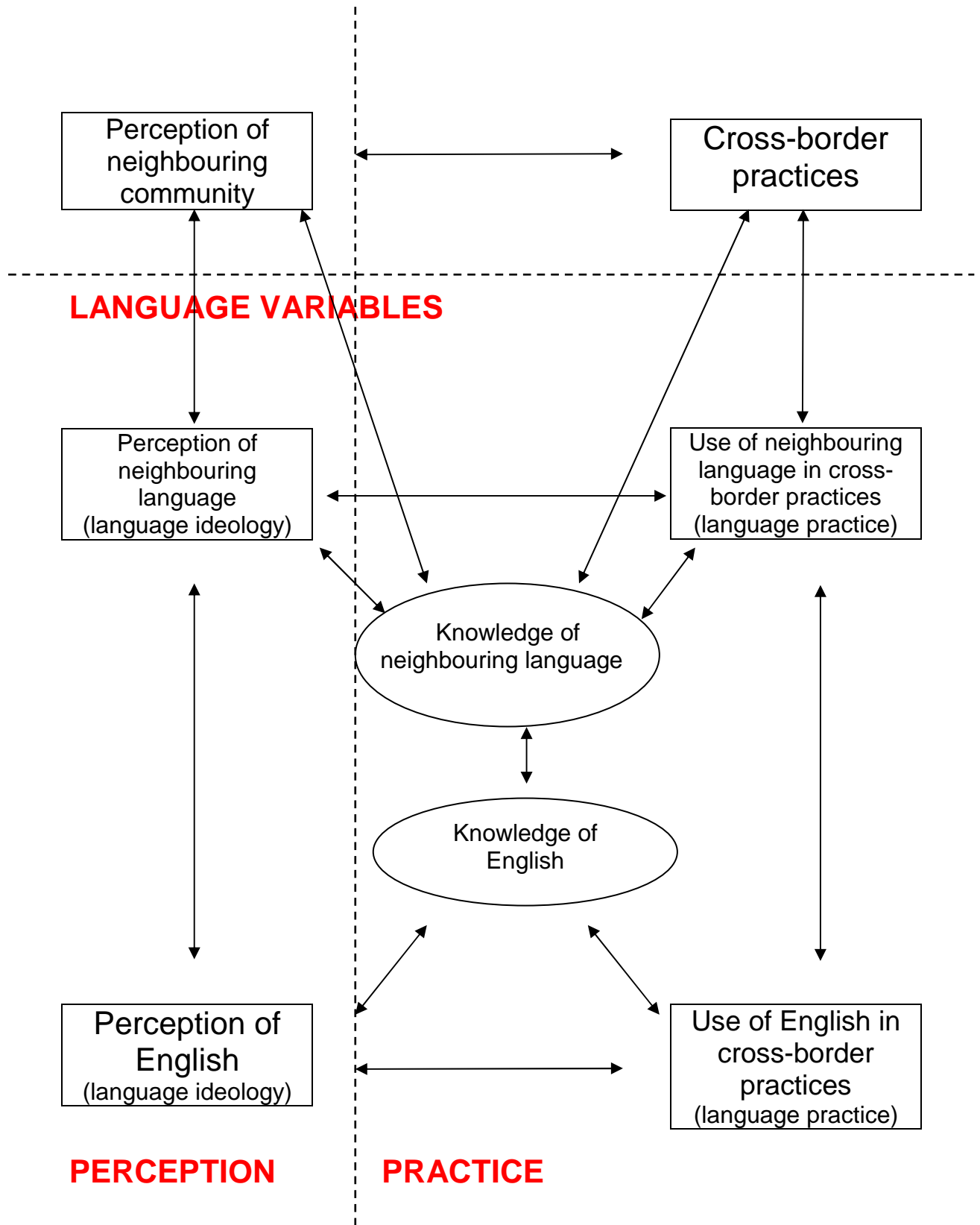
²⁰⁰ We pointed to the importance of language as a medium through which culture is communicated in chapter III.5.

emotional dimension (e.g. emotional attitude and (fore)judgements about the neighbouring community); 3) dynamic dimension (e.g. the disposition to be actively involved in relationships concerning cross-border contacts)²⁰¹.

²⁰¹ Based on Mikolič 2004.

Figure 32: Variables in the research model of the study of language practices, ideologies and planning in cross-border area

NON LANGUAGE VARIABLES



In building a research model for the study of the cross-border language policy we propose some steps that would seem necessary for the achievement of some common methodological and theoretical ground in cross-border language policy research.

In methodological sense, we would underline the importance of a well prepared questionnaire and carefully selected representative sample which offers the possibility of typological categorisation and comparison between different cross-border areas. A significant number of case studies in the cross-border context would then be necessary in order to elaborate eventual typologies of the cross-border situations on the basis of the analysed data²⁰². Furthermore, the aim would be to elaborate eventual models of theories for the individuated types of cross-border situations and to elaborate eventual specific theory concerning the role of language in cross-border areas.

Language policy research in cross-border areas of the EU should by no means, not ignore considerations about the influence on language of the main socio-historical processes of the recent past, i.e. the process of nation state formation, the European integration and the globalisation, and along with this also the economics of language should be considered (see above, chapter III.1).

VI.4 What and how to plan?

Although in the literature about the European language policy there are not often found considerations of the border and cross-border linguistic situations, there are some authors that perceive to some degree the specificity of these settings. Nelde (2000: 449), for example, is mentioning the “structural aid” that the languages of the environment can furnish in learning the second language. According to him, the focus should be on learning the surrounding and neighbouring languages and he underlines the fundamental importance of the educational system in the language policy issues²⁰³.

²⁰² “Generalisation can be built up from individual cases by observing consistencies in the relationships among descriptive classifications” (Cooper 1989: 57). Cf. also Ricento (2006: 12): “aggregate data obtained from specific cases can lead to models of theories, which can then be put to the test in novel situations”.

²⁰³ “[W]e should underline that language planning depends overwhelmingly on the educational system whose impact may be stronger than the impact of the legalisation of multilingual and multicultural

Thus, acquisition planning would appear as the most important language planning activity in the cross-border area. Political economy of language should also be considered in this frame, since an “upward mechanism”, i.e. the preferences people have for learning one language rather than another, is extremely important in acquisition planning²⁰⁴. Namely, whatever the language planning, the favourability or non-favourability of attitudes in the population is fundamentally affecting its success (Baker 1992). Since a considerable effort is required to learn a new language people usually prefer to learn a language that provides them with the greater communicative advantage (De Swaan 2001). Nevertheless, “[t]o plan language is to plan society” (Cooper 1989: 182) and it thus depends on the goals that the community sets for itself, also what type of language learning policy the community will choose.

Scholars dealing with theoretical issues of language planning have largely accepted the definition of language planning where the actors of the planning activities are not restricted only to governments, government-authorized agencies, or other authoritative bodies. Language planning may be originated at any level of society, with lower as well as upper socioeconomic strata. Even more, the exclusively top down initiatives by lack of involvement of the constituencies are considered as unethical and undemocratic, since they violate basic democratic processes of inclusion, representation and participation (Shohamy 2006)²⁰⁵. We would thus consider necessary to complete the scheme about language planning stages that are meant to be followed in an ideal language planning process (see above, Table 3, chapter II.5) with the indication of the parties to be involved in the process (see below, Table 21).

prerequisites. So the teaching of second and third languages may influence the multilingual future of Europe more than all other measures taken by national and supranational politics.” (Nelde 2000: 443).

²⁰⁴ According to de Swaan (2004: 18) political economy of language “analyses how people try to maximize their opportunities for communication, how this confronts them with dilemmas of collective action that may even provoke stampedes towards another language and the abandonment of their native tongue, and what occurs in the unequal relations of exchange between small and large language groups”. A good example of how language learning choices in mixed ethno-linguistic context are made on the bases of the evaluation of the communicative potentials of languages is offered in Novak Lukanovič 2003b.

²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, it is unlikely that language planning will succeed unless it is embraced and promoted by elites or by conterelites (Cooper 1989).

Table 21: Stages of the language planning process and the parties involved

STAGE	PARTIES INVOLVED (BESIDE LANGUAGE PLANNERS)
identification of broader societal goals	policy makers, policy analysts, target populations
identification of target populations	policy makers sociolinguists, target populations
Fact-finding process about the past situation	sociolinguists, historians
Fact-finding process about the present situation	sociolinguists, target populations
domain identification	sociolinguists, policy makers, target populations
goal setting	policy makers, sociolinguists, target populations
elaboration of different policy planning alternatives	policy makers, sociolinguists, target populations
evaluation of different policy planning alternatives	policy makers, sociolinguists, target populations
selection of a policy	policy makers, target populations
implementation	policy makers, target populations
evaluation	policy makers, sociolinguists, target populations
eventual modifications	policy makers, sociolinguists, target populations

Since cross-border community implies intercultural encounters, it could be defined as an area of multicultural presence and it could thus be, with necessary limitations, analysed as multicultural society According to Balboni (2006), multicultural society implies “contamination”, i.e. contact between two or more cultures. Yet, contamination occurs only when communication is present; communication implies the approaching of the parties, where approaching does not include only tolerance and respect, but also interest. Communication is thus the principal locus of the process of “intercultural acculturation” and the communicative act is possible only when the language chosen is mastered by both the interlocutors²⁰⁶.

Foreign language teaching is an essential part of the EU’s language policy. In this way the EU is aiming to secure its linguistic and cultural diversity and improve the capacity of the citizens to collaborate across the borders, established by their national

²⁰⁶ From the Preface of A. Griselli, in Mikolič et al. 2006, p. 7.

languages²⁰⁷. Favouring (and fostering) cross-border contacts and integration of regions the process of European integration means in practice that the national and cultural borders between national states should lessen in significance, and that plurilingualism in border areas and in the EU at large should be perceived as a social advantage. This top-down process has already positively affected former often hostile attitudes in many border areas (Winsa 2005). Maybe it is not of minor importance the consideration that in the new European context, which is fostering integration and is thus willy-nilly creating new communities of communication, foreign language learning should turn its perspective. In new conditions of communication perhaps languages should not be seen, any more, as “foreign” linguistic codes. This shift in perspective would help to develop and hopefully attain, through language learning, not only the communicative proficiency but also new, multidimensional symbolic representations. It is well possible that this kind of processes would contribute to overcome or even cancel many mental borders, constituted in the recent history.

²⁰⁷ The reciprocal learning of neighbouring languages is one of the points in the Phillipson’s (2004) best-case scenario of the future language policy of the EU.

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Appendix: Selected statistical data about CS1 and CS2

Table 22: Passive knowledge of languages ('I understand the following languages') - parents and pupils by schools (percent)

I understand...	Štrukelj				Locchi				Trinko			
	Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils	
	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2
Slovene	100	91.7	100	100	29.2	30.6	13.2	29.7	74.3	88.9	100	95.7
Italian	84.6	63.9	83.7	72.5	100	91.8	100	100	97.4	96.3	100	95.7
Friulian	13.8	8.3	-	5	66.7	63.1	44.7	56.8	58.9	64.8	56.1	53.2
English	63.1	58.3	95.3	95	50.0	49	97.4	83.8	61.5	35.2	95.1	76.6
German	20.0	19.4	16.3	5	22.0	24.5	65.8	78.4	28.2	33.3	43.9	31.9
French	4.6	2.8	11.6	2.5	14.6	18.4	18.4	18.9	2.5	3.7	2.4	14.9
Spanish	6.2	8.3	34.9	35	18.8	14.3	44.7	27	7.7	11.1	19.5	34
Serb./Cro./Bosn.	90.8	91.7	83.7	60	6.3	18.4	2.6	13.5	46.1	38.9	29.2	38.3

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

Table 23: Active knowledge of languages ('I speak the following languages') - parents and pupils by schools (percent)

I speak...	Štrukelj				Locchi				Trinko			
	Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils		Parents		Pupils	
	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2	CS1	CS2
Slovene	98.5	91.7	100	100	14.6	24.5	10.5	18.9	71.8	87	100	95.7
Italian	63.1	61.1	44.2	50	100	91.8	100	100	97.4	94.4	100	95.7
Friulian	1.5	2.8	-	2.5	27.1	32.7	18.4	27	23.1	38.9	17.1	17
English	46.2	41.7	88.4	95	35.4	40.8	89.5	83.8	35.9	18.5	78.0	70.2
German	6.2	19.4	9.3	-	14.6	14.3	63.2	78.4	17.9	13	34.1	25.5
French	4.6	2.8	7.0	2.5	10.4	12.2	5.3	2.7	2.6	-	-	2.1
Spanish	1.5	2.8	11.6	22.5	10.4	4.1	7.9	8.1	-	-	2.4	10.6
Serb./Cro./Bosn.	78.5	83.3	46.5	57.5	2.1	16.3	-	10.8	30.8	27.8	12.2	17

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1) and 2005 (CS2)

Table 24: Štrukelj school (parents) - mother tongues and inter-generational communication

	<i>communication with parents</i>	<i>mother tongues</i>	<i>communication with children</i>
only Slovene	78,7%	75,0%	77,1%
only Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	17,2%	19,4%	5,7%
Slovene and Serb./Cro./Bos.	0,0%	5,6%	11,4%
other languages or combinations	3,2%	0,0%	5,8%

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 25: Locchi school (parents) - mother tongues and inter-generational communication

	<i>communication with parents</i>	<i>mother tongues</i>	<i>communication with children</i>
only Slovene	1,2%	0,0%	2,1%
only Italian	64,3%	63,3%	70,8%
only Friulian	8,0%	0,0%	2,1%
Slovene and Italian	1,4%	8,2%	6,3%
Italian and Friulian	6,7%	10,2%	4,2%
Italian, Friulian and Slovene	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%
only Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	10,4%	10,2%	8,3%
other languages or combinations	8,0%	8,1%	6,3%

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 26: Trinko school (parents) - mother tongues and inter-generational communication

	<i>communication with parents</i>	<i>mother tongues</i>	<i>communication with children</i>
only Slovene	58,4%	46,3%	54,7%
only Italian	17,6%	11,1%	17,0%
only Friulian	4,8%	0,0%	0,0%
Slovene and Italian	15,0%	22,2%	18,9%
Italian and Friulian	0,0%	1,9%	0,0%
Italian, Friulian and Slovene	0,0%	5,6%	0,0%
only Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	3,2%	10,2%	3,8%
other languages or combinations	1,3%	7,4%	5,7%

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 27: Use of languages at home - parents by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
With partner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 78.5 only Slovene - 9.2 only Serbian - 3.1 only Serbo-Croatian - 9.2 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 95.7 only Italian - 4.2 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 60.5 only Slovene - 31.6 only Italian - 2.6 only Croatian - 2.6 only Bosnian - 2.6 Italian and Friulian
With children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 86.2 only Slovene - 3.1 only Serbian - 1.5 only Serbo-Croatian - 1.5 in Slovene and Italian - 7.7 in Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 93.9 only Italian - 4.2 Italian and Slovene - 2.1 Italian and English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 61.5 only Slovene - 30.7 only Italian - 5.1 only one of the ex-YU languages - 2.5 Italian and Friulian
With parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 80.5 only in Slovene - 2.7 only in Serbo-Croatian - 13.9 in Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages - 2.7 in Slovene and English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 74.0 only in Italian - 3.7 only in Slovene - 3.7 in Italian and German - 3.7 in Italian and Slovene - 14.8 in Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 62.5 only in Slovene - 6.2 only in Italian - 28.1 in Slovene and Italian - 3.1 in Italian and Bosnian

Source: Fieldwork 2003.

Table 28: Use of languages at home - pupils by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
With mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 81.4 only Slovene - 2.3 only Serbian - 2.3 only Serbo-Croatian - 2.3 Slovene and Italian - 11.6 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 78.9 only Italian - 5.3 only Slovene - 2.6 Italian and German - 2.6 Italian and Slovene - 10.5 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 55.0 only Slovene - 30.0 only Italian - 2.5 only Bosnian - 2.5 Italian and Friulian - 10.0 Slovene and Italian
With father	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 76.1 only Slovene - 4.7 only Serbian - 2.3 only Serbo-Croatian - 16.6 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 78.3 only Italian - 2.7 only Slovene - 2.7 only Romanian - 2.7 Italian and Slovene - 10.8 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 65.0 only Slovene - 17.5 only Italian - 2.5 only Bosnian - 12.5 Slovene and Italian
With brothers and/or sisters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 80.5 only in Slovene - 2.7 only in Serbo-Croatian - 13.9 in Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages - 2.7 in Slovene and English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 74.0 only in Italian - 3.7 only in Slovene - 3.7 in Italian and German - 3.7 in Italian and Slovene - 14.8 in Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 62.5 only in Slovene - 6.2 only in Italian - 28.1 in Slovene and Italian - 3.1 in Italian and Bosnian

Source: Fieldwork 2003

Table 29: Use of languages in a wider social environment - parents by schools (percent)

	Strukelj	Locchi	Trinko
With family friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 69.8 only Slovene - 3.2 only Serbian - 3.2 only Serbo-Croatian - 1.6 only Italian - 6.3 Slovene and Italian - 3.2 Slovene and English - 1.6 Slovene and Hungarian - 1.6 Slovene, Italian and English - 11.1 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 87.2 only Italian - 6.4 Italian and Slovene - 6.4 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 20.5 only Slovene - 28.2 only Italian - 2.6 only Bosnian - 41.0 Slovene and Italian - 5.1 Italian and Friulian - 2.6 Slovene and Croatian
With neighbours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 93.7 only Slovene - 1.6 Slovene and Italian - 4.7 Slovene and Serbian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 83.3 only Italian - 2.1 only Friulian - 6.2 Italian and Slovene - 8.3 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 15.8 only Slovene - 34.2 only Italian - 2.6 only Bosnian - 39.5 Slovene and Italian - 5.2 Italian and Friulian - 2.6 Italian, Slovene and Friulian -
At work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 72.1 only Slovene - 1.6 only Italian - 16.4 Slovene and Italian - 1.6 Slovene and English - 4.9 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages - 1.6 Slovene, Italian, German, English and Croatian - 1.6 Slovene, Italian and English - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 76.1 only Italian - 4.3 only Slovene - 6.5 Italian and Slovene - 10.8 Italian and Friulian - 2.2 Italian, Slovene and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 7.7 only Slovene - 30.7 only Italian - 2.6 only Bosnian - 41.0 Slovene and Italian - 5.1 Italian and English - 2.6 Italian and German - 5.1 Italian and Friulian - 2.6 Italian, Slovene and Friulian
In shops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 92.2 only Slovene - 1.6 only Italian - 6.2 Slovene and Italian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 93.7 only Italian - 4.2 Italian and Slovene - 2.1 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 41.0 only Italian - 51.3 Slovene and Italian - 5.1 Italian and Friulian - 2.5 Italian, Slovene and Friulian -
In public offices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 98.5 only Slovene - 1.5 Slovene and Italian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 95.8 only Italian - 4.2 Italian and Friulian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2.6 only Slovene - 69.2 only Italian - 25.6 Slovene and Italian - 2.6 Italian and Friulian

Source: Fieldwork 2003 (CS1)

Table 30: Use of languages in a wider social environment - pupils by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj	Locchi	Trinko
With family friends	- 71.4 only Slovene - 2.4 only Croatian - 2.4 Slovene and Italian - 7.1 Slovene and English - 16.6 Slovene and one of the ex-YU languages	- 88.6 only Italian - 2.8 only Slovene - 2.8 only Romanian - 2.8 Italian and German - 2.8 Italian and Slovene	- 30.5 only Slovene - 27.8 only Italian - 41.6 Slovene and Italian
With neighbours	- 97.5 only Slovene - 2.4 Slovene and Croatian	- 88.6 only in Italian - 2.8 only Slovene - 2.8 Italian and German - 2.8 Italian and Slovene - 2.8 Italian and Friulian	- 29.7 only Slovene - 37.8 only Italian - 32.4 Slovene and Italian -
With schoolmates	- 90.5 only Slovene - 2.4 Slovene and Italian - 4.8 Slovene and English - 2.4 Slovene and Serbian	- 94.6 only Italian - 2.7 only Slovene - 2.7 Italian and Friulian	- 42.5 only Slovene - 2.5 only Italian - 55.0 Slovene and Italian
In shops	- 100 only Slovene	- 91.9 only Italian - 2.7 only Slovene - 2.7 Italian and German	- 7.3 only Slovene - 65.8 only Italian - 26.8 Slovene and Italian
In public offices	- 100 only Slovene	- 96.6 only Italian - 3.3 only Slovene	- 28.1 only Slovene - 53.1 only Italian - 18.7 Slovene and Italian

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 31: Importance of languages in everyday life (free time) – Štrukelj School (pupils and parents)

	<i>Mean Rank</i>		<i>Mean Rank</i>
Slovene	7,77	Slovene	7,37
English	6,34	Italian	5,60
Italian	5,21	English	5,53
Ex YU languages	4,15	Ex YU languages	4,90
Spanish	3,39	German	3,43
German	3,27	French	3,10
French	3,19	Spanish	3,10
Friulian	2,68	Friulian	2,97

Generation = Pupils

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2).

Generation = Parents

Table 32: Importance of languages in everyday life (free time) – Locchi School (pupils and parents)

	<i>Mean Rank</i>		<i>Mean Rank</i>
Italian	7,03	Italian	7,50
English	6,55	English	6,67
German	5,40	German	4,44
Slovene	4,31	Slovene	4,37
Spanish	3,48	Friulian	3,86
French	3,29	Spanish	3,39
Friulian	3,28	French	3,30
Ex YU languages	2,66	Ex YU languages	2,47

Generation = Pupils

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Generation = Parents

Table 33: Importance of Slovene – Štrukelj School - pupils and parents (average estimates)

	generation		
	pupils	parents	p
Neighbours need Slovene for business contacts in NG	4,15	4,11	,773
Neighbours need Slovene for communication with people in NG	4,03	3,86	,434
Neighbours need Slovene for employment in NG	4,73	3,89	,003
Neighbours need Slovene for employment in their OC	3,05	3,08	,842
For neighbours knowledge of Slovene is important for an appropriate level of education	3,70	3,57	,926
Neighbours need Slovene for understanding the Slovene culture	3,95	4,03	,865
Neighbours need Slovene for social prestige	3,03	3,42	,204
Neighbours need Slovene for professional qualification and study	3,08	2,89	,542
It is possible to communicate inside the EU in Slovene	2,78	2,37	,156

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 34: Importance of Italian: Štrukelj School – pupils and parents (average estimates)

	generation		
	pupils	parents	p
We need Italian for business contacts in GO	4,00	4,61	,004
We need Italian for communication with people in GO	3,55	4,19	,007
We need Italian for employment in GO	4,15	4,61	,156
We need Italian for employment in NG	2,78	3,11	,188
For us knowledge of Italian is important for an appropriate level of education	3,26	3,86	,015
We need Italian for understanding the Italian culture	3,31	3,89	,065
We need Italian for social prestige	2,55	3,50	,001
We need Italian for professional qualification and study	2,93	3,17	,402
It is possible to communicate inside the EU in Italian	3,03	3,06	,927

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 35: Importance of Slovene – Locchi School - pupils and parents (average estimates)

	generation		
	pupils	parents	p
We need Slovene for business contacts in NG	4,14	4,10	,589
We need Slovene for communication with people in NG	3,95	3,77	,812
We need Slovene for employment in NG	4,11	4,15	,923
We need Slovene for employment in GO	3,70	3,83	,276
For us knowledge of Slovene is important for an appropriate level of education	3,51	3,35	,499
We need Slovene for understanding the Slovene culture	3,14	3,02	,697
We need Slovene for social prestige	2,97	2,63	,198
We need Slovene for professional qualification and study	3,49	2,98	,048
It is possible to communicate inside the EU in Slovene	2,68	2,47	,447

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 36: Importance of Italian – Locchi School - pupils and parents (average estimates)

	generation		
	pupils	parens	p
Neighbours need Italian for business contacts in GO	4,38	4,54	,232
Neighbours need Italian for communication with people in GO	4,22	4,33	,554
Neighbours need Italian for employment in GO	4,56	5,72	,836
Neighbours need Italian for for employment in GO	3,97	4,19	,120
For neighbours knowledge of Italian is important for an appropriate level of education	3,97	3,63	,070
Neighbours need Italian is for understanding the Italian culture	3,14	3,29	,400
Neighbours need Italian for social presitge	3,27	2,66	,014
Neighbours need Italian for professional qualification and study	4,22	3,43	,000
It is possible to communicate inside the EU in Italian	3,32	3,00	,260

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 37: Comparison of NL and English in business contacts –parents (average estimates)

	<i>NL is important for business contact with NC</i>	<i>English is important for business contacts with NC</i>
Štrukelj School	4,30	3,56
Locchi School	4,12	3,94
Trinko School	4,35	3,34

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 38: Comparison of NL and English in business contacts –pupils (average estimates)

	<i>NL is important for business contact with NC</i>	<i>English is important for business contacts with NC</i>
Štrukelj School	4,00	3,88
Locchi School	4,14	3,92
Trinko School	4,21	3,57

Source: Fieldwork 2005 (CS2)

Table 39: Languages to be taught in secondary schools in my OC – parents and pupils by schools (percent)

	Štrukelj		Locchi		Trinko	
	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils	Parents	Pupils
NL as the 1 st f. language	24.6	9.3	6.3	10.5	33.3	34.1
NL as the 2 nd f. language	60.0	44.2	14.6	10.5	23.5	19.5
NL as the 3 rd f. language	9.2	23.3	41.7	13.2	25.6	14.6
English as the 1 st f. language	73.8	83.7	89.6	78.9	66.6	51.2
English as the 2 nd f. language	20.0	7.0	14.6	7.9	23.5	24.4
English as the 3 rd f. language	1.5	-	-	2.6	10.2	12.2
German as the 1 st f. language	-	-	2.1	2.6	-	-
German as the 2 nd f. language	10.8	18.6	58.3	44.7	38.4	24.4
German as the 3 rd f. language	47.7	23.3	16.7	23.7	35.3	26.8
French as the 1 st f. language	-	2.3	-	2.6	-	-
French as the 2 nd f. language	4.6	16.3	2.1	10.5	-	2.4
French as the 3 rd f. language	13.8	16.3	8.3	15.8	5.1	7.3
Spanish as the 1 st f. language	-	-	-	5.3	-	-
Spanish as the 2 nd f. language	1.5	4.7	10.4	15.8	-	2.4
Spanish as the 3 rd f. language	4.6	11.6	18.8	28.9	-	14.6

Source: Fieldwork 2003

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Summary

The thesis discusses language policy in a specific setting, i.e. the cross-border community. It explores the specific characteristics of this sociolinguistic domain by analysing the empirical data of two case studies carried out in the bordering towns of Nova Gorica (Slovenia) and Gorizia (Italy) in the years 2003 and 2005 by the Institute for Ethnic Studies of Ljubljana (Slovenia) and I.S.I.G.-Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia (Italy). The sample of the case studies was composed by 12-14 years old pupils and their parents from three elementary schools, i.e. one Slovene school from Nova Gorica, and one Italian and one Slovene school from Gorizia (the first one mostly attended by the pupils of the Italian majority, the second one mostly attended by the Slovene minority pupils).

The cross-border community of Nova Gorica and Gorizia was chosen for its particular features: Despite being marked with several troubled events in the recent history, especially during the period of Fascism, the two bordering towns are deepening their collaboration already from the 1960s onwards, and the cross-border linkages are being further strengthened particularly from the 1990s, along with the process of joining of Slovenia to the European Union. The focus of the analysis is on language policy regarding the neighbouring languages in relation to the process of collaboration between the two town communities.

The thesis contains three main parts. In the first part the author presents the theoretical framework, characterised by a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, spacing e.g. from language policy studies, social psychology to border studies. Special attention is given to the analysis of language related issues in the three recent socio-historical processes, i.e. the processes of nation state formation, globalisation and European integration.

In the second part the chosen cross-border area is first analysed from the socio-historical perspective. It is shown how language occupied a central role in defining the ethnic identities of the ethno-linguistic groups in the area; how despite the processes of European integration the issue of language planning in the area was never addressed;

and how the process of globalisation brought to the fore the primacy of English as the world lingua franca in language teaching (and language practices to a certain extent) especially among the young generations. For the present situation a separate analysis of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the two bordering communities is made. Language policy is further analysed with the use of the empirical data from the two case studies and the analysis of newspaper articles of two chosen daily newspapers in a seven-year period regarding language planning issues in the context of cross-border collaboration. The approach of separate analysis of the three components of language policy is applied, i.e. analysis of language practices (i.e. the conventional patterns of language use), language ideologies (i.e. sets of beliefs about appropriate language practices), and language planning (deliberate actions to influence language practices and ideologies). At the end of the second part the hypotheses are verified. The main findings are that the language of the neighbouring community is still preserving a higher communication potential than English, although a considerable generational difference is observed in this sense: children tend to use English instead of neighbouring language in cross-border contacts more frequently than their parents do. Slovene as a neighbouring language for the Italian community in Gorizia is known and used both in their own community and in the cross-border contacts by a very little part of this group, although the attitudes towards Slovene seem to have changed in the recent years, probably due to the changed status of Slovenia after its independence and joining to the EU. The Italians seem to be more inclined to accept Slovene as optional subject in the curricula of their schools and the finding is that in this respect the existent language planning is not congruent with the language ideologies. There are also indications that some Italian parents, who consider linguistic and cultural diversity as a value, tend to consider the possibility of enrolling their children in the schools of the Slovene minority in Gorizia more often. The finding of the author is that, similarly as in the precedent historical periods, today too, the Slovene minority is functioning as an important element of integration, offering in this specific moment, characterized by the EU's efforts to overcome any kind of borders and foster integration, a "natural" multilingual and multicultural context able to promote interculturality in a sense of cooperation, based on mutual recognition, understanding, awareness, and knowledge about the other's culture and language. On the other hand it was found that the local policy makers are constantly avoiding the issue of eventual language planning in the area, oriented to foster reciprocal knowledge of the bordering

languages, and it is the author's opinion that this is due to the political factors: language as a strong identity marker is still manipulated to a certain extent, on the Italian side of the cross-border area, for political purposes. The attitudes toward the Slovene minority and its language are then transferred also to Slovene as a language of the neighbouring state.

In the third part of the thesis the cross-border area is approached as a specific sociolinguistic domain. It appears that although forming one community of communication, due to high level of mutual connections, it is usually composed of more than one symbolic space where language can function as an indicator of diversity. Symbolic components refer to extra-linguistic contents of the society and the author points to the fact that in this context language is regularly used not as a mere communication tool, but also as a distinctive element of the "otherness", an intentional act of demonstration of symbolic appurtenance. The final chapter also offers some elements that are considered useful for establishing a model of sociolinguistic research and language planning in cross-border areas in the European context. Moreover, these areas are seen as potential privileged settings where to more easily acquire the EU's goals of multilingualism, preserving in this way language diversity as a precious heritage.

Riassunto

Nella tesi viene discussa la politica linguistica nel contesto particolare della comunità transfrontaliera. Vengono analizzate le specifiche caratteristiche di questo contesto sociolinguistico usando come base i dati empirici raccolti durante i due *case studies* condotti nel 2003 e 2005 nelle due città di confine di Nova Gorica (Slovenia) e Gorizia (Italia). Le due ricerche sono state svolte dall'Institute for Ethnic Studies di Ljubljana (Slovenia) e dall'I.S.I.G.-Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia. Il campione dei due *case studies* comprendeva allievi dai 12 ai 14 anni in tre scuole di confine (una scuola a Nova Gorica e due scuole a Gorizia, di cui una con lingua di insegnamento italiana e l'altra con lingua di insegnamento slovena, cioè la lingua minoritaria) e i loro genitori.

La comunità transconfinaria di Nova Gorica e Gorizia è stata scelta come luogo di indagine per le sue caratteristiche particolari. Infatti, le due città, pur avendo subito dei traumi durante i recenti periodi storici (in particolare durante il periodo del Fascismo), stanno approfondendo la loro collaborazione già dagli anni sessanta, e i collegamenti transfrontalieri sono stati intensificati ancora di più dagli anni novanta in poi, durante il processo dell'unione della Slovenia all'Unione europea. La tesi si concentra sul ruolo della politica linguistica in relazione a questi processi di collaborazione.

La tesi è divisa in tre parti. Nella prima parte viene presentato il quadro teorico, caratterizzato dall'approccio multidisciplinario ed interdisciplinario, includendo per esempio concetti e teorie degli studi sulle politiche linguistiche, quelli della psicologia sociale, fino agli studi delle aree di confine. Vengono attentamente esaminate anche le questioni linguistiche all'interno dei tre processi socio-culturali della storia recente, e cioè il processo della formazione degli stati nazionali, il processo della globalizzazione ed il processo dell'integrazione europea.

La seconda parte inizia con la presentazione storica dell'area esaminata. Viene messo in evidenza come alla lingua appartenne il ruolo principale nel processo della definizione delle identità etniche dei singoli gruppi etnico-linguistici presenti nell'area. L'analisi mette in luce anche il fatto che il processo di collaborazione transfrontaliera non era mai

accompagnato, a livello politico, da un processo di pianificazione linguistica volto all'apprendimento delle lingue del vicino. Dall'analisi socio-culturale del periodo recente emerge anche il ruolo accentuato della lingua inglese come lingua franca a livello globale e la sua forte presenza nei programmi scolastici (e nei vari media) da ambedue le parti del confine. I dati statistici delle due ricerche e i dati ottenuti con un'analisi di due quotidiani sloveni nel periodo degli ultimi sette anni vengono poi adoperati per analizzare la politica linguistica in relazione ai processi di collaborazione nell'area confinaria in tre distinte dimensioni: vengono analizzate le pratiche linguistiche (usi convenzionali dei codici linguistici), le ideologie linguistiche (opinioni sull'uso appropriato di questi codici) e pianificazione linguistica (atti intenzionati a modificare le pratiche e le ideologie linguistiche). Alla fine della seconda parte vengono verificate le ipotesi iniziali. Tra l'altro viene confermato il valore comunicativo relativamente alto della lingua del vicino nei contatti tra le due comunità, che inoltre risulta maggiore di quello dell'inglese, pur osservando una considerevole differenza generazionale a riguardo: le giovani generazioni sembrano più propense ad usare l'inglese nei contatti transconfinari delle generazioni dei loro genitori, confermando così l'ipotesi sulla forte influenza dell'inglese. La lingua slovena è poco conosciuta ed usata da parte della maggioranza Italiana sia nella loro comunità che oltre il confine. Dall'analisi sembra però emergere una maggiore apertura di questo gruppo all'accoglimento della lingua del vicino come materia a scelta nei propri curricula scolastici. Sarebbe possibile spiegare questi cambiamenti con le modifiche nella percezione della Slovenia dopo la sua indipendenza e la sua recente appartenenza al quadro dell'Unione europea. Viene così confermata anche la stretta connessione tra le variabili linguistiche e non-linguistiche e la non-conformità dell'attuale pianificazione linguistica con le ideologie linguistiche presenti nella zona esaminata. Un aspetto interessante emerso dall'analisi della realtà socio-culturale di Gorizia è il ruolo della minoranza Slovena. Come nelle epoche precedenti, quando la minoranza già funzionava come un forte elemento di accelerazione della collaborazione, anche oggi sembra aver assunto un ruolo integrativo. Le scuole minoritarie sembrano infatti rappresentare un ambiente multiculturale e multilinguistico a cui ultimamente si rivolgono non solo genitori della minoranza, ma anche alcuni genitori Italiani per i quali la diversità rappresenta un valore importante da mantenere e coltivare. Nella continuazione della tesi vengono poi spiegati i possibili motivi politici per i quali le autorità locali non

hanno mai presentato iniziative volte alla reciproca conoscenza delle lingue confinanti. La lingua come forte elemento identitario può essere facilmente strumentalizzata per fini politici, succedendo ciò nel caso esaminato soprattutto dalla parte italiana del confine nei confronti della minoranza slovena, con il risultato che gli atteggiamenti verso la lingua minoritaria vengono poi trasferiti anche nei confronti dello sloveno come lingua del vicino.

Nella terza parte della tesi l'area transfrontaliera viene esaminata nel senso sociolinguistico come un'unica comunità di comunicazione, vista la sua alta frequenza di contatti, mentre di solito all'interno di questo unico spazio comunicativo si possono identificare più spazi simbolici dove la lingua può funzionare come indicatore di diversità. Gli spazi simbolici si riferiscono anche ai contenuti extra-linguistici e sembra importante sottolineare che in questo modo nello spazio transconfinario la lingua non può essere usata come mero strumento di comunicazione, visto che la stessa scelta della lingua rappresenta un atto di dimostrazione dell'appartenenza ad uno spazio simbolico. L'ultima parte offre pure alcuni elementi che si considerano utili per costruire un modello di ricerca e di pianificazione linguistica nelle aree di confine all'interno del contesto europeo, dove viene potenziata la necessità di eliminare ogni influenza negativa dei confini e di favorire l'integrazione. Inoltre viene anche considerato il fatto che le zone di confine possono rappresentare un prezioso ambiente "naturale" dove più facilmente che altrove possono essere raggiunti gli obiettivi europei del multilinguismo, preservando in questo modo anche la diversità linguistica.