Summary of the research project ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All)

Abridged version of the original English-language report

written by *Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhimaa, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Reetta Toivanen*

eldia

european language diversity for all

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Foreword

This is a summary of the final results of the international research project ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All), which was funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union in the years 2010–2013. The main results of the project were

- the comparative report summarised here, which presents the institutional and scholarly background, goals and results of the project;
- the European Language Vitality (or: Maintenance) Barometer, EuLaViBar, a tool for measuring the level of language maintenance;
- 12 case-specific reports based on empirical and desk research and dealing with 12 multilingual speaker communities across Europe; the studies are presented briefly in chapter 4.2.

The case-specific reports (in English, with translations into each minority and majority language), the *EuLaViBar Toolkit* (more detailed instructions for creating the EuLaViBar), the full-length English-language original of this report and further information about the project can be found on the project website: *www.eldia-project.org.*

The original report was written jointly by Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhimaa, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, and Reetta Toivanen; the work was coordinated by Spiliopoulou Åkermark. This report is an abridged version edited by Johanna Laakso. The joint work of the authors draws from the ELDIA empirical case studies, which were conducted with 12 multilingual speech communities across Europe, and it goes without saying that we are deeply indebted to the authors of these studies – and to all the fieldworkers and other countless colleagues who helped us, as well as to all those private persons, informants and helpers, organisations and institutions, without whose help the ELDIA project would never have been possible. Special thanks are due to Timothy Riese for checking the English language.

1 Introduction

1.1 Multilingualism in Europe

Today there is a growing understanding among linguists (cf. section 2.4) and social scientists (cf. section 2.6) that multilingualism is a natural dimension of human language competence and thus a common feature of interaction between and within communities. In 2005 the European Union adopted a Strategy to promote multilingualism that aims at

a) ensuring that citizens have access to EU legislation, procedures and information in their own language,
b) underlining the major role that languages and multilingualism play in the European economy, and finding ways to develop this further,
c) encouraging all citizens to learn and speak more languages, in order to improve mutual understanding and communication.

Yet, in practice, multilingualism is still understood as the teaching of major European languages as foreign languages to students with assumed monolingual background, for instance, teaching English to monolingual German speakers in Austria. This may lead policy-makers to regarding the "natural" multilingualism of minorities as an anomaly, a burden for the society and a handicap for speakers of minority languages. At the same time, policy-makers often forget that languages are not just "tools" for communication; languages also construct identities and carry important personal, emotional and cultural values.

1.2 Why ELDIA?

ELDIA (*European Language Diversity for All*) was an interdisciplinary research project which sought to contribute to the understanding of multilingualism and its impact in European contexts. The ELDIA consortium[1] included specialists of linguistics, law, sociology, and statistics. The empirical work was based on 12 case studies in 8 countries (cf. section 4.2.)

The main objectives of ELDIA were to

[1] The planning of the project was initiated and coordinated by Anneli Sarhimaa (University of Mainz). The planning group which gradually grew into a research consortium came to include (in alphabetical order) Riho Grünthal (University of Helsinki), Anna Kolláth (University of Maribor), Johanna Laakso (University of Vienna), Jarmo Lainio (University of Mälardalen, later University of Stockholm), Helle Metslang and Karl Pajusalu (University of Tartu), Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (The Åland Islands Peace Institute), and Helena Sulkala (University of Oulu), and two additional resource persons: Mats Börjesson (University of Mälardalen; media sociology) and Kari Djerf (University of Helsinki; statistics). Börjesson withdrew from the project at a very early stage and was replaced by Reetta Toivanen (University of Helsinki).

- Create a novel multidisciplinary research approach which duly takes into account the multilingualism of the modern European minorities.
- Create new knowledge and tools.
- Identify gaps in language policies and develop sustainable policies for the future.
- Create an interdisciplinary network of specialists.

Instead of examining minorities one by one or in a national or regional framework, ELDIA set out to compare a broad spectrum of multilingual situations in different environments. It should be noted that the ELDIA project and methodology have been experimental. The main focus has lain on seeking new ways of studying those factors which influence the vitality and maintenance of languages. The ultimate goal of ELDIA was not to create a complete theory of language vitality or a comprehensive model of the maintenance of language diversity.

1.3 Objectives and methods of ELDIA: a brief overview

The work in ELDIA was divided into work packages (WP), the most of which built sequentially upon each other, while three (WP 1 *Methodological Synergy* led by Helena Sulkala, WP 8 *Dissemination* led by Johanna Laakso, and WP 9 *Coordination and Management* led by Anneli Sarhimaa) operated throughout the project life-time. The overarching goal was to conduct compatible empirical case studies, based on a centrally planned research design, with a carefully selected group of multilingual speaker communities, both traditional minorities and migrant groups (see sections 1.4 and 4.2 below). The results of these case studies were to be combined into this comparative report, and on this basis, the European Language Vitality Barometer (*EuLaViBar*) was created. The work phases and main results of ELDIA are illustrated in Figure 1.

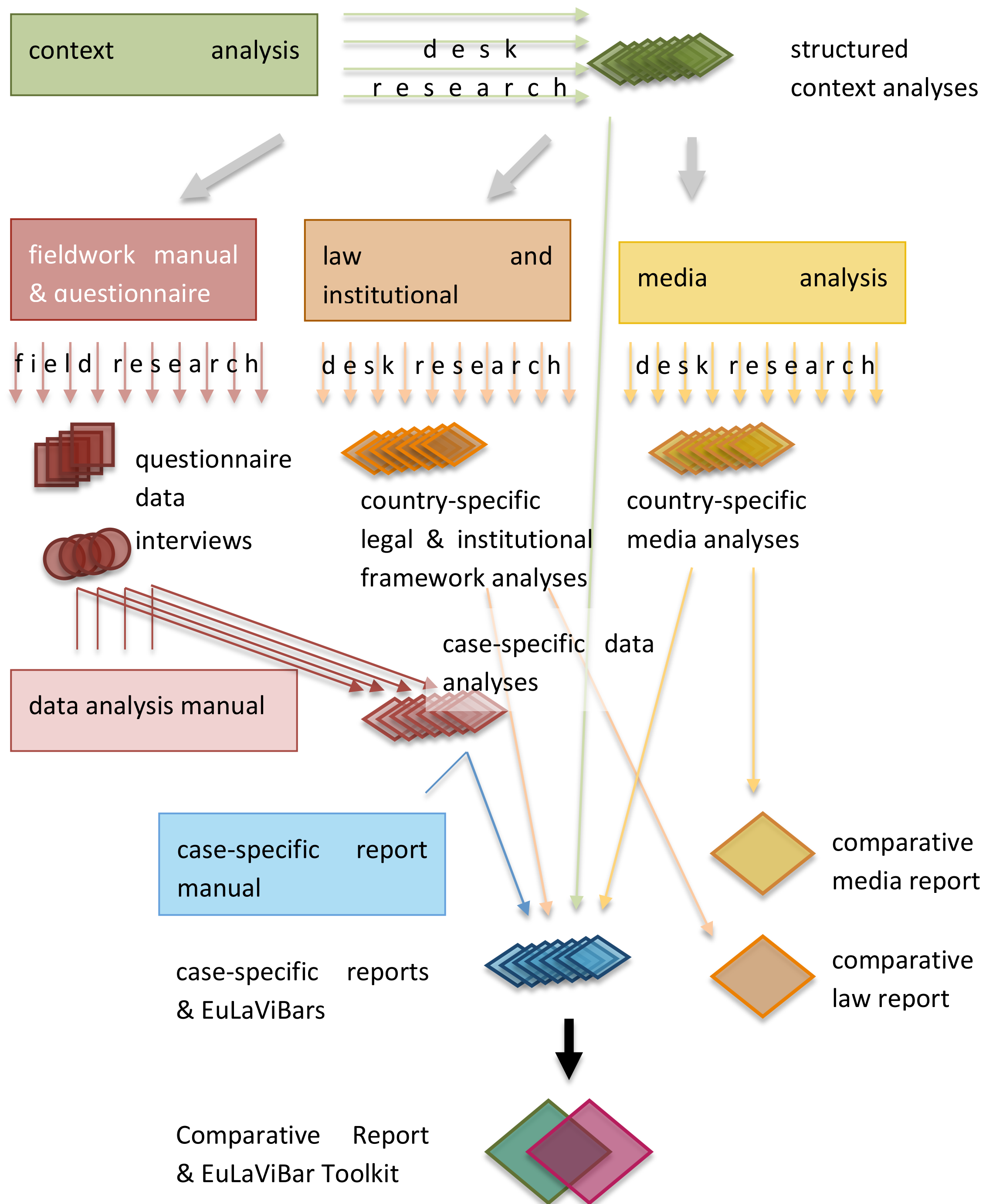

Figure 1. Work phases and results of ELDIA

The work started in March 2010 with *Structured Context Analyses* (WP 2, led by Riho Grünthal), summarising the main results of previous research. Summaries of the Structured Context Analyses have been published in the series *Studies on European Language Diversity* (see the project website). In the following phase, the framework for data sampling was created, and the manuals and questionnaires for the fieldwork were designed (WP 3 *Data*

Sampling and Methods, led by Jarmo Lainio).[2] After that, questionnaire surveys and interviews were conducted among the target groups and the respective majorities (WP 4 Fieldwork, led by Karl Pajusalu). The data collected were subsequently stored at the University of Mainz where they are available for future research (the ELDIADATA database).

In the following phase, *Data Analysis* (WP 5, led by Anneli Sarhimaa), the questionnaire data were analysed and the interview data transcribed and processed. Parallel to the (mainly) quantitative sociolinguistic data analyses, the media discourse analysis team (led by Reetta Toivanen) investigated minority media and the media representations of minorities in majority media (see section 4.8), and the law team (led by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark) provided analyses of the legal and institutional framework (see section 4.9).

The final products of ELDIA were created in the last two work packages. In WP 6 (led by Helle Metslang), case-specific reports summarising the context analysis, the media and law analyses and the results of the empirical studies obtained in WP 5, were written and published. The current Comparative Report is one of the final results of the last work package, WP 7 (led by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark). The other main result, the EuLaViBar, is discussed here (sections 2.2, 3.2) from a scholarly viewpoint and presented in more practical detail in the *EuLaViBar Toolkit* which is now available on the project website, *www.eldia-project.org,* or directly from permalink *http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101* .

1.4 The choice of the languages investigated in ELDIA

1.4.1 A Finno-Ugric approach to European multilingualism

All minority languages investigated in the ELDIA project belong to the Finno-Ugric language family. Therefore, the project fills one major gap in studies of European language diversity. These have seldom included non-Indo-European languages and may even be based on the erroneous but still widespread belief that all main European languages belong to the Indo-European family. By investigating patterns of multilingualism involving Finno-Ugric languages, we have been able to research the effects of language relatedness in its different degrees, from very close relatedness to complete lack of relatedness and complete unintelligibility.

As an international project transcending the traditional Finno-Ugric networks, ELDIA represents a novel approach to the research into these languages (cf. section 2.7). However, most of the results we have gained apply to many other non-dominant and minority languages as well and are thus of general relevance beyond the limits of Finno-Ugric studies.

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[2] Due to diverse issues that led to the University of Stockholm leaving the project, this work phase was severely delayed, and the questionnaires had to be finalised under extreme time pressure. This affected the quality of the data sampling design and finally also delayed the completion of the subsequent work packages.

1.4.2 Types of minorities and multilingual communities

Our main reason for working on Finno-Ugric minority languages and communities was that they cover the broadest possible spectrum of European multilingualism, in terms of

- different and overlapping types of European societies: old nation-states and states emerging from previous multiethnic empires, Western and Post-Socialist states;
- different types of communication between minorities and majorities within and across state borders;
- different patterns and shifting roles of different vehicular languages (above all, historical changes in the vehicular use of German, English or Russian);
- maximal range of types of multilingual situations, involving "old" and "new" minorities as well as groups which challenge this division;
- different statuses, opportunities and practices of official and public use;
- varying degrees of societal and cultural integration.

Defining minority groups and setting criteria for group membership is often difficult. For ELDIA research the most important starting point was that no "less valid speakers" should be excluded, just because they are not able to actively use a certain language or because they do not use this language in their everyday life. For many of the languages examined in ELDIA the situation is so critical that such requirements would only stabilise the results of past assimilation and block any opportunity for effective revitalisation.

"New", "immigrant" or *allochthonous* minorities sometimes intertwine with old minorities (as in the case of the Hungarians in Austria), sometimes compete with them for resources. In many European countries, actual and alleged social problems connected with migration issues force all new minorities to define themselves in contrast to the majority population as well as to the old minorities and other migrant groups, and terms such as "immigrant" or "allochthonous" easily gain negative connotations.

"Old" or "traditional" (regional) minorities are covered by the terms *autochthonous* and *indigenous*, both of which can be problematic. *Indigenous* now seems to have two established uses. Firstly, it is used as an antonym for "immigrant" and sometimes instrumentalised in political debates around immigration in Europe. The second use of *indigenous* is connected to the concept of *indigenous (and tribal) peoples,* which – according to the ILO Conventions 107 and 169 and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues – includes elements such as "historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies", "distinct language, culture, and beliefs", and a non-dominant position in society. In Europe, the Sámi are often called "the only recognised indigenous people of the European Union". This status is sometimes contested by the Kven in Norway and the

Meänkieli speakers in Sweden, as it – according to some activists – seems to create a hierarchy of minorities in which the indigenous Sámi enjoy special protection.

The terminological distinction between *indigenous* and *autochthonous* is unclear and does not exist in all languages. The autochthonous minorities are ethnic groups which have inhabited their traditional regions "from time immemorial", that is, since the beginning of proper historical documentation. This criterion, of course, is anything but exact, and some of the regional minorities investigated in ELDIA also challenge the distinction between allochthonous and autochthonous.

Another important and terminologically problematic distinction can be made between language varieties that are sometimes called "roofless", i.e. languages that are not used as a state language or an official language anywhere, and languages which have a "linguistic homeland", "kin-state" or "patronage state". As shown in the summaries of the case studies in chapter 4, languages with a kin-state seem in general to be in a stronger position. However, kin-state support can also turn out as problematic and counter-productive.

In order to avoid being trapped in endless debates about which term is the most appropriate, ELDIA researchers, while regularly using the terms *minority* and *majority* (occasionally also: the target group and the control group), also use the term "language communities". This term is also problematic: in reality, (minority) ethnic groups often do not form just one unified and homogeneous "community", and they seldom operate in only one language.

2 The background of ELDIA: avenues of research into language diversity

2.1 ELDIA as an interdisciplinary enterprise

The functions, social positions and usages of languages are radically changing, in processes which involve various aspects of society and human behaviour. In order to reach its goals, ELDIA had to combine linguistic approaches with expertise from other fields. An interdisciplinary research team was created, consisting of experts in legal studies, sociology, demographics and statistics, and a variety of disciplines of language sciences, especially sociolinguistics. The disciplines included in the ELDIA research consortium did not work separately in consecutive work packages and research steps but together in each work package.

2.2 The European Language Vitality Barometer and the project framework of its creation

The operational goal of the ELDIA project was to develop the European Language Vitality Barometer *(EuLaViBar).* The *EuLaViBar* diagram presents the results for each language on the scale from 0 to 4 (see section 3.2.2), with respect to four focus areas: Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products (see section 2.3). The *EuLaViBar* diagrams created in the ELDIA project are presented and analysed in Chapter 4.

The cornerstones of the EuLaViBar are

- François Grin's (2003) three decisive conditions for language use (*Capacity*, *Opportunity* and *Desire*, i.e. COD) which we have operationalised within ELDIA along the dimensions of language use and interaction, education, legislation, and media (for details, see 2.3.2);
- Miquel Strubell's Catherine Wheel model based on a cause-and-effect relationship between the supply and the demand of language products (see 2.3.3) and
- the five thematic slots of the survey questionnaire, viz. language competence, language use in different domains, language attitudes and the desire to use different languages, public vs. private language use, and media consumption in different languages.

2.3 The Core Concepts of Capacity, Opportunity and Desire

2.3.1 Early usages of the core concepts

Three of the focus areas of ELDIA, viz. Capacity, Opportunity and Desire, were inspired by the work of François Grin and others (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998; Grin, Moring et al. 2002, Grin et al. 2003); however, these terms were redefined and used in somewhat different ways.

In the original conceptualisation, ***Capacity*** is the first necessary condition to use and maintain a language. The members of a language community must know the language, and if they do not know it (well enough), they should be given the “opportunity to learn it”.

The second necessary condition, according to Grin et al., is the ***Opportunity*** to use this language. Opportunities are created by the state and authorities; however, for some minority languages, the opportunities to use the language outside the family sphere are mainly or exclusively offered by NGOs and private networks.

The third necessary condition is the ***Desire*** (or *willingness*) to use the language, irrespective of opportunities – for instance, a minority-language speaker might want to read the news in his/her language even if there are no newspapers in it. Furthermore, Desire reflects people’s *attitudes* towards different languages. Studies have shown that often, in the words of Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 200), “practice lags behind desire”: speakers of a language may wish that their language be used more frequently, but in practice, their language choices are dictated by each situation.

One of the main aims of the ELDIA project was to create a systematic way of studying each of the core conditions by breaking them down into their “dimensions”: language use and interaction, legislation, education and media. Furthermore, we did not want to examine cost-effectiveness or cause and effect relationships in the narrow sense. Cost-effectiveness studies sometimes suffer from lack of elementary data: instead of really finding out what is happening in the life and choices of language users, research ends up calculating the costs of diverse bureaucratic measures. Cause-and-effect relationships, in turn, are very difficult to identify: language maintenance and language shift have a variety of dimensions and depend on a broad range of factors.

2.3.2 The key concepts Capacity, Opportunity, and Desire, as defined in the ELDIA project

In ELDIA the three core concepts of Capacity, Opportunity and Desire have been defined in the following way.

Capacity refers to **subjective capacity, i.e. a person's confidence to use a specific language**, or the language skills as reported by the respondents themselves (along four dimensions: understanding, speaking, reading, and writing).

Opportunity refers to **the existing institutional arrangements (in legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages**.

Desire refers to **the wish and the willingness or preparedness of people to use a certain language.**

In all these three areas, the results were based on survey outcomes: the respondents' personal experiences and perceptions rather than the existing arrangements.

2.3.3 The concept of Language Products

In EuLaViBar, **Language Products refer to the existence and availability or the demand of language products** (printed, electronic, "experiential", e.g., concerts, plays, performances, etc.) as well as to the **wish** of having products and services in and through the language at issue. This concept was inspired by Miquel Strubell's model, the Catherine Wheel (Strubell 1999, 239), in which the relationship between language competence, language use, availability of language products and the motivation to use the language form a dynamic circle.

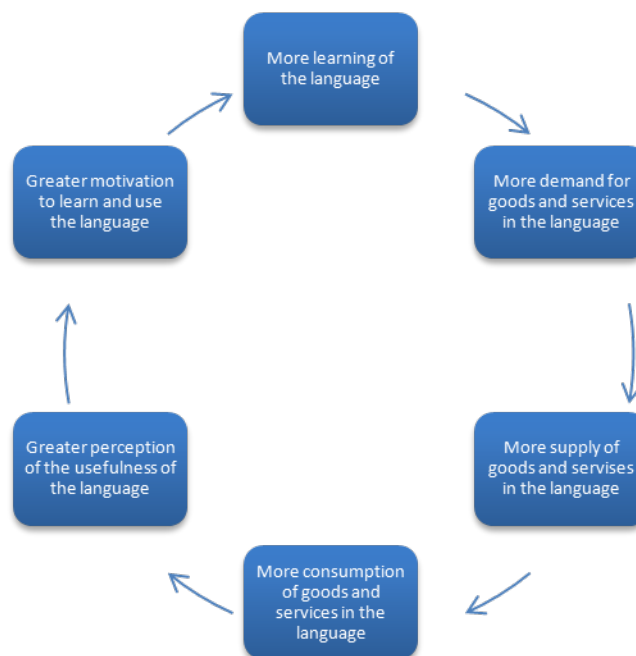

Figure 2. The Catherine Wheel

However, as our studies show, the wheel model probably only functions in cases in which the language communities are fairly large and the language is still transmitted to children. For many minority languages studied in ELDIA, this "natural context" of language use is missing.

2.4 Linguistic research into multilingualism and languaging

2.4.1 Criticism of monolingual ideologies in theoretical and descriptive linguistics

Linguistic research has begun to question the distinction between language acquisition and language learning and thus between "native" and "acquired" multilingualism. Bilingual speakers, when switching between languages, do not just "fill the gaps" in their language skills but freely and creatively use the resources of two or more codes. Furthermore, even so-called monolingual speakers are able to use many varieties, dialects, or styles of their mother tongue – and there is no clear linguistic distinction between "dialects" and "separate languages" (witness, for instance, the case of Meänkieli and Finnish). In sum, accumulating evidence speaks for the view that bi- or multilingualism is a natural human condition. This implies that theories of human language should be able to account for multilingualism.

In linguistics, however, language has traditionally been seen as an autonomous system, and thus bilingualism could only mean two such systems existing beside each other ("parallel monolingualisms"). This idea is present in all Western linguistics. Moreover, it coincided with Romantic Nationalism and numerous European projects of national language planning which were connected to the monolingual "mother tongue mystique".

This is particularly important in the case of the Finno-Ugric languages investigated in ELDIA, as classical comparative Finno-Ugric studies were often characterised by the search for "pure" and "authentic" dialects spoken by idealised, monolingual speakers. For this reason, there are often no detailed, up-to-date descriptions of how modern Finno-Ugric minorities live with and use their multiple languages. Within the ELDIA fieldwork, we hope to have drawn the research community's attention to these "white spots", and the recordings and transcripts of our interviews can be used for further, more fine-grained linguistic research.

2.4.2 Criticism of (covertly) monolingualist views on multilingualism

Ideologies of monolingualism as the natural state of affairs are still present in political discourse on the "integration" of migrants and minorities and even in the teaching of foreign languages (in terms of "parallel monolingualisms"). Similar controversies characterise the situation in legislation, as shown in the ELDIA law studies (section 4.9).

Furthermore, the "ethnolinguistic assumption" – the idea that there is a simple one-to-one relationship between a person's "normal" monolingual language use and his/her ethnic identity – is now experiencing a revival in the emancipatory and empowering movements of many ethnic and linguistic minorities. This monolingual bias may conspire with the research tradition described in the previous chapter: the tradition of focusing on what is perceived to be the most authentic variety of the language as spoken by (idealised) monolingual speakers.

2.4.3 Reconceptualising multilingualism and vehicular languages

Multilingualism in the European context is still often viewed from two seemingly opposite angles: The high-status "major" vehicular languages (as well as the state languages) are a goal of nation-wide language education policies. The "minority" languages, in contrast, are seen as ethnic attributes rather than tools of communication, and the practices and policies pertaining to them may belong to different – often regional – language-political frameworks.

The term *vehicular language (langue véhiculaire, Verkehrssprache)* can refer to dominant languages of the public sphere (business, education, politics and administration, cultural or religious institutions), as opposed to native/heritage (or vernacular) languages, which are typically used in the private sphere and may lack an official status. However, vehicular languages are used not only in the public sphere but also as vehicles of private communication. The definition is further complicated by the fact that a vehicular language need not have an official status, a standardised literary form or institutional support.

In fact, there can be no sharp division between vehicular and "non-vehicular" languages, and thus, no clear distinction between "native" and acquired multilingualism. The multilingualism of minorities must be regarded on a par with the acquired multilingualism of majorities. This is all the more important as many nation-state languages in today's Europe are now facing a danger not unlike what many minority languages have experienced: global English is increasingly replacing languages such as German, French, Hungarian, Swedish or Finnish in the international domains of science, technology and business, and means for maintaining a functional and stable multilingualism must be found.

2.4.4 Speaker agency, languaging and polylanguaging

Languages are social constructs and their boundaries are ideologically defined. Language users have the potential to use and combine their different language resources, "to language". In the words of Jørgensen (2008: 169–170), "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal with the intention of achieving their communicative aims." These features may come from one or more languages (*polylanguaging).*

In ELDIA research, the focus was on languaging and speaker agency for two important reasons. Firstly, we wanted to distance ourselves from the possible instrumentalisation of "oppressed" minorities for political goals, and from the socio-Darwinist extinction narrative which depicts the obsolescence of a language as an inevitable "law of nature". Above all, however, we believe that the increase or decrease of language diversity and linguistic complexity does not only depend on political decisions but also on micro-level choices made by ordinary language users. These choices and decisions, in turn, are influenced by social and societal mechanisms and pressures as well as the speakers' and their environment's attitudes towards languages and language diversity.

2.4.5 Diversity, superdiversity, and diversity of diversities

Throughout the history of Europe, there have been minorities, migrations, and interethnic vehicular languages. Now however, due to globalisation and new forms of mobility and communication, the nature of diversity is changing into a form that Vertovec (2007) has called *super-diversity.* In the words of Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 2), super-diversity means that the traditional concept of "ethnic minorities" cannot capture the existing diversity any more. Individuals do not necessarily categorise themselves as members of just one distinct territorial minority or migrant community, and today's minorities live amidst a superdiversity of language resources.

In addition to a general diversification of language resources, there is also a *metadiversity* or "diversity of diversities" – in relation to multilingualism and identities, different minorities position themselves in very diverse ways. For instance, "using the language at school" means a different thing for a first-generation Hungarian migrant who has been educated in a completely Hungarian-language school system than for a Karelian speaker who has experienced Karelian at school in the best case as a (marginal and optional) subject, or not at all. At this diversity of diversities, even a project like ELDIA which aims at maximal compatibility and comparability between its different case studies, is probably approaching the ultimate boundaries of what is possible in comparative research.

2.5 Law, Language and Multilingualism

The relation between law and language is intimate and two-directional. Language defines who may participate in the creation and implementation of legislation. Legislation may restrict or widen the space available for different languages, thus creating language hierarchies and power differences. Language legislation has been a tool of control and domination as experienced by numerous indigenous peoples, traditional or recent minorities, but language may also be a vehicle of emancipation and empowerment, as we see for instance in the revitalisation processes of the Sámi languages. Language legislation is a concept much broader than simply language rights, i.e. legally recognised and entrenched claims that can be invoked by an individual or a group. "Linguistic justice" implies that language legislation and language policies have an impact on the legitimacy of societal and political structures and on perceptions of fairness and inclusion.

By recognising people's legitimate expectations law can render individuals, groups and their claims visible and accepted. Law also aims at institutionalising how resources are allocated and compromises amongst competing interests are found. Thus, law directly affects the *opportunity* language speakers have to use their language and their *desire* to use it.

The growing interest in linguistic rights has been accompanied by a growing debate on the nature and theoretical underpinnings of human rights (Dunbar 2001: 93). For the ELDIA research this background has prompted an interest and focus not only on constitutional human rights guarantees, on legislation already in force, on litigation (i.e. the outcomes of

court proceedings) and on non-discrimination theory and practice in the countries examined, but also on the overall systemic features of the legal and institutional settings in the countries involved, from the perspective of both the languages and their individual users.

In the ELDIA project, priority was given to constitutional provisions affecting languages and their speakers, specific language legislation, education and media legislation. Law has been examined both in terms of valid legislation and regulations and in terms of its implementation by courts and administrative authorities. Finally in the ELDIA law studies we have made an effort to identify the actors involved in the interpretation of the law, including actors affiliated to minorities or language communities.

2.5.1 Historical background: Language and Nationalism through Law

Language legislation is often closely linked with the idea of a "nation state". In Romantic Nationalism, language was seen as the very soul of nationhood. This naturalistic nationalism was succeeded by the sociological and constructivist accounts of linguistic nationalism. In late 19th century, sociologists such as Max Weber and Ernest Renan developed the idea of a nation as a spiritual principle; this anticipates the modern ideas of identity as a construction.

In the recent Third Thematic Commentary on Language Rights under the ACFC (Council of Europe, Language Commentary, 2012), it says:

> Language is an essential component of individual and collective identity. For many persons belonging to national minorities, language is one of the main factors of their minority identity and identification. However, language, like identity, is not static but evolves throughout a person's life. The full and effective guarantee of the right to use one's (minority) language(s) implies that authorities allow free identification of persons through language, and abstain from constraining personal identities into rigid language categories…

Moreover, a person might wish to identify herself or himself with several groups. A person may also identify himself or herself in different ways for different purposes, depending on the relevance of identification for him or for her in a particular situation.

2.5.2 Language policy through law: the societal vs. the individual perspective

The underlying assumption in ELDIA law research is that policy interventions are not only possible, but important and feasible. The possibilities and effects of such interventions are examined both along the individual dimension (survey questionnaires, interviews) and the collective one (context analyses, legal and media analyses, group interviews).

While the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages explicitly excludes immigrant languages as well as dialects of the official language(s), the ELDIA project has included cases of languages in a migrant position as well as situations of languages the formal status of which (dialects or separate languages?) is subject to debate. The ELDIA legal research has thus had to some extent to deal with integration and migration law.

The idea that law can protect and promote languages and their speakers was considerably widened in the new international order after the First World War within the League of Nations (Spiliopoulou Åkermark 1997: 101-118). Such older, even century long, systems of language regulation can still be of importance (see in particular Zwitter 2012 for Austria).

2.5.3 Non-discrimination and the heritage of the egalitarian tradition

The ideal of "perfect equality" has been an explicit goal of legal developments and part of the processes of democratisation in Europe. In its advisory opinion regarding the *Minority Schools in Albania* in 1935[3], the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) defined the twofold goal of minority treaties which is still pertinent in international legal debates: firstly, to permit minorities to live "peaceably" alongside the rest of the population and secondly, to preserve the characteristics and the distinct identity of the minorities protected. Furthermore, the Permanent Court argued that it is not sufficient to aim for "perfect equality" but that there is a need to actively support minority cultures.

The prohibition of discrimination is found in all human rights instruments and in most of them one of the prohibited grounds of discrimination is language. In Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union linguistic diversity is established as a core value and principle of action for the EU and its member states. This principle is adjacent and complementary to Article 21 in the Fundamental Rights Charter of the EU which provides that "any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social original, genetic features, *language*, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited" (emphasis added).

However, the reactive rather than proactive nature of non-discrimination legislation gives limited redress and does not allow for the forward looking design of language policies. Moreover, it could be argued that non-discrimination thinking always requires a comparison and thereby accentuates conflict and competition. For these reasons, ELDIA legal and institutional research has not limited itself to non-discrimination legislation. This is particularly important in countries such as Sweden where positive measures are looked at as problematic and language is not directly recognised as a ground of prohibited discrimination (Öst 2012).

2.5.4 Language-related case law at an international level

International courts and monitoring bodies have passed a number of decisions in matters of language. The review of language-related case law (in the original full-length version of this report) shows a number of findings. First of all, we can see that court proceedings address at

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[3]Permanent Court of International Justice, Series A/B, No. 64, 1935, p. 17.

best the vulnerability of **individuals** and of languages **looking at one language at a time**, thus reinforcing the idea of monolingualism. In fact, several of the cases reviewed show how governments have imposed systems of monolingualism as a tool of control and dominance over minority language speakers.

Secondly, there are certain languages which are most often the object of international litigation, most importantly French in Belgium and Kurdish in Turkey. There is no such comprehensive litigation reported with regard to the Finno-Ugric languages examined in ELDIA. As shown by ELDIA research, the respondents have a rather weak knowledge of the legal protection of languages in their country. In addition, it seems that litigation on language matters is not considered to be a fruitful avenue.

As court decisions are by nature reactive, they do not tell much about whether there are comprehensive and long term language policies and language related legislation. Such comprehensive descriptions and prescriptions are found, for instance, in the three thematic commentaries under the *Framework Convention on the Protection of Persons Belonging to National Minorities* (FCNM) dealing with education (2006), participation (2008) and most notably linguistic rights (2012).

For those reasons, ELDIA-researchers have tried to look at legal and political debates about the law as much as the law itself (see section 4.9). This effort is complemented by the media studies which have also specifically investigated how specific legal projects are debated in and through media outlets (see section 4.8).

2.5.5 Novel normative approaches to language matters

Mowbray has argued that international law does not pay sufficient attention to questions of context and complexity, does not account for processes of change, does not look at the systematic nature of the disadvantages particular linguistic groups may face, does not appreciate the political dimensions of identity and culture and, finally, that international law accepts rather than challenges key assumptions regarding language use (Mowbray 2012: 201-206). Moreover, international law cannot be analysed separately from national regulations and practices, and ELDIA research attempts to bridge this gap.

The FCNM Third Thematic Commentary on language rights (adopted in May 2012) addresses six core fields of concern: language rights and identities, language rights and equality, language rights and media, the public and private use of languages, language rights and education and, finally, language rights and participation. The Third Commentary emphasises the role of (individual) mobility and interaction (para. 7) and concludes (para. 24) that the maintenance of culture, language, and identity requires “the active promotion and encouragement of the use of minority languages, and the creation of an overall environment that is conducive to the use of these languages”. Finally, with regard to linguistic diversity in education the Third Thematic Commentary notes (para. 82) that in addition to the teaching

in and of minority languages, school education should include information on the history and contribution of minorities to the cultural heritage and the society of the state at issue.

2.6 Sociological and ethnographic research into minority language communities

Sociologists and sociology as a discipline, in contrast to sociolinguistics, have often been unwilling to give language a prominent role in explaining minorities' claims to ethnic and national identity (May 2001: 8). At the same time, sociologists have shared a deep interest in subordinated languages (Grillo 1989: 174) when discussing issues relating to institutionalised power imbalance (Hall 1992). In this section, we will explain why we considered it necessary to include a sociological approach in the ELDIA research project.

2.6.1 Sociology and language studies

The basic questions of sociology – of the role of institutionalisation and its consequences in emerging modernity marked by capitalism, urbanisation, secularisation, standardisation and rationalisation – include language-relevant aspects as well. However, the task of describing "vanishing cultures" and minority languages has long been left to anthropologists.

Sociology's engagement with languages has been dominated by the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, according to which language dictates how people and cultures perceive the world (Sapir 1921, Whorf 1956). The idea that each language is a central part of a culture also played a central role in the processes of nation-building. Languages define social groups, even such languages which are no longer actively used in everyday communication. Language marks belonging both inwards and outwards (Fishman 1973).

Both Fishman and Erik Allardt (1979) have stressed that linguistic minorities do not always struggle against socio-economic subordination and discrimination in the first place. Rather, they ask for recognition of their self-categorisation. The need to be recognised as who we are is crucial for our self-esteem and our individual autonomy (Kraus 2007: 64). Interestingly, the idea of "one nation, one language" continues to live as the strategy for gaining recognition and rights among most national minorities (Toivanen 2007; see also section 2.4.2). This was also confirmed in the ELDIA study by the arguments among Meänkieli, Kven and North Sámi activists.

2.6.2 Ethnographic studies on languages and language minorities

As a sub-discipline of anthropology, linguistic anthropology investigates how languages and language use shape communication, form social identity and group membership, and how they organise cultural beliefs and ideologies. The ethnographic method that is central for anthropology can be characterised by its commitment to the people investigated. This

means that the subjects under study take substantially part in the theory making and thus in the whole research design.

In ELDIA, ethnographic methods were used only to a small extent in the focus group and individual interviews. At the same time, many of the ELDIA researchers have long-time experience in fieldwork among the speaker communities under study. This commitment is visible in this Comparative Report especially through our effort to describe the diversity in interpretations and identifications of languages among each speaker community.

2.6.3 Language and power

After the Second World War, the critical school in social sciences called for research that does not only describe "things as they are" but also criticises them and induces change. Researchers became interested in the relationship between power and dominance and sought answers to the question of how these relate to language diversity.

Grillo (1989) has used the concept of *minoritisation* in order to describe the processes in which the state dominant language becomes naturalised as the normal language and the non-dominant languages are linked with (non-state-forming) ethnic identities. This idea continues to live in today's understanding that confuses ethnicity with racism (Fishman 1997: 337).

Language ideologies often work on a covert and subconscious level. Lukes (2005: 28) points out that minorities may be made to accept their subordinated role as something "natural" or even "divinely ordained". Using Lukes's theory on "radical power", Toivanen (2001, 2007) argues that the current minority rights discourse may force minority activists to claim a unified and homogeneous language identity; otherwise, they risk falling outside of the project of international minority rights protection (Toivanen 2007). Sociology and anthropology have not just documented so-called "vanishing" languages but also played a role in reifying and inventing these communities.

2.6.4 Media discourse analysis

In ELDIA, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology was chosen. A critical content analysis attempts to examine what the text is trying to say, also by way of invoking the definitions of power relations (Wodak and Meyer 2009). The focus of the analysis is on uncovering disproportionate power relationships and stereotypes based on unequal representations in the media.

The goal of the media discourse analysis in ELDIA was to produce information on how languages, in particular minority languages and their speaker communities are represented in majority and minority media, shedding light on the position of the language situation in the society of the country or region at issue. The results are summarised in section 4.8.

2.6.5 The sociological dimension in ELDIA

In the ELDIA project, the sociological approach was an innovative effort to understand the societal and cultural factors and power balances which affect the endangerment or vitality of these languages in today's Europe. We explicitly avoided regarding languages as homogeneous and unchanging features of "imagined communities" (Anderson 1990). Instead, our point of departure was that language diversity is not a yardstick for measuring equality but represents the very basis of equality (Wendel & Heinrich 2012: 145).

Research on minorities, in terms of traditional collectivities, has often focused on folklore, traditional culture and non-modern forms of livelihood (Nelde, Strubell & Williams 1996: 60). In glocalised societies (cf. section 2.5), research has to overcome its "folkloric" bias. The Finno-Ugric language minorities, as different as they are from each other (cf. sections 1.4, 4.2), are all part of global macrostructures but also subjects in global political and cultural processes. The sociological analysis in the ELDIA project meant that power factors, global and local, resulting in language ideologies and thereby in language shift and language loss but also offering opportunities to reverse language shift, gained central attention.

In our study the focus was on multilingualism, while the majority-minority relationship was seldom straightforward: The speakers of Kven do not only relate their status position to that of Norwegians but also to North Sámi, to speakers of Finnish, to speakers of all other languages used in Northern Norway and to those who refuse to recognise Kven as a separate language. The multiple status positions and networks of power relationships are difficult to study without direct participant observation and in-depth interviews.

2.7 Finno-Ugrian Studies

Finno-Ugrian studies in the widest sense can be understood as an umbrella term for both (i) historical-comparative or ethnographic-folkloristic studies, and (ii) modern Hungarian, Finnish, or Estonian philology (or even cultural studies and history), or modern Sámi studies (see e.g. Lehtola 2005). Hungarian studies are a special case, due to historical developments after WWI, which made Hungarian identity a major political concern and the subject of a discipline: Hungarian studies *(magyarságtudomány, hungarológia;* see e.g. Kovács 2008).

The Finnic and Sámi minority languages have traditionally been investigated in the historical-comparative framework, focusing on traditional dialects and preindustrial cultures. Modern language use has been investigated to a much lesser extent. Newer applied-linguistic research is often practically oriented and restricted to a local, regional or national framework; relatively little has appeared in English and on internationally accessible fora.

ELDIA has profited from the traditions of Finno-Ugrian studies but also introduced an unprecedented type of research enterprises: a major international, EU-financed project. The topics of ELDIA, multilingualism and language diversity, are not novel in Finno-Ugrian studies, but never before have they been dealt with to this extent.

From the viewpoint of Finno-Ugrian studies, ELDIA has one significant deficiency. For practical and administrative reasons, the project failed to cover the “large” Finno-Ugric minorities of European Russia. This is all the more deplorable, as the highly endangered state of the Finno-Ugric minority languages in Russia is little known in the West, and even experts (see e.g. Yağmur & Extra 2011) may take the official statements about support and endorsement of minority languages at face value.

2.8 Language maintenance as an object of sociolinguistic study

2.8.1 Language maintenance and language shift in sociolinguistic research

Typically, language endangerment means that the speaker community is under the threat of giving up its own language in favour of another, socially dominant language. This process of language loss is usually called *language shift.* If a group of speakers continues using its language at least to some extent, we speak of *language maintenance.* It should be noted that speaker communities can have, use and maintain many languages; multilingualism does not necessarily mean language shift.

Studying language maintenance and shift became an important field of sociolinguistics at the latest in the 1960s; ELDIA draws from decades of work in this field. The earliest sociolinguistic studies were based on the assumption that the language with more prestige will first take over the high-prestige contexts of language use and then gradually spread to other domains. However, in many of the cases studied in ELDIA, the minority language has (until recently) never had any use at all in high-prestige domains such as parliaments, state administration or courts of justice. Thus, the speakers of these languages are not struggling against the “decay” of their languages but for its visibility and its expansion into new domains. This implies building up Capacity and developing Desire – which are gradual, bottom-up processes.

Towards the end of the 1960s, the focus of language maintenance studies has expanded to inter-group processes, the degree of bilingualism within central domains, and attitudes towards languages and multilingualism. Furthermore, since the 1970s there has been a growing body of research on correlations between social factors or social networks and language choices; this latter dimension was not directly included in ELDIA data analyses, but these aspects can be examined from ELDIA data in the future.

2.8.2 Factors behind language maintenance and shift

As shown in a number of studies, language maintenance depends on **intergenerational language transmission** within families, the collective **will of a given group to maintain its language** as an identity symbol, and a continuous **presence of extra-domestic domains**

where the language can and even must be used. None of these three is exclusively a matter of the group's free choice only.

Modernisation is connected to geographical and social **mobility**, **exogamy** (mixed marriages) and **urbanisation**, which seem to promote the "erosion" of minority languages. On the other hand, modernisation has also given rise to minority emancipation movements all over the world. Linguistic emancipation has led to the development of new literary languages; this, however, may be contraproductive, if the new standard is not accepted by speakers.

Clyne (1991), in his study on a variety of immigrant language contexts in Australia, divides the factors promoting language maintenance into "clear-cut" and "ambivalent" ones: some factors such as the immigrants' level of education or the size of the immigrant group can have both positive and negative effects. Language maintenance depends on the case-specific constellation of variables and their interplay in a specific context. Although the ELDIA research tools gathered information about a wide variety of factors, all could not be considered in the Barometer; the ELDIA data offers many avenues for further research.

The idea that an on-going language shift can be prevented or reversed was launched by Fishman in 1966 and became more widely known with his monograph *Reversing Language Shift* in 1991. Since then, a wide variety of strategies for revitalising endangered languages have been developed (see, e.g., Fishman 2001; Tsunoda 2005; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Olthuis, Kivelä and Skutnabb-Kangas 2013). Some of them comprise very concrete models of supporting and mobilising the speaker communities. A very central effort for many of the minorities studied in ELDIA includes the international networking of researchers and activists for establishing *language nests*, i.e. immersion groups for preschool children.

Research has shown that efforts to maintain minority languages are most successful when supported simultaneously by the state, by a grassroots movement of the minority itself, and by international organisations. In ELDIA these three aspects were taken into account especially in the desk research (the context analyses) and the legal analyses (see section 4.9) as well as in the analysis of interview data. The ELDIA case studies covered the whole spectrum of possible states-of-affairs, from very modest starts (such as the recently founded Karelian-language child care group in Finland) up to Hungarian in Slovenia and North Sámi in Norway which enjoy extensive institutional support.

Although members of minorities often would like to see their language maintained and revitalised, only a small number of them actively work for that. Very often some of the activists are linguists by profession. The double role of linguists as experts and activists in language revitalisation programmes has been advocated by many (e.g. Fishman 1972: 19, 1990 and 1991; Krauss 1992; UNESCO 2003) and taken with caution by some (e.g. Edwards 1995: 174). Out of the ELDIA researchers few were minority activists, but all through the project lifetime special attention was paid to continuous, bilateral interaction between researchers, stakeholders, decision makers and activists of the investigated communities.

2.8.3 Models and tools for assessing language endangerment

The probably most widely-known model of language endangerment and revitalisation is the *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) by Fishman (1991) which provides an eight-point scale of endangerment from almost extinction to full-scale, nationwide maintenance. Edwards's 1992 model consists of eleven perspectives for characterising the vitality of a group's language: demography, economics, education, geography, history, linguistics, media, politics (political, law and government), psychology, religion and sociology. Each perspective is to be approached from three different viewpoints: that of the speakers, that of the language, and that of the setting. This framework or its modified versions have been applied in many language maintenance studies (see, e.g., Yağmur 1997; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Yağmur and Kroon 2003).

As in Fishman's GIDS, intergenerational transmission is one of the six major factors included in the UNESCO Language Endangerment Framework (UNESCO 2003: 7-17), the other five being the absolute number of speakers, the proportion of speakers within the total population, shifts in domains of language use, response to new domains and media, the availability of materials for language education and literacy (UNESCO 2003). The framework includes three other factors as well; these allow for assessing language attitudes and policies, community members' attitudes towards their own language, and the amount and quality of documentation. The Framework contains six-point grading scales for operationalising each of the factors, and shows, especially in its lately revised version from May 2011 (= UNESCO 2011), many obvious similarities with ELDIA.

The shortcomings of the GIDS and the UNESCO Framework led Lewis and Simons (2010) to develop the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The EGIDS endangerment scale is more detailed than that of the GIDS, and it also includes a simple method of assessing the level of language endangerment by answering five key questions about the identity function, the usability, transmission, literacy and intra-generational language use. This model too has been criticised for being too static and for containing overlapping categories (Landweer 2012).

In addition to these models, language maintenance has been investigated in connection with "ethnolinguistic vitality", defined by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor in 1977 as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting". In Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's original 1977 scenario, ethnolinguistic vitality consisted of demographic variables (e.g. birth and mortality rates, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration), status variables (economic status, self-perceived social status, status of the language) and variables indexical for institutional support (for instance, in schools, government or courts). A few years later, Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) added the idea of "subjective ethnolinguistic vitality", the perception that the group itself has of its own viability. Further studies make it very clear that ethnolinguistic vitality results from a complex interdependence of factors which vary from situation to situation and are extremely difficult to measure.

The three relevant fields of sociolinguistics, i.e. the study of language maintenance and shift, that of language endangerment and revitalisation, and that of ethnolinguistic vitality intertwine in many ways. To name but a few, the "common" factors include those indicating the existence or the lack of an economic motivation to use a given language, the access or non-access to the dominant language, inter- and intragenerational patterns of language use, sociolinguistic networks, participation in social institutions (school, religious institutions), access to and use of mass media, as well as the group members' beliefs about their own language use and language proficiency. All these were also investigated in ELDIA.

3 From field research to the EuLaViBar: Sociolinguistic data collection and analysis in ELDIA

3.1 Sociolinguistic data and methods of data collection in ELDIA

3.1.1 Desk research

The sociolinguistic desk research was carried out during the first six project months, following the ELDIA Manual for Context Analyses (2010) prepared under the supervision of Riho Grünthal (University of Helsinki). The centrally planned design made the case reports comparable, but it may have led the authors to omit interesting special characteristics or to repeat well-known and uninteresting facts.

Already at an early stage, the case studies revealed vast differences: some target groups have been studied extensively (albeit mainly in a national or regional framework), some less (Estonians in Finland, migrant Hungarians in Vienna, Kven in Norway), and some have not been studied to any remarkable extent earlier (Karelians in Finland). For none of the languages studied in ELDIA were there any large-scale survey data available.

3.1.2 Questionnaire survey

The goal of the empirical data collection was to accumulate new information in a systematical manner for the purposes of developing the barometer. Additionally to the minority groups, a control group representing all other citizens of the country at issue was surveyed and interviewed as well, with the exception of Germany, where the Estonian minority is so small, recent, and dispersed that the majority often does not even know of its existence. All new empirical data gathered in ELDIA is summarised case by case in Table 1.

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Case study</th><th colspan="2">Number of questionnaires distributed</th><th colspan="2">Number of questionnaires received</th><th colspan="2">Response rate in %</th><th colspan="2">Number of interviews</th><th colspan="2">Interview material (hours:minutes)</th></tr>
<tr><th>Target group</th><th>Control group</th><th>Target group*</th><th>Control group*</th><th>Target group</th><th>Control group</th><th>Individ.</th><th>Group</th><th>Individ.</th><th>Group</th></tr>
<tr><td>Meänkieli in Sweden</td><td>941</td><td rowspan="2">1000[4]</td><td>554</td><td rowspan="2">227</td><td>58.87</td><td rowspan="2">22.7</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>07:15</td><td>13:11</td></tr>
<tr><td>Finnish in Sweden</td><td>1000</td><td>369</td><td>36.9</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kven in Norway</td><td>1500</td><td rowspan="2">1000</td><td>85</td><td rowspan="2">107</td><td>5.67</td><td rowspan="2">10.7</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>04:45</td><td>10:10</td></tr>
<tr><td>North Sámi in Norway</td><td>1500</td><td>104</td><td>6.93</td><td>8</td><td>6</td><td>07:07</td><td>08:50</td></tr>
<tr><td>Veps in Russia</td><td>301</td><td rowspan="2">302</td><td>299</td><td rowspan="2">302</td><td>99.34</td><td rowspan="2">100</td><td>7</td><td>6</td><td>05:51</td><td>05:31</td></tr>
<tr><td>Karelian in Russia</td><td>301</td><td>296</td><td>98.34</td><td>6</td><td>6</td><td>04:16</td><td>07:17</td></tr>
<tr><td>Karelian in Finland</td><td>1034</td><td rowspan="2">800</td><td>356</td><td rowspan="2">146</td><td>34.43</td><td rowspan="2">18.25</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>08:33</td><td>12:13</td></tr>
<tr><td>Estonian in Finland</td><td>800</td><td>170</td><td>21.25</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>09:58</td><td>11:18</td></tr>
<tr><td>Estonian in Germany</td><td>420</td><td>none</td><td>71</td><td>-</td><td>16.9</td><td>-</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>13:03</td><td>05:33</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hungarian in Austria</td><td>573</td><td>608</td><td>200</td><td>119</td><td>34.9</td><td>19.57</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>14:48</td><td>07:07</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hungarian in Slovenia</td><td>1000</td><td>1000</td><td>294</td><td>195</td><td>(29.4)</td><td>19.5</td><td>12</td><td>6</td><td>05:16</td><td>02:28</td></tr>
<tr><td>Seto in Estonia</td><td>418</td><td rowspan="2">1000</td><td>294</td><td rowspan="2">363</td><td>70.33</td><td rowspan="2">36.3</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>06:38</td><td>06:20[5]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Võro in Estonia</td><td>409</td><td>296</td><td>72.37</td><td>8</td><td>8</td><td>05:54</td><td>07:56</td></tr>
<tr><td>In total</td><td>10197</td><td>5710</td><td>3388</td><td>1459</td><td>33.23</td><td>25.55</td><td>96</td><td>83</td><td>93:24</td><td>97:54</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1. The empirical data sets employed in ELDIA

Except for the case studies in Russia (Veps and Karelian) and Estonia (Võro and Seto), which were conducted face-to-face, with field researchers assisting the respondents to fill out the questionnaires, the survey studies were done by mail. The response rates were low, probably due to a variety of case-specific reasons – and the fact that the questionnaire was lengthy and challenging. In the control group surveys, the response rates were even lower, suggesting that the majorities in general are less interested in minority matters.

All the survey and interview data have been stored in the Data Base ELDIA-DATA, which after the end of the project will be per request available for researchers outside of ELDIA as well.

[4] Joint Control Group survey questionnaires were used for minorities which were investigated in the same country, i.e. for Meänkieli and Finnish in Sweden, for North Sámi and Kven in Norway, for Karelian and Estonian in Finland, for Karelian and Russian in Russia, and for Seto and Võro in Estonia. No Control Group survey was conducted for Estonian in Germany.

[5] Out of the Seto group interviews, 01:46 were conducted for Seto and Võro jointly.

3.1.2.1 Target population definitions and sampling procedures

We sought to address speakers of the minority language, or their heirs up to the 4th generation, in four age cohorts: 18-29; 30-49; 50-64; and over 65. For migrant groups, the additional criterion of a minimal 12-month stay in the host country was adapted. The Control Group target population was defined as all but speakers of the minority language or their descendants, the age-cohorts being the same as for the minority group. The addressees of the questionnaire were selected by random sampling. As the sampling frames (the pools from which the addressees were selected) differed between the study populations, the actual random-sampling designs were different as well. In many case studies the actual samples were biased towards the oldest generation(s), which may reflect the actual age structure of the minorities but also the fact that in some cases, the sampling frame had to be based on the membership registers of minority organisations.

3.1.2.2 Questionnaires

Two different survey questionnaires were used, one for the target group and another one for the control group. These were translated from the original English- and Finnish-language master versions into the majority language of the country at issue (both questionnaires) and both the minority and the majority language (the target-group questionnaire), which means altogether eighteen different language varieties.[6] The original questionnaires have been published as attachments to the case-specific reports; the question numbers used in what follows refer to the numbering in the original questionnaires. The sample questionnaire published together with the *EuLaViBar Toolkit* is a heavily edited and revised version.

The target group questionnaire was divided into seven thematic sections:

A. biographical section: age, birth place, education, profession;
B. 21 questions about language acquisition and learning, language use in the family and at school, and three questions about attitudes towards using the minority langauge with children;
C. the respondent's self-assessed language skills in maximally seven languages on a five-point scale in four dimensions (understanding, speaking, reading, writing);
D. the respondent's self-assessed language use in twelve domains (home, relatives, work, friends, shop, public authorities etc.) in maximally four languages;
E. 27 questions about the respondents' attitudes towards various languages and their impressions of three languages – the minority language, the majority language and English;

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[6] The target group questionnaire for Karelians in Finland was distributed in three different translations (Karelian proper (South), Livvi or Olonets Karelian, White Sea Karelian). In Finland, the control group received their questionnaires in both Finnish and Swedish, in Estonia in both Estonian and Russian.

F. two questions about the revitalisation of the minority language and its use in fifteen different public domains (e.g. the Parliament, police stations, tax offices, hospitals, radio and TV);
G. two long questions about the respondents' consumption of diverse cultural products (theatre, concerts) and media (newspapers, books, TV; Internet, e-mail, text messages, social media etc.) as well as their active use of each language for cultural products (for instance, keeping a diary, singing songs or writing poetry).

The control group survey questionnaire was based on the contents and the structure of the target group questionnaire, but questions were rephrased, reordered, some left out and some new questions added.

3.1.3 Interviews

According to the general plan by Jarmo Lainio and the ELDIA team of Tartu, each case study was to include

- eight individual interviews with one male and one female for each of the four age-groups (18–29, 30–49, 50–65, over 65),
- eight focus group interviews with members of the minority (the four age-groups with the "parent generation" 30–49 split into a female and a male group; minority politicians and civil servants; minority activists; representatives of minority media) and
- two focus group interviews with representatives of the majority (control group): politicians and civil servants, and representatives of media.

In some case studies, some focus group interviews could not be conducted due to difficulties in finding interviewees; in Germany, no control group study was conducted and thus no majority interviews were organised.

The focus group interviews with the representatives of the target group and the control group followed a joint thematic interview template which was modified to meet the case-specific needs. The main themes of the focus group interviews were bilingualism and multilingualism, the use of different languages in everyday life, the importance of the minority language for an individual's roles and identities, and attitudes towards the minority at issue and diversity in general.

The individual interviews with target group representatives were designed to collect in-depth information in four thematic fields: the respondents' ideas and experiences of (i) the mother tongue, (ii) other languages, (iii) attitudes towards multilingualism, and (iv) languages and modernisation.

3.1.4 Procedures of the empirical data analyses

The analyses followed the centrally planned *ELDIA Data Analysis Manual* and its *Sequel*, which were compiled by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt (University of Mainz, Germany) with the support of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Åland Islands Peace Institute) and the project researchers. The researchers in charge of case studies analysed the statistical data provided by the statistics work group (led by Kari Djerf) and wrote a response summary of each question. Verbal answers and comments were analysed manually and taken into account in the data analysis summaries.

The audio- and the video-recorded interviews were first transcribed using *Transcriber,* a software for segmenting and transcribing speech signals, and the orthographic transcriptions were then annotated with the software ELAN, coding them for contents (discourse topics) and some linguistic phenomena. The transcriptions, together with the brief descriptions of each interview, will be made available for further research uses in the database ELDIA-DATA.

3.2 Assessing language maintenance

3.2.1 The lines of thought underlying the ELDIA assessment tool

So far, all models and tools to assess the sustainability of languages (cf. section 2.8) have been criticised especially for neglecting certain dimensions and thus failing to provide a generally applicable assessment tool (see, e.g. Edwards 1992; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Ehala 2009, 2012). ELDIA attempted to cover a maximal range of critical aspects of language diversity, use and maintenance. Somewhat paradoxically, however, the richness of data caused one of the main methodological problems: how to develop an evaluation system which would cover a maximal set of factors and yet be simple enough to be easily usable in the ELDIA case studies as well as after the project when applied to other languages?

3.2.2 The ELDIA language maintenance scale

The vitality of a language should be measurable in terms of its speakers (i) being willing and able to use it, (ii) having the opportunity to use it in a wide variety of public and private contexts, and (iii) being supported by the society in attempts to develop and transmit it. This understanding of language vitality was operationalised with the help of the ELDIA language maintenance scale:

0 **Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered**. The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language.
→Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.

1 **Language maintenance is acutely endangered**. The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future.
→ **Immediate** effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalization are needed.

2 **Language maintenance is threatened**. Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
→Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.

3 **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent**. The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.
→The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.

4 **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.
→ The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

The ELDIA scale differs from all other scales in that it operates with four major factors (transmission, use, willingness and institutional support), the category labels are given as statements concerning the degree of endangerment of language maintenance, and the definitions include a brief recommendation as to what needs to be done to improve or to maintain the current state of affairs.

Language maintenance, vitality and endangerment scales relying on a solid scholarly knowledge can be created relatively simply. The real challenge, however, lies in developing a consistent system for evaluating the language-maintaining potency of those factors which have been defined as constitutive for each model at each level that it involves.

3.2.3 Principles of operationalising the survey data

For processing the survey results into EuLaViBar scores, a grading system for the answers was developed as a “sequel” to the data analysis manual. The grading system is attached, in its revised version, to the *EuLaViBar Toolkit*.

Example (1) presents the outcome of the manual analyses of Q23 from the survey for Karelian in Finland.

(1) Question 23: *When you were a child, were there attempts to prevent parents from speaking the minority language with their children? If yes, where were these expressed?*

Q23: Opportunity, Desire											
Barometer scale:		0		1		2		3		4	
Question	Frequency	Home, school & elsewhere		Home & school		Home or school		Elsewhere		none	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
23	35	5	14.28	2	5.71	27	77.14	9	25.71	-	-

As shown by the example, the grading system also defined each survey question in terms of whether the information obtained by it was concerned with Capacity, Opportunity, Desire or Language Products as the focus areas of the EuLaViBar. Many questions in the questionnaire provided information which had to do with more than one Focus Area and thus actually contributed to the case-specific barometer in two different major slots.

Using this grading system, language maintenance scores (numeric values) were calculated for each focus area as a whole and for each dimension inside the focus areas.

3.2.4 EuLaViBar and other assessment tools: similarities and differences

As shown above, the ELDIA approach as well as other tools for assessing language vitality measure endangerment in terms of

a. intergenerational language transmission,
b. (actual) language use,
c. the degree of institutional support (opportunities of language use; language products) and
d. the willingness of speakers to use the language in informal and formal domains.

The ethnolinguistic vitality studies have their theoretical background mainly in social psychology, while the other approaches, i.e. the GIDS, the UNESCO Framework, the EGIDS and ELDIA, have been developed within sociolinguistics. There are essential differences even between the sociolinguistic approaches especially in the following three areas:

(i) the relative weight of the four central scopes of interest in identifying the degree of language maintenance or endangerment;
(ii) the procedures of classifying a given language in one of the categories on the continuum in practice; and
(iii) the techniques of converting scholarly and other knowledge into information about the degree of language maintenance.

The GIDS, the oldest of the sociolinguistic approaches, differs from the ELDIA model in at least three ways. First, the central scopes of interest have varying weights: levels 6–8 focus on language transmission, while levels 1–5 are categorised on the basis of literacy and literary use (Levels 4 and 5) and the use in different public domains (Levels 1-3). Secondly, a GIDS assessment is done by an expert or a well-informed layperson, not on the basis of multidimensional empirical analyses. Thirdly, no empirical data is needed for a GIDS evaluation, whereas the ELDIA research design involves extensive survey data.

The UNESCO Framework and the EGIDS show more similarities with the ELDIA approach, and the UNESCO approach is probably the one most similar to ELDIA. In its contemporary form, the UNESCO tool identifies nine factors (related to transmission, size of speech community, language use, attitudes and documentation), and the operationalisation of data is basically similar to the EuLaViBar: each factor is graded on a five- to six-point scale. Contrary to the EuLaViBar, however, implementing the UNESCO tool on a given language does not require any extensive survey data. As evaluating the degree of endangerment needs detailed background knowledge of the whole situation, the UNESCO tool does not produce numerical values at all; the EuLaViBar provides numerical values but stresses that they should only be interpreted by well-informed end users.

While the GIDS indicates only the level of endangerment, in the EGIDS each level is also assigned a descriptive label, directing attention to the vehicular functions of the language. The second feature which makes the EGIDS tool more similar both to the UNESCO tool and to the EuLaViBar is that the EGIDS toolkit contains very precise instructions for the practical assessment of the EGIDS levels. (Lewis and Simons 2010: 15-21, 30.) Similarly to the GIDS and the UNESCO tool the EGIDS is meant to be used by an expert or a knowledgeable layperson. And unlike the ELDIA model, EGIDS (like GIDS and the UNESCO framework) operates with plain ungraded answers and does not require systematic survey data.

In sum, the EuLaViBar clearly distinguishes itself from the other tools in two major respects: (i) it is based on a large-scale survey and (ii) the degree of language maintenance is illustrated with a barometer based on the survey results. Interestingly, it is precisely in these regards that the ELDIA research design shows clear similarities with studies carried out within the ethnolinguistic vitality paradigm. However, the statistical analyses in ethnolinguistic vitality studies are often much more complex than in ELDIA (see e.g. Ehala 2010, 2012; Yağmur and Kroon 2003; Yağmur and de Vijver 2011).

3.2.5 A brief evaluation of the EuLaViBar and some suggestions for developing it further

In the light of the ELDIA case studies, the EuLaViBar seems to achieve its main goals and can be evaluated positively at least in the following respects:

- The EuLaViBar stresses the importance of comprehensive data and a broad overview of contextual factors.

- The barometer results corresponded to experts' and involved activists' impressions of the situation, which means that the barometer appears to function properly.
- The barometer gives a comprehensive and research-founded view of the investigated situations.
- The EuLaViBar can be repeated for observing trends of development.
- As the EuLaViBar scores can be broken down into their constitutive parts, they allow for a more fine-grained analysis of different factors behind similar overall results.
- The EuLaViBar pays attention to both speaker agency (subjective and individual choices) and the wider institutional and societal context.

At least the following weaknesses should be improved:

- The EuLaViBar research is time- and resource-consuming.
- The EuLaViBar template measured language use only on a group level, bundling younger and older respondents (people under and in child-bearing age and the grandparent generation) together. However, in principle the survey questions can retrieve data about language transmission across four generations, and this will be taken into account in the revised operationalisation plan in the *EuLaViBar* toolkit.
- When measuring language capacity and its background factors with migrant groups, the barometer only reflects the circumstances in the speakers' country of origin. Thus, the barometer results cannot be interpreted without background knowledge.
- In its current form the EuLaViBar toolkit does not provide detailed recommendations on how the barometers should be read and how additional information should or could be used in interpreting the results systematically.
- The four focus areas (Capacity, Opportunity, Desire, Language Products) and the dimensions within them are not "equal" considering their empirical basis or their relevance (despite the visual illustration with its four equally large quadrants). In some of them, the assessment is based on a large number of questions in the survey questionnaire, while others are calculated on the basis of a few questions only (which might make them more vulnerable to reliability problems).
- The focus areas are not distinct from each other but overlap. Some questions contribute to the EuLaViBar scores in several focus areas, which means that although the dimensions in principle could be completely independent from each other, the EuLaViBar scores for different dimensions are in practice to some extent interconnected.

4 Focus areas of language vitality: Results of the ELDIA case studies summarised

4.1 ELDIA case studies: an overview of the results of the survey

The results of the EuLaViBar calculations for the four focus areas are summarised and visualised in the following chart (Figure 3). The length of each bar should indicate the total vitality and maintenance situation of each language community; note that all groups fell clearly short of the theoretical maximum value, 4 x 4 = 16. In general, the minorities with a firmly established literary language and/or a kin state (Estonian and Hungarian) and/or high legal protection (North Sámi in Norway, Hungarian in Slovenia) get the highest scores, followed by the group of (other) traditional (autochthonous) minorities, while the scores for Kven are clearly the weakest, even weaker than for Karelian in Finland and Meänkieli in Sweden.

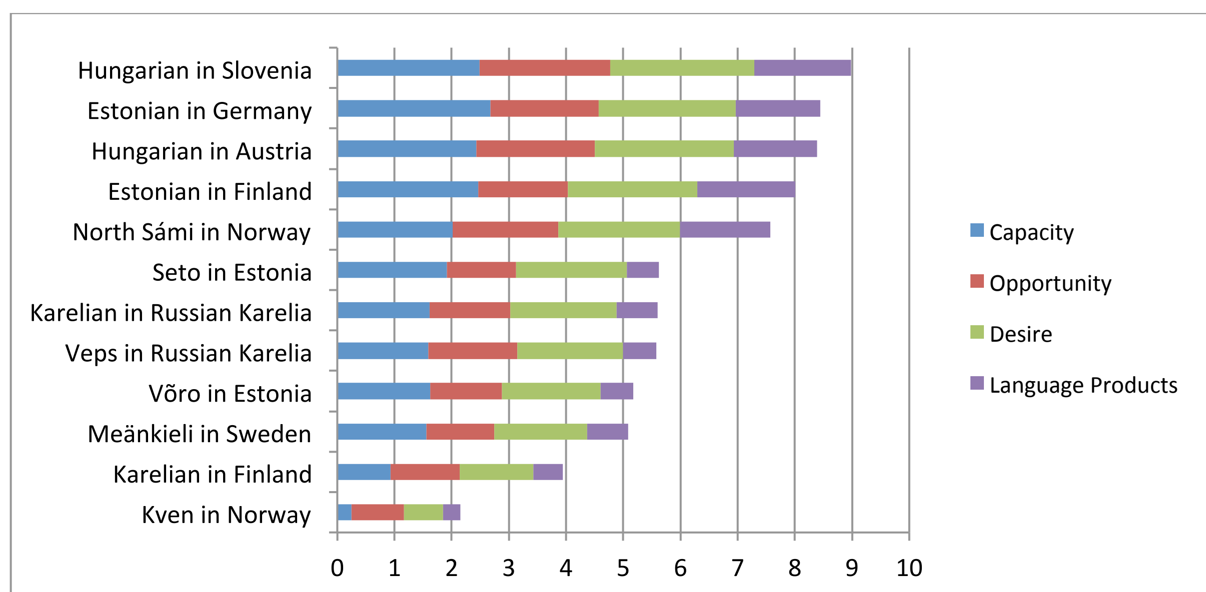


Figure 3. An overview of the vitality values for each language surveyed in the ELDIA case studies[7]

It is noteworthy that the lowest scores were reached by Nordic countries (Finland, Norway and Sweden), in spite of the fact that these countries hold high rankings in many other, majority population oriented, indexes and studies. Obviously, neither human development nor strong egalitarian traditions in themselves can guarantee the vitality of minority languages. The minorities of the Nordic countries have experienced suppression and

[7]This chart was created by Kari Djerf; the EuLaViBar radar charts presented in the following chapters were made by Kari Djerf and Eva Kühhirt.

interruption of language transmission, and even in wealthy and democratic societies, overcoming such long-lasting traumas takes a long time and requires consistent efforts.

Within one and the same country the position of languages may vary considerably; for this reason, it seems unwise to speak of a nation-wide approach to language maintenance and minority policies. This conclusion is supported also by the legal studies.

4.2 Language communities

In what follows, the language communities investigated by ELDIA and their case-specific EuLaViBar results are briefly presented (in a geographic order from South to North). It should be borne in mind that **the EuLaViBar charts presented below are merely tools for identifying the relative strengths and weaknesses in the maintenance situation of the language at issue**. They cannot predict the future of an individual language nor measure its "viability" at large.

In the EuLaViBar charts presented below, the colours of the sectors indicate the different dimensions of language vitality, while the grades of language maintenance are indicated with different shades (the darker the shade, the more endangered the language), as shown in the following legend:

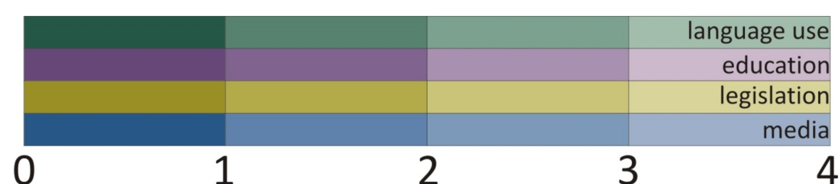


Figure 4. Colour codes for the dimensions and grades of language vitality in the EuLaViBar radar charts

4.2.1 Hungarian in Slovenia

The traditional Hungarian minority in Slovenia, like the other old Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries of today's Hungary, turned into a minority in the peace agreement of Trianon (1920) which separated their area in the northeast of today's Slovenia from the old Kingdom of Hungary. Most of the more than 7,700 Hungarian native speakers in Slovenia belong to this old minority, but there are also some 1,000 Hungarian migrants living in different parts of Slovenia. The Hungarians in Slovenia are officially acknowledged as a national minority and enjoy a high degree of legal protection (for more details, see also Roter 2012). However, despite the high level of standardisation, cultivation and institutional support, the use of Hungarian in Slovenia seems to be receding at least to some extent, and Hungarian is mainly used in the private sphere. (Kolláth & al. [forthcoming].)

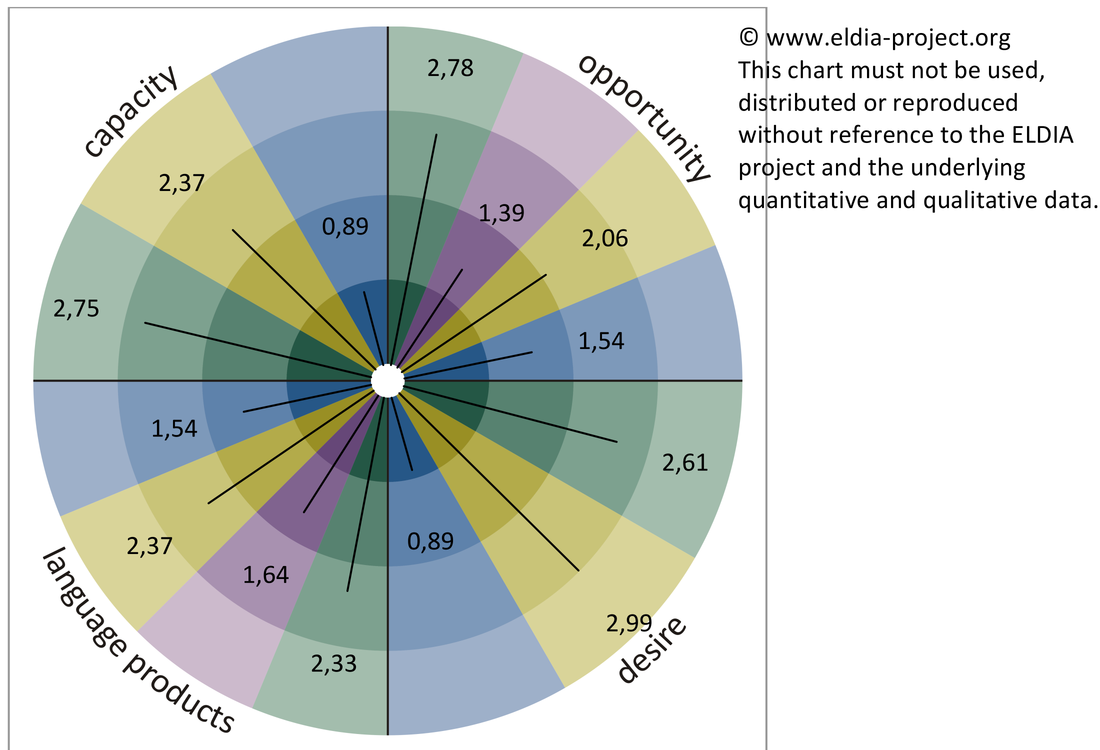


Figure 5. EuLaViBar chart for Hungarian in Slovenia

4.2.2 Hungarian in Austria

Alongside the traditional Hungarian minority in the province of Burgenland in eastern Austria, the majority of ethnic Hungarians in Austria consists of post-WWII migrants from Hungary and its neighbouring countries. A few years ago, the total number of ethnic Hungarians in Austria was estimated to be around 55,000–60,000, but immigration from Hungary is increasing, and today's figures are probably much higher.

The Hungarians are officially acknowledged as an ethnic group *(Volksgruppe)* in the province of Burgenland and in the city of Vienna (the ELDIA field studies were conducted in these two areas), but only in Burgenland is there a specific legal protection for the use of Hungarian with authorities and in the education system. Thus, Hungarians have a different legal position in Vienna, in Burgenland and in the other provinces of Austria (see also Zwitter 2012).

The Burgenland Hungarian community has been shrinking throughout the 20th century due to assimilation. The Hungarian language is predominantly used in the private sphere and by the oldest generations and no more considered a necessary part of the ethnic identity (Csiszár, forthcoming). The Hungarians in Vienna attach great value to their language, but their good language skills and willingness to use and transmit the language are countered by the poor visibility, insufficient media supply and weak institutional support of Hungarian. (Berényi-Kiss, Laakso & Parfuss forthcoming.)

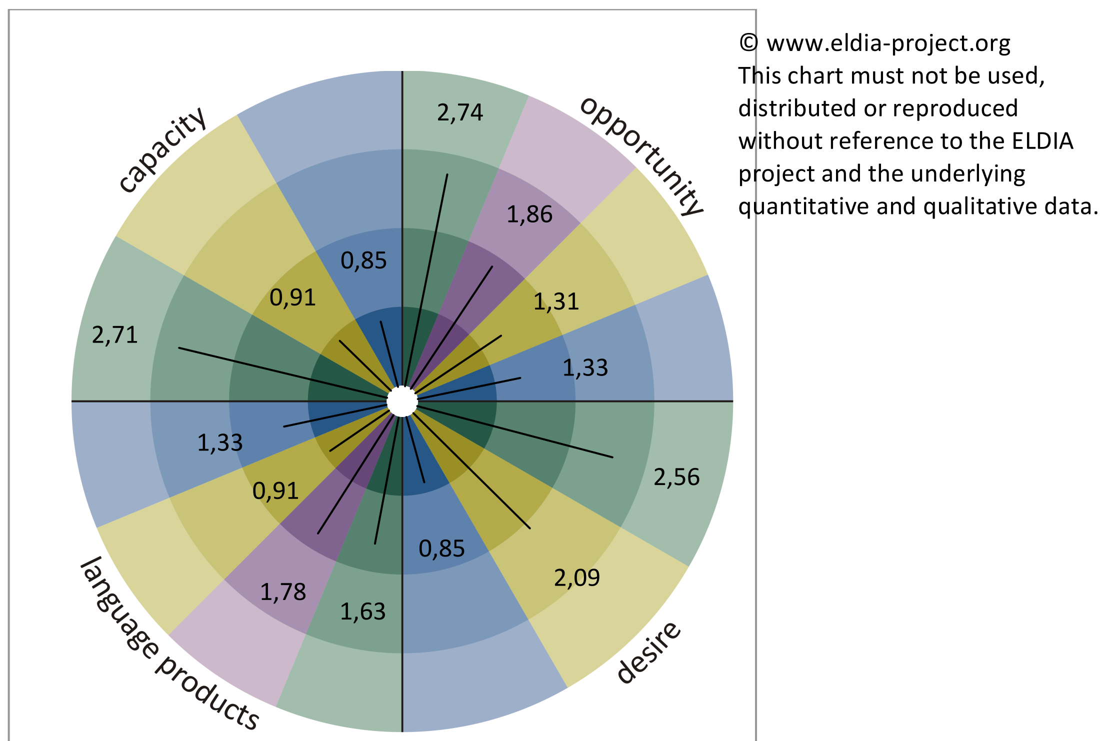


Figure 6. EuLaViBar chart for Hungarian in Austria

4.2.3 Estonian in Germany

After WWII, some 4,000–6,000 Estonian refugees remained in the Federal Republic of Germany, but these generations are now passing, and the major part of the Estonians now living in Germany have probably arrived after 1991. A clear majority of Estonian citizens in Germany are women between 20 and 50 years of age, often highly educated and typically living in urban areas. In the end of 2011, there were 4840 Estonian citizens living in Germany; not all of them are necessarily ethnic Estonians or Estonian speakers, while there are no statistics of Estonian speakers or ethnic Estonians with German or another citizenship. (Praakli, forthcoming [a].)

The role of Estonian is not specifically regulated or protected by law, nor are Estonians, as a small and dispersed migrant group, visible in public discourse (Stephan 2012).

The Estonians in Germany typically attach great value to the Estonian language as an important part of their identity; at the same time, they have a good command of both German and other languages, and the younger generations in particular define themselves as "multicultural". Their opportunities of using Estonian outside the private sphere are very limited. (Praakli, forthcoming [a].)

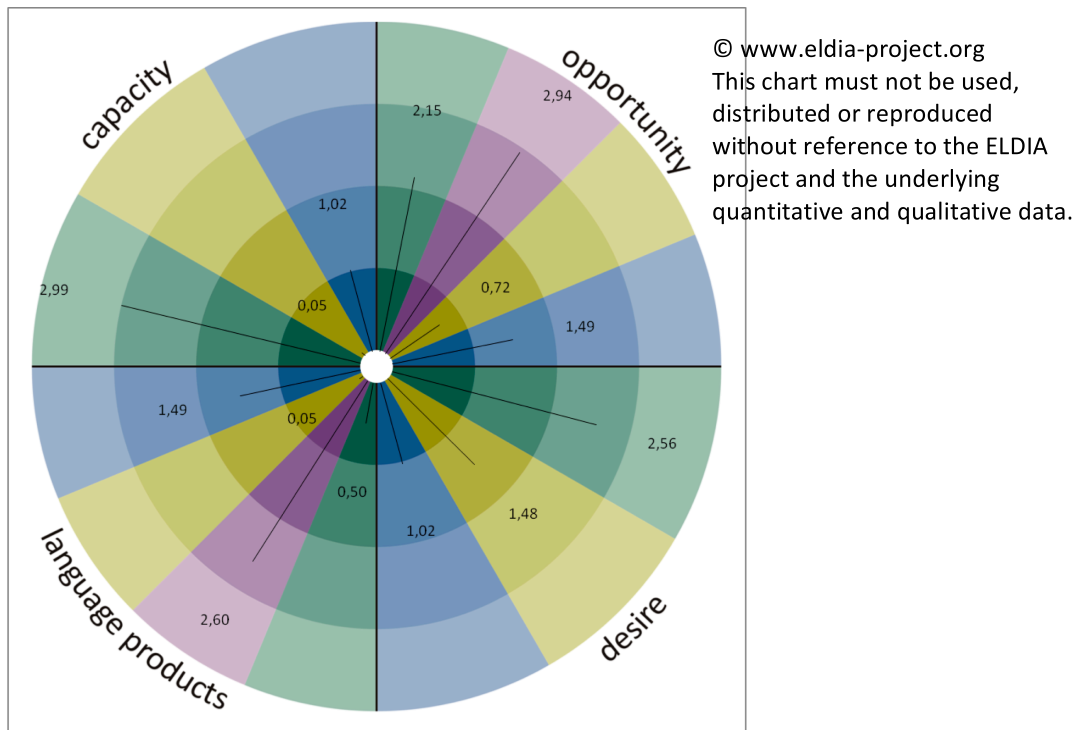


Figure 7. EuLaViBar chart for Estonian in Germany

4.2.4 Seto in Estonia

The Setos (Standard Estonian: *setu*) are a group whose traditional area, *Setomaa,* now partly forms the southeastern corner of Estonia and partly belongs to Russia. Their language has traditionally been classified to the Southern dialects of Estonian, but due to their different traditional culture, characterised by the Orthodox religion and close contacts to the Russian cultural sphere, the Setos may consider themselves in a certain sense separate from Estonians proper and now often have a double identity, defining themselves both as Estonians and as Seto. The number of the Setos in Estonia has been estimated to be around 5,000–6,000. (Koreinik, forthcoming [a].) In the most recent all-Estonian census (2011), 12,549 persons reported being able to understand and speak the Seto dialect.

The Seto language, although the state of Estonia does support its cultivation, is not officially acknowledged as a language. (See also Meiorg 2012, Koreinik 2011). Especially since the late 1980s, Seto has been used in writing to some extent, and it is also taught at some schools. Nevertheless, Seto is still mainly used in oral communication and in the private sphere. (Koreinik, forthcoming [a].)

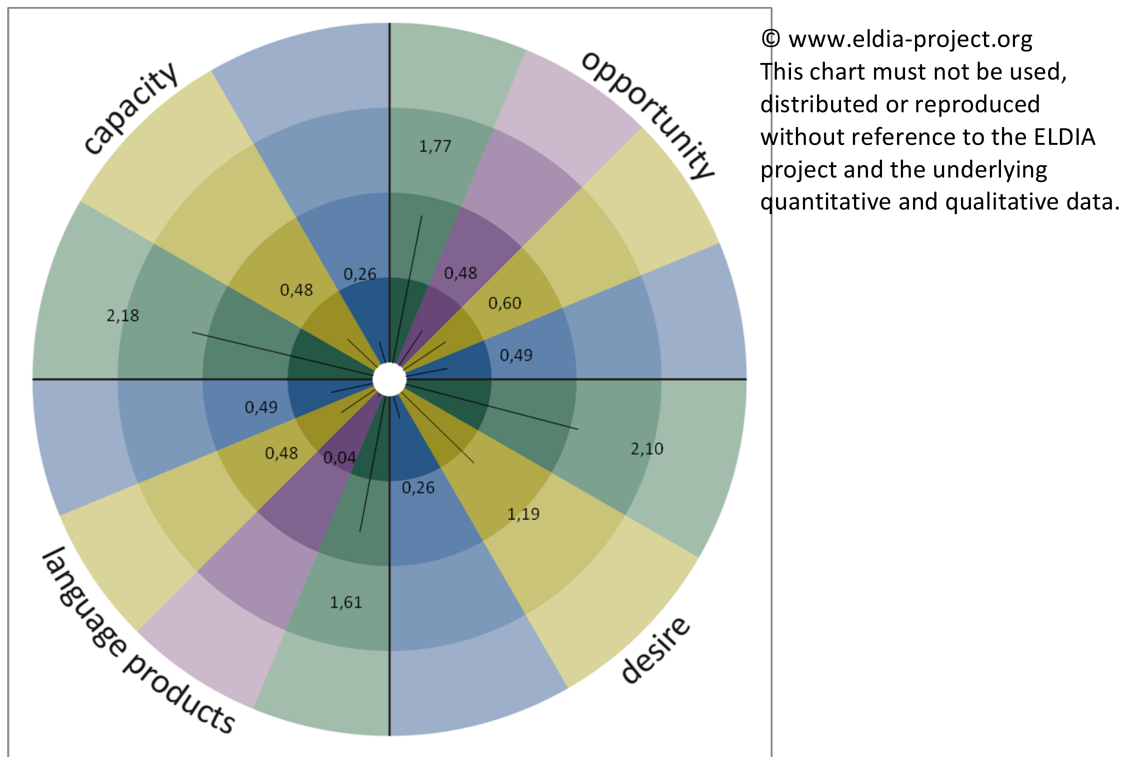


Figure 8. EuLaViBar chart for Seto in Estonia

4.2.5 Võro (Võru) in Estonia

Võro (part of the speakers use the form *Võru*, which is also used in Standard Estonian) is a Southern Estonian language variety, traditionally considered a dialect of Estonian. Võro is linguistically very close to Seto, although there is a clear cultural and identity border between these two language communities. In the census of 2011, 87,048 people reported being able to understand and speak the Võro dialects (including Seto).

Võro was used in spoken communication in Southern Estonian rural regions around the town of Võru/Võro until the post-WWII decades, when urbanisation, mobility and the school system began to enforce the overall use of Standard Estonian. From the late 1980s on, an emancipation movement led to the emergence of a new Võro standard written language which, however, is not unanimously accepted by all speakers. Võro is now used to some extent in literature and the media and taught at some schools, but not officially acknowledged as a language. (Koreinik (forthcoming [b]); see also Meiorg (2012), Koreinik 2011.)

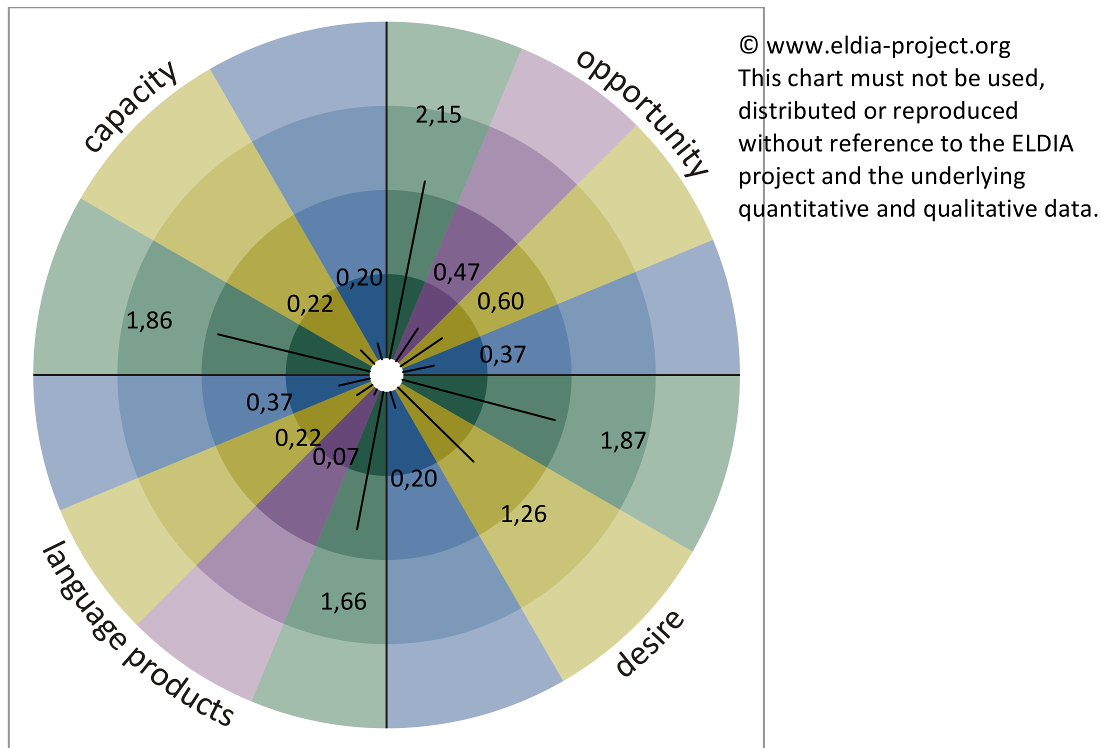


Figure 9. EuLaViBar chart for Võro in Estonia

4.2.6 Veps in Russia

The Veps are an autochthonous minority in Northwestern Russia. Due to continuous assimilation and mobility, the traditional Veps area has shrunk into dwindling language islets in the southern parts of the Republic of Karelia and south of it. According to the latest census (2010), of the little less than 6,000 ethnic Veps 1,638 reported Veps as their native language. The average age of Veps speakers is high.

The Veps language, most closely related to Karelian, had a short-lived written standard in the 1930s. Since the 1980s, a new standard language has been emerging which has some – very limited – use in the media, in literature and in the education system. In the Karelian Republic, the Veps language enjoys some institutional support, and since the beginning of the 21st century, the Veps have been officially included among the "Indigenous Small-numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation" (for the legal framework see Fogelklou, forthcoming). However, the use of the Veps language in practice is very restricted, and the transmission – and thus, the maintenance – of Veps is seriously endangered. (Puura & al. [forthcoming].)

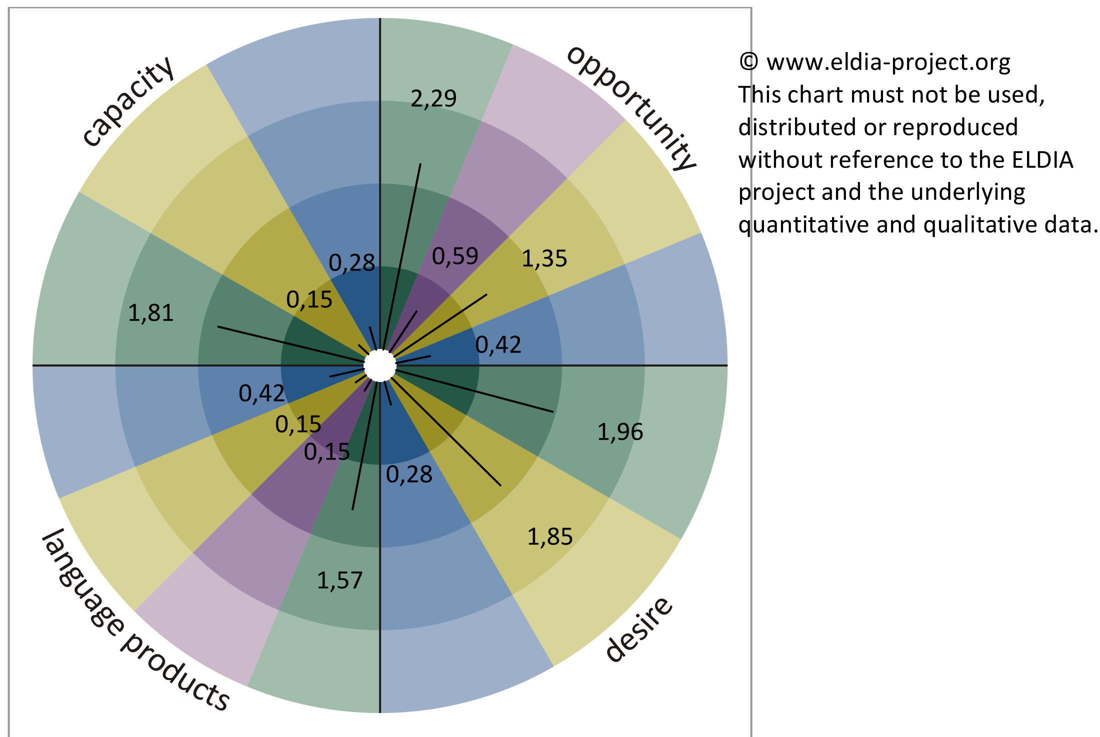
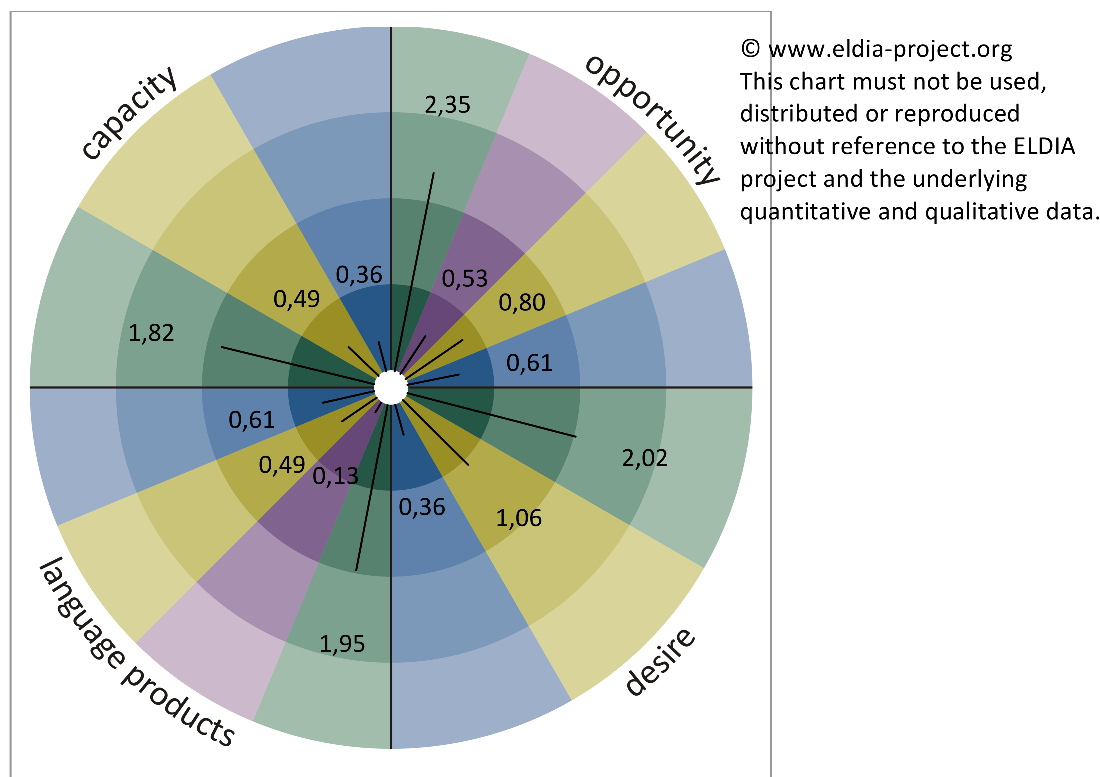


Figure 10. EuLaViBar chart for Veps in Russia

4.2.7 Karelian in Russia

The Karelian language, traditionally spoken in Northwestern Russia and in the easternmost parts of historical Finland, consists of a chain of diverse varieties which practically form a continuum between the sister languages Finnish and Veps. In the ELDIA field study in Russia, the Olonets Karelian or Livvi (Fi. *aunus*) variety was investigated.

The official census statistics of ethnic Karelians and speakers of Karelian varieties show a rapid decrease. Of the 60,815 ethnic Karelians listed in the latest Russian census (2010; roughly three quarters of them lived in the Karelian Republic), only 25,605 reported speaking the Karelian language. Karelian enjoys some institutional support in the Karelian Republic and is (nominally) protected by laws; however, unlike all other titular languages of the Finno-Ugric republics in Russia (e.g. Komi or Mari), it is not an official language of the republic. Today's written Karelian standard languages have only begun to emerge in the late 1980's. Karelian is used in the media and in literature to a fairly modest extent and taught at some schools, but by all indicators it is clearly endangered. (Karjalainen & al. [forthcoming].)



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This chart must not be used, distributed or reproduced without reference to the ELDIA project and the underlying quantitative and qualitative data.

Figure 11. EuLaViBar chart for Karelian in Russia

4.2.8 Karelian in Finland

Karelians in Finland constitute a heterogeneous and ill-defined group, whose demarcation from the Finnish-speaking population (speakers of Eastern Finnish dialects in the "Finnish" parts of Karelia) has been debated and is still often unclear for Finnish laymen (cf. Palander & Nupponen [eds.] 2005). The group consists of people born in the traditionally Karelian-speaking areas of pre-World War II Finland ("Border Karelia"), immigrants and refugees from Russian Karelia, and their descendants. The minority lives scattered in all parts of today's Finland and speaks different varieties of Karelian. It has been estimated that despite post-war assimilation pressures, some 5,000 Karelians in Finland still speak some variety of the language and up to 20,000 people understand it to some extent.

Karelian is not explicitly mentioned in Finnish legislation, but by the amendment made to the Decree on the Implementation of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages in late 2009, it became recognised as a non-regional minority language and thus eligible for state subventions in the areas of education and media (see also Grans 2011). Apart from some recent initiatives for Karelian-language media supply, the public visibility of Karelian is poor, its media resources modest and its maintenance clearly endangered – despite the fact that there are even young speakers who would like to transmit the language to their children (Sarhimaa, forthcoming).

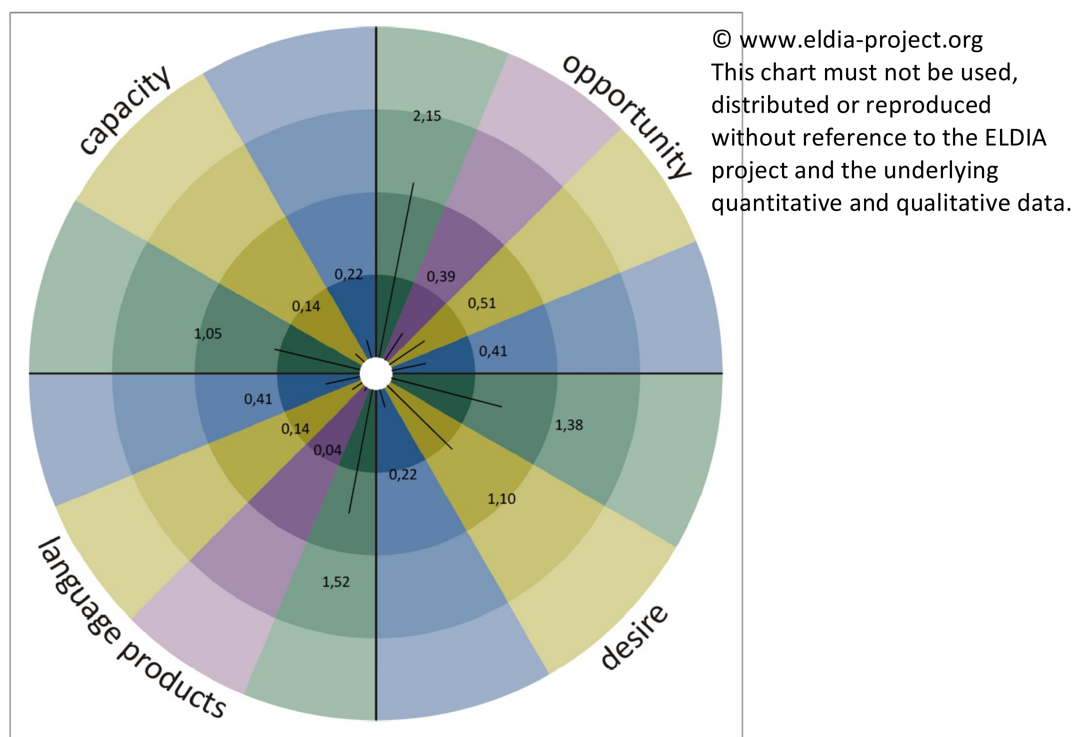

Figure 12. EuLaViBar chart for Karelian in Finland

4.2.9 Estonian in Finland

As in Germany (cf. section 4.2.3), the Estonians in Finland today mainly represent relatively recent (post-Soviet and EU-internal) mobility of labour, although there have been migrations between Estonia and Finland throughout documented history. The Estonians in Finland are both the second largest immigrant group in Finland (after Russians) and the fastest growing, perhaps also soon the largest Estonian community in the Western diaspora. By the end of 2012, 33,076 residents of Finland spoke Estonian as their mother tongue. A major part of the Estonians in Finland are people of working age, employed especially in medical and care professions, in construction work or in the transportation sector.

The Estonians in Finland, mainly residing in urban centres, are an inconspicuous migrant group which is “characterised by passivity in the public practice of their indigenous culture” (Praakli, forthcoming [b]). The role of the Estonian language in Finnish public life, in the media or in the education system is very marginal, beyond the institutional support guaranteed for all immigrant languages in Finland (see also Grans 2011), such as the right to limited mother-tongue teaching (Estonian language teaching is organised in some schools).

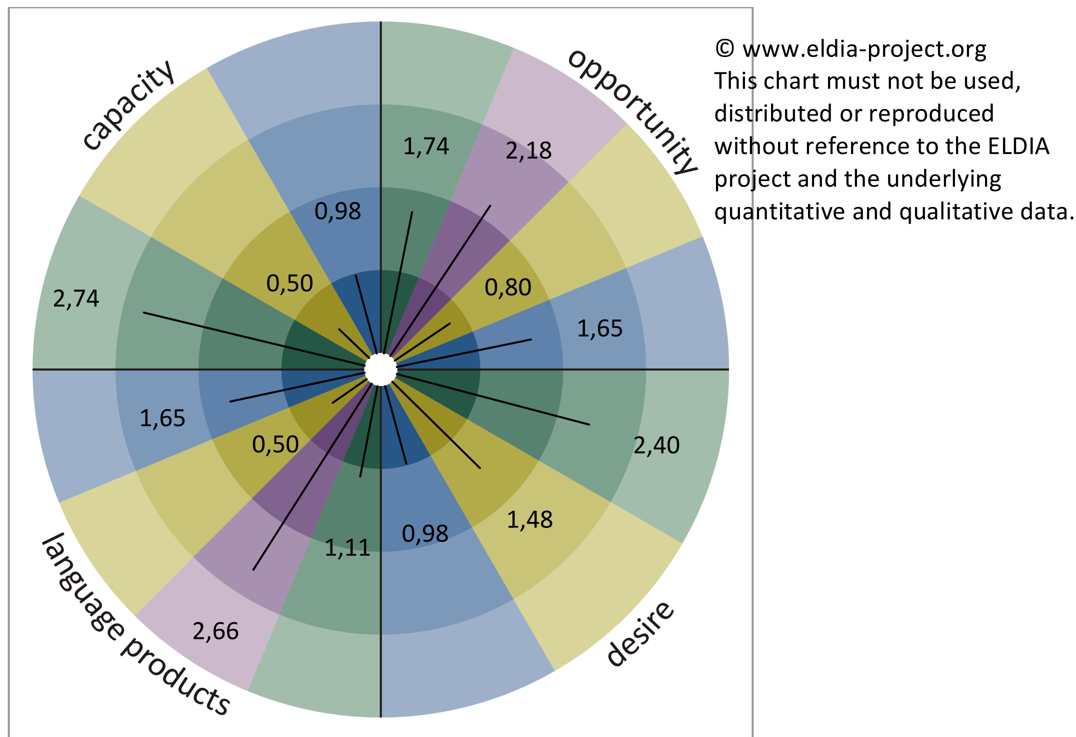

Figure 13. EuLaViBar chart for Estonian in Finland

4.2.10 Meänkieli in Sweden

Meänkieli, also known as Tornedal (Torne Valley) Finnish, is traditionally spoken in northernmost Sweden, west of the Torne river, along which the border between Sweden and Finland was drawn in 1809. Historically and linguistically, thus, Meänkieli belongs to the Far North dialects of Finnish, but since 1809 the language and identity of the Meänkieli speakers have developed in separation from the modern Finnish national identity and standard language. There are no official statistics on the number of speakers of Meänkieli, but estimated numbers range between 30,000 and 75,000. Due to internal migration, Meänkieli speakers now live all over Sweden, especially in major urban centres.

From the 1980s on, a revival movement in the Swedish Torne Valley started promoting the written use and standardisation of the local vernacular under the name *Meänkieli,* lit. 'our language'. In 2000, Meänkieli was acknowledged as a minority language in Sweden after lengthy discussions. This means, in principle, the right to pre-school education and elderly care in Meänkieli, and the right to use Meänkieli with authorities. However, these rights are not always realised. The public presence of and support to Meänkieli remain modest, and the transmission of the language to the youngest generations is clearly endangered (Arola, Kangas & Pelkonen (forthcoming); Öst 2012).

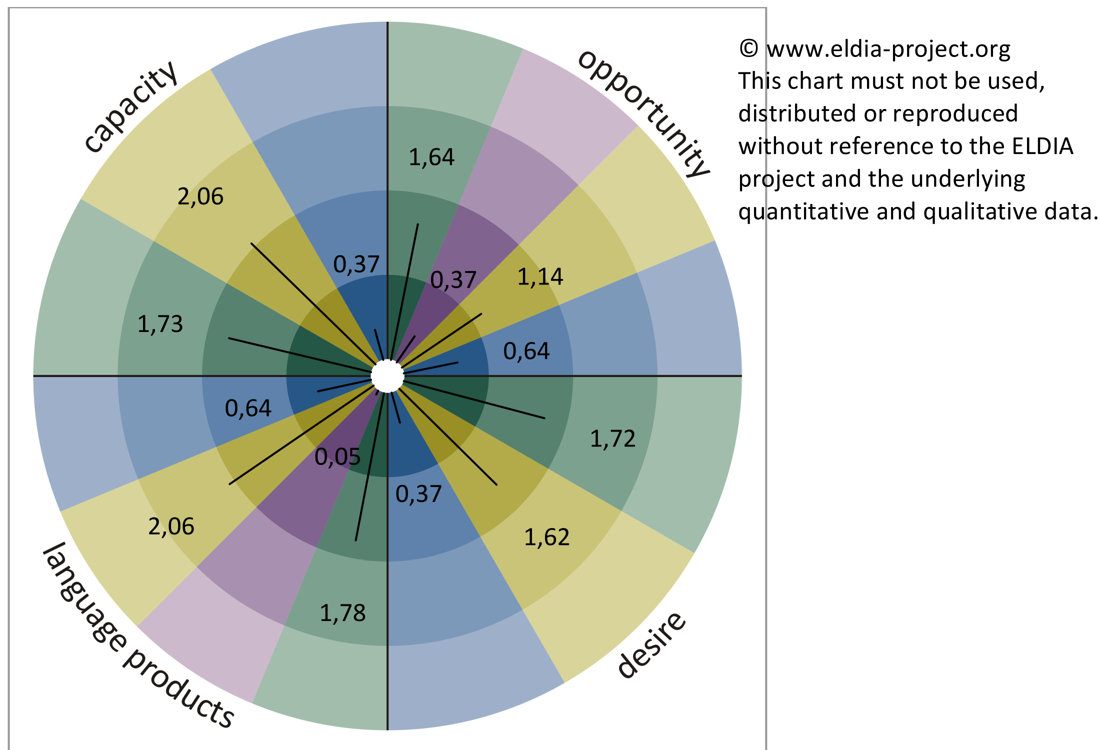

Figure 14. EuLaViBar chart for Meänkieli in Sweden

4.2.11 Kven in Norway

The Kvens are descendants of people who migrated to Northern Norway from today's Northern Finland and Sweden between the 16th and the late 19th century. Thus, the Kven language, like Meänkieli, belongs linguistically to the Finnish dialects of the Far North, but the traditional Kven identity has developed in separation from Finland. The Kvens have been acknowledged as a national minority in Norway since 1996, and their language was officially recognised in 2005. The ethnopolitical position of the Kvens is complicated by the fact that their area is also home to the indigenous Sámi and more recent immigrants from Finland.

From the 19th century to the post-WWII years, the Kvens were subject to harsh nationalist Norwegianisation policies. An ethnic revival began in the 1970's–1980's; however, by those times, language transmission in most Kven families had already been seriously disrupted. Estimates of the number of ethnic Kvens (no official statistics exist) range between 10,000 and 60,000, while the number of those who are able to actively speak Kven is estimated to be much lower, possibly around 1,500–2,500, most fluent speakers probably belonging to the older generations. The Kven language is in the process of being standardised, but so far, its use in the education system, in the media and generally in the public sphere has been very modest (Räisänen & Kunnas, forthcoming; Granholm 2012).

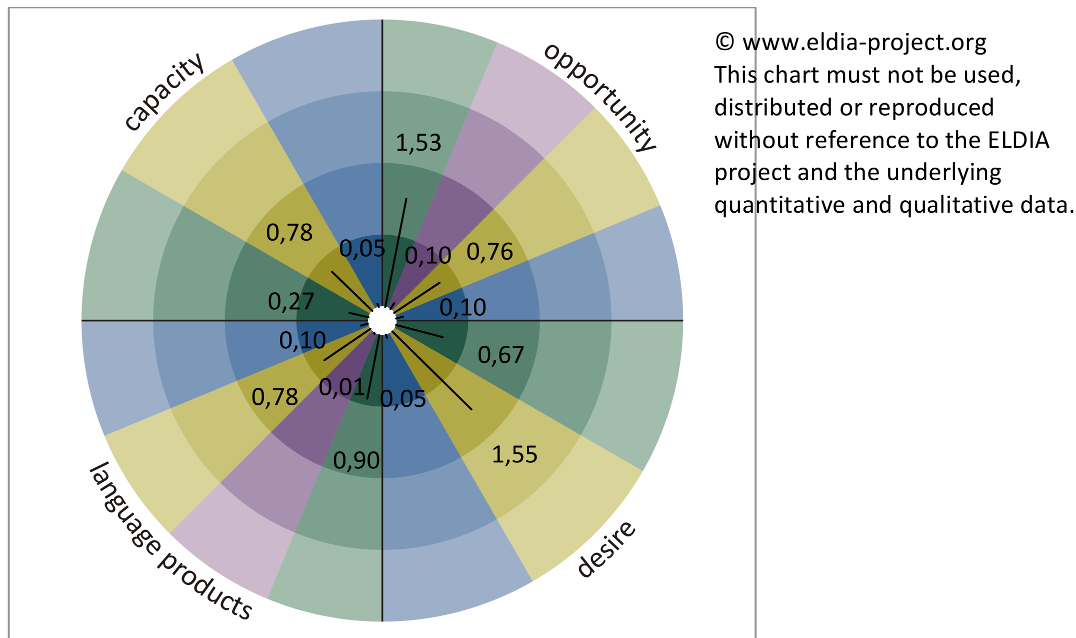

Figure 15. EuLaViBar chart for Kven in Norway

4.2.12 North Sámi in Norway

The Sámi are an indigenous people traditionally inhabiting the northernmost part of Fennoscandia from Norway and Sweden through Finland to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Of the Sámi language varieties, all of which are endangered, North Sámi, spoken in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, is the most vigorous. The number of North Sámi speakers in Norway is estimated to be around 20,000 (no official statistics exist). The ELDIA field study was conducted in the Sámi administrative area in northern Norway; however, a substantial part of the Sámi today live in other parts of Norway, especially in urban centres.

After decades or even centuries of assimilation policies, the ethnic revival of the Sámi and the ratification of international conventions led to the official acknowledgment of the Sámi as an indigenous people in Norway in 1990. The Sámi languages enjoy high legal protection (see also Granholm 2012). North Sámi is fairly widely used in literature, in the media and in the education system. However, our data indicate that North Sámi is still most typically used in informal, oral communication and in the private sphere. (Marjomaa, forthcoming.)

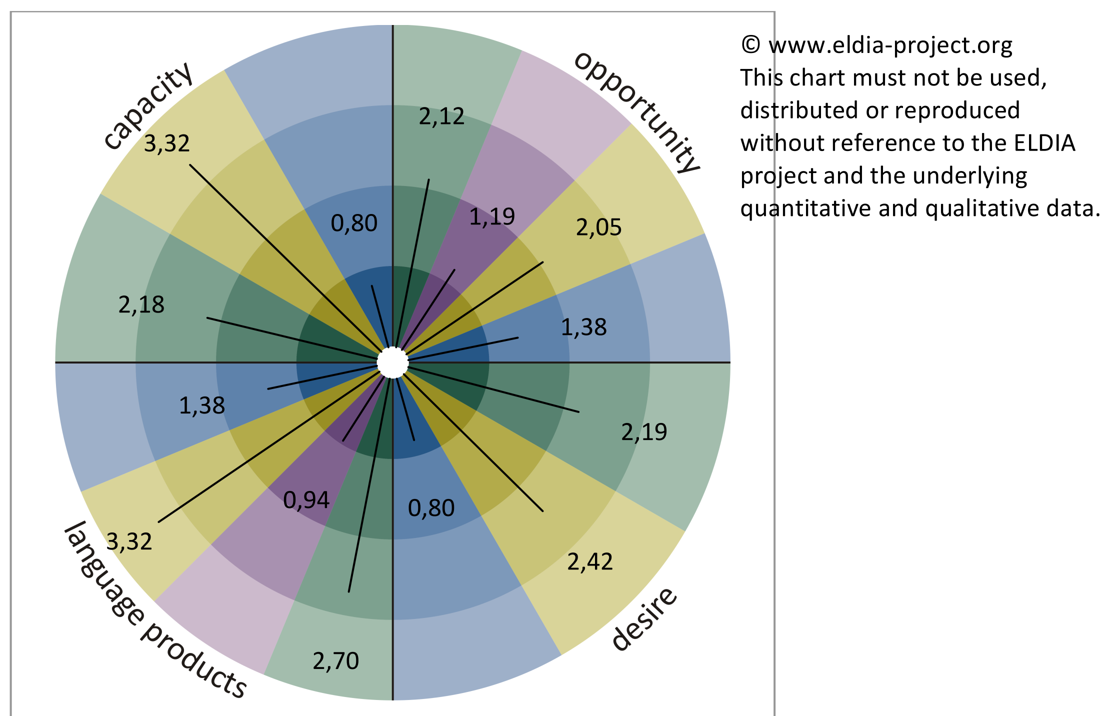

Figure 16. EuLaViBar chart for North Sámi in Norway

4.2.13 A note on Finnish in Sweden

According to the original plans, the ELDIA project should have included a case study on the Finns in Sweden. However, after the context analysis (see Nieminen Mänty 2012) and the first stages of the data collection were finished, the University of Stockholm had to leave the project. Thus, no case-specific report nor an EuLaViBar analysis was prepared. However, the analysis of the legal and institutional framework for Sweden was produced (Öst 2012). The Sweden Finnish data are stored in the ELDIA-DATA data base.

4.3 Capacity

4.3.1 Assessing Capacity

As discussed above (section 2.3.2), we have defined “capacity” as the “subjective capacity”, a language user’s confidence in his/her language skills. Of course, speakers may either exaggerate their language skills or underestimate them. To compensate for these subjective factors, we included in our calculations some further indicators:

- patterns of language use: it is probable that a speaker feels more confident in a language which s/he uses more often and across a wider range of domains;
- family background: it is probable that a speaker who has used or still uses the language in his/her core family has more confidence in his/her language skills;

- "mother tongue" status: it is probable that a speaker who defines the language as his/her mother tongue has more confidence in his/her language skills;
- subjective assessment of the "usability" of the language: if a speaker states that the language is not easy to use in all contexts or that the language cannot express all kinds of contents, s/he probably has less confidence in his/her own language skills.

4.3.2 Assessing Capacity

For the data analysis, the following questions of the questionnaire were defined as delivering information about the focus area *Capacity:*

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use & interaction	Mother tongue	Q7:[8] self-defined mother tongue
	Cross-generational (intergenerational) language use	Q10/11: languages used by maternal/paternal grandparents with the respondent
		Q15-18: languages used by each parent with the respondent (in childhood and now)
		Q21: languages used by the respondent with his/her children
	Intragenerational language use	Q14: languages used by the respondent's parents between themselves
		Q19: languages used with siblings
		Q20: languages used with spouse/partner
	Self-reported competence	Q28–31: self-assessed skills in understanding / speaking / reading / writing diverse languages
	Domain-specific language use	Q32: use of language in various domains (home, relatives, work, friends, neighbours...)
		Q59: is the language easy to use in diverse situations
	Support or prohibition of language use	Q34: language encouragement from parents
		Q36: language encouragement to children
Legislation	Existence of legal texts	Q47: are law texts supporting the use of various languages available in the language at issue
Media	Media use and consumption	Q62: use of the language for reading books or newspapers, listening to the radio or watching the TV, visiting theatre performances or concerts, writing e-mails or SMS
		Q63: use of the language for active text production such as writing literary texts or blogs, writing a diary, composing and singing songs...

Table 2. Questions used in calculating the Capacity scores

[8] Note that the numbers refer to the numbering of questions in the original questionnaires, not to the revised questionnaire which is published together with the *EuLaViBar Toolkit.*

Note that the dimension of *Education* has not been taken into account at all. However, the calculated EuLaViBar scores for Capacity seem to correlate with the strong presence of the language in the education system.

4.3.3 Comparative figures of results

The scores calculated for Capacity in each ELDIA case study are shown in the following table. There seems to be a correlation between Capacity and the strength of literary cultivation, standardisation and institutional support: the best scores for Capacity were obtained by the Estonian- and Hungarian-speaking groups. Of the minority languages without state-language status, North Sámi in Norway seems to be in the best position, while Karelian in Finland and especially Kven fare noticeably worse.

Case study	Capacity overall mean score	Capacity score: Language use and interaction	Capacity score: Legislation	Capacity score: Media
Estonian in Germany	2.679	2.99	0.05	1.02
Hungarian in Slovenia	2.491	2.75	2.37	0.89
Estonian in Finland	2.465	2.74	0.5	0.97
Hungarian in Austria	2.432	2.71	0.91	0.85
North Sámi in Norway	2.02	2.18	3.32	0.80
Seto in Estonia	1.917	2.18	0.48	0.26
Võro in Estonia	1.628	1.86	0.22	0.20
Karelian in Russian Karelia	1.61	1.82	0.49	0.36
Veps in Russian Karelia	1.597	1.81	0.15	0.28
Meänkieli in Sweden	1.556	1.73	2.06	0.37
Karelian in Finland	0.932	1.05	0.14	0.22
Kven in Norway	0.246	0.27	0.78	0.05

Table 3. Capacity scores for the languages investigated in ELDIA

4.3.4 Capacity: Dimension Language use and interaction

In most although not all of our case studies, within the focus area *Capacity* this dimension had the highest scores. In addition to the migrant groups (which obviously have acquired a good capacity in their countries of origin), Hungarian in Slovenia also reached a high overall score (2.75). North Sámi in Norway, also an old minority language enjoying high legal and institutional protection, got a somewhat weaker score, "only" 2.18, due to poor opportunities for language use outside the private sphere.

A further interesting characteristic of the North Sámi results is the positive trend in language encouragement: as indicated by the answers to Q34 (score 2.97) and Q36 (score 3.32), the respondents encouraged their children to use the language more than they themselves had been encouraged. Only Seto shows a similar or even more dramatic increase: from 1.50 to 2.14.) Presumably these scores reflect the linguistic culture of the society at issue –

importance assigned to language skills, belief in the power of education, prevailing ideas about bilingualism – more than the subjective language capacity of an individual.

For North Sámi as well as with other “roofless” minority languages, the overall score is affected by the relatively weak scores in self-reported written-language skills. The reasons are obvious: the written standards are young and sometimes contested, and many speakers may not have had the opportunity of learning the language in writing yet.

Among the languages studied here, Kven is an outlier, with clearly the weakest scores. In the light of what is known about the situation of Kven today, the reasons are obvious: intergenerational language transmission has often begun to fail already between the grandparents and the parents of the present respondents, so that many respondents have simply not been able to acquire even basic communicative skills in Kven.

4.3.5 Capacity: Dimension *Legislation*

The role of the dimension *Legislation* for language capacity is the most problematic and the most difficult to evaluate, which is also reflected in the high shares of “don’t know” answers and the strikingly great variance between the scores. The values for this dimension were calculated on the basis of only one question in the questionnaire: whether law texts which support multilingualism (the use of many languages) are available in the language at issue. The relevance of this issue was unclear for many respondents.

The highest scores were reached in Sweden (2.06 for Meänkieli), Norway (only 0.78 for Kven but 3.32 for North Sámi, the highest result in this dimension), and in Slovenia (2.37 for Hungarian in Slovenia). The difference between Kven and North Sámi reflects not only the actual situation but also the prevailing ideas about the status of these two minority languages. The lowest scores were typical of (small) migrant minorities and minority languages with a contested or problematic status.

4.3.6 Capacity: Dimension Media

The scores for Capacity in the dimension of *Media*, ranging between 0.05 (Kven) and 1.02 (Estonian in Germany), remained on a low level throughout all case studies. However, it must be noted that weak scores may simply reflect poor media supply: for instance, the Meänkieli speakers actually *do* use all the Meänkieli-language media they can access. Moreover, the calculations probably assigned too much weight to “elite” culture (theatre, concerts) and active production (only few people write poetry or blogs in any language).

The relative order of the language communities investigated, however, shows three groups: the top-five group of the four “kin-state” (Estonian and Hungarian) minorities and North Sámi which enjoys strong institutional support, the midfield consisting of other old minorities, and Kven as an outlier with clearly the weakest scores.

4.3.7 Conclusions: Focus area Capacity

Although the scores calculated for the focus area *Capacity* generally seem to correspond to what is known about the state of the languages at issue, there are numerous validity issues. First of all, Capacity remains self-assessed or indirectly inferred, and the validity of some indirect indicators can be questioned. Secondly, the view on Capacity is necessarily holistic, as its different components are mostly not assessed separately. The inclusion of the dimension *Legislation* is inherently problematic. The calculations are based on the results of one question only, and the validity of these data is problematic. At the same time, the exclusion of the dimension *Education* could be contested, as there probably is a causal connection between formal language teaching and the level of language skills.

Despite these validity issues, it is obvious that languages with well-established literary standards, strong media presence and institutional support score clearly better than less well supported languages. The minority language with the weakest scores, viz. Kven, is still suffering from the consequences of discrimination which disrupted the intergenerational transmission already generations ago. Thus, our study has once again confirmed the importance of institutional support, standardisation, and intergenerational transmission.

4.4 Opportunity

4.4.1 Assessing Opportunity

Considering the goal of the EuLaViBar as a tool for policy-making, we have consciously concentrated on public-domain institutional frameworks as reflected in the *perceptions and understandings* among respondents. This can be problematic, as the respondents' understandings of the division between "institutional" and "private" may vary.

4.4.2 Opportunity in the ELDIA survey questionnaire

The calculations are based on eighteen questions:

Focus Area: Opportunity		
Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use & Interaction	The experienced support for and inhibition from using a given minority language	Q22: were there attempts to prevent the use of the language with children in the respondent's childhood? Q23: where were these attitudes expressed? Q24: are similar views expressed today, where?
	Language maintenance	Q55: are there institutions or persons who cultivate and develop the language (in this country)? Q58: is there a need to develop the language to fit social and public needs? Q60: are there attempts to save the minority language?
	The respondent's domain-specific language use	Q59: is the language easy to use in most situations? Q61: is the language used in the following domains (parliament, police office, hospital, media...)?
Education	First acquisition of the minority language	Q8: where and from whom the respondent first learned the minority language
	Minority language in school instruction	Q25: if the respondent only had one language of education, which was it? Q26A: minority language as teaching medium in the respondent's preschool / primary / secondary education
	Mother tongue	Q27: did the respondent have mother tongue (minority-language) education in school
Legislation	Legislative and institutional support to the minority language or the lack of it	Q44, Q45: does legislation in the respondent's opinion support (Q44) or prohibit (Q45) the use of the minority language?
	Existence of legal texts in the minority language	Q47: is legislation which supports the use of many languages available in the minority language?
	The existence of legislation on education in general in the country at issue	Q48, Q49: is there legislation regulating the teaching of (Q48) or about (Q49) the minority language in schools?

Table 4. Questions used in calculating the Opportunity scores

4.4.3 Overall Opportunity scores for languages investigated in ELDIA

All scores calculated for *Opportunity* in the individual ELDIA case studies are presented in Table 5:

Case study	Opportunity overall mean score	Opportunity score: Language use and interaction	Opportunity score: Education	Opportunity score: Legislation
Hungarian in Slovenia	2.273	2.78	1.39	2.06
North Sámi in Norway	1.957	2.12	1.19	2.05
Hungarian in Austria	1.956	2.74	1.86	1.31
Estonian in Germany	1.620	2.14	2.94	0.71
Veps in Russia	1.479	2.29	0.59	1.35
Estonian in Finland	1.463	1.74	2.18	0.80
Karelian in Russia	1.336	2.35	0.53	0.80
Meänkieli in Sweden	1.235	1.64	0.37	1.14
Võro in Estonia	1.101	2.15	0.47	0.60
Seto in Estonia	1.048	1.77	0.48	0.60
Karelian in Finland	1.037	2.15	0.39	0.51
Kven in Norway	0.825	1.53	0.10	0.76

Table 5. Opportunity scores for the languages investigated in ELDIA

As shown by Table 5, the highest overall Opportunity scores were characteristic of the two Hungarian minorities and North Sámi in Norway, followed by the two Estonian minorities and Veps in Russia. All the cases except Veps have in common that the Opportunity score for Education is notably higher than that is for the rest of the investigated languages. The lowest overall Opportunity scores were calculated for Kven, Karelian in Finland and Russia, Seto, Võro, and Meänkieli.

Table 5 reveals that the very similar overall Opportunity scores may actually hide fairly varying importance of the involved factors. For instance, Estonian in Finland and Veps and Karelian in Russia have fairly similar overall Opportunity scores but very different scores for the individual dimensions. Furthermore, sometimes the figures even misrepresent the reality: for migrant groups, the high education scores do not reflect the situation in their country of residence.

4.4.4 Opportunity results: Dimension Language use and interaction

In most of the ELDIA cases, the highest Opportunity scores were in the dimension Language Use and Interaction. This suggests that the existing institutional arrangements primarily serve to create contexts in which the language can be spoken, while there is less support in terms of legislation and opportunities for education. For “new” migrant languages – represented in ELDIA by Estonian in Finland and in Germany – even this institutional support may be unsatisfactory.

The highest Opportunity scores in the dimension Language Use and Interaction were characteristic of the two Hungarian minorities. These were followed by Veps (2.29) and Karelian in Russia (2.35), both affected positively by strong family support in the respondents’ childhood. The Karelian and the Veps respondents also were well aware of the institutional support (Q55) and the revitalisation efforts (Q60). However, the total score was

brought down by the respondents' fairly gloomy views on the easiness and opportunities of public use of their languages.

Karelian in Finland (2.15), Võro (2.15), Estonian in Germany (2.14) and North Sámi (2.12) received similar and only slightly lower Opportunity scores than Karelian and Veps in Russia. For question 58 (whether there is a need to develop the ethnic language for wider use in public domains), the score for Karelian in Finland was somewhat lower than for the others. This might be due to the fact that Karelian was recognised as a minority language in Finland only in 2009, and the idea of using Karelian in public is still new for many speakers.

Within this dimension, the scores were brought down especially by the results of questions Q59 and Q61 which inquired about the easiness and the possibilities of using the minority language in various domains. However, the respective weights of the investigated factors varied from case to case: Estonians in Germany experienced Estonian to be easy to use in most situations, but the opportunities to really use Estonian in public are scarce. Basically, the same pattern can be seen in the Karelian and the Võro case studies.

The lowest Opportunity scores for the dimension Language use and Interaction were received by Seto, Estonian in Finland, Meänkieli and Kven. In all of these cases, it was especially the poor usability of the language in public domains which brought the score down. Kven in particular is obviously seen as a language of the elderly, spoken merely in private spheres, and the idea of using Kven in public domains was probably found impossible.

Interestingly, there can be major differences in the scores of minority languages spoken in the same country. In Northern Norway, there is a vast difference between the reported (and, obviously, actual) public use of North Sámi and Kven. In Finland, the overall scores were clearly lower for Estonian, a language spoken by recent, largely working-age migrants, than for Karelian, a traditional minority language spoken prevalently by elderly generations (who may feel more confident in using their language in public but do not trust their language skills in general). As for Võro and Seto in Estonia, the Opportunity scores for the languages in the dimension of Language use and Interaction were slightly better for Võro than for Seto. There is no clear and obvious explanation for this difference, but it might be due to various factors connected to the infrastructure and institutional support, or to the fact that Seto activism has largely focused on culture rather than language.

4.4.5 Opportunity: Dimension Education

The highest Opportunity scores for the dimension Education were received by Estonian in Germany, Estonian in Finland and Hungarian in Austria. However, as these groups consist largely of first-generation migrants, the high scores simply reflect the situation in their countries of origin.

The Education scores for North Sámi and Hungarian in Slovenia were the second highest yet already quite low, and relatively similar to each other. In both cases the Education score was

negatively affected by the fact that only a minor part of respondents had been taught in their ethnic language. Secondary-level education in North Sámi in Norway has not been available very long nor everywhere in the Sámi area, while in the Hungarian-inhabited area in Slovenia the curricula are bilingual: in principle only 50% of the instruction, in practice partly even less, is given in Hungarian.

The majority of the languages investigated in ELDIA received very low Opportunity scores for the dimension Education, for the obvious reason that these languages are only in the process of being standardised.

4.4.6 Opportunity: Dimension Legislation

The highest Opportunity scores for Legislation were characteristic of Hungarian in Slovenia and Northern Sámi in Norway. As noted earlier, these languages are already relatively well anchored in the state-level legislation, and the respondents were well aware of this.

In general the languages investigated in ELDIA received very low scores for the dimension Legislation in the Focus Area Opportunity. The second highest scores were those for Meänkieli, Veps and Hungarian in Austria. Despite existing legislation, strong codification and kin-state support, Hungarian in Austria thus got even weaker scores than the seriously endangered Veps and the only recently standardised and recognised Meänkieli. The respondents in these case studies generally did not think that legislation prevents the use of their ethnic language, and the perceived positive effect of the existing legislation is mainly due to the lack of explicit discrimination.

In these three case studies, the respondents were not very well aware of the availability of legal texts in their ethnic languages (in fact, only for Meänkieli do such translations exist). In contrast, the respondents were fairly (and equally) well informed of the existence of legislation that regulates the use of the minority language in the education system. The reality behind the scores, however, differs from case to case. In the case of Veps, the law merely allows for the use of the language in education (and considering the reality in the Veps area, the Veps respondents' opinions seem unrealistically positive), the Swedish law is more detailed (but has various interpretations in different municipalities and is often not properly implemented), while in Austria, there is a specific school law only for the province of Burgenland.

The rest of the investigated languages all received less than one point for the dimension Legislation. Again, the positive effect came mainly from the questions concerning the experienced legislative support (Q44) and the lack of overt legislative discrimination (Q45). Even these low scores were, in fact, too positive, as concerns Q47: In reality there are no law texts available in any of these languages (Karelian in Finland and in Russia, Kven, Seto, Võro). The same largely applies for the results of Q48 and Q49 (whether there are laws regulating the use of the minority language in the education system): only for Kven is there a law specially granting the pupils in comprehensive schools in Tromsø and Finnmark the right to

study Kven as a subject. As for Karelian in Russia, as in the case of Veps, the law basically allows for the use of the language but does not offer any more specific support.

4.4.7 Opportunity: Dimension Media

In the test-scoring system the question concerned with media was scaled wrong and the calculated EuLaViBar scores for Opportunity did thus not provide any Opportunity-relevant information. Hence, we do not discuss the case study results here at all.

4.4.8 Concluding remark(s) to Opportunity

The perceived states-of-affairs as reflected by these scores do not always correspond to reality; moreover, the EuLaViBar results may be biased due to the lacking sensitivity of the tool to social contexts, for example with the good scores for education with migrant groups.

All the investigated minorities proved out to be quite well aware of the existence of language-cultivating institutions and of the current revitalisation efforts. However, the positive effect of legislation in these EuLaViBar scores was most clearly due to the lack of overt discrimination rather than active support measures. Especially if the minority language does not enjoy legislative support, or the law merely contains very general permissive formulations such as “language x may be used at schools”, respondents tend to have a fairly unrealistic view of the state of affairs and may sometimes assume that there is more support than there actually is (Veps, Seto, Võro) or be unaware of the modest opportunities that are available, at least in principle (Kven). Altogether the results indicate that members of language minorities often do not get enough information about their rights or about the existence of the legal documents relevant for them.

In all case studies, the support to minority-language education is experienced as insufficient and rightfully so: often society does not provide any institutional or practical support. In these terms, it seems that small-numbered and ageing minority groups are especially vulnerable. Yet, providing opportunities for language use in education is a matter of life and death for endangered languages.

4.5 Desire

4.5.1 Assessing Desire

Desire in the ELDIA research and as a focus area of the EuLaViBar refers to the wish and the willingness of people to use a certain language, including their attitudes and feelings but excluding general opinions and assessments about language.

The questions included in the calculation of the focus area ‘Desire’ for the EuLaViBar are presented in the following table:

Dimension	Variables	Survey Questions
Language use & Interaction	Mother tongue	Q7: self-defined mother tongue
	Cross-generational language use	Q10/11: languages used by maternal/paternal grandparents with the respondent, Q15-18: languages used by each parent with the respondent (in childhood and now) Q21: languages used by the respondent with his/her children
	Intra-generational language use	Q14: languages used by the respondent's parents between themselves Q19: languages used with siblings Q20: languages used with spouse/partner
	Support/prohibition of language use	Q22-23: were parents prevented from using the language with their children in the respondent's childhood, by whom? Q24: are parents currently prevented from using the language with their children? Q34: language encouragement from parents Q36: language encouragement to children
	Self-reported competence	Q28–31: self-assessed skills in understanding / speaking / reading / writing the minority and other languages
	Domain-specific language use	Q32: use of language in various domains (home, relatives, work, friends, neighbours…) Q39: Support for the use of the language in different domains Q59: Is the language easy/adequate to use in diverse situations Q61: Knowledge about language use in various public sector domains
	Community members´ attitudes towards their own language and its speakers	Q37 Preference of language use on basis of gender and age Q38 How easy it is to make friends, marry, work with speakers of the language?
	Role of language in the labor market	Q52: Opinions on the role of language in the labour market
	Language maintenance	Q58: Need to develop the language for different social purposes Q60: attempts to maintain language
Legislation	Support/prohibition of language use	Q44: Does legislation support use of language? Q45: Does legislation prevent use of language?
Media	Media use & consumption	Q62: use of the language for reading books or newspapers, listening to the radio or watching the TV, visiting theatre performances or concerts, writing e-mails or SMS Q63: use of the language for active text production such as writing literary texts or blogs, writing a diary, composing and singing songs...)

Table 6. Questions used in calculating the scores for Desire.

4.5.2 The three dimensions of the focus area Desire

The focus area of Desire included questions structured under three dimensions, namely (self-reported) language use, legislation and media. By contrast, wishes and attitudes concerning the field of education were not included as a separate dimension in the focus area "Desire". However, needs and aspirations in the field of education often form a core of claims and expectations of the speakers of lesser used languages.

The results below show the mean scores of each dimension of Desire (media, legislation and language use) as well as the aggregate level, i.e. the calculation of mean Desire scores.

DESIRE				
Language	**Mean Score**	**Media**	**Legislation**	**Language Use**
Hungarian (Slovenia)	2.525	0.89	2.99	2.61
Hungarian (Austria)	2.432	0.85	2.09	2.56
Estonian (Germany)	2.402	1.02	1.48	2.56
Estonian (Finland)	2.258	0.98	1.48	2.40
N. Sámi (Norway)	2.124	0.80	2.42	2.19
Seto (Estonia)	1.931	0.26	1.19	2.10
Karelian (Russia)	1.861	0.36	1.06	2.02
Veps (Russia)	1.849	0.28	1.85	1.96
Võro (Estonia)	1.732	0.20	1.26	1.87
Meänkieli (Sweden)	1.633	0.37	1.62	1.72
Karelian (Finland)	1.29	0.22	1.10	1.38
Kven (Norway)	0.686	0.05	1.55	0.67

Table 7. Mean scores for the three dimensions of the focus area Desire

Alarmingly, the overall scores even in the best case only reach a little more than halfway on the scale, even for language communities which enjoy a relatively strong institutional support and legal protection. There is also a considerable difference between the best and the weakest scores.

4.5.3 Variation between the three dimensions within Desire

Generally, the results for the dimension of Media are much poorer than for the other dimensions – the same phenomenon was also observable in the focus area of Capacity and may be partly due to the calculation method or the scarcity of media supply (cf. section 4.3.6). The results for the dimension of Language use are generally the highest.

With only a couple of exceptions, the internal order of the language communities under study is the same: the top-five group of the Hungarian- and Estonian-speaking groups and North Sámi speakers in Norway, followed by the other traditional minorities, and Kven as an outlier with by far the weakest scores (except for the dimension of Legislation). As discussed in Chapter 4.1, it is remarkable that the bottom three groups represent the Nordic countries.

4.5.4 Desire: Dimension Language Use

The reasons for the remarkably weak Kven result are obvious: most respondents do not report Kven as their mother tongue, their self-assessed Kven skills are often very weak, and they seldom use the language. One fifth of the respondents had experienced prohibition of Kven (note that many respondents did not answer this question), the attitudinal climate has been negative and many Kvens still suffer from a trauma of denial. However, the score for Desire, although low, is slightly higher than the reported Capacity: the respondents lack the competence to use the Kven language, but still some would like to use and maintain it.

The highest score for desire, for Hungarian in Slovenia (2.61), is still lower than in the focus area of Capacity, suggesting that respondents do not consider actual use of Hungarian as important as language skills or identification with the Hungarian language. On the other hand, respondents may have overestimated their own capacity; this has also been established in previous research (Kolláth et al. forthcoming). The same probably applies to Hungarian in Austria: the respondents' strong identification with the language is countered by the poor usability of Hungarian in public domains. Similarly, Estonians in Finland have good language skills and attach great value to their language but do not consider the use of Estonian in public domains outside Estonia to be possible or necessary, which is obviously reflected in the lower score for desire (2.39). This also indicates that large absolute numbers of speakers do not necessarily guarantee a higher desire to use the language.

4.5.5 Desire: Dimension Legislation

In the dimension of Legislation in the focus area Desire, the highest scores were reached by Hungarian in Slovenia, North Sámi in Norway and Hungarian in Austria; the lowest end was represented by Karelian in the Russian Federation and Karelian in Finland together with Seto in Estonia. Even the highest scores do not even reach the level 3, which indicates that the respondents' knowledge of and trust in the protective legislative framework are not particularly strong. Notably, the results for Karelian in Russia and Karelian in Finland are very similar, despite the very different historical, political and legal backgrounds.

It has already been argued that in minority legislation as well as in all other areas of law, the same kind of legislation does not necessarily play the same role everywhere, nor is it applied in the same way. In this respect, the relatively modest result for North Sámi in this dimension, in spite of quite extensive legislative support, calls for further investigation. The results of the Sámi case study (Marjomaa, forthcoming) indicate that the protective intention and content of the law in Norway is not known or is not believed in by the respondents. Similar results are reported for Meänkieli in Sweden which reached an average 1.67. In the case of Estonian in Germany, where the score was even poorer (1.48), most respondents do not know of legislation regulating the use of minority languages nor trust in the equal treatment of the speakers of different languages.

Across the whole study, the overall score is low, alarmingly even in cases where the formal legislative protection can be described as positive and high. Obviously, the respondents are not sufficiently informed about the content and efficiency of the law, which means a challenge for decision-makers and the education system. The low scores may also indicate that the respondents, even if aware of the existence of protective legislation, do not trust in the actual implementation and efficiency of the law, especially if the communities still have recollections of discrimination.

4.5.6 Desire: Dimension Media

As mentioned above, the media field exhibits in almost all cases extremely low results, which may result from the fact that the Desire of respondents is a reflection of Capacity and Opportunity. Moreover, the dimension of Media for the focus area Desire is calculated on the basis of the same questions (Q62, Q63) as for the focus area Capacity, and the same validity issues as described above (section 4.3.6) also affect the reliability of these scores.

The highest (although still very low) media Desire score is that of Estonians in Germany, who have good access to Estonian-language media from the homeland, especially by way of the Internet. (The same applies for Estonians in Finland; their score, 0.98, was very similar.) Thus, the low scores suggest that access to online resources without other supportive measures does not suffice to protect language maintenance.

4.6 Language Products

4.6.1 Assessing Language Products

Language Products refer to the presence or the demand of language products (printed, electronic, ”experiential”, e.g., concerts, plays, performances, etc.) as well as to the wish of having products and services in and through the language at issue. As the following analysis of the results shows, Language Products are seen as a critical part of the language revitalisation process.

The answers to the following questions in the questionnaire were analysed:

Dimension	Variables	Survey Questions
Language use & interaction	Domain-specific language use	Q39: Opinions and attitudes towards the use of the language in public domains such as TV, radio, police stations, parliaments, courts, and hospitals Q61: Knowledge about the actual language use in various public sector domains (this question also included advertisements)
Legislation	Support/prohibition of language use	Q47: Is legislation available in the minority language?
Media	Media use & consumption	Q62A: media consumption in the minority language: use of electronic media, but also print media, theatre and concert visits and anything from playing interactive games to writing blogs in the given language
Education	Language of instruction	Q25-27: language use in education; which languages were used in preschool, primary and vocational education, whether the mother tongue of the respondent had been a teaching language, whether the mother tongue was taught in the school

Table 8. Questions used in calculating the scores for Language Products

4.6.2 On the general results

The highest mean scores for the focus area of Language Products in general were reached by Estonian speakers in Finland (1.717), closely followed by Estonian speakers in Germany (1.473). The high scores result from the Estonian-language education which they received in their country of origin and the good availability of literary products from Estonia. Similarly, the Hungarian-speaking respondent groups in Austria (1.459) and Slovenia (1.684) have access to Hungarian-language media supply from the kin-state. Compared with these, the North Sámi result (1.575), also among the highest in this focus area, stands out, as the language has no kin-state; obviously, there is demand for North Sámi language products and such products are already available.

Generally, the mean scores for the focus area Language Products are clearly poorer than for the other focus areas (Capacity, Desire and Opportunity), and dramatically so in the case of those languages which are not officially recognised or have been recognised only recently. This means that the respondents do not use their minority language as much as they could or would like to. There is evidently more demand than there is actual language use.

The scores calculated for Language Products in each ELDIA case study are shown in the following table.

Case study	mean score	Language use and interaction	Legislation	Media	Education
Estonian in D	1.473	0.50	0.05	1.49	2.60
Estonian in FIN	1.717	1.11	0.5	1.65	2.66
Hungarian in SL	1.684	2.33	2.37	1.54	1.64
Hungarian in A	1.459	1.63	0.91	1.33	1.78
Karelian in FIN	0.515	1.52	0.14	0.41	0.04
Kven in NO	0.299	0.90	0.78	0.10	0.01
North Sámi in NO	1.575	2.70	3.32	1.38	0.94
Seto in EST	0.57	1.61	0.48	0.49	0.04
Võro in EST	0.569	1.66	0.22	0.37	0.07
Veps in RUS	0.584	1.57	0.15	0.42	0.15
Karelian in RUS	0.718	1.95	0.49	0.61	0.13
Meänkieli in S	0.71	1.78	2.06	0.64	0.05

Table 9. Scores for the focus area Language Products (mean score and the four dimensions)

4.6.3 Language use and interaction

Compared with other dimensions, the scores for Estonian in Finland (1.11) and Estonian in Germany are low (0.49). Especially in Germany, this signalises that there are limited opportunities for use of Estonian outside home. The situation is typical of recent immigrant languages and dispersed minorities such as the Estonians in Germany.

For Karelian in Finland, the result for this dimension was much higher than the otherwise very poor scores. Yet, a significant part of the respondents seemed very sceptical. In question 39, in almost all public domains mentioned roughly one half of the respondents would not welcome the use of Karelian, while the other half would; where the responses were not evenly distributed, those who did not consider the use of Karelian necessary were usually in the majority. This negative effect was strengthened by the notable share of “don’t know” answers in Q61.

The score for Kven in Norway in this dimension language use and interaction was only 0.90, one of the lowest in this study, while the other minority language of Northern Norway, North Sámi scored the highest result, 2.70. This reflects the high extent of language use in public domains: in 11 out of 15 public domains, the majority of respondents stated that North Sámi is used, and the only domain in which the *no* answers dominated (53.2%) was the Parliament.

For Meänkieli in Sweden, the overall score for this dimension was 1.78. The main finding under this dimension is that there are many more people who think that Meänkieli *should* be used in different types of domains (such as hospitals, television or police station) than those who believe that Meänkieli actually *is* used in those domains.

4.6.4 Legislation

The scores under the dimension of legislation were based on one question only: whether the respondents knew of the availability of legislation in the minority language at issue. The results were generally poor, with two or three exceptions: Hungarians in Slovenia (2.37) and North Sámi speakers in Norway (3.32), the two minorities enjoying a high grade of institutional protection, were well aware of the existence of law translations in their languages.

4.6.5 Media

As in many other dimensions, the highest scores – although relatively low (only ranging between 1.33 and 1.65), also for reasons discussed above in section 4.3.6 – were reached by the four kin-state minorities (Estonian in Germany and Finland, Hungarian in Austria and Slovenia) and North Sámi. For the Estonians in Finland and Germany, the Estonian-language media consumption is largely Internet-based and depends on the accessibility of media outlets from Estonia. The same probably applies to the Hungarians at least in Austria: the Hungarian-language media supply in the country of residence is very sparse. The results for North Sámi mainly reflect the use of traditional media such as newspapers and the radio.

For all other minorities under study, the very low scores for this dimension (ranging between 0.10 for Kven and 0.64 for Meänkieli) can be claimed to reflect the weak media supply rather than disinterest towards language products; for instance, as claimed by the authors of the Meänkieli case study (Arola & al. forthcoming), Meänkieli speakers actually use all the Meänkieli media they can access.

In many cases, the scarcity of media supply also reflects the recent standardisation and contested status of the standard language (the new standard may not be unanimously accepted by all speakers, as in the case of Seto and Võro). Furthermore, the production and consumption of media contents is more difficult with an ageing population, for technical reasons: the most fluent speakers, the elderly people, often do not produce or use Internet material, and among the Karelian and Veps in Russia, some elderly speakers, being literate in Russian only, cannot even read the new standard languages based on the Latin script.

4.6.6 Education

As discussed above (section 4.4.5), the relatively high scores for Estonian migrants and (most of the) Hungarians in Austria are misleading, since they reflect the education which these groups received in their countries of origin before immigration. In their countries of residence, "language products" in the education system are non-existent (in Germany, there are no education opportunities in Estonian) or very limited (the Finnish school law provides for limited opportunities for the use of Estonian; in Austria there is a school law but only in the province of Burgenland).

For Hungarian in Slovenia, the analysis indicates that the officially bilingual education system in the Prekmurje area, with two languages of instruction, gives higher language skills in Slovenian than in Hungarian. This also calls for attention to language attitudes: parents seem to believe that Slovene education gives the children better equipment for their future.

The score for North Sámi in Norway is better than for the other “roofless” minorities, yet lower than in the focus area Opportunity. The laws which support the use and teaching of North Sámi in schools are taking effect, although especially the older generations have not yet profited from them.

For all the other minorities under study, the very low scores reflect the fact that the languages are in practice very weakly represented in the education system. (For Meänkieli, however, the calculations may be somewhat misleading, as the teaching of Finnish, in which 10% of the respondents had participated and which in practice may have included Meänkieli, was not taken into account.) In the best case, the language is taught as a (voluntary) subject, but even these opportunities have often been implemented relatively recently. For a major part of today’s adult speakers, school has been the place of assimilation.

4.6.7 Conclusion

The analysis clearly shows that the demand for Language Products is in all cases higher than the availability and possibility to use them. Even the slightly higher scores should not be taken with too much optimism: the results for example for Estonians in Finland and Germany would certainly change dramatically if we would focus only on the second or third generation immigrants. In addition to language products proper, information and encouragement is needed; moreover, as many language products require reading and writing skills, education plays the key role in enhancing language vitality. The role of language ideologies and attitudes should not be forgotten either.

4.7 Multilingualism in the ELDIA survey

The survey questionnaires included a number of questions about the use of several languages (minority, majority and other languages such as English) in the respondents’ families and in the consumption of media and cultural products. Respondents were also requested to report their knowledge in a number of languages and where they used them. These questions shall not be analysed in detail here as they are dealt with in the earlier sections concerning Capacity, Opportunity, and Language Products (4.3, 4.4, 4.6).

Another set of questions concerned *perceptions and understandings concerning multilingualism* as officially endorsed. Respondents were asked whether legislation or other regulations (to their knowledge) supported the knowledge and use of many languages in their region of residence or in the labour market, and whether all languages and their speakers are treated equally.

Thirdly, the ELDIA questionnaire included questions concerning the respondents' attitudes towards their own language and its speakers and about language mixing, about language related stereotypes and about the future of the minority language(s), the majority language(s) and English. Furthermore, respondents were requested to describe their impressions of different languages on a scale between binary oppositions, such as *soft – hard*. The discussion on respondents' language-related attitudes is summarised in sections 2.3.2 and 3.5.

4.7.1 Mixing of languages

In Q33, respondents were asked to express their grade of endorsement (on a scale between *I totally agree* and *I do not agree at* all) with statements about language mixing. Note that the term *mixing of languages* was not defined in more detail. To use a linguistic term, we could speak of *code-switching,* i.e. alternation between languages within utterances or conversations, which is a notoriously complex and multifaceted phenomenon and difficult to define. In general, respondents report that the mixing of languages is a wide-spread phenomenon and that it is more prevalent among the younger generation. Attitudes as to its acceptability diverge both within and between case studies, but puristic views do appear both with speakers coming from a strong unilingual culture (such as first-generation Hungarian migrants in Austria and Estonian migrants in Germany) and with speakers of weakly standardised roofless minority languages (such as Karelian and Veps in Russia).

There is wide agreement that the older generations speak the "correct" or more "pure" forms of the language and also that the level of education does not influence considerably the mixing of languages. Moreover, in some case studies the difference between urban and rural realities is highlighted.

4.7.2 Official and legislative endorsement of multilingualism and issues of equal treatment

Most of the respondents in all ELDIA studies, even speakers of officially acknowledged and state-supported minority languages, did not know if legislation supports multilingualism in any way. The large shares of "don't know" answers are an alarming signal.

The survey question 50 (whether different languages and language speakers are treated equally) was formulated too abstractly and respondents had difficulties in understanding it or seeing their personal experiences as part of a more general framework of equal or discriminatory treatment. This is an important finding as it seems to partly explain why so few cases of language-based discrimination end before courts and monitoring bodies. Furthermore, indirect discrimination can be difficult to detect: individual speakers do not necessarily see their experiences as part of general discrimination patterns, or they do not want to see themselves as victims and thus be further "minoritised".

4.7.3 Conclusions

While a clear majority of the respondents in the ELDIA studies can be called multilingual, there is no clear consensus as to what being bilingual or multilingual actually is. Interviews reveal that this matter is not only about the "outward communication" but also about inner reflection ("thinking"). Being multilingual or bilingual is not necessarily seen as a permanent state of affairs; it changes over the life cycles of respondents and their places of residence. According to the ELDIA findings, bilingualism and multilingualism are not understood as being unequivocally and concretely endorsed and promoted at the societal level.

4.8 Media discourse analysis in the ELDIA project

The aim of the ELDIA media discourse analysis was to shed light on the role of multilingualism and the position of minority language communities in their societal contexts. The hypothesis was that media produce and reproduce power relationships (cf. section 2.7) and thus play a crucial role in furthering or hindering language maintenance.

The media discourse analysis was carried out in six of the eight countries where ELDIA case studies were conducted: Austria, Estonia, Finland, Norway, Russia, and Sweden.[9] In each of these countries, one to two minority language communities and their media representations were selected fur further scrutiny. The research was carried out on both majority and minority media: daily and weekly newspapers and where this material was scarce, information brochures and internet-based materials.

4.8.1 On the research design

The research design was planned and implemented centrally under the leadership of Reetta Toivanen, with the assistance of researcher Outi Tánczos. In the analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used. CDA stresses the importance of the context of language use and takes particular interest in the manifestations of power relations in the language (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Language use is regarded as a social force, and social problems are an object of study (van Dijk 2008). Studying texts through CDA makes it possible to reveal unequal power relations embedded in them as well as attempts to legitimise or question these power relations.

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[9] The case study on Austrian and Hungarian minority media was conducted by Rita Csiszár at the University of Vienna, the report on Estonian and Seto and Võro media discourse was written by Kadri Koreinik at Tartu University, the report on media in Finland and Karelian and Estonian minorities was conducted by Niina Kunnas at the University of Oulu and Sonja Laitinen at the University of Helsinki. The report on Norwegian, North Sámi and Kven media was written by Mari Keränen at the University of Helsinki and Anna-Kaisa Räisänen at the University of Oulu, the Swedish and Meänkieli language media was studied by Nadja Nieminen-Mänty at the University of Stockholm and the research on Russian, Karelian and Veps language media discourse was written by Santra Jantunen and Outi Tánczos at the University of Helsinki.

The media analysis moved from the template questions towards the texts: no systematic analyses of all features of each text were conducted. The key questions of media discourse analysis can be summarised as follows:

1. How are minorities discussed / characterised in the majority / minority media?
2. How are majority and minority groups positioned or positioning themselves and each other in the media representations?
3. How does majority / minority media inform the public about what is going on in the field of intergroup relations?
4. Is the maintenance of languages a topic and how it is discussed?
5. What kinds of roles and functions are assigned to majority / minority languages vis-à-vis language and culture maintenance in the media?

Due to the vast amount of (especially majority-language) media material, the individual researchers were encouraged to choose three three-month periods for deeper analysis:

1) February – April 1998, when the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities entered into force;
2) Mid-2000s: Individual 3-month period for each country:
    - Estonia: spring 2004 (debate on the status of the South Estonian language varieties),
    - Norway: spring 2005 (new language law),
    - Sweden: spring 2006 (debate on “Immigrant Swedish”),
    - Austria: autumn 2006 (anniversary of the ’56 revolution in Hungary),
    - Russia: spring 2004 (language law proposal in the Republic of Karelia),
    - Finland: autumn 2005 (decision on creating a common Karelian literary language);
3) November 2010 – January 2011 for an outline of recent development, and for new media (if applicable).

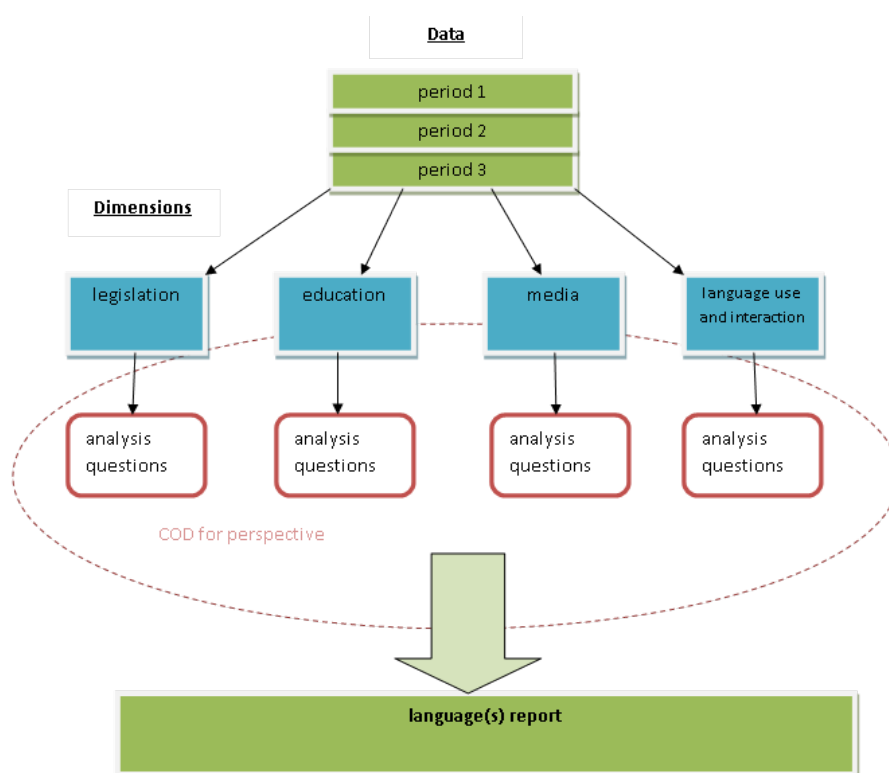

Figure 17. Media-sociological analysis[10]

4.8.2 Summarising the results

The aim of each country-specific analysis was to find out how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss and revitalisation are discussed in the majority and minority language media. The attitudes in the majority media reflect the attitudes of the majority society towards the minority communities. The opinions and attitudes in the minority media tell of the challenges and chances which the media in a minority community, many of them fragmented and suffering from internal conflicts, is sharing with its members.

4.8.2.1 Hungarian in Austria

During the three analysis periods there was not a single news item in the selected majority press *(Die Presse, Neue Kronen Zeitung)* that would have dealt with the Hungarian minority living in Austria. The only newsworthy event was the 50th anniversary of the 1956 revolution. The “mutual gratitude discourse” emphasised the positive role of both countries, the “Hungarian freedom fighters” as well as the Austrians who helped the masses of refugees. Even in this discourse, the maintenance of Hungarian language and culture today in Austria was not discussed.

[10] Figure by Outi Tánczos.

Occasional conflicts either do not get covered in the minority media, or they get reported only in a moderate way. Moreover, minority media fails to portray how the minority policy decisions and other events in the majority society affect the community life of Austrian Hungarians. These “hidden discourses” indicate the limited ability of Austrian Hungarians to promote their interests. Although the minority media often reported on various events related to mother tongue education, the issue of language revitalisation did not emerge in any of the analysis periods. Not even the minority newspapers portrayed any conflict relating to Hungarian language education, nor did they discuss the role which the majority society should play in supporting the Hungarian language and identity in Austria.

Majority media analysis showed that not only the Hungarians but also the other officially recognised minorities living in Austria, being relatively small, well-integrated or assimilated, receive very little media attention. In the majority media, language issues are almost without exception connected to matters of immigration and integration policy, especially the migrants’ lack of German language skills.

4.8.2.2 Võro and Seto in Estonia

The Setos and their language are rarely covered in Estonian majority media; their own newspaper *Setomaa* is published so infrequently that only nine issues could be analysed. The topics of Võro and Võro speakers are also rather marginal in the public majority discourse. Mainstream media seems to publish on the issue only when the status quo seems to be changed or challenged: legal changes or the selection of a minority language song to represent Estonia in the Eurovision song contest. Otherwise the topic is brought in sporadically. Paradoxically, the minority newspaper avoids topics that would address Seto and Võro speakers as minorities and seems not to have an explicit political agenda. This is probably due to the fact that Võro speakers do not necessarily see themselves as an ethnic minority but as part of the Estonian majority.

4.8.2.3 Estonian and Karelian in Finland

Both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Kaleva*, the majority media analysed in Finland, write frequently on minorities, but usually with the focus on Swedish-speaking Finns, Sámi communities in the North or immigrants (sometimes including Estonians). Karelians and Karelian language(s) are mentioned even more seldom, and usually these articles deal with Karelians of Russia or recent immigrants. In general, language issues are not covered very often, and usually language is mentioned among other “problems”.

Estonian media in Finland is almost non-existent and a discourse analysis based on newsletters and social media did not reveal much of the Estonian speakers’ interests. Even the issue of Estonian mother tongue education, which might be expected to be of great importance for Estonian families, hardly emerged in this material. Learning Finnish and using it with authorities is a self-evident requirement which nobody seems to question.

Just the opposite of Estonian speakers in Finland, the Karelian speakers are few and dispersed, and the Karelian media play an important role in informing them on language maintenance and reporting on different language courses and activities.[11] In the light of the media analyses, the official recognition for Karelian has not much improved its status; at best, it has raised some hopes for the future.

4.8.2.4 North Sámi and Kven in Norway

In Norway, the majority newspapers report on a regular basis on minority topics. The relationship between the Sámi and majority media is fair and open, as also shown by references to Sámi newspapers and opinions in the debate section. The relationship between Kven and majority press is more complicated, the Kven minority complaining that they are underrepresented in the majority news.

In the debate sections of the majority newspapers the Sámi and the Kven minorities are often compared, especially in those articles that discuss the status of the Kvens and the Kven language in legislation and the imbalance between Sámi and Kven in funding and resources. Some texts also point out that the Sámi Parliament should be given more responsibility in administration and decision-making.

On the whole, the majority media presents minorities and minority languages, in this case the Sámi and the Kvens, as natural parts of society that need to be protected and enhanced by the state. The actual revitalisation, use of language, is then according to the majority discourse in the hands of the minority itself.

The Kven newspaper *Ruijan Kaiku,* as the only newspaper which regularly publishes articles about Kvens and in Kven since 1995, is a strong advocate of minority rights. Focusing on the minority status, the Kvens are presented in a positive light, while Norwegians are often portrayed negatively, as “Them”. Ultimately, the texts often plead to the majority, presenting the situation of the Kven minority as critically as possible in order to make clear that funding is needed to maintain the minority and prevent its total assimilation.

The most often discussed issues in the Sámi newspapers pertain to (i) reindeer herding, (ii) education and language use in public services and with authorities, and (iii) ongoing events in the Sámi Parliament, all of these mostly from a Norwegian perspective. Many articles report a worsening quality of education and lack of teachers to the extent that many parents have decided to home-school their children. Another problem widely discussed in the news has been the poor availability of health care and other social services in Sámi.

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[11] There is only one monolingual Karelian-language medium in Finland, viz. the online paper *Karjal Žurnualu* which has appeared since 2011 and thus could not be taken into account in this media analyses.

In majority media the state of Norway is portrayed as the source of funding and as the decision maker in the legal sense. The Sámi media, however, often stresses the collective responsibility of the Sámi community for the maintenance of the language. Interestingly, however, when reporting about Kven issues, the Sámi media highlight the responsibility of the state of Norway much more than in their own case.

4.8.2.5 Karelian and Veps in Russia

In Russia, the Karelian media discourse focuses on folklore, history, and traditions; the language is depicted in the context of villages and traditional life. The Karelians as a group are urged to use the language more, but not encouraged to engage in political action, although the texts often blame the authorities for weak support of the language and criticise the lack of resources. Civil servants and decision-makers of ethnic Karelian origin are presented with particular sympathy. There are many stories about elderly people and their lives, but also about children and students learning and using Karelian. Of the middle-aged speakers, particularly active individuals, teachers and cultural workers are visible.

In the Karelian newspapers – *Oma Mua*, to some extent also *Vienan Karjala* – critical tones and direct questions to the authorities have increased between 2004 and 2010. More attention is given to language teaching and the future of the language.

In the Veps-language discourses (as in Karelian media), the importance of maintaining the language is highlighted but also shown as the responsibility of the speakers. Young students of Veps are celebrated, while authors lament that university students are often more interested in Karelian and especially Finnish than in Veps. Festivals and other events where Veps representatives have participated are covered in detail.

The Karelian and Veps newspapers analysed cannot compete with Russian-language media but concentrate on the strengthening of Karelian or Veps identity. Both Karelian/Veps and Russian media are state-owned, and the contents are partly similar.

In the Russian press the Finnic minorities of Karelia are dealt with quite regularly, but often superficially, nostalgically focusing on traditional village life and highlighting visible culture (dances, clothing, food etc.) rather than language. The decline of villages and the battle against it is a frequent theme in Russian as well as Karelian newspapers. In general the tone is positive and encouraging. Criticism towards the authorities in regard to language and culture maintenance is practically absent from the Russian texts and no person or institution is explicitly made responsible.

The Russian-language media analysed does not discuss phenomena of language maintenance, minority rights or the consequences of legislation changes for the minorities. It seems that these issues are left for the state-owned minority media. This, however, does not reach most young and middle-aged generations who are not fluent in their ethnic heritage languages, nor the Russian-speaking majority.

4.8.2.6 Meänkieli in Sweden

In Sweden, some unchallenged underlying assumptions recur throughout the material: Nowhere is the Swedish oppression of the Meänkieli speakers denied, nor is the generally positive attitude towards bilingualism or multilingualism and the maintenance of the heritage language challenged anywhere. Even comments on the importance of learning Swedish are absent. From these articles a discourse emerges of a unanimous Swedish society where everyone is encouraged to use their mother tongue. With different material and different focus questions other attitudes might have come up more clearly.

Although the majority media unanimously condemns assimilation policies, issues of revitalisation and language use are left for the Meänkieli speakers themselves. It can also be said that the farther away the newspaper from the minority region, the more positive it is towards the minority. Regional papers such as the *Haparandabladet* have to balance between Swedish and Meänkieli speakers.

Meänkieli speakers are portrayed in two forms: there is the passive picture of a group which is still suffering from the consequences of oppression, shame and language loss, but does not seem to be interested in language issues, and the active picture of a group which in spite of oppression has kept on producing literature, poems, theatre, songs etc. to ensure the future of their language. The Meänkieli presence in the Swedish media is fragile: many of the articles revolve around the same few people or are written by the same writers/journalists.

4.8.3 Minority and majority media discourse in Europe and their relevance in ELDIA

Generally, both minority media and majority media can avoid discussing minority relevant matters, for various reasons. In Austria and Estonia, it seems that the minorities under study choose to highlight their successful integration or their integral unity with the majority and avoid being labeled as trouble-makers. In Russia, the Veps and Karelian media is state-owned and controlled by the same organs as the majority media.

In both Sweden and Norway, it was the indigenous Sámi who first started claiming visibility and political relevance; the Meänkieli speakers and the Kven are in a certain competition relationship not only with the majority but also with the Sámi. The majority media in both countries underlines the moral responsibility of the majority society for the oppression of minorities in the past. At the same time, the Kven and Meänkieli media complain about the lacking motivation of their own groups.

The Sámi in Norway appear in this material as the best example of how the majority and minority media have managed to approach each other and actually have, in important questions, common points of views. A common tone is found in issues of language and culture. In both the majority and minority media discourse in Norway, language rights are seen as a compensation for Norwegianisation policies in the past and the state is portrayed as responsible for supporting Sámi language maintenance and cultural life. The Sámi on their

part are seen as being responsible for the contents of cultural and language policies but also for motivating the members of their language community to use the language actively.

The Karelian and Estonian minorities in Finland have very different backgrounds and statuses. Karelian has an established but very small minority community, and it seems that its wishes and concerns are not taken very seriously in the Finnish majority media. The Estonians in Finland are in a position very similar to that of the Hungarian migrants in Austria. Although numerous, their media presence is almost non-existent, as they are expected to rely on the media supply from the “motherland”, and they hardly voice any claims to their language rights and language use.

When looking at the whole material, no clear common traits can be detected, beyond the obvious fact that all the communities under study have problems in all four focus areas. Moreover, the benevolent attitude of majority media towards minorities seems to correlate with distance. Majority media published in the regions where minorities actually live are more critical but also more pluralist. However, both nation-wide and regional majority media publish too little on the real concerns of minorities and by that avoid conflicts.

The Sámi organisations held a conference together with the Norwegian media to educate each other on how to write on minorities. This is a lesson to be taken in all countries: the representatives of minorities are too seldom interviewed and their own opinions are not adequately represented.

The analysis of the material shows a clear focus on cultural activities, folklore, literature and theatre, instead of minority politics and the minority’s own views, even in such central issues as developments in minority legislation or changes in policy. The minority media repeats the same pattern. Could one conclude that reporting on “harmless” cultural activities and folklore is easier for both the majority and minority media? Are language maintenance and revitalisation issues too easily politicised (because they need resources and changes in attitudes) and therefore to be avoided?

4.9 Legal and institutional analysis in ELDIA

Legal and institutional research in ELDIA contributes to the core goals of the project in at least two ways: by identifying institutionalised attitudes and results of political processes, and by identifying core actors and ‘focal points’, which helps us understand the attitudes not only of the legal systems but also of societies. Methodologically, research within ELDIA proposes a shift from conflict-based models to interactional and constructivist models that stress societal dialogue and joint agency. For this reason, the legal framework analyses focus on the channels of participation for language communities.

In the Western world, monolingualism seems to be a dominant and global phenomenon. However, Europeans often speak and use two or more languages at very different levels of proficiency, not only for communicative goals but also for symbolic reasons. This can also be

seen in the legislative field where symbolic recognition is seen as a major goal also for language communities (such as the Karelian speakers in Finland or the Võro and Seto speakers in Estonia) which do not seem to aspire towards a broad functional use of their ethnic language. Finally, highlighting speaker agency means that individuals and groups are seen as agents making constant choices; legislation can limit or broaden the spectrum of choices available to language speakers.

4.9.1 Questions and priorities of ELDIA legal and institutional studies

The core questions addressed in the ELDIA law studies were:

1. What role is played by law in the use or non-use of different languages in different domains?
2. What role is played by law in promoting or inhibiting language diversity?
3. Which of the factors related to legal and institutional matters influence language use, language maintenance and language diversity?

The law and policy studies dealt with each country as a whole, with a focus on the minority or minorities at issue: Austria (Zwitter 2012), Estonia (Meiorg 2012), Finland (Grans 2012), Germany (Stephan 2012), Norway (Granholm 2012), Slovenia (Roter 2012), Sweden (Öst 2012), and Russia (Fogelklou, forthcoming).

There is already a body of research into general issues of non-discrimination, but issues of language legislation especially in the sphere of education have received far less attention. With the exception perhaps of the case of North Sámi in Norway, there is a clear absence of detailed legal academic research concerning the status of the smaller languages in the different countries – even for quite numerous communities such as the Finns in Sweden.

Some of the situations under study posed special challenges: for instance, Estonian in Germany has no legal status or specific recognition. However, even this case study was extremely useful, as it shed light on the basic assumptions of the legal system: firstly, the principle of territoriality in minority policies and the idea of multilingualism as an obstacle for integration, and secondly, the specifics of federal states. There is an important margin for action and good practices on local or level even when the central state does not take action, but regional disparities – as in Austria, where in the various *Länder* minorities are treated in a completely different way – may also endanger the principle of equal treatment.

Another challenge for the legal analyses has been that of the delimitation of the very term ‘language legislation’ or ‘language laws’. Several countries do not have specific language laws explicitly covering all the languages under study, and focusing on such laws would unduly restrict the scope of the body of law to be examined. We have therefore identified four core areas of legislation that need to be looked at more closely:

1. Constitutional provisions (mainly on issues of language and minorities);
2. Language legislation;

3. Education legislation with a focus on primary and secondary education;
4. Media legislation (establishment and regulation of print, radio/TV and new media).

4.9.2 Overall results of the ELDIA legal and institutional analyses

The analyses confirmed a fundamental discrepancy: the value of multilingualism is generally acknowledged by politicians and societies, but the legal and institutional entrenchment of multilingualism, including less widely used and smaller languages, is still lacking.

In all ELDIA cases, language laws have been passed or language legislation revised in recent years. Partly, this is due to minority activism, but partly this is a reaction to globalisation and the idea that state languages are threatened by international vehicular languages, especially English. For the languages of more recent migrants, such as Estonian speakers in Finland and Germany, there is still little legal recognition and support. Several of the languages studied in ELDIA have recently received legal recognition and/or affirmation, but nowhere have coherent and long-term official policies and strategies for multilingualism been created. A possible exception to this is the Norwegian Government Plan of Action for the Sámi language for 2009-2014.

The absence of legal redress mechanisms in cases of violation of language legislation, especially concerning smaller languages, is a finding recurring in all case studies, in particular as regards legislation at the regional and local levels. Moreover, there seems to be no judicial case law or documented administrative case law with regard to the languages studied, not even in states with a long legal tradition in regulating languages.

Another major finding is that individual multilingualism and societal language diversity are legally entrenched only to a very limited extent. What is usually entrenched and affirmed is a particular language, as used by a certain group in a particular region. This approach does not necessarily affirm and encourage a wider societal multilingualism under the conditions of mobility and globalisation.

4.9.3 The position of multilingualism and of language diversity in the legal systems examined

4.9.3.1 Austria

The Federal Constitutional Act of the Republic commits Austria to respect and support 'its evolved linguistic and cultural diversity, which finds expression in the autochthonous national minorities'. Language diversity is also mentioned as an explicit goal of the *educational system* in Austria. School curricula emphasise a positive attitude towards multilingualism and language diversity. In the field of education, bilingualism is guaranteed by the constitutional provisions and in the minority school acts of the provinces of Burgenland and Carinthia. In addition, already in 1979 the Austrian Supreme Court had

emphasised the importance of bilingual education as means of protection against assimilation.

In practice, however, language diversity in the field of education often refers to commonly used vehicular languages only, and the importance of language diversity and multilingualism has not yet been acknowledged and sufficiently promoted by the *political system* but remains on a symbolical level. There is still no coherent language policy specifically promoting minority languages in their various contexts, while projects and programmes initiated by private entities are also not sufficiently supported by the state. The *laissez-faire* style of Austrian language policy hampers the effective protection and promotion of minority languages and multilingualism.

Despite some debates on bi- and multilingualism and despite the growing number of children in bi- and multilingual education, there is no broad language diversity debate. The ongoing integration debate is virtually limited to the issue of immigrants' German language skills. Even throughout those *Länder* where minorities are historically resident, general instruction of all pupils also in the minority language(s), irrespective of their minority affiliation, is not provided.

4.9.3.2 Estonia

In Estonia language diversity is not a goal of the legal and political system. The Constitution defines Estonia as a nation-state with one national language. Regulations on language use in different sectors suggest that the aim is to achieve a monolingual state. The population's high level of proficiency in foreign languages is seen as a necessity, emphasised and encouraged, but at the same time it is regarded as a threat to the Estonian language.

Speakers of Võro and Seto also consider themselves Estonians, and may define both Võro or Seto and standard Estonian as their mother tongues, thus contradicting the idea of national monolingualism. Their factual multilingualism is not recognised by the Estonian legal system, which assumes that each person only belongs to one ethnic group at a time and only has one mother tongue. The language law of 2011 obliges the state to promote the use of "regional varieties of Estonian", including Võro and Seto, but does not acknowledge their status as separate languages.

4.9.3.3 Finland

In Finland language diversity as a goal at a societal level is implicit in the constitutional notion of two national languages and the collective constitutional right of linguistic groups to maintain and develop their own languages and cultures. However, there is no government policy that explicitly stresses multilingualism as a goal. The present Government Programme only mentions the rights and interests of the speakers of Swedish and Sámi, but no other languages or language diversity in general. Multilingualism at the individual level has,

however, long been implicit in the education system where learning of the other national language (Finnish/Swedish) and at least one other foreign language is obligatory.

4.9.3.4 Germany

Language diversity is not an explicit goal of the legal or political system of the Federal Republic of Germany, nor does it feature substantively in the educational system (with the exception of a few individual schools). From an institutional perspective Germany is largely seen as a unilingual state.

The traditional minorities in Germany (except the Sinti and Roma), relatively small in number, live in their traditional areas and do not threaten the overall linguistic homogeneity of the state. In contrast, the large number of relatively recent migrants seems to be perceived as a threat to Germany's linguistic homogeneity, and widening the legal and political understanding of linguistic diversity to encompass migrants is obviously considered less acceptable. As far as accommodation (for instance, public services such as health care) is needed, providing them for the languages of the most numerous migrant groups such as the Turks is certainly perceived as a more pressing need than the accommodation of the smallest migrant languages, such as Estonian.

4.9.3.5 Norway

In Norway the experience in dealing with two written forms of Norwegian, Bokmål and Nynorsk, means that the Norwegian legal system is not unfamiliar with language diversity. The current language debate focuses on the danger of the English language ousting Norwegian in more and more public domains.

The Place Names Act enables visibility of language diversity through road signs and place names – which have been the topic of much debate and even sabotage in places. The effect on the language communities has, however, been an increased awareness of the law and a desire to have further signs in Sámi and Kven. School is also becoming an arena for language diversity through the stipulations in the Education Act and its implementation through the Knowledge Promotion and Knowledge Promotion Sámi curricula. There are now 14 different language curricula in the Norwegian schools.

4.9.3.6 Slovenia

In Slovenia, the traditions of dealing with language diversity represent two approaches: promotion of "domestic" language diversity in the traditional areas of the Hungarian and Italian minorities, and the recognised need of each individual to know at least one widely used vehicular language. Thus, the attitudes towards language diversity are mixed, and language policies appear complex and confusing. Slovenia's educational system has been strongly promoting multilingualism for individuals for a long time, but the use of more than

one language has not been promoted in the public domain, i.e. before courts, in contacts with authorities and in media.

In the ethnically mixed areas of the Italian and Hungarian communities, Slovenia's legal system provides for the equal use of both the minority language and Slovenian in communication with civil servants as well as in official documents and visible signage. In the Hungarian ethnically mixed area, all children attend bilingual schools.

4.9.3.7 Sweden

In Sweden, language policies have changed fairly recently. While the constitution states that the opportunities of ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve their own culture and languages shall be promoted, this is not explicitly listed as a goal of the legal and political system. Protecting linguistic diversity in Sweden is however mentioned as one of the aims of the new Language Act (adopted in 2009). Language diversity is here seen as desirable only to the extent that it furthers the personal, economic and cultural well-being of individuals. Because of this approach, Sweden has recently adopted a language policy and a Language Act in order to guard the status of Swedish and the national minority languages nationally and internationally, without addressing systematically issues of language diversity.

4.9.3.8 Russia

The legal system of the Russian Federation with regard to language diversity is characterised by ambiguity and absence of implementing measures and legal remedies. There is a good basic protective legislative framework but it is considered ineffective and unreliable. After the 1991 Law on Languages of the Nationalities, the main concern for the regime has been to enhance the cohesion of the country. The Russian language is seen as a central instrument of integration, as also supported by a federal comprehensive language programme for the years 2011–2015. In line with this trend, by amendment to the 1991 Law on Languages, since December 2002 all regional state languages must use the Cyrillic script. The maintenance of the state languages of ethnic republics is a secondary aim, important mainly for strong ethnic groups and languages. Unlike other titular languages of ethnic republics, Karelian is not recognised as an official state language in the Republic of Karelia.

Language diversity on the societal and individual level is in principle guaranteed by the Constitution. Furthermore, according to Articles 68.3 and 69 smaller minority languages, such as Veps, enjoy special protection. These provisions are made more precise in the 1999 Law "On Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minority Nationalities of the Russian Federation". The scattered language legislation in the Russian Federation provides opportunities which are, however, only rarely put into practice and have not had any decisive supportive effect for the languages studied in ELDIA.

4.9.3.9 Preliminary conclusion: Language diversity in national legislation

As seen above, ELDIA legal research as a whole shows that **language diversity seems not to be an operational and implemented goal in itself** of the legal and political systems examined. In legislation and policy, it is seen in an instrumental manner as a precondition for the strengthening of the official state language and the "full" integration of "others", i.e. of minorities and migrants.

4.9.4 The prevalence of the non-discrimination paradigm

All the countries examined have introduced non-discrimination legislation (in EU countries, also prompted by EU legislation), and case law concerning linguistic matters is often framed as a non-discrimination issue (see e.g. Grans 2011: 34). This is particularly the case in the Nordic countries.

The prevalence of the non-discrimination paradigm is accompanied or perhaps also explained by the above-mentioned absence of comprehensive long term programmes and strategies to address the needs assessed and the measures to be taken with regard to the different languages coexisting in the legal orders examined in the ELDIA-project. It is therefore not so surprising that respondents in ELDIA surveys are to a large extent unaware about the equality challenges for different languages and their speakers as well as about the legislative measures pertaining to different languages (see sections 4.3-4.6).

4.9.5 The prevalence of the principle of territoriality

Several of the legal orders examined assume an *a priori* bond between a certain language and a certain territory, the 'traditional' or 'historic settlement' region. In Germany, national minorities reported to the Council of Europe must meet the following five criteria:

- their members are German nationals (i.e. have German citizenship);
- they differ from the majority population insofar as they have their own language, culture and history – in other words, they have their own identity;
- they wish to maintain this identity;
- they are *traditionally resident* in Germany; and
- they *live in the traditional settlement areas*.[12]

Similar issues are found in Austria where the Hungarian language is protected and promoted only in the traditional settlement area in the province of Burgenland. In Slovenia, with minor exceptions, special minority rights can only be enjoyed within "ethnically mixed" areas,

[12] Council of Europe, *Second Report submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany under Article 25, paragraph 2, of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, received on 13 April 2005, ACFC/SR/II(2005)002, p. 8.

irrespective of the numerical strength of Hungarians or Italians in relation to Slovenians. These arrangements may be positive for small language communities; the Slovenian policy has the great asset that in the 'ethnically mixed areas' the practices of bilingualism, such as bilingual education and bilingual identification documents are available to all inhabitants. However, this principle of territoriality does not take into account the mobility of the population and, even more crucially, excludes a number of other languages and language communities much more numerous than the Hungarians and the Italians. The lack of a clear definition of the concept of 'autochthonous settlement' on one hand, and the condition that minorities have to be traditionally settled in Slovenia to enjoy protection on the other hand, have been persistently criticised by national as well as international institutions. Similarly the Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities has criticised all signatory countries for recognising language rights only in traditional settlement areas.

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities only includes reference to 'traditional areas' in very few of its provisions, thus indicating that most linguistic rights and corresponding obligations are not dependent or conditional upon a link between a language and a territory. With the exception of Article 10(2) (on the use of languages with authorities), Article 14(2) (access to opportunities to receive teaching of or in the minority language) and Article 11(3) (minority language toponyms, street names and signs), its provisions are not qualified by any requirement concerning traditional settlement. In a recent pronouncement on the issue of territoriality, the Advisory Committee has found in relation to educational rights that states 'must ensure that the implementation of the principle of territoriality does not violate the principle of non-discrimination between minority groups or different sub-groups within minority groups'.[13]

4.9.6 The confusing distinction between private and public sphere

The case studies expose an uneasy legal situation with regard to the borderline between the private and the public spheres and the regulation of language matters. This is most prevalent in the case of Estonia, where the Language Act regulates both the public as well as to some extent the private sphere (Meiorg 2012). In official use, the Estonian language must correspond to the Literary Standard, which is approved by the Government. The requirement to use Estonian (or to provide at least Estonian translations or summaries) extends to companies, foundations and non-profit associations where the state is a majority holder, even private legal persons and public events. The provisions of the Act touch to a large extent the private sphere and are coupled with an extensive margin of interpretation by the Language Inspectorate.

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[13] *Commentary on Education* under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Council of Europe, Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ACFC/25DOC(2006)002, p. 23.

In Sweden the Discrimination Ombudsman (DO) received in 2006 three complaints from people who had been forbidden to speak Finnish in their work place at the social services department of the city of Uppsala (Öst 2012, section 2.4.1). The case ended with negotiations and agreements. However, what is worrying is the fact that the DO easily accepted the idea that 'the public language' is Swedish and that the 'public' was understood as 'all public spaces, coffee rooms, corridors etc.' Even more worrying is the fact that a number of other companies, especially bus operators seem currently to be operating with the same idea of a single language at the working place.[14]

A third example to illustrate the tendency of expanding language regulation into the private sphere can be found in the field of education. In Germany, in 2006 a school in Berlin-Wedding was awarded the prize of the German National Foundation (*Deutsche Nationalstiftung*) for the self-imposed and student-backed commitment to German as the only language spoken on the schoolyard and the positive results of this initiative, such as a decrease in conflicts among students and an increased sense of unity and belonging (Stephan 2011: 68-69). Similar proposals and efforts have also been made in Swedish schools, even though it was made possible to speak Finnish and Sámi in the schoolyards already in the 1950s. Nowadays, however, the proposals usually concern languages spoken by migrants and their children.[15] Similar practices of forbidding the use of languages other than German are also not unusual in Austrian schools.

There is in other words a worrying tendency of imposing restrictions in the use of languages in an ever-expanding field of private life, in school yards, in coffee rooms, in private media etc. This is most likely an area that shall need clarification and critical observation in the coming years. Here, the need for regulation and long-term strategies for the maintenance of vulnerable languages may conflict with the principle of protecting the private sphere of individuals.

4.9.7 General conclusions from the ELDIA legal studies

ELDIA research has shown that there is a remarkable absence of detailed legal academic research concerning the status of minority languages, even in the case of relatively numerous language communities such as Finnish speakers in Sweden. The legal regulation of languages does not seem to be an area of priority for comprehensive academic work in Europe. We have also found that as a whole languages and language maintenance are not

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[14] Efter språkbråket: backer från regler, http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=91&artikel=4388675 (last visited 20 February 2012).

[15] Discrimination Ombudsman, Sweden: *Diskriminering av nationella minoriteter inom utbildningsväsendet*, DO Report No 2008:2, p. 19. With regard to the importance of mother tongue use during work life breaks see Inger Lindberg, *Myter om tvåspråkighet*, Språkvård No. 4 - 2002 at: http://www.sprakradet.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=2228 (last visited on 20 February 2012)

approached in a proactive way and we have observed a lack of comprehensive, coherent and long term policies concerning the maintenance and development of specific languages and of multilingualism and language diversity as separate but interrelated goals. Very often therefore to the extent that there is any judicial case law concerning linguistic matters, it is often framed as a non-discrimination issue. It is therefore perhaps not so surprising that respondents in ELDIA surveys are to a large extent unaware or indifferent about language-based inequality issues as well as about the legislative measures pertaining to different languages and their maintenance.

There is considerable regional variation in the way languages and their speakers are dealt with also within one and the same country. Such variations can lead to innovative supportive measures; on the other hand, regional disparities may jeopardise the principle of equal treatment of all persons nation-wide. Similarly, the principle of territoriality may be very beneficial for small and vulnerable languages but also very problematic from the point of view of mobile and dispersed minorities.

ELDIA legal and institutional research as a whole shows that language diversity and multilingualism at individual and societal level seems not to be an operational and implemented goal in itself of the legal and political systems examined. When it is referred to in legislation and policy, it is seen in an instrumental manner as a precondition for the strengthening of the official language in the state concerned and as a precondition for the 'full' integration of otherness, i.e. of minorities and migrants.

5 Conclusions

ELDIA research has been conducted at a time of crucial changes. Some of the languages under study are critically endangered. However, many minority members clearly wish to maintain and develop their languages and to find new ways of using and protecting them, even when such languages are too small to be efficiently used as vehicular languages in broader contexts. These wishes and aspirations of minorities are rarely taken into account by policy-makers. On the other hand, language communities which are legally recognised and whose language maintenance is affirmed and regulated tend to show a stronger self-confidence and sense of opportunities.

While multilingualism is often acclaimed as a societal goal, in practice, realities, policies and legal frames do not support or even work against multilingualism at both the individual and the societal level. This is most clear in the cases of migrants and commuters investigated in ELDIA.

Among the strengths of ELDIA research, the following can be highlighted. The research method was incremental. The context analysis of each case gave the opportunity to review literature and other earlier research as well as legislation and media outlets and discourses, which enhanced the opportunities for the planning of later stages of the project. ELDIA research has included data collection from respondents through quantitative (surveys) as well as qualitative (interviews) methods. Information has been gathered both from the language communities studied as well as from respondents belonging to control groups. The interdisciplinary exchanges and complementarities of the project have given much additional insight but also caused confusions and misunderstandings and required more time and effort than in a project with a narrower theoretical scope.

ELDIA has made an effort to involve researchers with strong connections to the communities or regions at issue, and these researchers have in their turn developed exchanges of information with relevant organisations, institutions and policy-makers. Theoretically, ELDIA has attempted to combine individual experiences with attention to context and institutional constraints, emphasising individual agency as well as the role of institutions. This diversity of factors has been encapsulated and visualised in the EuLaViBar model. Abstract concepts and models such as the criteria or assessment scales of language maintenance suggested in previous research have been operationalised and concretised.

The weaknesses of ELDIA have mainly to do with the design of the questionnaire which was far too long and not particularly stringent. Due to problems in the planning phase, the questionnaire included several questions which had to be excluded from the EuLaViBar calculations because they were deemed not to be scalable. Furthermore, the tagging of questions was not stringent enough to adequately prevent extensive overlap between the four focus areas, Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products; some dimensions

were not adequately covered in all respects. The deficiencies of the questionnaire and the tagging of questions are addressed in the EuLaViBar Toolkit which is to be published electronically and will include an amended version of the questionnaire.

5.1 Outlook

A number of concrete forward-looking strategies need to be considered for the near future. First of all, ELDIA results should reach those concerned, both among language communities and among decision makers. Information events can be organized to bring together researchers, members of the language communities; institutions and individuals working with issues of language maintenance and development, language policies, and human rights; decision-makers at national and regional levels. The results of ELDIA are currently being published and presented to and no doubt will be challenged by the academic community in the normal and slow-moving modes of academic life.

ELDIA research has produced a huge amount of data and information, quantitative as well as qualitative that needs to be further evaluated and analysed. At the same time we have been able to conclude that there is a marked absence of scientific work in the language sciences, in law, in sociology, in media studies concerning the situation of lesser known and used languages. For instance, there are many questions pertaining to attitudes and understanding about legislation that need further investigation, by sociologists, sociolinguists and lawyers alike. As an example it can be mentioned that with regard to North Sámi, the protective intention and content of the law in Norway is largely not known or is not believed in by the respondents. The respondents seem not to have been reached by what is perceived as the complicated and bureaucratic provisions of legislation. Or, possibly, while respondents are more or less aware of the content of the law, they do not believe that its implementation is correct or that it is adequate to protect the North Sámi language needs. Such possible explicatory paths, together with several other ones identified in the present Comparative Report as well as in the ELDIA Case Specific Reports, prompt us to follow up results with deeper enquiries.

5.2 Lessons learned

On the positive side of the ELDIA results it is crucial to conclude that language maintenance and even language revitalisation are fully possible if concerted efforts are put in place. The strengthening of Sámi languages in Norway (studied in ELDIA), Sweden and Finland, of Karelian in Finland and Meänkieli are examples of such processes, even though much remains to be done in order to secure their long-term maintenance and adaptation to conditions of mobility and a globalised world. The number of focus areas and dimensions covered by the ELDIA project show that sustainable policies and language measures cannot limit themselves to short-term isolated ‘islands of maintenance’ but need to be broad and holistic, addressing individual as well as structural and societal spheres.

An overall conclusion of the project is that minorities are still seen as an exception, apart and aside of mainstream majority societies, even when they are relatively well integrated in society. Very often minorities and language communities remain invisible. This is most evident in the results of the media studies which reveal that both minority media and majority media avoid discussing minority relevant matters.

In spite of the longstanding interest in matters of minority education for many decades, there is a lack of training and education: many of the minority languages in our study have been taught at schools only very marginally, and they are mostly used in oral communication in the private sphere. Even for speakers of well-established and standardised languages, the supply of language products may be poor.

As shown in the comparative results (see above Figure 3 in section 4.1), the EuLaViBar results can be used for comparing the situations of language maintenance in different speaker communities. However, the EuLaViBar cannot be used for predicting the future of a language or to prove that a language is not “worth” institutional and/or financial support. The barometer helps policy-makers and stakeholders in identifying conditions that threaten the maintenance of a given language, those that promote its maintenance, and those that need to be improved in order to support the maintenance of language diversity. With the help of the barometer, special support can be directed to areas indicated by low vitality and maintenance scores.

The scores summarised in Figure 3 offer at least a few possible conclusions. Minorities with a firmly established, standardised literary language and a resourceful and/or willing kin state (such as the Estonians and the Hungarians) get higher scores of maintenance potential. Minorities with high legal protection (such as for North Sámi in Norway and Hungarian in Slovenia) get the highest scores, followed by the group of (other) traditional (autochthonous) minorities, while the scores for Kven are clearly the weakest (even though the data available is limited). As mentioned above, strong experiences of suppression and longstanding marginalisation seem to leave languages and their speakers in a situation of self-imposed minoritisation and restriction. As regards situations of migration studied within ELDIA (Estonian in Finland and Germany and Hungarians in Austria), the high scores of migrant respondents refer to their language competences acquired and education in the country of origin and do not necessarily guarantee the long-term maintenance of the languages concerned in the new home country. As was also noted above in the hierarchy of maintenance results showed in Figure 2, the three lowest and thereby weakest positions are occupied by three groups in the three Nordic countries investigated (Meänkieli in Sweden, Karelian in Finland and Kven in Norway). So the generally strong position of the Nordic countries in terms of human development, democracy and human rights does not result in an automatic strong position and adequate language policies for vulnerable language communities and minorities.

5.3 Policy implications

All of the minority languages investigated in the ELDIA case studies are endangered at least to some extent. This is shown by the EuLaViBar barometers, where none of the scores for individual focus areas or dimensions (except for two dimensions for North Sámi) ever reached even level 3 on our language maintenance scale, and this also corresponds to what was known on the basis of previous research and our context analyses. Thus, all the minority languages at issue are in need of specific support measures of some kind.

The ELDIA case studies contained a concluding section on policy implications: what, on the basis of the results of each study, the policy-makers and, possibly, stake-holders could and should do to support the maintenance and use of the language at issue. In what follows, we will briefly summarise the main contents of the policy implications and elaborate on what can be concluded from them and other main results of the case studies.

5.3.1 Visibility, publicity, empowerment and identity building

While some of the languages investigated in ELDIA enjoy a high degree of institutional support and a strong presence in public discourse, many of them suffer from “societal invisibility”: the languages are only or mainly used in the private sphere or in explicitly in-group contexts (such as “ethnic” cultural events), while outsiders, the general public as well as decision-makers, authorities, language or service professionals etc., are hardly aware of the presence and historical importance of these languages in their societies, let alone of the fact that these languages might be in need of specific support. Furthermore, authorities are often not sufficiently aware of the history and effects of assimilationist policies in their countries.

In some cases, the majority’s attitudes towards the minority at issue were also characterised by frustration or resentment stemming from the political history of the area. As pointed out in the case study on Hungarian in Slovenia, understanding that Hungarian is an organic part of the cultural and historical landscape of the region would help in fighting prejudices and bring about positive changes in the work culture of officially bilingual environments such as the school system.

Societal invisibility is especially typical of very small and dispersed minorities (such as the Estonian immigrants in Germany), but also of minorities which are culturally close to the majority population and, possibly, by emphasising their “integration potential” want to distinguish themselves from more conspicuously different minorities, especially migrant groups, which often figure in public discourse as potential sources of problems. This “strategic invisibility” surfaced in the case studies about the Estonians in Finland and the Hungarians in Austria; it implies that in order to improve the status of the language at issue, awareness-raising not only among the majority but also among the minority itself is needed.

The most extreme example of societal invisibility is probably Karelian in Finland, only recently acknowledged and poorly known among outsiders. The case study (Sarhimaa [forthcoming]) recommends enhancing the available information about Karelian and its presence in the Finnish society (for instance, TV or radio programmes, articles etc.) as well as the supply of information and directives in Karelian (for instance, public authorities should offer more of their services and texts in Karelian as well). Moreover, it is vital that minority-language speakers be encouraged to use their language in as many domains as possible, and that their networking and profile-raising activities be supported.

5.3.2 Revitalisation, intergenerational transmission and empowerment

With most if not all of the minority groups investigated in ELDIA, the institutional support is clearly inadequate and often hardly extends beyond a general principle of non-discrimination and lip service to ethnocultural diversity. As seen both in ELDIA and in numerous other studies on endangered and minority languages, speakers often attach great value to their heritage language as a carrier and symbol of identity and cultural values, and readily express their wish to maintain the language and transmit it to their children; yet, in practice, the same speakers often fail in these aspirations.

Merely allowing for the use of the language and forbidding language-based or ethnic discrimination is not enough to ensure that the language is really used and acquired by younger generations. In many cases, an explicit revitalisation programme to support the use, maintenance and transmission of the language at issue would be urgently needed, as suggested, for instance, in the case studies on Karelian in Finland and Meänkieli in Sweden. As pointed out in the Meänkieli case study, breaking old patterns of language use is very difficult, and families often need special encouragement to start using the heritage language with children. Or, as pointed out by Koreinik (forthcoming [a, b]) in the case studies on Seto and Võro: parents often delude themselves into imagining that “they will let their children choose their language” and do not understand that by speaking the majority language to their children they have already decided on their children’s behalf and deprived them of their heritage language.

When designing policies and programmes of support to specific languages, responsible authorities at all levels should ensure that there is at hand a proper needs assessment developed in consultation with those concerned and with academic expertise. Introducing measures simply because they look nice on paper or conform to the expectations of international actors (such as international organisations or donor agencies) imposes patterns of revitalisation which are not necessarily the priorities of the language speakers and which will probably not result in sustainable revitalisation. In this regard the importance of language education and multilingual education in preschool and at early school years is crucial.

A successful explicit revitalisation programme would mean not only allocating more public funds for revitalisation projects but also encouraging NGOs and grassroots initiatives and recruiting the human resources already available among the speaker communities. Respecting speaker agency, empowering and encouraging language speakers to act and get organised is of crucial importance. Despite the existence of legislative and institutional support, in many of our case studies it became obvious that speakers were not sufficiently informed of their rights and the opportunities offered by legislation; speakers need more knowledge of their rights and encouragement for claiming them.

In the case of recently standardised languages, creating language products (both traditional and new media, teaching material, services etc.) is essential. As the resources are often very limited, these activities must be planned very carefully and with the best possible use of available expertise. As pointed out e.g. in the case study on Seto, in a normative and puristic linguistic culture the standardisation of a minority language may meet with heavy resistance and/or lead to a triple stigma: belonging to a minority group, not meeting the majority-language standard and not even meeting the new minority-language standard.

A practical issue surfacing in many of our case studies is that while minority language policies are often organised on a territorial basis and apply to the traditional regions of old minorities, due to internal mobility substantial numbers of speakers (for instance, of Meänkieli, Sámi, Võro or Seto) now live outside these regions. Furthermore, there are almost no support measures specially planned for small-numbered and dispersed minorities such as the Estonians in Germany. Small minority populations also suffer from the lack of continuity and long-term planning: for the Estonians in Germany, for instance, practically all support measures are short-term projects which must be repeatedly re-planned and applied for.

5.3.3 Language skills, mobility, and sustainable multilingualism

Like the institutional support in general, the support offered by the education system to the languages investigated in ELDIA is often inadequate and insufficient to provide speakers with functional language skills. The problem does not concern only the position of minority languages in national (or regional) curricula but also teacher training policies and the availability of up-to-date and adequate teaching material. Moreover, the teaching of minority languages should be extended from pre-school (essential for effective language acquisition) up to the university level; in some of our cases (especially with recently acknowledged and small minority languages such as Meänkieli in Sweden, Karelian in Finland, Kven in Norway), the highest level of language education is lacking, inadequate or only very recently implemented and still in need of development, and all speakers, also adult language users, need special support in developing their written language skills.

Some of the languages at issue are not taught in the school system at all (or their teaching has been introduced only very recently). Others are taught as (optional) subjects but the

teaching commences too late. As pointed out e.g. in the case study for Meänkieli (Arola, Kunnas & Pelkonen [forthcoming]), the most efficient teaching policy for revitalising an endangered language would be early (pre-school) total impression – this, however, is unavailable in most of the cases investigated in ELDIA. Similarly, although CLIL (content-language integrated learning) programmes in English or some other language have been implemented in many of the countries at issue (for instance, Estonia), teaching of minority or migrant languages is practically never involved in these initiatives.

In many of our cases (for instance, with the Estonians in Finland or with Meänkieli speakers in Sweden), many minority children who would be legally entitled to instruction in their heritage language, at least as an optional subject, do not make use of this option – for a variety of reasons which would deserve further investigation. In some cases (for instance, in the case of Hungarians in Vienna), the teaching in the heritage language is only organised as an extracurricular activity, sometimes outside regular school hours or in another place, and requires special commitment and efforts from the side of the parents. These issues deserve more systematic attention by policy-makers. Moreover, even officially bilingual education programmes – as in the case of Hungarians in Slovenia and in Burgenland, Austria – do not necessarily succeed in supporting really functional bilingualism.

In practically all ELDIA case studies, the informants *both* expressed their wish to maintain their heritage language *and* acknowledged the importance of mastering the majority language (as well as further languages, especially English as lingua franca). The obvious implication is all too seldom formulated explicitly: in order to respect citizens' wishes and their linguistic human rights, strategies for sustainable bilingualism, ensuring functional skills in two or more languages, must be created and implemented.

About the authors

Johanna Laakso defended her Ph.D. thesis at the University of Helsinki in 1990. After working as research assistant, acting professor and project researcher in Helsinki, she has held the chair of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Vienna since 2000. Her main research interests include historical and contact linguistics, morphology (word formation) and gender linguistics.

Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, iuris dr., is associate professor of international law and director of the Åland Islands Peace Institute (Finland). She has been an expert member and is currently the President of the Council of Europe Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention on National Minorities (2012-2014). Among her works in the field of minorities are: *Justifications of Minority Protection in International Law* (1997), *International Obligations and National Debates: Minorities around the Baltic Sea* (2006, co-editor), *The Åland Example and Its Components: Relevance for International Conflict Resolution* (2011, editor).

Anneli Sarhimaa has been Professor of Northern European and Baltic languages at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz in Germany since 2002. She received her Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Helsinki in 1999 and has studied and worked in Finland, Russia, the Netherlands and Germany. Her linguistic expertise lies in the fields of sociolinguistics and contact linguistics with the focus on languages of northwestern Russia, language policies, discourse linguistics and critical discourse analysis (esp. minority identities, their discursive construction and linguistic manifestation), and literary linguistics.

Dr. **Reetta Toivanen** is an Adjunct Professor for social and cultural anthropology and a Finnish Academy Research Fellow at the Erik Castren Institute for International Law and Human Rights at the University of Helsinki. She is also a non-resident senior research fellow at the European Centre for Minority Issues (Flensburg).

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Attachment 1: ELDIA institutions and research teams

Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany: Northern European and Baltic languages

- Professor **Anneli Sarhimaa**: Coordinator-in-chief of ELDIA, leader of Work Package 5 (Data Analysis), Work Package 9 (Coordination and Management), lead researcher in the case study and author of case-specific report *Karelian in Finland,* co-author of Comparative Report
- **Katharina Zeller**, M.A.: Coordination secretary; questionnaire layout, EuLaViBar planning
- **Claudia Reitz**, M.A.: Coordination secretary
- **Eva Kühhirt**, M.A.: Database administrator, co-author of Data Analysis manual
- **Suna Önder**, M.A. (2012–2013): translation of the case-specific report "Karelian in Finland" into Finnish
- **Leena Joki**, M.A. and Dr. **Kati Parppei** (based in Finland): assistance in the fieldwork and data analysis for the case study *Karelian in Finland* (2010–2011)
- Student assistants: **Annika Emmert, Maren Gockel, Marie-Christine Klös, Iwana Knödel, Adina Nix**
- Dr. **Jeremy Bradley** (Vienna): programming of the Joomla template for the ELDIA website (2010; 2013)
- Freelance and volunteer assistance (translations, transcriptions, interviews etc.) for the case study *Karelian in Finland:* **Paavo Harakka**, Professor **Marja Leinonen**, **Kenneth Meaney**, M.A., Professor **Pirkko Nuolijärvi**, **Sampo Nuolijärvi, Sanna Nykänen**, M.A., Professor **Martti Penttonen**, Professor **Lea Siilin** (all based in Finland).

Helsingin yliopisto, Helsinki, Finland, Department of Finno-Ugric and Nordic Languages and Literatures

- Professor **Riho Grünthal**: leader of Work Package 2 (Context Analysis), leader of the case studies *Karelian in Russia* and *Veps in Russia,* leader of fieldwork and co-author of the corresponding case-specific reports
- Dr. **Reetta Toivanen**: leader of the media analysis team, co-author of the Comparative Report
- **Kari Djerf**, resource person for statistics
- Dr. **Nina Zajceva** (Petrozavodsk): co-author of the context analysis of Veps, coordinator of fieldwork in Russia

- **Heini Karjalainen (Hienonen)**, M.A.: participation in the case studies on Veps and Karelian in Russia (fieldwork in Russia, data analysis), co-author of the case-specific reports on Veps and Karelian
- **Ulriikka Puura**, M.A.: co-author of the context analysis and case-specific report for Veps, co-author of the case-specific report for Karelian; participation in data analysis of Karelian and the control group; participation in the planning of the questionnaire
- **Santra Jantunen**: data analysis, transcription
- **Konstantin Zamyatin**, M.A.: co-author of the context analysis, contributions for the case-specific report on Karelian
- Media analysis team: **Rita Csiszár** (Hungarian in Austria), **Kadri Koreinik** (Seto and Võro in Estonia), **Niina Kunnas** and **Sonja Laitinen** (Karelian and Estonian in Finland), **Mari Keränen** and **Anna-Kaisa Räisänen** (North Sámi and Kven in Norway), **Nadja Nieminen Mänty** (Finnish in Sweden), **Santra Jantunen** and **Outi Tánczos** (Karelian and Veps in Russia).
- Fieldworkers based in Petrozavodsk: **Olga Zhukova, Nataliya Ankhimova, Olga Mironova** (Veps), **Svetlana Pasyukova** (Veps and the control group survey), **Nataliya Antonova, Tatyana Boyko, Svetlana Kovaleva, Olga Ogneva, Aleksandra Rodionova** (Karelian), **Svetlana Plyukhina** (control group survey)
- Assistance in statistics: **Antti Mattila**

The Åland Islands Peace Institute (Ålands fredsinstitut), Mariehamn, Åland, Finland

- Associate professor, Jur. dr., **Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark**: leader of Work Package 7 (Comparative Report and EuLaViBar), co-author of the comparative report; leader of the law research team (analysis of legal and institutional framework), co-editor of legal reports and author of the legal comparative report

Authors of legal and institutional analyses (in alphabetical order, in parenthesis the country of responsibility):

- Professor **Anders Fogelklou** (Russia)
- **Petra Granholm** (Norway)
- **Lisa Grans** (Finland)
- **Marianne Meiorg** (Estonia)
- **Heidi Öst** (Sweden)
- Associate Professor **Petra Roter,** University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)
- **Sarah Stephan** (Germany), in addition: project assistant and co-editor of legal reports
- **Deva Zwitter** with support from Dr. **Emma Lantschner** (Austria)

Univerza v Mariboru, Maribor, Slovenia, Department of Hungarian

- Professor **Anna Kolláth**: leader of the ELDIA team of Maribor, co-author of the context analysis and case-specific report *Hungarian in Slovenia*
- Dr. **Annamária Gróf**: co-author of the context analysis, engaged also in the planning and reporting of the fieldwork and data analysis, co-author of the case-specific report
- **Livija Horvat**, M.A.: data analysis and background work for the fieldwork report and the case-specific report, co-author of context analysis
- **Judit Gasparics**, M.A.: fieldwork, co-author of context analysis (2010-2011)
- **Žužana Kerčmar Furjan**, M.A.: assistance in report writing and translation, data analysis and other project tasks (2012)

Oulun yliopisto, Oulu, Finland, Department of Finnish

- Professor **Helena Sulkala**: leader of Work Package 1 (Methodological Synergy)
- **Laura Arola**, M.A. (2010, 2012–2013): lead researcher for the case study on Meänkieli, lead author of the case-specific report
- **Marko Marjomaa**, M.A. (2010–2012): lead researcher for the case study on North Sámi, author of the case-specific report
- **Anna-Kaisa Räisänen**, M.A. (2010–2012): lead researcher for the case study on Kven, lead author of the case-specific report
- Dr. **Niina Kunnas** (2010–2011): co-author of the case-specific reports on Kven (context analysis) and Meänkieli, media analysis for Karelian
- **Elina Kangas**, M.A.: Meänkieli fieldwork and interview data analysis, co-author of the case-specific report on Meänkieli
- **Minna Pelkonen**, B.A.: assistance in data analysis (control group data) and the Meänkieli case study
- Fieldwork and technical assistance: **Anu Alanko, Merethe Eidstø Kristiansen, Ellen Oddveig Hætta**, **Riikka Kolehmainen, Sierge Rasmus**, **Verena Schall, Mihail Voronov,** and others.

Stockholms Universitet, Sweden, Institutionen för baltiska språk, finska och tyska (until April 2011)

- Professor **Jarmo Lainio**: leader of Work Package 3 (Data Sampling and Methods)
- **Nadja Nieminen Mänty**, M.A.: Empirical research (desk research and survey) on Finnish in Sweden
- **Barbro Allardt Ljunggren**, M.A.: Assistance in the planning of the survey questionnaire, survey on Finnish in Sweden

Tartu Ülikool, Tartu, Estonia, Department of Estonian and General Linguistics

- Professor **Helle Metslang**: leader of Work Package 6 (Case-Specific Reports), supervision of the case studies on Estonian in Germany and Finland
- Professor **Karl Pajusalu**: leader of Work Package 4 (Fieldwork), supervision of the case studies on Võro and Seto
- Dr. **Kadri Koreinik**: context analyses, case-specific reports and case studies on Võro and Seto, co-author of the Case-Specific Report Manual
- Dr. **Kristiina Praakli**: context analyses, case-specific reports and case studies on Estonian in Germany and Finland
- **Sarah Bast**, M.A. (Mainz): assistance in the context analysis of Estonian in Germany (2010)
- Assistance in fieldwork: **Tiina Hakman** (interviews in Helsinki), **Evelin Laaniste** (interviews in Germany), **Triinu Ojar** (interviews for Võro and Seto) and **Sulev Iva (Jüvä Sullõv)** (translation of materials); **Lilian Freiberg, Kaile Kabun, Ene Laube, Talvi Onno, Maike-Liis Rebane, Nele Reimann-Truija, Õie Sarv** and **Aino Suurmann** (survey in South Estonia)
- Assistance in transcription and data entry: Dr. **Andriela Rääbis**, **Helen Türk, Helena Teemets, Laivi Laanemets** (Estonian), **Nele Reimann-Truija, Helena Kesonen, Liina Tammekänd, Valev Laube, Monika Eichenbaum, Liisa Koreinik** (Võro/Seto).

Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria, Department of Finno-Ugric Studies

- Professor **Johanna Laakso**: Leader of Work Package 8 (Dissemination), co-author of case-specific report *Hungarian in Austria,* co-author of Comparative Report
- **Angelika Parfuss**, M.A.: (2010-2012): coordination and data analysis of empirical research on Hungarian in Austria, co-author of case-specific report
- Dr **Rita Csiszár** (2010-2011): context analysis for the case study on Hungarian in Austria, media analysis in Austria
- **Hajnalka Berényi-Kiss**, M.A.: dissemination; assistance and participation in the empirical case study and data analysis, co-author of case-specific report
- Assistance in transcription, data entry, dissemination, editing publications: **Patrícia Pataky, Hajnalka Veress** (2011), **Michaela Pasterk** (2013)

Attachment 2: ELDIA workshops, conferences, and seminars

ELDIA internal workshops and work seminars

- March 8–9, 2010, Mainz: Kick-off event and context analysis workshop
- August 19–20, 2010, Oulu: Fieldwork workshop
- October 4–6, 2010, Võro: Law analysis workshop
- January 24–26, 2011, Maribor: Content analysis workshop
- September 12, 2011, Helsinki: Meeting on Data Analyses
- March 1-2, 2012, Haparanda: Workshop Case-specific Reports

ELDIA dissemination events, conferences and seminars open for external audience

- September 25, 2012 in Vienna: Dissemination event presenting the results of the case studies Estonians in Germany, Hungarians in Slovenia and Austria
- September 27, 2012 in Mariehamn: ELDIA Conference "Changing Linguistic Landscapes", focusing on the legal component of the project.
- October 25-27, 2012 in Võru: The yearly conference of the Võro Institute with special focus on ELDIA and the presentation of the case studies Võro in Estonia, Seto in Estonia and Russia
- November 12, 2012 in Oulu: Dissemination event presenting the results of the case studies Sámi in Finland and Norway, Meänkieli in Sweden, Kven in Norway
- November 30, 2012 in Helsinki: Dissemination event presenting the results of the case studies Karelian in Finland and Estonian in Finland
- January 23, 2013 in Petrozavodsk: Dissemination event presenting the results of the case studies Karelian and Veps in Russia
- June 10–11, 2013 in Vienna: Closing conference
- June 28, 2013 in Brussels: Dialogue conference