

**Research Centre on Multilingualism**  
*at the KU Brussel*

# **EUROMOSAIC III**

*Presence of Regional and Minority Language Groups  
in the New Member States*

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## PREFACE <sup>i</sup>

*The European Union has been called the “modern Babel”, a statement that bears witness to the multitude of languages and cultures whose number has remarkably increased after the enlargement of the Union in May of 2004. EU citizens are amazed at the linguistic diversity which surrounds them, and they are puzzled by the fact that the law of Babel also governs language use in administration. The documentation of languages and their speech communities in the new Member States as presented in this report is meant to facilitate decision-making in various language-related domains. Hopefully, it will serve purposes that reach beyond the mere practical. In an ideal sense, it may serve to emphasise, in the minds of those who are involved in decision-making, that linguistic diversity is an asset which enriches national societies in Europe. Furthermore, it may promote awareness of the historical ties of the newly acceded speech communities with Western Europe and thus contribute to the renaissance of regional languages and cultures in the Union.*

*In the 1970s, little attention was paid to the situation of regional or minority languages in the EEC Member States, except in the circles of experts in the newly established field of sociolinguistics and among cultural activists. Then, it was widely believed that the dominant languages involved in the European integration movement would eventually erase the boundaries between them and the smaller speech communities, with the effect of widespread assimilation and integration of minorities into the communities of the big languages. This attitude was governed by the false assumption that the language question in the EEC would be solved by trends towards natural linguistic merging.*

*In the 1980s, more and more results of scholarly research in the humanities became available, providing deeper insights into the complexity of language contacts and into the role of language for the construction of regional cultures. Particularly insightful was the finding that, in a worldwide comparison, the significance of the mother tongue as a symbol of cultural identity appears to be stronger among European peoples than among many communities outside Europe. Ever since those times of a growing awareness of the importance of language as an asset of regional cultural heritage, the issues of regional languages have been acknowledged as a relevant agenda, and this has gained in weight in debates about human rights and about a transition from the European integration movement to the establishment of a European Union.*

*In the 1990s, a new horizon opened up for the language issue and its growing importance. While, in earlier years, the discussion among experts and politicians who bear the responsibility for the protection of regional languages centred on measures of language politics and their implementation, the most recent trend shows that the role of language for identity (individual and collective, that is group-oriented) is in focus. Practical considerations of language engineering are now overarched by concerns to guarantee EU citizens a conflict-free identification with their home culture.*

*Euromosaic III touches upon vital interests of individuals and their living conditions. It is not surprising that the documentation provides insights that may highlight the vital need to preserve linguistic diversity, even of very small speech communities and their mother tongues, regardless of how proficient their members may be in other languages. This need to maintain the heritage of linguistic groups articulates itself in an elementary process: finding one’s identity through language.*

*Every individual is involved in the process of identification, and language is a crucial factor for one’s orientation in a cultural environment. The ways in which people find their language-related identity are as manifold as their behavioural patterns. In an environment where several languages are in contact - which is typical of areas where a local language is spoken alongside a language of wider communication - a lesser used language may nevertheless have great importance for the initial stage of cultural*

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<sup>i</sup> This preface on language and identity was written by Harald Haarmann following a specific request made at the Euromosaic III Workshop (26 June 2004).

*identification. Consequently, it is not only important to safeguard regional languages because they form part of the cultural heritage of a given country but also because they are an irreplaceable means for their speakers to identify with their living conditions.*

*It is widely recognised that citizens living in the European Union have benefited greatly from standardisation. Almost everything has been standardised, from the regulations of the market economy to the size of cardboard boxes. The multitude of measures and weights, shapes and sizes has been reduced considerably. However, there is one domain where standardisation is a disturbing factor rather than a factor which facilitates daily life, and this is cultural identification. You can standardise commercial goods, but you cannot standardise people's identity.*

*Language- and culture-related issues have gained ever more attention in the past years, in the political arena as much as in public debate about human rights, of which the right to one's mother tongue is one. The need of the individual's identity to focus on language may always be there, regardless of the status of the mother tongue. The linguistic diversity in the EU countries is characterised by a variety of different statuses and communicative functions for individual languages. For example, Saami in Finland and Sweden is spoken by only a few thousand people, a dwarf language when compared with the titan English with its many millions of speakers who use it as a first, second or additional language in all of Europe. This enormous contrast notwithstanding, EU citizens find their identity in either of these languages, with identity rooted in Saami as an anchor dug into a local culture while English serves as a vehicle of identification on an international and global level.*

*As a rule, bilingual EU citizens who speak regional languages as their mother tongues find in them the basis for their elementary identity. Even if the emphasis is not on practical communication functions, each of the regional languages has its unique value as a reservoir of knowledge about a given local culture and the associated living conditions, as an instrument to identify with the cultural environment and as a symbol of local traditions. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages highlights the importance to protect languages with this status and the pertinent roles they play.*

*The second language which bilingual people speak usually functions as a medium of wider communication. This knowledge of a second language widens the horizon to a Union scale, ranging from the status of a language of a Member State to its use in EU administration. Bilingual EU citizens possess a multiple identity, with the language of elementary identity rooted in a local culture and with a second language supporting identity on a Union level. The self-confidence to be and to act as a citizen of the EU needs strong roots which grow from the regional languages as vehicles of the cultural traditions that are associated with them. Euromosaic III may ultimately contribute to the appreciation of linguistic diversity as a constructive element in the fabric of our "Europeanness".*

Harald Haarmann

# **INTRODUCTION**

## ***Background***

Following the restricted Call for Tender DG EAC/57/03 of the European Commission for the extension of Euromosaic, the **Research Centre on Multilingualism** (RCM) in Brussels has been entrusted with a large-scale research project to describe the situation of regional or minority languages in Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, all countries that joined the European Union on 1 May 2004. The present individual reports are submitted to the Commission (DG EAC) in compliance with the service contract 2003-4102/001-001. The project ran from the end of November 2003 till mid-September 2004, with a total time of 9 months allotted for research and reporting.

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The Euromosaic III project has benefited from a very extensive network of contacts and collaborators, and it is possible that a few names or affiliations are incorrect or missing from the above list. The RCM staff wish to apologise, and would be happy to make the appropriate amendments when notified. All suggestions for updating the reports, as well as for improvements and constructive criticism are welcome and should be sent to:

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# 1 METHODOLOGY

1.1 For the individual reports five main **sources** were used: i) secondary sources, ii) official authorities of the new Member States, iii) language group correspondents, iv) academic experts and other stakeholders, v) language use surveys ([http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/langmin/euromosaic/synthesis\\_en.pdf](http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/langmin/euromosaic/synthesis_en.pdf)). Source i) essentially consisted in desk research, while a series of questionnaires was used to collect information from sources ii), iii), iv) and v). The questionnaires were similar to those used for Euromosaic I and II, but were extensively revised, updated, and in some case shortened. Unlike Euromosaic I and II – which were based on an interdisciplinary approach within the social sciences – the information collected was not quantitatively comparable, except in the language use surveys. The main approach was thus basically descriptive and qualitative, and informed by a general principle of source diversification. The questionnaires for ii), iii) and iv) – developed and sent out mostly in English and German – did not contain the same questions; however, they were subdivided into similar sections to facilitate data analysis. Responses to the questionnaires varied considerably, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Although an effort was made to produce reports that would read consistently, this diversity is naturally reflected in the end results. In some cases the existing material (such as the reports concerning the implementation of the European Charter or the Framework Convention) was very exhaustive and has been used extensively, with appropriate acknowledgements. All reports should be read bearing in mind that there can be a considerable difference between the de jure and the de facto situation of a language, masking a more or less favourable situation, as the case may be.

1.2 Individual reports consist of i) a country profile, ii) single language group reports, and iii) a synthesis of other languages within the country (where relevant). Their **structure** is as follows:

<b>Country profile</b>	
[name of the country]	
1.	Introduction
2.	General aspects
3.	Demographic data
4.	Language policy
5.	The European dimension
<b>Language group reports</b>	
[name of the language]	
1.	General information
1.1	The language
1.2	History, geography and demography
1.3	Legal status and official policies
2.	Presence and use of the language in various fields
2.1	Education
2.2	Judicial authorities
2.3	Public authorities and services
2.4	Mass media and information technology
2.5	Arts and culture
2.6	The business world
2.7	Family and the social use of the language
2.8	The European dimension
3.	Conclusion
[Other languages]	
[Bibliography]	

It is the same for all countries, except Cyprus and Malta where the country profiles are an integral part of the general linguistic description. The country profile has been designed to provide a context where regional and minority languages can be better placed and understood. Accordingly, the information in the introduction, in the general aspects and in the demographic data is not extraneous, but is meant to be as relevant as possible to the general linguistic situation of the country, and to the language policy paragraph. The European dimension summarises cross-border and transnational cooperation measures taken at the national level. The individual language group reports present the same domains as in Euromosaic I and II, and summarise conclusions on the basis of the research results. Other languages are described insofar as information was available, and the paragraphs roughly follow the same pattern of the language group reports. Internet addresses appear either in the text or in the bibliography at the end of each country: in the latter case the corresponding hyperlinks appear in the text. Efforts have been made to provide autoglotonyms (i.e., the word speakers use to refer to their language) and original titles for legislative measures and organisations/associations, as well as for the legal status of the languages.

- 1.3 Unlike in the previous Euromosaic I and II, the Call for Tender specified that the **language list** should be established on the basis of the definition provided by the Council of Europe in Article 1 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages:

For the *purposes* of this Charter [italics ours]:

- a) “regional or minority languages” means languages that are:
- (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
  - (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State;
- it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;
- b) “territory in which the regional or minority language is used” means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of the various protective and promotional measures provided for in this Charter;
- c) “non-territorial languages” means languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.

Such a definition raises a series of difficult questions. First of all, the Charter itself provides no list of languages, explaining that this would be highly “disputed on linguistic and other grounds”.<sup>2</sup> This correctly reflects the impossibility of giving any *scientific* definition of a regional or minority language. Qualification is still possible, but occurs only within specific *purposes*. The Charter leaves to the signatory states the responsibility of identifying languages which fall within its scope,<sup>3</sup> and these are normally specified in the instrument of ratification.<sup>4</sup> But the

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<sup>2</sup> Explanatory Report, §21.

<sup>3</sup> Explanatory Report, §40.

Charter was in force only in Cyprus, Hungary and Slovakia, among the new Member States: where it is not in force, which languages can be considered as regional or minority languages for the Charter's purposes? For example, how long does it take for a language to be "traditionally used"? There are cases of languages that are "traditional" but have been discontinued within a given territory, because of displacements or border changes. Are there criteria to identify a "territory" where the number of language speakers justifies "the adoption of [...] protective and promotional measures"? In the new Member States linguistic minorities are often dispersed and — among languages that are currently covered by the Charter — membership varies to a significant extent.<sup>5</sup> Would the exclusion of "languages of migrants" or of non-nationals affect Russian speakers in the Baltic states<sup>6</sup> or Roma communities, and how are recent immigrants to be distinguished from old ones? Such issues are particularly relevant in the new Member States, which have undergone radical changes over the last decades. The authors of the Charter were themselves quite aware of the diversity of language situations across Europe, and carefully avoided defining categories of languages.<sup>7</sup> Euromosaic III research results fully endorsed this position; accordingly, languages have not been classified. At the same time, however, the objective of the Call for Tender was to describe the *presence* of regional and minority language *groups*. This implied a different and possibly broader scope of investigation. Almost all of the new Member States have ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Although the Convention does not give a definition of minority — and only few of the signatory states list or define what they consider as minorities within the Convention's scope — many of the state and experts' reports submitted within the monitoring process were available and could be used extensively as information sources, in conjunction with all other Euromosaic III sources (⇒ 1.1), state authorities included. Finally, the Charter is a dynamic and flexible instrument. The investigation was as comprehensive as possible to take into account the Charter's development and purpose, which is essentially cultural. Yet a minimum of information had to be available for language groups to be taken into consideration. The "language list" thus remained provisional until the very end, and was inductively established *ex post* on the basis of research results. The Euromosaic III approach is informative and descriptive, and hopefully awareness raising, but certainly not prescriptive. Inclusion or exclusion of a language for the Charter's purposes can only be determined by those agents who are directly and legitimately involved in the process.

- 1.4 Despite the fact that the RCM staff is proficient in eight languages, and that the extended team is competent in all official languages of the (old and new) EU Members States, a choice regarding the **working languages** of the project had to be made. These were not pre-determined but have been made dependent on practical considerations. In the first place, it was a requirement of the European Commission that the final reports be submitted in English, French and German. In providing information on the different language groups, it was decided to allow correspondents to write in the working language of his/her choice, so as to ensure the highest quality of the work. Most correspondents chose English, some German; reports were then drafted accordingly. The language use surveys demanded a more diversified linguistic competence. All reports were then revised by the

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<sup>4</sup> Declarations are available from

<http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/Commun/ListeDeclarations.asp?NT=148&CM=1&DF=&CL=ENG&VL=1>

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Croatian and Hungarian minorities in Slovakia amount to 890 and 520,528 people, respectively, equivalent to 0.01% and 9.67% of the total population (2001 census).

<sup>6</sup> Where they amount to more than 1.2 million people (Euromosaic III estimates).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Explanatory Report, §20 (ibid.). For the ongoing debate on the interpretation of the Charter see Thornberry, P. and Martin Estébanez, M.A., *Minority Rights in Europe*, Council of Europe Publishing (2004), to which parts of this chapter are indebted.

core/extended team and professionally **translated** into all languages required. To minimise the occurrence of mismatches between language versions, care was taken to translate versions that were as final as possible, and collation took place at the end.

## 2 REGIONAL OR MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE NEW MEMBER STATES

### 2.1 Linguistic overview

2.1.1 Regional or minority languages in the new Member States belong to four different **language families**, i) Indo-European, ii) Uralic, iii) Turkic and iv) Semitic. The vast majority (three quarters) are Indo-European. Here, with the exception of Sorbian – whose eastern and southern limits are not far from the borders with Poland and the Czech Republic respectively – virtually all current Slavonic languages (Belorussian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Macedonian, Serbian, Slovenian, Slovak, Polish, Kashubian, Russian and Ukrainian) are represented. Kashubian is the surviving variety of a language whose western dialect, Slovincian, became extinct in the 20th century. Ruthenian, sometimes considered to be a dialect of Ukrainian, but independently recognised by Slovakia under the Charter, adds to the Slavonic group. The extant Croatian-speaking community of Moravia stands out as a link providing linguistic continuity between west and south Slavonic languages. Among the other Indo-European languages are Lithuanian and Latvian (they are Baltic languages), then Armenian, Romani and Greek. The Germanic group includes only German and Yiddish, while the presence of the Romance languages is limited to Italian and Romanian. Romani, of the Indo-Iranian branch, is a collective name for a number of Romani and para-Romani dialects that resulted from different strata. The denomination “Roma” is particularly appropriate in the central and eastern European context, where the relevance of non-Roma Gypsy groups is less marked than in the EU15 Member States.<sup>8</sup> The Uralic languages are represented by Estonian, Finnish (including Ingrian Finnish), Hungarian and Livonian, which is nearly extinct. The Turkic family has Karaim, Tatar and Turkish.<sup>9</sup> The only minority language of the Semitic family is Cypriot Arabic, Maltese being an official and national language of Malta. Thus, the range of language families and branches in the new Member States is as diversified as in the EU12 Member States, although different in kind.

2.1.2 In the EU12 Member States, more than three quarters of the minorities spoke a language which belongs to a language family or branch which is different from that of the “majority” language in the respective country; in the new Member States the proportion is slightly lower (i.e., two thirds). This comparatively higher occurrence of **linguistic proximity** may indicate that mutual intelligibility between minority and majority languages is more frequent, but this is “high” or “average” only in 25% of the linguistic pairs. One of the reasons is that two of the genealogically “apart” languages – German and Romani – are present in all Central and Eastern European countries, drastically reducing the number of favourable combinations; another is the presence of a Uralic “island” (Hungarian) in Central Europe. The degree of linguistic affinity is relevant, for it may facilitate the process of assimilation – not only of the minority language group into the majority population, but also between minorities ( $\Rightarrow$  2.2.4). Conversely, linguistic distance may help resist assimilation – but also make social integration with the

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers* (Council of Europe, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Which is formally a co-official language in Cyprus.

majority population more difficult.<sup>10</sup> It should be stressed, however, that the importance of linguistic proximity is relative, for lack of mutual intelligibility depends on social factors as well – and has a varying impact.<sup>11</sup>

- 2.1.3 As far as **writing systems** are concerned, the Roman alphabet is the most widespread and is used for more than half of the languages, including Maltese – the only case of a Semitic language written in the Roman alphabet. The Cyrillic alphabet, being the most current script among Orthodox Slavs, typifies all eastern Slavonic languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian) and two of the southern Slavonic languages (Serbian and Bulgarian), but is also used for Tatar. Slavonic languages spoken by groups with a Catholic tradition (Croatian, Czech, Polish, Slovak and Slovenian ) use the Roman script. Greek, Arabic and Armenian have their own writing systems, while Karaim is written with Hebrew characters. Romani and Livonian lack a written standard and have been rendered with various systems. In historical terms, the variety of alphabets reflects not only religious affiliation but also political and/or socio-cultural developments of corpus planning.<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2 Statistics and language use

- 2.2.1 While the Euromosaic I study (EU12 Member States) listed 48 linguistic communities, in the new Member States there are approx. **90 minority groups** that can be distinguished on a linguistic basis. There are other considerable differences. In at least half of the new Member States<sup>13</sup> minorities account for more than 10% of the total population,<sup>14</sup> with a very wide spectrum: Malta declared to have no minorities,<sup>15</sup> while in Latvia, Latvian speakers officially amount to only 59.7% of the population.<sup>16</sup> In the EU12 Member States, minorities exceeded the proportion of 10% only in Spain.<sup>17</sup> However, it should be considered that the new Member States have also much smaller populations. They average slightly more than 7.4 million inhabitants, as against the almost 26 million of the EU15 Member States.<sup>18</sup> The largest regional or minority language group are the Russian speakers in all Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), with more than 1,2 million members according to latest censuses. Half of them are in Latvia where ethnic minorities count for almost 50% of the total population. Indeed, in all three Baltic states regional or minority language groups exceed 15% of the total state population. Next in terms of language membership are Romani and Hungarian. In a context where Central and Eastern European countries host 70% of all the Gypsy communities of Europe,<sup>19</sup> the proportion of Romani speakers in the new Member States is likely to average 60% of the Roma population as against 37% at the European level. However, the lack of reliable statistics for Romani makes it very hard to suggest numbers. This is clear when looking at the gap between official data and other estimates: in the new Member States, censuses (where available) indicate approximately 300,000 Roma and 200,000 people having Romani as a mother tongue, while estimates suggest that Roma communities count up to 1.5

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<sup>10</sup> As is the case for Russian-speaking groups in the Baltics.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., in the Baltic states the distance between Russian (a Slavonic language) and Latvian/Lithuanian (Baltic languages) or Estonian (a Finno-Ugric language) affect a very large numbers of people.

<sup>12</sup> Such as the adoption of the Roman script for Turkish in Turkey and Maltese in Malta.

<sup>13</sup> Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

<sup>14</sup> According to official data (latest censuses).

<sup>15</sup> Under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

<sup>16</sup> Census 2004.

<sup>17</sup> In 2001 Catalans alone accounted for 10.3% of the total population (in Catalonia).

<sup>18</sup> Data from C. Pan and B. S. Pfeil, *National Minorities in Europe – Handbook* (Ethnos n. 63), Braumüller 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*, ibid.

million members, and more than half a million people using Romani dialects. Hungarian is declared as a mother tongue by more than half a million people in Slovakia alone. The German language has at least 280,000 speakers in the 10 new Member states : most of them are in Poland, the country which probably has the largest number of minority language speakers.

2.2.2 It is by no means easy to determine the **number of speakers** when there are no data available from specific surveys. The official figures refer to mother tongue speakers or comparable categories in censuses. It is well known, however, that statements on “mother tongue” never reflect the number of people that actually *use* the language. One of the reasons is that the declaration refers to a moment in time that has passed, so that a language which is reported as the mother tongue of a few hundred speakers in the census may have been assimilated or even become extinct in a decade. More commonly, the mother tongue does not always coincide with the language first learnt and used for social interaction. In Hungary, the ratio between people using Slovak or German and those declaring those languages as their mother tongue exceeds 150%.<sup>20</sup> This shows that a census should be interpreted only within a national context, as a declaration of language loyalty (and/or ethnic identity); while for an internationally comparative study, or an estimation of the number of speakers, the census figures must take into account the prevailing political and ideological conditions within that country. Another problem is that the difference between official statistics and (unofficial) estimates can be very high, as was clear in the case of Romani. Yet another difficulty lies in the fact that the language declared may actually be considered as a *dialect* of the language concerned, or another language altogether, depending on the attitude of the respondent in the census. Ruthenian is a case in point: some consider it not as a separate language but as a dialect of Ukrainian, and may report accordingly; Macedonian could be Bulgarian, a Greek dialect or (Slavo-) Macedonian.<sup>21</sup> Finally, many people are often bilingual or trilingual, and the language they declare in one census is not always the same they report in the next.<sup>22</sup>

2.2.3 If there are comparable data across census periods (normally ten years), a decline or an increase in the number of people declaring a language to be their mother tongue may be telling, but such data cannot be considered in isolation. A negative language trend paralleled by a fall in the “corresponding” **ethnic identity** and the increased use of the “majority” language or identification with the ethnic majority, for example, may indicate language shift and assimilation; a declining ethnic membership and a high average age of the language speakers almost invariably points to language shift, for reproduction is no longer ensured. An increase of mother tongue speakers can be a positive sign, but again this is relative. It is possible, for example, that higher figures are determined by immigration from kin states. And the newcomers do not necessarily share the same minority language, nor the same cultural assumptions. Declarations of ethnicity or nationality can provide another context, but such figures are even more relative. In the first place, ethnic allegiance can vary considerably in periods of social and political change. In the Czech Republic, the number of those declaring Moravian and Silesian identities dropped by more than 70% in just ten years.<sup>23</sup> Shifting and multiple identities are common in Central and Eastern European Member States, where six states have been newly created or recreated since 1991-92<sup>24</sup>. Sometimes, however, the comparison (ratio) between declared language and declared ethnicity mirrors a

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<sup>20</sup> 2001 Census.

<sup>21</sup> Depending on the geographical area and/or the respondents' attitude.

<sup>22</sup> This is true of identity declarations as well, and often depends on the social or political circumstances affecting the minority group in question.

<sup>23</sup> Between 1991 and 2001.

<sup>24</sup> The Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia, as pointed out by C. Pan and B. S. Pfeil, *ibid*.

specific situation. Such values are extremely relative, especially when there is a considerable difference between official and estimated data, but may – in context – reflect the importance given to the language as an identity marker. For example, people declaring Belorussian, Russian and Ukrainian ethnicities have all decreased by more than 25% in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania with respect to previous censuses. But the number of those declaring Russian as a mother tongue has not decreased correspondingly, and is even higher (at least in Estonia and Latvia) than those stating Russian nationality – in contrast to Belorussian and Ukrainian, which have a very low language/ethnicity ratio in all three Baltic countries. This is because on the one hand Russian displays a strong intergenerational transmission; on the other, it has partly assimilated the other two languages.<sup>25</sup>

2.2.4 Although extremely difficult to determine without reliable data, a few considerations on **language use** in the new Member States can be made on the basis of the individual country and language reports, as well as the language use surveys and case studies. In the first place, although competence in the minority language is high in some cases, linguistic (and ethnic) assimilation seems to be rather common in all the Central and Eastern EU countries. This is suggested by the trends concerning mother tongue and ethnicity, with a decline in 50% or more of the cases in both census categories. Language group endogamy (i.e., marriage within the language community) also appears to be low in many cases.<sup>26</sup> Here, linguistic proximity (⇒ 2.1.2) between the regional or minority language and the state official language plays a role.<sup>27</sup> In many cases the attitude towards the language – and the importance attached to the language as an identity marker – appears to be very strong. It is certainly so in the languages surveyed, pointing towards a very high relevance of the cultural dimension. The use of regional or minority languages in education varies considerably, and depends on a number of factors, such as the legal status of the language, the existence of a linguistic standard, the availability of teaching material, or the territorial distribution of the language group (⇒ 2.3.2).

## 2.3 Historical and geographical aspects

2.3.1 There are not many autochthonous linguistic minorities in the new Member States, unlike in the the EU15 Member States. Most of the present regional or minority language groups are due to population movements and border changes, and can rarely be pinned down to a single moment **in time**.<sup>28</sup> There are some exceptions, such as the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, which in the 16th century led to the establishment of Croatian-speaking groups in Hungary, Slovakia, Moravia. But unlike in Western Europe, regional and minority language groups derive from highly fragmented and decentralised political spaces (e.g., the Austro-Hungarian Empire or the Soviet Union). This also resulted in a freedom of movement that facilitated settlements within borders, with the consequence that most regional and minority languages spoken in the new Member States are also state and/or official languages in bordering countries.<sup>29</sup> German has a particular history. It

<sup>25</sup> Which are also Eastern Slavonic languages and therefore have a high degree of mutual intelligibility.

<sup>26</sup> Language group endogamy does not guarantee in itself a high level of language reproduction, but represents a condition whereby the family can serve as the main agency of reproduction.

<sup>27</sup> An good example in the EU is Frisian, where language group endogamy is fairly high. In the 1970s, around 40,000 immigrants entered the Frisian-speaking area. When both parents speak the language almost all of the families use Frisian for interaction, and most of them do so also when one parent speaks Frisian and the other Dutch. The key factor in this respect is the ease of learning Frisian for Dutch speakers, given the similarity between the two languages.

<sup>28</sup> See also the European Parliament's *Working Paper on Lesser-Used Languages in states applying for EU membership (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia)*, EDUC 106 EN Rev.1, 2001.

<sup>29</sup> Belorussian, Croatian, Czech, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian and Ukrainian.

spread chiefly in the middle ages, through various migrations and settlements, and became extremely widespread in Central Europe (especially in the Czech Lands, Hungary and Poland). After the II World War most Germans were displaced or deported, and other minorities were often resettled in their place. Most Greeks arrived in the Czech Republic and Hungary because of the civil war (1947-1949). Many Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians are post-war migrants, especially in the Baltics, but there are also settlements of Old Believers (17th century) and refugees from the Russian revolution (1920s). Because of these population movements, old and new linguistic minorities are often undistinguishable in censuses.<sup>30</sup>

- 2.3.2 As to the **territorial distribution** of language groups, a first consideration to be made is that the average dispersal rate of regional and minority language groups in the new Member States is high. Compact language groups are found, but more at the local rather than the regional level; and there are few areas where minority language groups constitute the majority.<sup>31</sup> In comparison, the language minorities considered under Euromosaic I were very often compact and mainly distributed at the regional level: Catalan and Basque in Spain, Friulian and Sardinian in Italy, Frisian in the Netherlands, Welsh in the UK to name but a few. This situation directly impacts on minority languages, for dispersal can be an obstacle to the implementation of specific policies.<sup>32</sup> However, it should be stressed that minority language groups in the new Member States do not fall within a single nor coherent pattern. The geographical dispersal can be paralleled by a simultaneous concentration of speakers of the same language in other areas, either urban and/or rural, bordering or inland. Historical population movements are the main cause of this phenomenon, and the “border area” linguistic minority features prominently in almost all of the new Member States. In some cases groups were previously concentrated. Such is the situation of the German-speaking communities who were evacuated after World War II or of the Ukrainians in Poland, but also of smaller groups like the Maronites in Cyprus. In the EU12 Member States there were fewer linguistic minorities in border areas, consistent with the presence of several languages having no kin states ( $\Rightarrow$  2.4). Another distinct feature in the new Member States is the traditional establishment of large minority language groups in capital cities like Budapest and Prague, a legacy of the rich urban multilingual environments during the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>33</sup> The urban pattern is also common in the Baltics, especially for the Russian-speaking groups, but is mainly due to the immigration waves in industrial areas during the Soviet period. All the elements above suggest that the core-periphery distribution which was identified under Euromosaic I cannot be taken for granted in the new Member States.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.4 Statehood and beyond

- 2.4.1 The notion of **kin state** — i.e., a country where the regional or minority language is a state<sup>35</sup> official language, and therefore potentially able to serve as a support in various forms — is particularly relevant to regional or minority languages in the new Member States. Three quarters of them have kin states; these are almost all

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<sup>30</sup> For a debate on the issue, see Tom Cheesman, ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Lesser-Used Languages of Europe: Common Cause?, in Camille C.O’ Reilly, ed., *Language, Ethnicity and the State* Vol. 1 (Palgrave, 2001:87).

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Russian speakers in parts of Estonia or Latvia.

<sup>32</sup> For example, the establishment of minority schools in a specific area, due to an insufficient number of students.

<sup>33</sup> This is of course true also for Austrian minorities living in Vienna.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Euromosaic – the production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union*, European Commission, *ibid.*, p. 7 ff.

<sup>35</sup> E.g., teaching material, broadcasting, etc.

the new Member States (The Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) beside others in the rest of the EU (Austria, Finland, Germany, Italy and Sweden) and several non-EU countries (Belarus, Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia). Most of the kin states are also neighbouring countries. This reflects the considerable amount of border changes and population movements (resettlements, migrations) which have typified Eastern and Central European countries. There are only eight “stateless” or “unique” languages: Cypriot Arabic, Karaim, Kashubian, Romani, Ruthenian, Tatar and Yiddish, half as many as in Euromosaic I, whose list included Basque, Breton, Catalan,<sup>36</sup> Cornish, Corsican, Frisian, Gaelic, Friulian, Galician, Ladin, Mirandese, Occitan, Saami, Sardinian, Sorbian and Welsh. More importantly, the estimated membership of stateless languages in the new Member States is very low (if we exclude Romani, given the difficulty of showing reliable figures), while in the EU12 Member States is of almost 15 million, corresponding to more than 75% of the total number of regional or minority language speakers. In the EU, English is the only language with a kin state that has no minorities that one could consider as such in terms of the Charter or the Convention; it is also the only language which enjoys co-official status in countries officially having no minorities.<sup>37</sup>

- 2.4.2 It has rightly been pointed out that the notion of “kin state” is *relative*, for any support depends on a series of factors such as identity<sup>38</sup>, the “standardness” of the language spoken by the minority,<sup>39</sup> and the political relations between countries. “If their respective political agendas are mutually incompatible, a conflictual relationship between external minority and kin state is just as likely”.<sup>40</sup> Although nations and kinships are “constructs”,<sup>41</sup> they can be very powerful ones — especially in the new Member States, where “the modernist model of the state [...] still dominates” and ethnicity plays an important role.<sup>42</sup> Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia have all endorsed bilateral agreements with countries where linguistic minorities are established. Against this background, the 1991 Treaty on Good Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation between Germany and Poland served as a model for other treaties that Germany signed with other states in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>43</sup> Another relevant factor within interstate relations is whether the kin state is part of the European Union or not. In this light, Slovenian- and Hungarian-speaking communities in Italy and Austria are likely to benefit from the fact that their languages have become official languages of the EU institutions, just as many of the other regional and minority languages in the new Member States. The same cannot be said for Belorussian, Russian and Ukrainian among others. In light of the different situation in Western Europe and in Central and Eastern European countries, the notion of “stateless” language in the enlarged Union should be further refined. For example, the position of most of the stateless language groups in Western Europe is radically

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<sup>36</sup> Although this is a state official language [*llengua oficial de l'Estat*] in Andorra.

<sup>37</sup> Ireland and Malta.

<sup>38</sup> The SMiLE report (ibid., p. 177) points to the examples of the Swedish-speaking Finns (who do not consider themselves Swedish) or the French-speaking Swiss (who do not consider themselves French).

<sup>39</sup> Regional or minority languages can be considerably removed from the modern standards used in the kin state (e.g. the Croatian spoken in Moravia), or conceal multiple standards. E.g., beside standard German or Dutch in France there are two local “stateless” varieties — Alsatian and West Flemish, respectively — which are also considered to be regional languages [*langues régionales*].

<sup>40</sup> Stefan Wolff, From Irredentism to Constructive Reconciliation? Germany and its Minorities in Poland and the Czech Republic. In Camille C.O’ Reilly, ed., *Language, Ethnicity and the State*, Vol. 2 (Palgrave, 2001:87).

<sup>41</sup> SMiLE report, ibid., p. 177.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Camille C.O’ Reilly, Introduction: Minority Languages, Ethnicity and the State in Post-1989 Eastern Europe. In *Language, Ethnicity and the State*, Vol. 2, ibid., p. 11.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Stefan Wolff, From Irredentism to Constructive Reconciliation? Germany and its Minorities in Poland and the Czech Republic. Ibid., p. 11.

different in an important respect: most of them are regionally compact ( $\Rightarrow$  2.3.2) and enjoy varying degrees of devolution.

2.4.3 As mentioned before, the fact that Eastern and Central European countries have undergone radical **political changes** over the last two decades naturally impacts upon the situation of regional and minority languages. The Soviet period deeply affected the social and economic pattern of many of the new Member States, especially in the Baltics.<sup>44</sup> In the educational system, Russian was the first foreign language taught throughout Eastern Europe until the 1990s.<sup>45</sup> This restructuring of the political space stands in sharp contrast with the more traditionally established nation-states in Western EU countries, which also exhibit a higher degree of political devolution at the regional or local government level – directly relevant to language groups.<sup>46</sup> Nation-building and/or ethnic issues are still very much on the agenda in the new Member States. In the Baltics, this mirrors the desire to recover historical elements of nation- and statehood.<sup>47</sup> In almost all of the new Member States the national/state languages have been made official constitutionally or by statute,<sup>48</sup> mostly in the 1990s.<sup>49</sup> In Estonia and Latvia all languages that are different from the state language are officially defined as “foreign languages”. With the exception of Hungary and Slovenia, self-government for minorities appears to be more limited than in Western European countries, where several minority languages enjoy co-official status at the local, regional or even state level.<sup>50</sup> Where devolution allows, the sub-state structure itself can determine official status at various levels.<sup>51</sup> Another difference from the new Member States is that there are minority languages which are considered as (co-)national languages:<sup>52</sup> these languages, which are defined as “less widely used official languages” in terms of the Charter,<sup>53</sup> enjoy almost the same status as other “lesser used languages”, such as Irish and Luxembourgish, which are the only national languages in their eponymous countries.<sup>54</sup> But it has been noted that in Central and Eastern Europe minority nations are more easily recognised as legitimate groups and granted (collective) rights:<sup>55</sup> the notions of “national minority”, “ethnic minority” and “national community” are found very frequently in legislation, and may be distinct from the concept of citizenship – a connotation which is normally implied in the English term *nationality*.<sup>56</sup> However, the de facto situation can be very different from the de jure protection, and could turn out to be more or less favourable, as the case may be. Besides, the relationship between majority and minority should be considered in the light of (co-)dominance or non-dominance.

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<sup>44</sup> Which were incorporated as Soviet Republics in 1940.

<sup>45</sup> Except in Slovenia, where Russian remained an optional subject until the mid-1960s and was then replaced by English and German.

<sup>46</sup> Such is the case, e.g., for the *Comunidades Autónomas* in Spain, the *Regione* or *Provincia autonoma* in Italy, the *Communauté française* and the *Vlaamse Gemeenschap* in Belgium and the Swedish *Kommuner*; not to mention Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the UK.

<sup>47</sup> The Baltics became independent states after WWI and remained so until 1940.

<sup>48</sup> Except in the Czech Republic and Hungary.

<sup>49</sup> Not in Cyprus: the constitutional provision for Greek and Turkish dates back to 1960.

<sup>50</sup> Swedish in Finland.

<sup>51</sup> This is the case for Aranese in the Catalan *Comarca de la Val d’Aran*, or of German in the *Provincia autonoma di Bolzano/Bozen* within the *Regione autonoma Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol*.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., Swedish in Finland (*kansalliskieli/nationalspråk*) or Italian and Romansh in Switzerland (*lingua nazionale/lingua naziunala*).

<sup>53</sup> Cf the relevant declarations in the instrument of ratification, available from

<http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/Commun/ListeDeclarations.asp?NT=148&CM=1&DF=&CL=ENG&VL=1>

<sup>54</sup> A comparable position in the new Member States is that of Maltese.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Introduction in Thornberry, P. and Amor Martin, M., *Minority Rights in Europea*, Council of Europe Publishing (2004:19).

<sup>56</sup> C. Pan and B. S. Pfeil, *ibid.*, p. XVIII.

2.4.4 In the enlarged EU, the link between regional or minority language groups and technologies and the **new media** appears to be significant. The new Member States are lagging behind in the field of new technologies but there is a potential to develop supranational links and transnational networks.<sup>57</sup> However, the emergence of the new media does not necessarily represent a positive development, since they require access to resources. For some language groups the gap between smaller languages and the dominant language(s) may become even wider. Thus, on the one hand an increasing number of communities are being created through the Internet; on the other, the new opportunities do not necessarily eliminate the contrast between centre and periphery, majority and minority, nor the social barriers between population groups.<sup>58</sup> This may be attributed to the fact that the representation of social groups on the Internet is largely determined by the actual social balance of power. As the ATLANTIS project shows,<sup>59</sup> the representation in the virtual world also depends on whether regional or minority languages are official languages in other countries ( $\Rightarrow$  2.4.1). The information on the new media collected through Euromosaic III – which is comparable to the results of the ATLANTIS project – suggest that the less a language is used, the less its representation in the new media will be. There is a risk deriving from the Increasing-Knowledge-Gap hypothesis,<sup>60</sup> whereby the knowledge gap between the various classes of population mostly increases as a result of the introduction of new media. This “digital divide” may deepen as borders are being projected into virtual space; a crucial issue here is the software compatibility of a language. For the new Member States, the integration of regional minority languages into the “digital democracy” primarily depends on the financial resources and the potential recipients.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. Nelde, P. and Weber, P. (2002): “The non-linearity of language maintenance and language shift: survey data from European language boundaries”. In: Wei, Li/Dewaele, Jean-Marc/Housen, Alec (eds.): *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism*. Berlin / New York (Mouton de Gruyter), 105-124.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. OECD: *The Economic and Social Impact of Electronic Commerce* (Paris 1999).

<sup>59</sup> On <http://www.uoc.edu/in3/atlantiss/>.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Bonfadelli, H. (1994): *Die Wissenskluff-Perspektive. Massenmedien und gesellschaftliche Information*. Konstanz.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Williams, G. (2000): *The digital value chain and economic transformation. Rethinking regional Development in the New Economy*. Contemporary Wales Vol. 13.

## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Cyprus (CY), the third largest island in the Mediterranean (after Sicily and Sardinia) with its 9,251 sq. km, has Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt and Greece (Rhodes) as neighbours in order of decreasing proximity. In 1974 Cyprus was invaded by Turkish forces who occupied the northern part (approx. 36%) of the island. The latest attempts to reunite the Greek part in the south and the Turkish part in the north — and give the island a federal structure — have failed, and the island is still divided into two ethnically distinct areas by a “Green Line” (see map below). The Republic of Cyprus [*Kypriaki Dimokratia/Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti*] controls the southern part.



- 1.2 The Republic of Cyprus was set up in 1960 with a presidential form of government and a bi-communal system to represent the interests of the Greek and the Turkish communities. On the basis of the Constitution of 1960 — which is still in force — the House of Representatives exercises the Legislative power, but since the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from the Republic’s institutions (1963) it has functioned only with Greek Cypriot members. Cyprus’ main economic activities are banking, tourism, craft exports and merchant shipping. Major towns in the island are Nicosia (the Capital), Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos; and on the Turkish side, Kyrenia and Famagusta. In 2001 the degree of urbanization in the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus was 68.9% (485,082 out of the total 703,529 inhabitants). In 2002 the Republic of Cyprus had a GDP per capita of € 18,500 (equivalent to 80% of the EU average), and a low unemployment rate (3.4%). The EU is Cyprus's largest trading partner (54% and 52% respectively of Cyprus’s exports and imports in the year 2002). The services sector is the most important one, employing 65% of the population.

In the northern part of Cyprus (occupied area) the economic situation is considerably weaker (in 2002 the GDP was estimated around € 4,500 per capita): there is no independent monetary policy, and trade is heavily dependent on the Turkish market. Cyprus is a member of the Commonwealth and Great Britain has retained two military bases.

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 In the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Cyprus was settled by the Greeks. It became a Roman province in 58 B.C. and part of the Eastern Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The Byzantine period marked the introduction of the Christian Orthodox Church, which became the established church in an autocephalous form. Groups of Armenians and Maronites first settled in Cyprus in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively. From the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards Cyprus was ruled by the Franks and later by the Venetians, with ensuing antagonism between the Orthodox and the Latin (Roman Catholic) churches. In 1570-71 the island was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, who ruled Cyprus for three centuries. Turkish settlements in Cyprus were distributed across the island, to ensure control over the whole territory. A consequence of this policy was that the Turkish lived side by side with the Greeks, although as separate religious communities – according to the confessional group [*Millet*] division that was typical under the Ottoman Empire. Such a pattern allowed contact between the communities. Because of the religious difference there was no integration, though no conflict either [Kizilyürek, N. and Gautier- Kizilyürek, 2004]. A census conducted in 1832 recorded 198 Christian villages, 92 Muslim ones and 172 mixed. A result of this interaction was that a proportion of Turkish Cypriots (5.4% of them according to 1881 statistics) became bilingual in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. The independence of Greece (1830) and its unification with Crete (1913) were events that fuelled Greek nationalism in the island. In 1878 Cyprus was ceded to Britain and formally annexed to the British Empire in 1914. With the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Turkey relinquished its rights on Cyprus and recognised its annexation to Britain; the island became a British Crown colony in 1925. The movement of Greek Cypriots that advocated union [*enosis*] with Greece gained momentum in 1950, when an unofficial referendum for self-determination showed that 96% of the Greek population favoured *enosis*. Among Turkish Cypriots a counter movement advocating division [*taksim*] of the island emerged, and Turkish nationalism gave rise to a separatist ideology. The Greek opposition to the British grew into an anticolonial struggle, impelling Britain to grant independence (1959).
- 2.2 The 1960 Constitution, which is still in force, provided for a presidential system of government with a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President, 10 Ministers (7 Greek and 3 Turkish) and a unicameral House of Representatives (with 35 members elected by the Greek Community and 15 elected by the Turkish Community). It is a particularly complex Constitution, not nationally endorsed but the product of the Zurich/London international agreements (1959) between Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. In 1963 constitutional amendments were proposed, but aroused the opposition of the Turkish community who withdrew from all legislative, executive and administrative posts. Subsequent constitutional developments aggravated the situation, prompting the UN to send a peace-keeping force. Before 1974, the distribution of the two communities had precise historical origins, for the Ottoman Turks had originally settled on the properties of the expelled Christians and across the whole island. But after 1963 the Turkish Cypriots formed social, political and territorial enclaves that disrupted the population pattern of the island. According to UN estimates approx. 20,000 Turkish Cypriots moved to special quarters within towns and to ethnically pure villages. In 1974 a pro-Greek *coup d'état* occurred. Turkish troops occupied the northern part the island and of Cyprus (as well as the capital Nicosia) was divided into two areas, virtually homogeneous from the linguistic point of view. Most constitutional provisions regarding the Turkish Community in the Republic of

Cyprus have been suspended since then, and the ban on crossing the Green Line either side was lifted only in 2003. In May 2004 the Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union, but the application of the *acquis communautaire* is suspended in the areas where the Government of the Republic does not exercise control (⇒ 6).

- 2.3 The Constitution makes no reference to “minorities” or “national minorities” but to “Communities” [*koinotites/cemaat*] (Greek and Turkish) and to “religious groups” [*thriskeftikes omades/dini grup*] (Armenians, Maronites and Latins). By virtue of Art.2 all citizens must choose adherence to either the Greek or the Turkish Community. The Latins are normally Greek-speaking Roman Catholics of (mainly) European descent; together with Armenians and Maronites, they have chosen to belong to the Greek Community. While communities are defined on the basis of such criteria as ethnic origin, language, cultural tradition and religion, the denomination of “religious group” appears limited insofar as it points to religious adherence alone. Many Maronites, for example, consider themselves as a distinct ethnic group with a distinct language; and a number of Latins do not feel that the name sufficiently reflects their Catholic religious affiliation. The power-sharing between the two Communities has virtually been suspended, including the allocation of public offices. The government of the Republic of Cyprus considers the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) to apply to the Armenian, Latin and Maronite religious groups, as well as to the Turkish community — without prejudice to its constitutional position. However, the obligation to choose adherence to one of the two Communities was deemed to be in conflict with Art. 3 of the FCPNM, and in 2002 the Cypriot government was invited to address the issue. The religious groups have the right to elect their own representatives to the House of Representatives. However, they do not have any legislative powers and only an advisory role.

### **3. Demographic data**

- 3.1 The only census covering the whole population in the Republic of Cyprus dates back to 1960. It counted 573,566 inhabitants, of which 442,138 were Greek Cypriots (77.1%), 104,320 Turkish Cypriots (18.2%) and 27,108 others (4.7%), mainly Armenians, Maronites, Latins and British. Such ratios are not far from those of the census undertaken by the British administration in 1881, which showed a proportion of 75% Christians (including Armenians, Maronites and Roman Catholics) as against 25% Turks. After the partition in 1974 it has been practically impossible to obtain reliable data on the island’s total population. In 2001 the government of the Republic of Cyprus’s estimate of the population of the island (without counting Turkish settlers and troops) was: 631,100 Greek Cypriots (78%), 87,600 Turkish Cypriots (11%), 2,600 Armenians (0.3%), 4,800 Maronites (0.6%), 900 Latins (0.1%). The population in the occupied area is roughly estimated at 200,000, of which 80-89,000 are Turkish Cypriots and 109,000-117,000 Turkish settlers. There are also 30-35,000 Turkish troops according to UN estimates. Freedom of movement between the Turkish and Maronite communities in the two parts of the island has been facilitated in recent years.
- 3.2 Following the events of 1974 almost all Turkish Cypriots have concentrated in the occupied area. On the basis of a population exchange agreement, 196,000 Greek Cypriots living in the north were exchanged for 42,000 Turkish Cypriots living in the south. At least 36,000 Turkish Cypriots emigrated in the period 1975-1995, with the consequence that within the occupied area the native Turkish Cypriots have been outnumbered by settlers. According to the 2001 Census, there were 361 Turkish Cypriots left in the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, mainly

concentrated in Limassol, Paphos and in two villages: Potamia in the district of Nicosia (within the buffer zone) and Pyla in the district of Larnaca. However, they have no representatives nor cultural organisations. The Turkish-speaking community in the Republic of Cyprus is therefore in a situation of a small, not organised minority, while in the occupied area they form the absolute majority of the population. A small number of Greek Cypriots (little more than 400 according to recent estimates) have remained in the occupied area, mainly concentrated in the peninsula of Karpassia. They live concentrated in Rizokarpaso and Ayia Triada as well as in the villages of Galinoporni, Koroveia, Agios Andronikos, Platanissos, Galateia, Gialousa, Lythragkomi, Agios Symeon.

## 4. Language policy

- 4.1 Under Art. 3 of the Constitution ( $\Rightarrow$  Appendix), Greek and Turkish are both official languages, but *de facto* they are used as such in the Republic of Cyprus and the occupied area respectively. With the division of the island, the principle of personality has thus given way to a territorial separation between linguistically homogeneous areas [Karyolemou, 2004]. As a principle, the Republic of Cyprus government recognises to members of all religious groups and communities the right to use their own language in private and in public, and to receive instruction in it.
- 4.2 Greek [*Ellinika*] constitutes a language and a separate branch of the Indo-European family. The Greek Community in Cyprus use both Standard Modern Greek (SMG) – the official language of Greece – and the Greek Cypriot dialect, which belongs to the South-Eastern Greek subgroup and is considered to have remained closer to ancient Greek because of its isolation. SMG was previously known as *dimotiki* [common language], the form that had coexisted for a long time in a diglossic situation with *katharevousa* [purified language]. *Dimotiki* was used in everyday interaction, while *katharevousa* (closely related to ancient Greek) was reserved for literary and official purposes. In the late 1970s both Greece and Cyprus adopted SMG as an official language used in administration, education and the media. Greek Cypriot has remained a strong element of ethnic identity, but formal interaction usually takes place in SMG. Greek has no legal status in the occupied area.
- 4.3 Turkish [*Türkçe*] belongs to a sub-group of the Turkic languages within the Uralo- Altaic family of languages. Standard Turkish is based on the Istanbul variety. The language was essentially written in the Arabic script (although there is a body of documents in the Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Cyrillic and other alphabets) until 1928, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk decreed the introduction of the Roman alphabet. The script reform – also motivated by the need to bridge the gap between the literary language and the vernacular, as well as by the inability of the Arabic script to reflect the vowel system of Turkish – was followed by a language reform that sought to purify the language from all Arabic and Persian elements, in keeping with a general break with the Islamic past [Bellér-Hann, 1998]. In Cyprus, the impact of the reforms was felt as early as the 1920s, when the language reform was eventually adopted. The Turkish currently spoken in Cyprus is both the Turkish Cypriot [*Kıbrıs Türkçesi*] dialect (also called *Osmanlı*) and mainland (Anatolian) Turkish, mainly imported by settlers and troops.
- 4.4 In the past, English was used as a lingua franca in Cyprus. In addition Greek Cypriot was shared by both communities, although it is difficult to assess the degree of bilingualism [Karyolemou, 2004]. English was the official language

during the British administration, and continued to be used *de facto* in court proceedings until 1989 and in the legislation until 1996.

- 4.5 In the late 50s nationalism produced a “Citizen Speak Turkish” campaign to encourage Turkish Cypriots to use Turkish instead of (Cypriot) Greek. Under the 1960 Constitution Turkish was used in the sessions of the House of Representatives and the Official Journal was published in both languages; since the division of the island, however, Turkish is now considered as a minority language in the Republic of Cyprus – a status that the Turkish community does not generally accept. Since the increase in the demand for official documents by Turkish Cypriots living in the occupied area, who are now able to visit the Republic of Cyprus, application forms and other documents are also drafted in Turkish. However, the small community of Turkish Cypriots living within the Republic of Cyprus usually do not make use of their right to use Turkish in their contacts with the authorities. In the occupied area, Turkish was declared the official language by the 1983 Constitution.

## **5. Presence and use of the languages in various fields**

### **5.1 Education**

- 5.1.1 Under the 1960 Constitution every community was to be responsible for its own educational affairs (pre-primary, primary, secondary and vocational education), managed by the Greek Cypriot communal chamber for the educational matters of the Greek Cypriot community and by the Turkish Cypriot chamber for the educational matters of the Turkish Cypriot community. In 1963 the management of Turkish Cypriot education came under the authority of the Turkish Cypriot administration, which functioned independently. In 1965 a Cyprus Ministry of Education was created to run the education of the Greek Cypriot community. Because of the original constitutional arrangement, the Republic of Cyprus is not considered to have authority over the education of the Turkish-speaking minority. In the occupied area all Turkish Cypriots are educated in their mother tongue.
- 5.1.2 Following a decision of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cyprus, since 2001 Turkish should be taught as a subject (6 h/week) to Turkish Cypriots at the primary and secondary school level in the private system. There is a Turkish elementary school in Pyla. As of 2003-4 Turkish can be taught as a foreign language in the second cycle of the secondary school (lyceum). According to the Press\_and\_Information\_Office of the Republic of Cyprus, in the school year 2003-04 there were eight classes of Turkish as a foreign language, and 75 Greek Cypriot students opting for Turkish as a foreign language. Turkish is also taught as a foreign language in the state language institutions [*epimorfotika*] and in the department of Turkish Studies at the University of Cyprus. In the occupied area Turkish is the language of instruction at primary and secondary school level, while in higher education most of the institutions use English as a medium of instruction. For the Greek community there is one primary school in Rizokarpaso where Greek is taught as the language of instruction, while efforts are being made to reopen the Gymnasium (lower secondary school students are obliged to go to the Republic of Cyprus if they want to continue). Teaching material is imported from the south. Greek courses are available at the Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta.

## **5.2 Judicial authorities**

Under the 1960 Constitution, judicial proceedings are supposed to be conducted in Greek or Turkish depending on the language of the parties, and in both languages if the parties are one from each Community. Prior to 1989 English was used both as a court and legislative language, and parties still make wide use of English. The constitution also provides for the right of persons under arrest to be informed (in a language they can understand) of the reasons of their arrest at the moment of the arrest, and for the right to be assisted by an interpreter free of charge. In the occupied area there is no provision for the use of Greek in courts.

## **5.3 Public authorities and services**

5.3.1 In public administration and services of the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish — despite being an official language according to the Constitution — is not actually used. However, efforts are being made to reintroduce it wherever necessary. Before the division between the two communities, extensive translation services from and into Turkish were provided and funded by the government. An example were the debates in the House of Representatives, where deputies had the right to speak in their mother tongue. The Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus has a translation service in various languages, including Turkish; it has also the obligation to provide free linguistic assistance to Turkish speakers in the courts. Greek has no legal status and is not used by the Turkish administration in the occupied area.

5.3.2 Before 1974 Turkish was used in all services (together with Greek and English). Since 1974 — and more specifically since the 1980's — the use of Turkish (as well as English) has been discontinued. In the Republic of Cyprus it is still used in passports, identity cards, certificates of birth and other official documents. Signs in Turkish are also to be found in police stations, hospitals and other government buildings. Turkish Cypriots are free to choose and use their Turkish family and first names. The government also accepts the Turkish names of the places where Turkish Cypriots used to live. Prior to 1974, Turkish was used both in road signs and in public signage (together with Greek and English). After 1974 Turkish was no longer used, but has remained in many public places (town halls, hospitals etc.). Since April 2003 signs in Turkish have made their appearance in several shops near the partition line in Nicosia and in new road signs. Within the occupied area Turkish (and sometimes English) is the only language used in public and road signage as well as in commercial centres and shops; the policy has been to change Greek place-names to Turkish ones, but since the ban was lifted in 2003 there has been a partial use of Greek names and signs, too.

## **5.4 Mass media and information technology**

According to the 1960 constitution the allocation of hours to each language (Greek and Turkish) on state radio and television was calculated on the basis of a seven (Greek)-to-three (Turkish) ratio: to every seven hours of emission in Greek there were three hours in Turkish. The same ratio applied to TV stations. The division of the island has brought about the suspension of these constitutional provisions, too. In the Republic of Cyprus there is also a bi-communal private radio channel where both Greek and Turkish are used equally (Radio Potamia). The CBC (Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation) also broadcasts TV Turkish programmes 2,5 hours a week, with subtitles in Turkish for some local productions. In the occupied area

there are no media for the Greek minority; it is only possible to pick up Greek radio stations from the south, such as CBC channels 1, 2 and 3. Foreign films/series are normally dubbed in Turkish, and private TV stations broadcast entirely in Turkish. Apart from being the language of the Internet sites in the occupied area, Turkish also appears on the official website of the Republic of Cyprus, of several ministries and of the House of Representatives.

## **5.5 Arts and culture**

Due to the limited membership and organisation of the Turkish community in the south and of the Greek community in the north, there are no sufficient data available.

## **5.6 The business world**

Within the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish can be an asset in language teaching and for certain government posts. Before 1974 knowledge of Turkish was a job requirement for Greek Cypriot civil servants. Within the Republic of Cyprus there is a slight increase in the presence of Turkish in advertising, since the partial lifting of restrictions on movement has allowed Turkish Cypriots to visit the Republic of Cyprus. Within the occupied area the language of advertising is mostly Turkish (sometimes English); Greek is not used.

## **5.7 Family and the social use of the languages**

The small Turkish community living in the Republic of Cyprus still uses Turkish Cypriot for communication within family and with friends, but Greek, Greek Cypriot or English in their contacts with the rest of the (Greek-speaking) society. The Greek-speaking community in the occupied area uses Greek within the family, where intergenerational transmission of the language continues. The younger generations of Turkish Cypriots living in the occupied area know little Greek (unlike the small community of Turkish Cypriots living in the Republic of Cyprus), but in the few Greek-speaking locations and in the buffer zone there is still a degree of bilingualism. Cypriot Turkish — because of its physical separation from Turkey — has tended to remain more conservative than Standard Turkish and is still spoken by Turkish Cypriots, but the nationalist-oriented developments have imposed Standard Turkish as the high variety. However, there is a tendency among Turkish Cypriots in the occupied area to use their dialect as a means of differentiation from the settlers. In this light it should be noted that most Turkish Cypriots who spoke the dialect before 1963 still use it, despite having been exposed to mainland Turkish.

## **6. The European dimension**

The Republic of Cyprus has endorsed a number of international legal instruments for the protection of human rights, including the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 (it entered into force in 2002), and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995 (entered into force in 1998). The Convention is considered to apply to the Armenian, Latin and Maronite religious groups, as well as to the Turkish community — without prejudice to its constitutional position. The Republic of Cyprus has recently signed a bilateral

agreement with Armenia on cooperation in the field of culture. The specific protocol on Cyprus, attached to the Accession Treaty, foresaw that — in the absence of a settlement — the application of the *acquis communautaire* should be suspended in the northern part of the island until the Council decides unanimously otherwise, on the basis of a proposal by the Commission.

# Armenian, Cypriot Arabic and Romani

## 1. Armenian

- 1.1. Armenian [*Hayeren*] is a language of the Indo-European family, though its relationship to other Indo-European varieties is still debated. The Armenian alphabet was created for religious and cultural purposes, since Christianity had become the state religion of the Armenians as early as in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Armenian has more than 60 varieties. Eastern Armenian is the state language of the Republic of Armenia [*Hayastani Hanrapetut'yun*], where literary Armenian is used in education. The western dialects predominate in the diaspora communities, including the one in Cyprus.
- 1.2. Currently there are some 2,600 Armenians in Cyprus, including many that are not Cypriot citizens. Armenians first settled in Cyprus in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, retaining their ties with Syria — especially with its intellectual centre at Edessa — until the arrival of the Arabs in the region during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The main migration wave to Cyprus followed the Armenian Genocide of 1915-23 in Turkey. Armenians have traditionally inhabited the towns of Larnaca, Limassol and Nicosia; those living in Famagusta left after the Turkish invasion in 1974. Armenians have apparently lost some properties in the northern part, including the *Makaravank* and *Kantsvor* monasteries. In constitutional terms, Armenians form a religious group in the Republic of Cyprus who opted for adherence to the Greek Community; they have the right to elect a representative to the Cypriot Parliament. Beside the non-discrimination clause (Art. 6 of the Constitution), they are guaranteed the right to use their own language in private and in public, and to receive instruction in it. All Armenians are bilingual in Greek and Armenian.
- 1.3. Currently there are three Armenian churches and primary schools in Cyprus (Larnaca, Limassol and Nicosia) and a secondary school in Nicosia. The Melkonian Educational Institute is the most renowned co-educational institution of Cypriot Armenians. Founded in 1926, the Melkonian Institute is open to students of all nationalities and offers a comprehensive secondary school curriculum. All subjects, except for the Armenian language, are taught in English. Foreign languages offered include Greek, French, Arabic, Russian and Bulgarian. The Board of the Institute, however, has announced the decision to close down in 2005. A daily radio programme by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation in Armenian includes extensive interviews, news coverage, cultural reports and music. The two main Armenian monthly newspapers, *Artsankank* (founded 1995) and *Paros* (founded 1997), provide national and international news, primarily in Armenian — although certain columns and cultural reviews are printed in Greek and in English. The Armenian Church in Cyprus publishes its own monthly bulletin *Keghart* in Armenian. The Armenian community of Cyprus receives State funding for concerts, dance performances, art and photographic exhibitions, and literary events. Organisations include the Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Armenian National Committee. The Cypriot-Armenian Friendship Society (est. in 1998) organises concerts, lectures and exhibitions, so as to establish closer ties between the two Republics. The Armenian churches have allocated space within their premises to encourage cultural events such as the annual Autumn Book Exhibition. The Middle/Near East Armenian Research Centre (established in 1996 by Vartan Malian) houses a reference library and archival material on its Nicosia premises.

- 1.4 When the Republic of Armenia gained independence in 1991 new relations with the Republic of Cyprus were established. Since 1994, parliamentary delegations to and from Armenia have resulted in the signing of bi-lateral agreements and in the creation of a forum for further discussions and co-operation between the two governments. In 1995, the Armenian ambassador to Greece also became ambassador to Cyprus. Armenian was explicitly declared to be a non-territorial language in terms of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML).

## **2. Cypriot Arabic**

- 2.1 Cypriot Arabic, or Kormakiti Arabic [*Kormakiti Arabiyya*] as it is named after the place where it is still spoken, belongs to the Semitic language family. It is the language traditionally used by the Maronite community, though the local faithful speak Greek and the Liturgy is read in Greek. Like most of the Arabic vernaculars, Cypriot Arabic is not written, and — given the isolated development of the language — it is virtually unintelligible to speakers of standard Arabic. There are connections with the Syrian and Mesopotamian dialects of Arabic, and possibly even with the medieval dialects of Baghdad. A survey conducted among Maronites in the late 60s revealed that none of the interviewees was able to read or write standard Arabic.
- 2.2 At the end of 1996 the Maronites numbered approx. 4,500. Maronite colonies of Syrian and Lebanese origin have settled in Cyprus since the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Originally belonging to the Syrian Orthodox Church, Maronites are Christians of a Uniate Church, i.e. in formal communion with Rome but retaining a separate language and liturgy. This relationship was reinforced with the Crusades, especially after 1182, when they sought union with the Patriarch of Antioch in Lebanon. Many Maronites arrived in Cyprus when the Latin states of the Levant fell to Islam; this emigration continued under the Venetians up to the Ottoman conquest of the island (1570-71). Maronites survived as a distinct community despite the ban on Catholicism. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century there were approx. 1,500 Maronites distributed among 19 villages; in 1881 their number had dwindled to 830 people, scattered in the villages of Kormakiti/Koruçam, Agia Marina/Gürpınar, Asomatos/Özhan and Karpasha/Karpaşa in the northwest of the island, where several monasteries and churches are also located. Although the number of Maronites has increased to over 4,000 since then, after 1974 their distribution pattern was disrupted: most Maronites resettled in the territory controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, but were scattered in Nicosia and in the surrounding villages. Only a few of them (165 according to UN estimates in 2001) have remained in traditional villages within the area occupied by Turkey. There are still contacts between the Maronites of Lebanon and Cyprus, although less frequently than before.
- 2.3 Cypriot Arabic is now spoken almost exclusively by less than 1,000 members of the Maronite community, all coming from the village of Kormakiti. The rest (and therefore the majority) of the community is exclusively Greek-speaking, and the use of Arabic is confined to family and religious purposes. The Maronite liturgy is generally conducted in Greek rather than Syriac or Cypriot Arabic, though the mass includes ancient hymns sung in Syriac. At the time of the Turkish invasion the Maronites of Kormakiti were bilingual in Arabic and Greek. There is no formal or educational setting for the language. The extremely reduced number of (ageing) inhabitants in the traditional villages, the dispersal of the resettled Maronites and

a (consequent) lower degree of endogamy have been contributing to a process of linguistic assimilation.

- 2.4 The Maronites of Cyprus have their own bishop but are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, who is appointed by the Pope; they opted for adherence to the Greek Community under the terms of the 1960 Constitution. The non-discrimination clause (Art. 6) of the Republic of Cyprus applies to Cypriot Arabic as well as to Armenian and Turkish. In the Republic of Cyprus, the leaders of the Maronite community have long requested their own schools and housing areas or villages. The building of an elementary school was planned for 2002.

### **3. Romani**

Romani [*Romanes*], or Romany, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language — like Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali — that belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (12<sup>th</sup> century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups, which include approximately 60 dialects and varieties. There are no official records on the arrival of Roma in Cyprus, but they probably came from the Crusader colonies on the eastern Mediterranean coast (now Lebanon and Israel) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Their membership in Cyprus is between 500 and 1,000, and they are classified outside the religious groups. Most of them live in the occupied area. There are no data available on language use.

**APPENDIX:        Art. 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus**

1.        The official languages of the Republic are Greek and Turkish.
2.        Legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents shall be drawn up in both official languages and shall, where under the express provisions of this Constitution promulgation is required, be promulgated by publication in the official Gazette of the Republic in both official languages.
3.        Administrative or other official documents addressed to a Greek or a Turk shall be drawn up in the Greek or the Turkish language respectively.
4.        Judicial proceedings shall be conducted or made and judgements shall be drawn up in the Greek language if the parties are Greek, in the Turkish language if the parties are Turkish, and in both the Greek and the Turkish languages if the parties are Greek and Turkish. The official language or languages to be used for such purposes in all other cases shall be specified by the Rules of Court made by the High Court under Article 163.
5.        Any text in the official Gazette of the Republic shall be published in both official languages in the same issue.
6.        (1) Any difference between the Greek and the Turkish texts of any legislative, executive or administrative act or document published in the official Gazette of the Republic, shall be resolved by a competent court.  
  
          (2) The prevailing text of any law or decision of a Communal Chamber published in the official Gazette of the Republic shall be that of the language of the Communal Chamber concerned.  
  
          (3) Where any difference arises between the Greek and the Turkish texts of an executive or administrative act or document which, though not published in the official Gazette of the Republic, has otherwise been published, a statement by the Minister or any other authority concerned as to which text should prevail or which should be the correct text shall be final and conclusive.  
  
          (4) A competent court may grant such remedies as it may deem just in any case of a difference in the texts as aforesaid.
7.        The two official languages shall be used on coins, currency notes and stamps.
8.        Every person shall have the right to address himself to the authorities of the Republic in either of the official languages.

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A sample of Osmanli is on

<http://www.cypnet.com/.ncyprus/people/cypturks/language.html>

The statistical service of Cyprus is on <http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf>

Government of the Republic of Cyprus <http://www.cyprus.gov.cy>

University of Cyprus <http://www.ucy.ac.cy/>

# The Czech Republic

## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 The Czech Republic (CZ) is a landlocked country of approx. 79,000 sq. km., bordering in the first place on Germany and Austria to the north-west and the south, then on Poland and Slovakia to the north-east and the east respectively. The longest linguistic border is with German. The territory comprises the historical reigns of Bohemia [Čechy], Moravia [Morava] and part of Silesia [Slezsko]. Main cities are Prague [Praha] (the Capital), Brno, Ostrava. The population is slightly above 10.2 million, with a density of 130.2 inhabitants/Km<sup>2</sup>. The country is divided in 14 administrative regions [kraje]. The map below shows original denominations, for English names see Table 3 (⇒ 3.3).



- 1.2 The Czech Republic [Česká republika] (CR) is a parliamentary democracy, with the legislative power divided between the House of Deputies and the Senate. Unlike in other states of the former Eastern Bloc, the economic transformation of the CR proceeded rapidly with low unemployment and no hyperinflation. The country is rich in mineral resources and processing industries are highly developed (particularly machinery, steel, chemicals, glass, and agri-food). Agriculture plays a comparatively small role, alongside the traditional engineering and other industries. Real GDP growth was at 3.3 percent in 2001, and 2.7% in 2002. The unemployment rate has lately reached 10%.

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 The historical territories of the CR became part of a single joint state in the Middle Ages and remained so for centuries. To refer to the current territory of the CR in the past, the neologism “Czechia” [Česko] (a counterpart to the established name “Slovakia” [Slovensko]) or the historical expression “the Czech Lands” are also used. After almost nine centuries of separate history, in 1918 the Czechs and the Slovaks united to create the independent state of Czechoslovakia (CSR). The new

state — which comprised the Czech Lands, Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ukraine — was meant to allow for extensive Slovak autonomy. Czechs and Slovaks represented approximately 66% of the total population, Germans 22%, Hungarians 5% and Poles 0,7%. However, the imbalance between the economically advanced (and more ethnically heterogeneous) Czech Lands and rural Slovakia was considerable. With the Munich Agreement (1938) Czechoslovakia lost about one third of its territory: the Sudetendland and the lands inhabited by the Hungarian and Polish minorities. The government was also forced to grant autonomy to Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. In 1939 Slovakia became independent and the Czech Lands a protectorate of Germany. In 1945 the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) was reinstated within its former territories, with the exception of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine which was annexed to the USSR. The CSR did not recognise minorities at first: only in the 1960s they were taken into account. With the introduction of federalism (1968) the state officially recognised the Hungarians, the Germans, the Poles and the Ukrainians/Ruthenians as nationalities; their rights were defined constitutionally. In 1993 the CSR split in two independent parts, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

- 2.2 The change in the social system in 1989 and the division of Czechoslovakia at the beginning of 1993 were particularly significant: the two dominant groups of the population that had contributed towards the establishment of the state found themselves *de facto* and *de jure* in the position of minorities (the Slovaks in the CR, the Czechs in Slovakia). The division has altered not only their social standing, but also the way the problems of ethnic minorities are viewed by different participants and by the members of the ethnic minorities themselves. The linguo-ethnic situation in the CR has changed also because of the transition to a democratic, open and basically prosperous society that has been attracting various groups of foreigners, including job-seekers (not only economic migrants and visiting workers from the countries of Eastern Europe, but also western expatriate managers holding positions in joint ventures).

### 3. Demographic data

- 3.1 According to the 2001 Census the CR has 10,230,060 inhabitants ( $\Rightarrow$  Table 1), approximately 70,000 less than in 1991. Almost 10% of the population have reported an ethnicity [*národnost*] different from “Czech”. In the census 1991 the declaration of nationality was obligatory, in 2001 optional. The period 1991-2001 shows a decrease of all main non-Czech ethnic groups, and a considerable increase of the Czech nationality (+10.6%) as well as of the “not declared” (+302.5%). Outstanding features include a sharp fall in the declaration of Moravian and Silesian identities (-72.6% and -74.7% respectively), the decrease of the Roma (-64.4%) and the rise of a “new” Vietnamese ethnicity (17,462 members as against 421 in 1991). While the voluntary nature of the declaration may have played a role (as the high number of “undeclared” testifies), reasons for such trend may vary but basically point towards a phenomenon of assimilation.

**Table 1: Population by ethnicity as at 1 March 2001**

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Absolute figure</b>	<b>% of the total number of inhabitants</b>
Albanian	690	0.01
Bulgarian	4,363	0.04
Croatian	1,585	0.02
Czech	9,249,777	90.42
German	39,106	0.38
Greek	3,219	0.03
Hungarian	14,672	0.14
Moravian	380,474	3.72
Polish	51,968	0.51
Roma	11,746	0.11
Romanian	1,238	0.01
Russian	12,369	0.12
Ruthenian	1,106	0.01
Serbian	1,801	0.02
Silesian	10,878	0.11
Slovak	193,190	1.89
Ukrainian	22,112	0.22
Vietnamese	17,462	0.17
Other	26,499	0.26
Dual nationality	12,978	0.13
Undeclared	172,827	1.69
<b>Total population</b>	<b>10,230,060</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The category “others” includes ethnicities who are post-war or even more recent immigrant communities (⇒ Other languages).

- 3.2 The assimilatory trend is supported by an analysis of the declaration of mother tongue (⇒ Table 2). In the period 1991-2001 there has been a decrease of mother tongue speakers for all all main ethnic groups (comparatively less severe than the decline in memberships), with the exception of German. Also Czech speakers have declined in number, but the increase of those declaring Czech nationality has been considerably higher. According to the 2001 census, a total of 522,663 people (5.1% of the population) have reported a mother tongue other than Czech, i.e. only half of those declaring a nationality different from Czech.

**Table 2: Differences between main ethnicities and mother tongue in 1991 and 2001**

	Czech*)		Slovak		Polish		German		Roma	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Ethnicity	9,770,527	9,641,129	314,877	193,190	59,383	51,968	48,556	39,106	32,903	11,746
Mother tongue	9,871,518	9,707,397	239,355	208,723	52,362	50,738	40,907	41,328	24,294	23,211
Difference	-100,991	-66,268	75,522	-15,533	7,021	1,230	7,649	-2,222	8,609	-11,465

\*) Czech/Moravian/Silesian

3.3 Most language minorities are scattered across the country ( $\Rightarrow$  Table 3), with the exception of the Polish community which is concentrated in the Těšín region (Moravia-Silesia). Moravia-Silesia ranks as the second region with the highest percentage of minority groups, preceded by Karlovy Vary (8.9%) where the Germans also have a traditional presence. The dispersal of most minorities does not allow regional economic indicators to play a significant role in their analysis, nor is an urban/rural pattern clearly established for the single groups. The same reason of dispersal apparently lies behind the difficulty of establishing separate school systems and other policies.

**Table 3: Ethnicity structure of inhabitants in regions of the Czech Republic as at 1 March 2001 (%)**

Region	Percentage of each ethnicity in the total number of inhabitants in the region							
	Czech	Slovak	Polish	German	Roma	Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian
Prague	93.3	1.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.5
Central Bohemia	95.8	1.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1
South Bohemia	95.4	1.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Pilsen	95.4	1.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Karlovy Vary	87.5	4.6	0.1	2.9	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2
Ústí n. L.	92.2	2.7	0.2	1.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1
Liberec	93.5	2	0.4	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1
Hradec Králové	95.2	1.5	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Pardubice	96.8	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0
Highlands	96.7	0.7	0	0.1	0	0	0.1	0
South Moravia	95.7	1.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Olomouc	95.5	1.8	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Zlín	96.3	1.3	0.1	0	0.1	0	0.1	0
Moravia-Silesia	89.5	3.4	3.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0
Czech Republic total	94.1	1.9	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1

## 4. Language policy

4.1 Czech [český jazyk] is the official language of the CR, although this is not expressly laid down in the Constitution or other legislation. Varieties of Czech can be described in terms of structural varieties such as standard (literary) Czech, common Czech (not regionally restricted) and dialects. Because standard literary Czech was formed at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (during the National Revival), following up on the Renaissance Czech, it is a fairly archaic Slavonic language and rather estranged from colloquial Czech. Common Czech is a *koine* based on the speech of Prague and Central Bohemia. In Bohemia local dialects have virtually disappeared and common Czech is widely used; in Moravia and Silesia dialects have been maintained and the use of standard Czech is more widespread, while common Czech has more negative overtones. Such linguistic differences underlie the distinctiveness of the two regions. In the past, the status of languages in the Czech Lands mainly reflected the conflict between the German and the Czech autochthonous groups; and the union with Slovakia was informed by the necessity to preserve the Slavic element of the state. The Constitution of 1920 created a “Czechoslovak” official language, although it also specified that Czechoslovak had two varieties, Czech and Slovak; both continued to be used in their respective territories. The situation, however, remained asymmetrical: Czech was the language of the central administration and prevailed in most contexts. School facilities for the largest minority – the Germans – were not abolished, but Czech remained the only official language. Minorities enjoyed a number of rights, especially in those areas where an ethnic community would represent more than 20% of all inhabitants. The restoring of Czechoslovakia after World War II was not paralleled by the reinstatement of the legal concept of “Czechoslovak”, nor were minorities officially recognised until the 60s.

4.2 Constitutionally, the position of minority languages can be derived from the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which has been incorporated in national law since 1991-92. Apart from general non-discrimination clauses (Art. 3 and 24), the Charter also specifies certain minority rights including the right to development of one’s culture, the right to education in the mother tongue and its use in public. The use of minority languages is governed by the Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2001 [*Zákon ze dne 10.července 2001 o právech příslušníků národnostních menšin a o změně některých zákonů*] (hereinafter “the Minority Act”). Beside specifying the rights of the members of national minorities and the competence of the different authorities, the Minority Act provides the following definitions:

(1) A national minority is a community of citizens of the Czech Republic who live on the territory of the present Czech Republic and as a rule differ from other citizens by their common ethnic origin, language, culture and traditions; they represent a minority of citizens and at the same time they show their will to be considered a national minority for the purpose of common efforts to preserve and develop their own identity, language and culture and at the same time express and preserve interests of their community which has been formed during history.

(2) The member of a national minority is a citizen of the Czech Republic who professes other than Czech ethnic origin and wishes to be considered a member of a national minority in common with the others who profess the same ethnic origin.

The concept of national minority is thus linked to citizenship. The Minority Act does not list all national minorities in the Czech Republic; but the general approach is to draw a distinction between national minorities traditionally living in the Czech Republic and other non-Czech (recent) immigrants. The number of seats allocated to each national minority on the Minorities Council is regulated by the Council's Charter, stating that the Minorities Council comprises the representatives of eleven national minorities: Bulgarian, Croatian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Romani, Russian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Ukrainian, all having the status of "national minority" [*národnostní menšina*]. However, this number is not final. In 2004, a representative of the Serbian minority will be added to the list by an amendment to the Charter. Several of the specific rights are in fact ascribed to members of national minorities "living traditionally and for a long time in the territory of the CR", thus confirming the historical approach. The main rights provided by the Minority Act are the following:

- use of personal name in the minority language form;
- multilingual names of companies and other institutions, street and other signs;
- use of the minority language in contact with authorities, in the courts, and at elections;
- education in the minority language, development of their own culture, and diffusion as well as reception of information in their own language.

Additional legislation includes the Government Decree No 98/2002 Coll., which defines the terms for the provision of state funding to the activities of national minorities, and to promote the integration of members of the Roma community [*Nariadení vlády č. 98/2002 Sb., kterým se stanoví podmínky a způsob poskytování dotací ze státního rozpočtu na aktivity příslušníků národnostních menšin a na podporu integrace příslušníků romské komunity*].

4.3 At the parliamentary level, the affairs of national minorities are dealt with by the Sub-committee for National Minorities (Chamber of Deputies) and by the Committee for Human Rights, Science, Education and Culture (Senate). The chief state institution for minorities is the Government Council for National Minorities [*Rada vlády pro národnostní menšiny*], a consultative and initiative body established by virtue of the Minority Act. The members of the Council are both government representatives and the representatives of the eleven national minorities. National minorities are also represented in the Advisory Board for National Minority Culture and in the Advisory Board for Minority Education. Other governmental institutions are the Pedagogical Centre in Český Těšín for the Polish minority, and the Government Council for the Roma Community. At the local/regional level there are the Committees/Commissions for National Minorities [*Výbory pro národnostní menšiny*], self-governing bodies within municipalities and administrative regions where at least 10% of the population is non-Czech (5% at regional level and in Prague). There are seven regional and 39 municipal committees.

4.4 In the cultural field, the document "The Concept of Cultural Policy in the Czech Republic - The Strategy of More Efficient State Support of Culture" approved by Government Resolution N. 401 from April 28th. 1999 and updated in 2001 states that the culture of every national minority is an enrichment of the civil community as a whole; such an attitude reflects in separate grants for all cultural activities of national minorities. In education, the Czech government has considered that the legal provisions requiring the minority language to be the language of instruction at minority schools work against the interests of some minorities. The reasons given are that – with the exception of the Polish minority – the members of the minorities are dispersed, and it is impossible to obtain the number of minority students sufficient to establish a minority school. The representatives of the

minorities themselves have voiced their preference for state bilingual or multilingual schools with bicultural or multicultural orientations, open also to Czech-speaking students.

- 4.5 In media provision, the amendment of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. on Radio and Television Broadcasting by Act 309/2002 Coll. prohibits broadcasting that incites to hatred or violence towards other inhabitants on the basis of their race, sex, religion etc. According to § 17 of this Act one of the criteria for the selection of an applicant for a broadcasting licence is his contribution to the development of the culture of national, ethnic and other minorities in the Czech Republic. The provisions of §31 of Act on Radio and Television Broadcasting state that programmes must reflect a poised offer to all inhabitants considering their age, sex, skin colour, religion, political or other views, national, ethnic or social origin and membership in a minority. A further amendment of Act No. 231/2001 Coll. explicitly prohibits advertisement and teleshopping which inveigh against religious or political views and discriminate on the basis of sex, race, skin colour, language, national or social origin or membership in a national or ethnic minority. So far, the public Czech Television has used national minority languages on a very limited scale, and its presentation of the life and cultures of national minorities has been criticised by national minority representatives. Proposals to improve the situation have been repeatedly raised in the Minorities Council. Changes came in 2003, when the Czech Television launched a weekly programme in Polish and a the review “Babylon” to cover all national minorities in the CR. Besides, the series *Svět bez hranic* [World without Frontiers] and *Velký vůz* [The Great Bear] (or the “Great Wagon” as it is called in Czech), informs about the life of national minorities in the Czech Republic. The amendment of Act No. 46/2000 Coll. on Rights and Duties in Publishing Periodicals (Press Act) by Act No. 320/2002 Coll. contains protective measures against discrediting natural persons, their honour, dignity or privacy with respect to their ethnic or national origin in periodicals. This protection has always been ensured by the Act on Radio and Television Broadcasting. As to the right to multilingual signs and inscriptions, The Minority Act provides that they can be displayed in the minority language in those municipalities where at least 10% of the adult population requests so.

## **5. The European dimension**

While the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) has been in force since 1998, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) was signed in 2000 but has yet to be ratified. Main legal protection and support from kin states is given on the basis of bilateral agreements (including succeeded obligations) between the CR and Croatia, Germany, Poland and Slovakia. The Agreement between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on good neighbourship and friendly cooperation (1991) served as a model for other agreements bearing the same title with Poland and Slovakia. With Poland there is also the Agreement between the Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Government of the Polish Republic on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, while Croatia is a party to the Agreement between the Government of the CR and the Republic of Croatia on Cooperation in the Field of Culture, Education and Science).

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# German in the Czech Republic

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

German [*Deutsch*] is a west Germanic language of the Indo-European family: it is related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. While German dialects can be classified using different criteria, a distinction is usually accepted between standard German [*Hochdeutsch*] (the written form), colloquial German [*Umgangssprache*] and dialects. German uses the Latin alphabet. The original German dialects in the territory of the CR, which were used in most situations (standard German being reserved for the press, broadcasting and other restricted domains) seem to have died out. Nevertheless, dialectologists who work on the Atlas of Historical German Dialects have discovered that competent informants could still be found in all of the main places of their investigation.

### 1.2 History, geography and demography

1.2.1 As from the 12<sup>th</sup> century Czech kings began to welcome German settlers to territories bordering with adjoining German states and other inner areas, that were to become linguistic enclaves [*Sprachinseln*]. However, also urban centres were populated by Germans – to the extent that several towns and cities grew bilingual. This trend was reinforced when the Hapsburgs acquired the Czech crown, and replaced the Czech nobility by foreign aristocracy after the 1620 uprising. Czech was employed in restricted domains, while Czech-German bilingualism dominated across a broad spectrum. The contrast between the Czech and the German element also played a role in the Hussite movement and its opposition, with the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) resulting in further immigration of Catholic German settlers. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Czech national revival gradually widened the range of use of the Czech language, until this became – together with Slovak – an official language of the new state (1918). The Germans were the largest minority (reaching a peak of 3,492,362 people in 1910); in border areas, and throughout the interwar years, they were also predominantly monolingual [*Nekvapil, 2003a*]. The era of the CSR marks the end of Czech-German bilingualism, with new generations of Czechs becoming monolingual, although German was still widely studied as a foreign language. After World War II more than 2.5 million Germans were evacuated – leaving a vacuum that was mainly filled by Slovaks (⇒ Slovak in the Czech Republic, 1.2.1); only a small number (approx. 180,000, i.e. 2.1% of the total population) of those who could prove an active anti-fascist stance or were considered indispensable to the economy could stay. Because they were dispersed over the territory, by the beginning of the 1960s a trend towards assimilation had set in. After 1989 a number of German periodical publications, as well as cultural centres and schools, marked a revival of the German community in Prague and other centres. A new development in Czech-German bilingualism is due to Czechs commuters living in the borders areas with Germany, as well as to the activities of German-based companies in the CR.

- 1.2.2 In the 2001 census, 39,106 people reported German ethnicity in the CR; in 1991 they were 48,556. While declining figures date back to the post-war situation, in the last decades the decrease was accelerated by high emigration to West Germany and by a shift in ethnic identity: research in northern Bohemia revealed that within the region 33% of those who considered themselves Germans declared Czech to be their mother tongue, as against 7.2% in 1970. In the 2001 census the number of German speakers has been higher than the number of those who have declared German ethnicity: 41,328 people identified German as their first language, and 11,061 people have indicated two mother tongues, Czech and German. In 1991 there were 40,907 people declaring German as their mother tongue. In 1980 the census did not include a question concerning the first language. The number of speakers may appear rather stable, but already in the 80s 55% of the German community was over 50 years of age, and in the 90s the degree of endogamy sharply declined ( $\Rightarrow$  2.7) – all elements that point towards language shift.
- 1.2.3 Most of the Germans live in border areas: in the regions of Ústí n. L. (9,478) Karlovy Vary (8,925), Moravia-Silesia (4,255), Liberec (3,722), Hradec Králové (2,601), Pilsen (2,040), Olomouc (1,721) and South Moravia (900). They also live in Prague (1,791) and Central Bohemia (1,110). The highest concentration is in the Ústí n. L. region, where they represent 1.2% of the total population (out of 820,219 inhabitants). Many members of the German minority live in industrial regions where they work as experts in the glass industry, costume jewellery, textile industry and in mining.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

The legal status of German is not mentioned separately nor in a single general framework, but is derived by formulations that are also applicable to other minority languages. Its use is thus governed by the Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities. The main government institution dealing with the German minority is the Government Council for National Minorities [*Rada vlády pro národnostní menšiny*], where the German minority is represented. Established in accordance with the Act on the Rights of Members of National Minorities, it allocates grants for the various activities of the German minority. In pre-war Czechoslovakia autochthonous Germans enjoyed a series of rights, especially where they represented more than 20% of the local population, and they had an extensive school system.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 Due to their dispersal, the German community in the CR has no separate educational system: apparently, it has proved impossible to reach the number of pupils/students sufficient to establish minority schools. The legal provisions requiring the language of the ethnic minority to be the only language of instruction at minority schools is generally opposed by representatives of the German minority, who acknowledge that the establishment of German schools is not realistic. The preference seems to be for state bilingual or multilingual schools with multicultural orientation, that are open also to Czech-speaking students. So far, such schools have been only in the private sector. Measures for pupils from the

German national minority to be taught in their mother tongue depend on the implementation of the Education Act, especially the creation of a legislative framework for bilingual education. This seems to imply the development of specific teaching programmes at primary schools according to local needs, the use of German as a teaching language and the new definition of criteria for the minimum number of pupils in classes or schools. Requests for education in the mother tongue were originally expressed in the recommendations of *The Draft of the Sudeten Educational System* adopted by the Sudeten Cultural Council in Liberec in 1992, and in 2002 the representatives of the German minority formally addressed their proposals to the chairman of the Council.

2.1.2 At primary school level, the *Soukromá ZŠ německo-českého porozumění* is the private primary school of German-Czech Understanding in Prague, founded by the Union of Germans in the Prague and Central Bohemia Region: it is attended by German and Czech students alike, and other ethnic groups are also represented, e.g. Slovak, Polish, Serbian, Chinese, Russian, Vietnamese, Ukrainian etc. German is taught as an elective from the first grade on. Some members of the German minority have called for the establishment of bilingual schools with a predominance of the German language, to enable children from German and mixed families to master German as their mother tongue. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports and the representatives of the German minority seem to be ready to meet such requests within the current legal framework. Nowadays the amended curriculum and syllabus of German from the first grade are accredited within the programme EXTRA 1995. The school is supported by the government of Germany, which has assigned a German language teacher and financed the purchase of teaching aids. Nowadays the school has five grades (115 pupils); the sixth grade is available every year if there are at least 13 pupils. Most of pupils are Czech, 5 pupils are German and the rest are Russian and Ukrainian. In 1997 the *Bernard Bolzano Primary School* in Tábor was opened and later incorporated into the network of schools under the patronage of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. 60% of its expenses are covered by the State Budget and by contributions of Czech and German sponsors. Nowadays the *Bernard Bolzano Primary School* is attended by 136 pupils in 7 grades; teaching follows the educational programme Elementary School with Extended Language Lessons. German is widely learnt in the regular education system: it is the most widespread foreign language in vocational training, but comes in second at primary school level (although it was the first choice until 1998) and at secondary school level (high school).

2.1.3 At the secondary school level, the *První gymnázium Thomase Manna* [The Thomas Mann Grammar School] in Prague was founded in 1995 by the Union of the Germans of Prague and Central Bohemia, as well as on the initiative of the parents of pupils attending the Private Primary School of Czech-German Understanding. The teaching cycle lasts 8 years and provides general education with extended teaching of the German language and of individual subjects, partly in German (mathematics, geography, biology, German history and German literature). The curricula and syllabus were approved by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. The school prepares students for the *Deutsches Sprachdiplom II der KMK*, which guarantees the appropriate knowledge of German for entrance in German universities. German is taught in four grades and differentiated into 3 levels of knowledge. Here as well the German government has provided a German language teacher and financed teaching aids. The school has now 114 pupils and is attended by pupils of various ethnic groups. The German language remains a very popular subject and is offered on all levels of mainstream education, as well as at most universities and in adult and continuing education.

- 2.1.4 Very important contributions in the field of education in general are made through a programme of the Czech-German Future Fund, The Exchange Stays for Youth - Germany. In 2001 55 projects were carried out. Large efforts in the field of education of the German national minority are made also by 14 regional *Begegnungszentren* [Encounter Centres], viz. in Brno, Havířov, Hlučín, Horní Slavkov, Cheb, Chomutov, Kravaře, Liberec, Moravská Třebová, Opava, Pilsen, Smržovka, Šumperk and Trutnov. Their activity is fully financed by the German government.

## 2.2 Judicial authorities

The Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2001 states that “Members of national minorities living traditionally and for a long time in the territory of the Czech Republic have the right to use the language of a national minority in official documentation and discourse and in hearings before a court. Conditions for the exercise of this right are determined by special legal regulations”. Members of the German minority are thus guaranteed the right to use German in contact with judicial authorities and in courts. There are 1,240 official interpreters from German into Czech registered at the Ministry of Justice. In practice, however, the right to use minority languages in dealing with administrative authorities and in the courts has not been supported by additional legislation, and has not been implemented.

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

German is not used by state or regional public authorities. Members of the minority can nevertheless submit to authorities oral or written queries in German and receive an answer in the same language. According to the *Report on the Situation of National Minorities in the Czech Republic in 2002* (2003), representatives of the German minority have complained that there are no statutory instruments to ensure the presence of interpreters in official meetings, especially at the level of regional and local authorities. Knowledge of German is not required by the public administration. No services are normally provided in German, and contacts with service providers are rarely maintained in German. The use of names and surnames in German is legally permitted by the Act No 301/2001 Coll. on public registers, given names and surnames [*Zákon č. 301/2001 Sb. o matrikách, jménu a příjmení*]. Signage is in Czech only. Since the 1990s there have been disputes concerning signage in those villages and towns that used to be inhabited by German majorities before 1947, but so far bilingual signs have not been introduced. Some shop signs have appeared in German and English, but these cases are sporadic and appear to be motivated by tourism.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 There are no dailies or weeklies issued by the German minority and only two fortnightly, the *Landeszeitung: Zeitung der Deutschen in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (published by The Assembly of the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, ⇒ 2.7) and the *Prager Volkzeitung. Wochenblatt der deutschen Bürger in der Tschechischen Republik* (published by The Cultural Association of the German Minority Citizens in the Czech Republic), both financed by the Czech government. The Assembly of the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and the periodical *Landeszeitung* are on <http://www.landeszeitung.cz/index.htm> The *Prager*

*Zeitung*, a weekly published in German in Prague, is not produced by the German minority. The *Landeszeitung* (4,000 – 5,000 copies, 8 –12 pages) comments on the social and cultural activities of the German minority in the CR, and reports on the activities of regional organisations and on political events relating to the situation of the German minority. The *Prager Volkzeitung* (3,500 copies, 12 pages) mainly targets members of the regional organisations of Cultural Association of the German Citizens in the Czech Republic; it also reports and comments on the situation of the German minority in Bohemia.

- 2.4.2 There is a short radio broadcasting in German for the German minority twice a week, but no German TV programmes; the minority has to rely on foreign broadcasts. At present, there seems to be no development of human language technologies in the CR for German, as e.g. machine-readable dictionaries, authoring aids, translation tools and language learning systems: what is available is usually imported from Germany.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

German cultural activities are focused on the preservation of the cultural heritage and the mother tongue. The main annual activities of individual associations are similar and occur around: Shrovetide, Easter, Mothers Day, Solstice, summer activities, visits to cultural monuments, autumn village fairs, Christmas. Local organisations have their singing, reciting and music/dancing ensembles. The *Hřebeč Folklore Dancing Ensemble* represents the German minority in the Strážnice Festival and also performs abroad. Local organisations have their “Circles of Skilful Hands” where the traditions of knitting, crocheting, embroidering and bobbin-lace making have been preserved. The Cultural Association of the German Minority Citizens has its circles of photographers and wood-carvers. Theatre performances and concerts in German are rare. Border regions are the only ones where singing and dancing ensembles organise exchange performances. The main cultural activity of the members of the German national minority is the Grand Rendezvous of Folk Art and Culture of the German Minority and the Friends of the Germans from All Regions. It is an annual rendezvous of twenty regional associations organised within the Assembly of the Germans Living in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. There is an annual festival of the *Deutsches Theater* supported by the Ministry of Culture and by the Goethe Institute. Some regional unions of The Assembly of the Germans Living in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia organise days of German folk culture. They hold seminars which teach folk dances of the respective regions, e.g. a seminar on folk dances from the Cheb region, reconstructions of old German dances, folk costumes and customs, and the publication *Customs of the Hřebeč Region, Hřebeč Songs and Dances*. The Cultural Association of the German Minority Citizens in the Czech Republic organises many cultural activities, mostly at a regional level. Social and cultural activities of the German minority are supported to a great extent by a grant scheme of the Ministry of Culture. The Czech-German Future Fund aims to develop mutual understanding between the Czechs and the Germans, through meetings and various forms of co-operation including joint projects in various fields (youth activities, schools and education, social policy, construction projects and renovation of monuments, minorities, conferences/seminars/discussion forums, meetings, ecology, culture, science and publications).

## **2.6 The business world**

After 1989 several German firms (based abroad) started to operate in the CR, and knowledge of German has become particularly valuable. Some members of the German minority are employed by those firms, but there are no statistics available. However, it is clear that this new economic environment increases opportunities for German-speaking members of the autochthonous community. Leaving aside newspapers and the tourist industry, German is not used in advertising. A few products are offered with labels and instructions in German, such as foods imported from Germany.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

Practically all members of the German minority are also competent in Czech. Only a highly motivated cultural minority of parents seems to use German with their children. The post-war years were crucial, for in that period many Germans discontinued the use of the language, and that trend has been confirmed in the last decades. In 1991, language group endogamy (for the age group up 35 years) characterised 9% of German speakers, a percentage that had dropped to 3.0% in 1994. The German minority is organised in two civil associations: the Landesversammlung der Deutschen in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien [The Assembly of the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] and the Kulturverband der Bürger deutscher Nationalität der CR [The Cultural Association of the German Minority Citizens in the Czech Republic].

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The Agreement between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany on Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Co-operation makes provisions for minorities in Article 20, clause 1-5 and Article 21, clause 1-3. Maybe one of the major initiatives based on the Agreement has been the establishment of Czech-German Encounter Centers. In 2001 there were 14 such Centers, especially in localities with a high density of German speakers. The most relevant political document is the Czech-German Declaration on Mutual Relations and Their Next Development, signed by the Czech and German governments in 1997. It resulted in the establishment of the Czech-German Future Fund ( $\Rightarrow$  2.5), which in its Article V specifies obligations concerning the support of the members of the German minority in the CR.

## **3. Conclusion**

The German minority in the CR has been undergoing a process of linguistic assimilation, accelerated by the geographic dispersal of the community and a low degree of endogamy. Such circumstances make it difficult to reverse the language shift. There are no specific legal provisions for German, nor a school system where the language is fully developed. Its role in the media and other fields is rather limited, while cultural activities to preserve the traditional heritage appear significant. Despite the assimilation process, new business opportunities may create an environment where German is an increasingly valuable resource. Within the new legislative framework, the focus is on bilingualism rather than on the

development of separate linguistic environments for the minority. Such an approach may favour the development of a new economic dimension for the language, especially in the light of the country's full membership to the European Union.

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# Polish in the Czech Republic

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

Polish [*język polski*] is a western Slavonic language (like Czech, Slovak and Sorbian) within the Indo-European family. The earliest attestations of Polish are to be found in Latin documents from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The language emerges in a broadly standardised form (as from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century) based on the dialects of both the Wielkopolska and Małopolska areas with influences from Czech: Warsaw did not play a role, since it joined Poland later. Basically, there are four dialect areas: Wielkopolska, Małopolska, Mazowsze and Silesia; Silesian dialects include varieties from Katowice and Opole. Polish has always used the Roman alphabet. In the Těšín region both Standard Polish and the Western Těšín dialect are used. Standard Polish is normally restricted to formal domains, while the dialect – which is structurally very close to other Polish Silesian dialects, standing “half-way” between Polish and Czech – is used extensively. The local Poles may perceive some differences between a “highland” and a “lowland” dialect of the Těšín region, but there are not many authors who differentiate. The dialect carries more prestige than standard Polish and is used not only by Poles but also by Czechs – so much so that a number of people believe that this dialect belongs to the Czech “national language”. Given the closeness between Czech and Polish, a situation of “semicommunication” between Czechs and Poles occurs (⇒ Slovak in the Czech Republic, 1.1).

### 1.2 History, geography and demography

1.2.1 The Polish community is the only national (or ethnic) minority in the CR that is linked to a specific geographical area: the Těšínské Slezsko within Moravia-Silesia [*Moravskoslezsko*], also known as the “Těšín” or “Cieszyn” region. In 1920 the southern half of the area (rich in coalfields) – which became highly industrialised in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century – was allotted to the Czechoslovak state. In the interwar period the Těšín region witnessed the development of a dense network of Polish schools and a large number of Polish cultural, sports and economic institutions. The population found employment predominantly in the mining and iron works industries (⇒ 1.2.3). The ethnic issue, though, was a source of tension and the area was fiercely disputed between Czechoslovakia and Poland. With the Munich Agreement the Těšín region was returned to Poland and given back to Czechoslovakia after World War II, when pressure from the Soviet Union brought the conflict to an end. The process of further industrialisation which followed World War II led to the dissolution of the original ethnic structure, with the disappearance of Polish villages and the movement to urban centres such as Havířov. Also several thousands of Slovaks were attracted to the Těšín region, and in 1991 they equalled the number of Poles in the Karviná district. In 2001 Poles were again more numerous (19,040) than Slovaks (15,948), while the Czech element accounted for 229,658 people in the same district.

1.2.2 In the 2001 census, 51,968 people reported Polish ethnicity in the whole of the CR. In 1991 the number was 59,383, in 1980 it was 66,123. This decline has been

constant from at least the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, in the thirty-year period 1950-1980, almost 33,600 Poles (46.2% of the 1950 community) appear to have changed their ethnic allegiance, most of them reporting as Czechs. Besides, at least some of those who declared Silesian ethnicity in the last two censuses (1991 and 2001) should probably be counted as Polish ( $\Rightarrow$  The Czech Republic, 3.1). Unlike for other language groups in the CR, the number of Polish speakers in the 2001 census is less than the number of those who declared Polish ethnicity. In the 2001 census, 50,738 identified Polish as their first language, a decrease with respect to the 52,362 people of the 1991 census; however, 2,552 people declared themselves as bilingual Czech-Polish. The 1980 census did not include a question concerning the first language. According to the final results of the 2001 census, approximately 80% of the total number (51,968) of people from the Polish national minority live in the Těšín region. The remaining Poles live dispersed among the Czechs and other ethnic groups essentially over the whole territory of the CR – a higher density can be found only in Northern, Eastern and Central Bohemia. Approximately 40% of the Polish minority live in areas with less than 10,000 inhabitants. The territory of the Těšín region, which is the Czech part of historical Silesia that borders on Poland, consists of the districts of Karviná (where 6.8% of the population of the district have registered as Poles) and Frýdek-Místek (8%). The Polish minority of the district of Frýdek-Místek have traditionally inhabited rural areas, while those in Karviná were city dwellers.

- 1.2.3 The Ostrava-Karviná area is the industrial and mining basin of the region, traditionally connected with the exploitation of local mineral resources (especially the quality bituminous coal with high coking capacity) and the related development of heavy industry and metallurgy. Until 1989, the basin was the national hub of metallurgical output, and accounted for 100% of the production of pig iron, 92% of steel, and 98% of coke in the CR. Almost all of the Czech Republic's output of bituminous coal mining is still concentrated here, although the quantity of mined resources is diminishing. Despite the reduction in heavy industry output and mineral mining, more than a third of the whole local population of the Ostrava-Karviná area still works in industrial sectors. In the Moravskoslezsko region the unemployment rate is high: at the end of 31 December 2002 there were 101,214 unemployed, that is 15.89% as against the national average of 9.81%. Of the unemployed, 12,656 were registered disabled and 13,513 were school-leavers. The share of long-term unemployment (i.e. longer than 12 months) is much higher in this region than the national average: in the Karviná district there were 107 job-seekers per vacancy. As a result of the industrial decline, the decrease of the Polish minority has been more severe in Karviná than in the rural areas of Frýdek-Místek.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

The legal status of Polish is not mentioned separately nor in a single general framework, but is derived by formulations that are also applicable to other minority languages. Its use is thus governed by the Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities. The main government institution dealing with the Polish minority is the Government Council for National Minorities, where the Polish minority is represented. The Government Council for National Minorities allocates grants for the various activities of the Polish associations. In the Těšín region, a number of municipalities with large Polish communities have committees for national minorities that participate in the implementation of the government policy.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

2.1.1 The Polish national minority has a network of schools in the districts of Karviná and Frýdek-Místek including kindergartens, primary schools, grammar schools and secondary modern schools, with Polish as a language of instruction. In the school-year 2001/2002, 38 kindergartens with Polish as a language of instruction were established, with 701 children to attend them. At primary level, in the school-year 2001/2002 there were 27 schools with Polish as a language of instruction in the districts of Karviná and Frýdek-Místek, attended by 2,326 pupils. By the second grade Czech is taught as a compulsory subject in all primary schools. In secondary schools, 23 classes (686 pupils) have Polish as a language of instruction in the district of Karviná: Český Těšín Grammar School with its classes in Karviná (467 students), the Secondary Technical School Karviná (63), the Commercial Academy Český Těšín (102) and the Secondary Health Care School Karviná (54). In 1995 the Pedagogical Centre for the Polish Minority was established in Český Těšín to assist in the training of teachers and in the distribution of teaching materials and aids; the Centre is financially supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. The Ministry — since 1994 — has also been promoting the publication of the magazines *Ogniwo* and *Jutrzenka*, which the representatives of the Polish national minority consider to be an important aid for primary schools with Polish as a medium of instruction.

2.1.2 Outside the Těšín region and in adult and continuing education, Polish is not a medium of instruction but is offered as a subject. At the university level, Polish is taught at the University of Ostrava (<http://www.osu.cz>) in particular, where there is an extended syllabus of Polish studies and training facilities for teachers who are subsequently employed in the educational system of the Polish minority. In 1990, the University of Ostrava established a specific *Kabinet pro výzkum polského etnika v České republice* [Unit for Research of the Polish Ethnic Group in the Czech Republic].

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

The Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2001 states that “Members of national minorities living traditionally and for a long time in the territory of the Czech Republic have the right to use the language of a national minority in official documentation and discourse and in hearings before a court. Conditions for exercise of this right are determined by special legal regulations”. Members of the Polish minority are thus guaranteed the right to use Polish in dealing with judicial authorities and in courts. There are 104 official interpreters from Polish into Czech registered at the Ministry of Justice. In practice, however, the right to use minority languages in contact with administration authorities and in the courts has not been supported by additional legislation, and has not been implemented. Besides, it has been suggested that Czech is almost exclusively preferred in courts because speakers think that the success of their case also depends on language choice.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

Polish is not used by state or regional public authorities, although the language is allowed in dealings with the administration. Knowledge of Polish is not required,

nor does information technology appear to be adapted to the Polish alphabet. Although the use of Polish in proceedings with local government bodies is not restricted, such matters are mostly settled in Czech. No services are normally provided in Polish, but contacts with service providers in the Těšín region are often entertained in Polish. The use of names and surnames in Polish is legally permitted by the Act No 301/2000 Coll. on public registers, given names and surnames, but the absence of appropriate equipment to print Polish characters restricts this right in practice: e.g. if a first name is not entered into the document of a register in Polish, the authorities cannot meet an applicant's requirement to issue a certificate of birth with the first name of a child in his mother tongue. The issue of signage is controversial: § 29 of the Act on communities entitles (through a petition) the members of the Polish minority to signage in Polish, but since petitioning involves the use of personal data, statutory instruments are being developed to overcome that difficulty.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 Printed media are mostly subsidised by the government. *Głos ludu. Gazeta Polaków w Republice Czeskiej* [The Voice of People. The Newspaper of the Poles in the Czech Republic] (publisher: Congress of the Poles in the Czech Republic) is issued every other day (5,700 – 6,200 copies, 8–12 pages) and is available in public shops in the Karviná and Frýdek-Místek districts. Periodicals include the fortnightly *Nasza Gazetka. Dwutygodnik dla dzieci i młodzieży* [Our Small Newspaper. The Fortnightly for Children and Youth] (publisher: Harcerstwo Polskie w Republice Czeskiej, 1,000 copies, 8-12 pages); the monthly *Zwrot. Miesięcznik społeczno-kulturalny Polskiego Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego* [The Return. Socio-cultural Monthly of Polish Cultural and Educational Union] (publisher: Polish Cultural and Educational Union in the Czech Republic, 20,000 copies, 80 pages) which is a cultural and educational monthly focusing on the history and on contemporary professional and non-professional activities of the Polish minority in Těšín Silesia; and the monthly *Kurier Praski* [Prague Courier] (publisher: Prague Courier Civil Association, 500 copies, 12-24 pages), mainly concerned with the Polish community in Prague and the situation of the Polish minority in the CR, as well as with Czech-Polish relations. Every year also several non-periodicals (for example *Kalendarz Śląski*) and publications from Těšín Silesia are issued. In addition, the monthlies *Jutrzenka* and *Ogniwo* for pedagogical purposes and the fortnightly *Wiarus* for war veterans (without state subsidies) are worth mentioning.
- 2.4.2 There is a 15 minutes daily radio broadcast in Polish by *Czech Radio Ostrava* (supported by the government). There are several Polish radio stations that can be picked up in bordering regions, e.g. *Radio Katowice*, *Radio Zet* etc. *The Czech TV* has been broadcasting 10 minutes/week since September 2003 and *TV Prima* has 40 minutes/week in Polish; TV programmes from Poland can also be received. In 2003 the Czech Television's studio in Ostrava launched a regular news and current affairs weekly in Polish.
- 2.4.3 Web pages for the Polish minority include [www.polonica.cz](http://www.polonica.cz) (Union of the Poles in the Czech Republic), [www.pzko.cz](http://www.pzko.cz) (Polish Cultural and Educational Union in the Czech Republic), [www.moucha.cz](http://www.moucha.cz) (a regional information server for Northern Moravia and Silesia), [www.czechy.cz](http://www.czechy.cz) (a Czech-Polish information server for entrepreneurs, travellers and traders) [www.arsmusica.cz](http://www.arsmusica.cz) (Ars Musica), [www.oczechach.info](http://www.oczechach.info) and [www.opolsku.cz](http://www.opolsku.cz) (commercial pages and information about Poland and the CR in Polish and Czech). At present, there seems to be no

particular development of human language technologies in the CR for Polish (as machine-readable dictionaries, authoring aids, translation tools and language learning systems): nevertheless, whatever is available in Poland can easily be imported.

## 2.5 Arts and culture

For books no statistics appear to be available, but Martinek (2002) shows that there is a great variety of authors, genres and copies produced in Polish. For traditional music, many groups (e.g. *Kapela Olza*) are united in the Association *Ars Musica* (see [www.arsmusica.cz](http://www.arsmusica.cz)). Pop and rock include *Glazy, Glider, P-metoda, Arzia* and other groups. *Tara Fuki* is a duet of two singers and violoncellos, composing their own music and Polish lyrics/modern folk (<http://www.tarafuki.cz/tarafuki-en.php>). Stable groups for drama include the *Polish Těšín Theatre*, which has two professional ensembles; it has been sponsored by the District Office in Karviná and — since January 2003 — by the Regional Authority for the Moravian-Silesian region. Many cultural activities are organised by the *Polsko Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy* [Polish Cultural and Educational Union] (PZKO). The most important is the yearly *Gorolski Swieto* (since 1947) in Jablunkov, organised within the framework of mutual co-operation on Czech-Polish borders as a part of so-called “Week of Culture in Beskydy Mountains”. It represents in particular the culture of the ‘highland’ Těšín region. Every other year there is also the *Festival PZKO* with thousands of participants: in the 2002 festival in Karviná 8 folklore ensembles and 24 choirs performed. Another important cultural festival is *Maj na Olza* (since 1994), which reflects in particular the culture of the ‘lowland’ Těšín region. There is also a Polish puppet-theatre “Bajka” of the PZKO (which has been performing for 54 years) and many amateur groups. The PZKO publishes the annual *Kalendarz Śląski* [Silesian Calendar] which is a valuable source of information about cultural, social, religious and political life of the Polish minority in the CR; in addition, it issues publications from its individual professional sections. There are no Polish films produced in the CR, nor are films dubbed in Polish. Other cultural activities fall within the scope of The Congress of the Poles in the CR (⇒ 2.7.2) with public records, books and exhibits presenting the history of the Polish national minority on the territory of the CR. Other festival names include *Cierlickie Lato Filmowe, Przegląd Kapel Ludowych, Folklorystyczny, Kino na Granicy, Teatralny „Bez granic”, Piosenki Harcerskiej, Piosenki Dziecięcej*.

## 2.6 The business world

Knowledge of Polish may sometimes be a job requirement or advantage (as in some private firms connected with partners in Poland or oriented towards the Polish population in the CR): for example, the Czech-Polish Commercial Chamber in Ostrava has held a course of Polish for managers which was supported by CBC Phare. There is no advertising in the language. A few products are offered with labels and instructions in Polish, such as foods imported from Poland.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

- 2.7.1 Studies dealing with the sociolinguistic situation date back to the 1980s. They were essentially meant to monitor the effective application and use of language in working environments of the large factories in the Ostrava area; the perspective

was the possible interference between Czech, Slovak and Polish. The main findings were that most of the management was conducted in colloquial Czech, intelligible to all participants. Approximately 50% of Polish parents appear to talk to their children in Polish, with a higher frequency in rural areas. In 1991, the language group endogamy (for the age group up to 35 years) seems to have amounted to 30.1% of Polish speakers in the CR; in 1994 the percentage dropped to 27.9%. Although it may be assumed that in the Těšín region the degree of endogamy is higher, there is a considerable decrease in the intergenerational transmission of the language [Sokolová, Hernová, Šrajerová 1997:67 ff]. In the Těšín region, a few church services are conducted in Polish. According to Bogoczova (1994:24), 90% of worshippers among the Polish secondary school students are reported to pray in Polish.

- 2.7.2 Among institutions of the civil society, one of the most significant is the *Kongres Polaków v Republice Czeskiej* [Congress of the Poles in the CR], established on 3 March 1990 in Český Těšín at the 1st Congress of the Poles in Czechoslovakia. It represents the Polish national minority in state bodies (including the Government Council for National Minorities and the consultative body of the Ministry of education, Youth and Sports for the affairs of the minority education system) as well as in local and regional elected authorities and mass media, while co-ordinating the activity of 22 Polish associations in the whole of the CR. The Congress also issues *Głos ludu*, the newspaper in the Polish language (published three times a week), and various books by Polish authors living in the CR. Importantly, the Congress organises discussions, informal meetings with politicians, training and seminars for volunteers from civil associations as well as many cultural activities. In 2002 the Congress established a working group to analyse the provisions of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and proposed a selection of the 35 compulsory items related to the protection of the Polish language as a regional minority language in the Těšín region. The *Klub Polski w Pradze* [Prague Polish Club] (one of the oldest compatriot associations of Bohemia) resumed its activity in 1991. The Club aims to disseminate the Polish culture in Bohemia and organises lectures, discussions and meetings. Its members take part in various activities organised by the Polish Institute, and in celebrations of Polish national days and anniversaries organised by the Polish Embassy. *Macierz Szkolna w Republice Czeskiej* [Education Foundation in the Czech Republic] was established in 1991 as a successor of the pre-war Organization *Macierz Szkolna w Czechosłowacji*. The foundation has about 4,000 members and is particularly concerned with the Polish educational system in the Czech Republic. It contributes to the development of educational facilities with Polish as a language of instruction. The *Polonus - Klub Polski w Brnie* [Polonus - Polish Club in Brno] was registered in 1997 to include members of the Polish minority living in Brno. The Club co-operates with the Brno Metropolitan Authority and it is a consultant for national minorities, the Polish Embassy in the CR, the Polish Institute in Prague and the association *Wspólnota Polska*. In addition, it organises lectures meetings and discussions. The club, which has about 140 members, also participates in the organisation of Polish Days in Brno.
- 2.7.3 The *Polsko Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy* [Polish Cultural and Educational Union] (PZKO) is the largest (16.000 members) Polish organisation associated with the Congress of the Poles. Established in 1947, the PZKO has sections for history, dance, theatre, literature and art; many choirs, theatres and dancing ensembles work within the organisation. Every year, 87 local groups of the PZKO organise cultural and educational activities in the whole Těšín area; the organisation issues the monthly “Zwrot”, “Kalendarz Śląski” and other publications. *Towarzystwo Avion* was established in 2000 as a Czech-Polish artistic association:

it organises literary and music programmes, concerts and theatre performances. *Stowarzyszenie "Kurier Praski" w Pradze* [Association "Kurier Praski" in Prague] was established in 1994 to publish the monthly "Kurier Praski". *Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Polskiej Książki* [Association of the Friends of Polish Book] was established in 1999 with the aim to disseminate Polish literature, including Těšín authors. The most important activity is the "Exhibition of Polish Books", presenting diverse books of the largest Polish publishing houses and also regional literature of Těšín Silesia. *Stowarzyszenie "Szkoła Polonijna w Pradze"* ["Polonie School" Association in Prague] has been a member of the Congress of the Poles since 1993. It organises Polish language courses among other activities. The *Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Polskich* [Association of Polish Teachers] was established in 1990 as a successor of *Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Polskich w Czechosłowacji*: with about 400 members, it helps to prepare syllabuses, textbooks and professional training courses for its members, and organises conferences for teachers and various activities for Polish schools. The *Zrzeszenie Literatów Polskich* [Association of Polish Writers] was established in 1990 and is a member of the Association of Writers and of the Moravian-Silesian Association of Writers. It co-operates with the association *Grupa Literacka 63* [Literary Group 63] and organises literary sessions for writers and literary competitions for young people.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

Apart from the Agreement between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republics and the Polish Republic on Good Neighbourhood, Solidarity and Friendly Cooperation there are joint Czech-Polish research activities that deal with the history, the culture and the language of Silesia. An Agreement between the Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Government of the Polish Republic on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation was signed on 16 September 1991 and subsequently confirmed. Bilateral obligations related to the state of national minorities are specified in Article (6). There was also a Programme of Cultural, Educational and Scientific Cooperation between the Government of the CR and the Government of the Polish Republic 1996-1997 (signed on 12 April 1996, with Article 11 specifying issues on the education of national minorities). A number of teachers of Polish have been educated at Polish universities.

## **3. Conclusion**

The Polish minority in the CR enjoys a relative degree of cohesion by virtue of its geographical concentration. The school network for Polish appears to be well developed, and in the past ten years there has even been a slight increase in the presence of the language in education. The interest for the language, the dialect (which has a certain degree of prestige) and the culture within the community is high, as is shown by media and other activities. However, the use of Polish is limited in more official contexts, and Poles themselves tend to consider Czech as a more useful lingua franca in this respect. There is a decrease in language use, only partially reflected by the decline in membership. In a long-term perspective there are indications that the community may be moving towards bilingualism and biculturalism.

# Romani in the Czech Republic

## 1. General information

### **1.1 The language**

1.1.1 Romani [*romaŋi čhib*] or Romany, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language – like Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali – which belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The language retains much of the Indic morphology, phonology and lexicon, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by contact with other languages. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe brought about a fragmentation of the language into distinct groups (the main ones being Northern Central, Southern Central, Vlax and Sinti), for a total of approximately 60 dialects and varieties. Although the Roma communities are highly differentiated ( $\Rightarrow$  1.2.1), they often use the same term *Romanes* to refer to the language. Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century Romani was essentially an oral language; it is now written in various orthographies depending on the host country. The Linguistic Commission of the International Romani Union has devised an international standard based on the Kalderash variety of Vlax (the most widespread dialect), but this has not been universally accepted yet.

1.1.2 Dialects in the CR from the Northern Central, Southern Central, and Sinti groups include what is also called “Slovak-Czech” Romani, “Hungarian” Romani and “German” Romani respectively; dialects from the Vlax group are represented by the Lóvári and Kalderash varieties. Northern Central dialects spoken by Czech Roma before World War II have virtually disappeared. The denomination of Slovak-Czech Romani would take into account the fact that the vast majority of Romani speakers in the CR are immigrants from Slovakia ( $\Rightarrow$  1.2.2), but the use of such matrix-based attributes (i.e. based on the name of the majority population) to classify Romani dialects or Roma ethnic subgroups is controversial – although widespread. “Hungarian” Romani is spoken by approximately by 10% of Czech Roma. Lóvári and Kalderash varieties (originally from Slovakia, too) seem to enjoy a certain prestige for Central Roma, possibly because of the more “authentic” features associated with the Vlax itinerant way of life. “German Romani”, the language of the Sinti in the German-speaking areas of Czechia (especially northern Bohemia), is now spoken only by a few families. The different dialects may exhibit considerable structural and lexical differences (especially vis-a-vis Sinti), but interintelligibility is also affected by particularism. Czech names (also used by the Roma) for the language are Romština [Romani], Romský jazyk [the Romani language], *Cikánština* or *Cikánský jazyk* [the Gypsy language]. The language is written in the Czech and Slovak alphabets with diacritic marks. In the case of Romani there is interintelligibility among Slovak-Czech varieties, less among Slovak-Czech and Hungarian varieties.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Roma (the name is the plural form of the word “Rom”) moved from India at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, reached Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and Central Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Successive wavelike migrations produced a number of different subethnic layers cohabiting within the same country, and a diastratic

dialect structure as a consequence; the various Roma groups show also a considerable degree of particularism. Because they arrived from the East, they were also called Egyptians or “Gyptians”, which is at the origin of the “Gypsy”, “Gitanos”, “Gitanes” and other words that are often considered derogatory by the Roma. The term “Roma” is widely used, although the International Romani Union – following the recommendations of its Language Commission – has officially adopted *Rroma* to refer to all people of Roma descent. The Roma are highly differentiated, and use a number of self-denominations beside “Roma”. Although in individual states the Roma are considered as “a community”, it would be more appropriate to refer to Roma “communities” in the plural. In 1998 the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance recommended that the names used for the various groups should be those used by the communities themselves. It should be stressed that the itinerant nature of the Roma is rather stereotypical: this is true only in some countries and for some individual groups, while most of the Eastern European Roma live in compact settlements [Hübschmannova and Neustupuný, 1996:87].

- 1.2.2 The presence of Roma in Bohemia and Moravia can be traced back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but clear reference to them has been made since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the Roma arrived in other parts of Central Europe: a letter of protection issued by the King Zikmund at Spissky Castle in Slovakia dates from 1423. Discrimination and/or assimilation policies were applied to Czech Roma. The first large-scale assimilation took place in the 18<sup>th</sup> century under Maria Theresa. In 1927 the First Republic attempted to resolve “the Gypsy question” with the Law on Wandering Gypsies which required Roma to apply for papers and licences. In 1939 the Ministry of the Interior of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia issued an edict requiring all Roma to settle down and give up their migratory way of life. At the outbreak of World War II the Roma living in Bohemia and Moravia (the current territory of the CR) were estimated at 8,000 members and belonged to two main different groups: the Czech-Moravian Roma (speakers of the Czech and Moravian dialects of the Central group) and the German Roma (speakers of Sinti). Roma in the Slovak Republic were Slovak Roma (speakers of the Slovak dialect of Romani) and Hungarian Roma (speakers of the Hungarian dialect of Romani). The more nomadic Vlach Roma (speakers of the Kalderash and Lóvári varieties) were present in both territories. In the Slovak Republic, the persecution of the Roma was less severe than in Bohemia and Moravia, where the Czech and German Roma were virtually exterminated by the Nazis. Nearly 80% of the current Roma population are postwar immigrants from Slovakia and most are speakers of the “Slovak-Czech” variety [Hübschmannova and Neustupuný:91]. Hungarian Romani is next in terms of number of speakers, totalling approximately 10% of the Roma population in the CR. Some Roma started to leave CR in the second half of 1990s for economic and social reasons. In 1999 about 5,000 Roma emigrated to Britain; others headed for Canada and other West European countries. One of the causes for this exodus was probably earlier legislation – which had made it difficult for Slovak Roma to obtain Czech citizenship – and to negative social attitudes towards the Roma, which have given rise to several cases of discrimination.
- 1.2.3 The 2001 Census identified 11,761 Roma (0,1% of the total CR population), less than half with respect to 1991 (32,903 people, equivalent to 0,3% of the population). Such figures are very low in comparison with the 145,000 members that were estimated in the second half of the 80s by local authorities. This is probably due to the fact that Roma have been reluctant to declare Roma identity. A more realistic figure could therefore be 200,000, and even higher estimates are given. It has been noted by international organisations and the Czech government alike that these discrepancies are an issue. If estimates are correct, the Roma would be the largest non-Czech community. Regarding numbers of speakers of the

language, in 2001 23,211 people declared Romani as their mother tongue, but the estimation is that in the CR the language is spoken by approximately 50% of the Roma (i.e. indicatively by 100,000 speakers if population estimated are correct), a low percentage if compared to the other new EU Member states. However, there are no data available to confirm any of these figure. In the 2001 census 12,970 also claimed to be bilingual in Czech and Romani.

- 1.2.4 Although Roma are dispersed throughout the territory of the CR, most of them live in the Moravia-Silesia [*Moravskoslezsko*] region (the districts of Ostrava and Karviná), in the Usti n.L. region (districts of Ústí nad Labem, Děčín, Most, Chomutov) and in Central Bohemia, in Olomouc and Prague. No reliable data are available on urban/rural distribution patterns; but the Roma seem to be largely urbanized (in contrast to Slovakia), and typically live in outskirts of both small and large cities – areas that often were abandoned by other dwellers. Their income is about 60% of the national average wage for men and about 25% in the case of women; the unemployment rate is as high as 70-90% in some areas.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

The legal status of Romani is not mentioned specifically nor in a single general framework, but can be derived from formulations that are also applicable to other minority languages. Its use is thus governed by the Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities. The Roma were identified by the Czech government as a minority in terms of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The main government institution dealing with the Roma minority is the Government Council for National Minorities [*Rada vlády pro národnostní menšiny*], where the Roma minority is represented. Given the need for a human rights approach to fight discrimination, there is also a specific Government Council for the Roma Community [*Rada vlády ČR pro záležitosti romské komunity*] (until 2001 the Interministerial Commission for the Roma Community). The Government Council for National Minorities allocates grants for the activities of the national minorities. The Government Council for the Roma Community is an advisory and coordinating body for issues connected with the status of the Roma in Czech society. The state's policy towards Romani has changed considerably since 1989, and now embraces affirmative action (without quotas). The policy aims at integration and at the preservation of the cultural features and differences that characterize the Roma. Key aspects have included the introduction of the language in university curricula and support for publications and research.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 Levels of education among the Roma appear to be very low, and are mostly limited to primary profiles, and often uncompleted. Unlike the Polish minority, the Roma have no separated education system: segregated schools are generally rejected and integration into the majority appears to be the most popular option among the Roma themselves. At the pre-school level Romani has virtually no presence whatsoever. At the primary level, the education of Roma children is complicated by both a language handicap (where Romani is their mother tongue) and a different hierarchy of social and cultural values. Not all Roma communities have accepted formal or mainstream schooling, and the number of Roma children that have to be

placed in special (remedial) schools — on the basis of psychological tests — is very high: in 1996/1997 they were 1,008, i.e. more than 40% of all Roma children, pupils and students. The fact that parents consider it easier for their children to attend special schools is one of the main reasons. Since 1993 the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports has been dealing with this problem by organising (voluntary) preparatory classes for Roma children before they attend primary schools, with Romani also as a medium of instruction. In the school year 2000/2001 more than 110 preparatory classes (1,364 pupils) were established: 43 classes at primary schools, 40 classes at special schools and kindergartens. In 2002/2003 there were 116 preparatory classes with 1,489 pupils. However, these classes are no longer designed only for Roma children, but for all socio-culturally disadvantaged children (including foreigners). Apart from these classes, which represent a slight increase in the presence of the language in the education system, the teaching of Romani as a medium of instruction is virtually non-existent. Since the 90s there have been classes of Romani as a voluntary subject at a few secondary schools, but there is no presence of the language in technical and vocational education. In the private sector, the (first) Roma Social Secondary School [*Romská střední škola sociální*] in Kolín (near Prague) was established in 1998 by the Doctor Rajko Djuri Foundation, where Romani is taught as a subject throughout the 4-year curriculum.

- 2.1.2 The most significant development for Romani has been the introduction of the language as a subject in higher education. Roma Studies have been available at Charles University in Prague since 1991 and at Purkyne University in Usti nad Labem since 1992. Palacky University in Olomouc and Pardubice University also offer Romani courses. For in-service training of teachers, several courses are given at the university level. Most Roma studies, however, are taught in the framework of pedagogy or social work, and learning of Romani represents only a part of the activities. Only the programme of Romani and Roma culture at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University has no pedagogical orientation. The language has no off-line learning applications at present, but the materials published in *Romano Džaniben. Časopis romistických studií* [A journal of Roma studies] are available on a CD Rom and used by teachers and students at university level.

## 2.2 Judicial authorities

The Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2001 states that “Members of national minorities living traditionally and for a long time in the territory of the Czech Republic have the right to use the language of a national minority in official documentation and discourse and in hearings before a court. Conditions for the exercise of this right are determined by special legal regulations”. In practice, the right to use minority languages in contact with administrative authorities and in the courts has not been supported by additional legislation, and has not been implemented.

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

Romani is not used by state or regional public authorities. In general it is assumed that the Roma can communicate in Czech or Slovak. The lack of standardisation for Romani (⇒ 1.1.1) is a further obstacle to the elaboration of administrative texts. However, Roma advisers and assistants are appointed by district authorities in accordance with Government Resolution No. 686 of 29 October 1997. By 1st January 1999, all 81 districts in the Czech Republic had appointed Roma advisers,

and approximately half of them were members of the Roma community. But following administrative reforms most were redeployed to municipalities, and the continuity of the network of Roma advisors was thus affected to a great extent. The use of names and surnames in Romani is legally permitted by the Act No 301/2000 Coll. on public registers, given names and surnames. No specific services nor signage are provided in Romani.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 The Roma press includes *Amaro gendalos* [Our Mirror], a socio-cultural monthly published in 500 copies of 18-24 pages each by the Association of the Friends of Dženo Foundation. It is supported by the government and has articles in both Czech and Romani with an English summary. Like other Roma periodicals, it suffers from problems of distribution, marketability and unsold copies. The journal is also published on Internet on [www.dzeno.cz](http://www.dzeno.cz). *Kereka* is a monthly magazine published by the Democratic Alliance of the Roma in the Czech Republic in Valašské Meziříčí (4,500 copies, 32 pages). It is distributed among Roma children and in schools; texts are both in Czech and Romani. *Romano hangos* [Roma Voice] (<http://www.romanohangos.cekit.cz>) is a fortnightly published by the Association of the Roma in Moravia in Brno (2,500- 3,000 copies, 8 pages). This periodical has been published since 1999, and articles are published in Czech and (partially) in Romani. *Romano kurko* (5,000 copies, 8-12 pages) was published until 2002 every two weeks by the Civil Association for Roma National Press in Brno, focussing on events in the Roma community. Articles were published in Czech and partially (30-40%) in Romani. All the media above receive financial support from the government. The Association of the Friends of *Romano Džaniben* publishes *Romano Džaniben* [Roma Knowledge], a periodical of Roma studies of approx. 100 pages (with a *Literary Inset* issued occasionally). The articles are in Czech, Romani, Slovak and sometimes also in German, English or French. The periodical addresses experts dealing in Roma studies (linguistics, sociology, history etc.) and presents original texts in various Roma dialects. It is supported by the Foundation for the Development of Civil Society and the Prague Open Society Fund.
- 2.4.2 In Radio broadcasting, there has been the programme *O Roma vakeren – Romové hovoří* since 1992, but is produced in Czech. There is also an Internet radio, Radio Rota ([www.radiorota.cz](http://www.radiorota.cz)), where Romani is used to some extent, together with Czech and English. Czech radio broadcasts approximately 1 hour and a half of news and regional programmes every week, only partly in Romani. At present there is no TV broadcasting specifically in Romani and/or for the Roma in state or private networks. An exception was the programme *Romale*, a course of Romani and Roma culture, which was broadcast from 2000 to 2001. In 2001 the civil association *Yetti Climbers Club* (Prague) made the TV series *Amare Roma* [Our Roma]. Its aim was to popularise Roma history, culture and tradition as well as Roma artists and famous personalities of Roma origin and to teach Romani; the Czech TV aired and presented more than 20 parts of the series. One reason why programmes for Roma are broadcast in Czech rather than Romani is that knowledge of the language varies considerably among the Roma themselves. A number of websites are produced in Romani, most often with parallel texts in Czech and English. The most significant is <http://www.romove.cz/en>, which also provides several links. At present, there seems to be no development of human language technologies for Romani (like machine-readable dictionaries, authoring aids, translation tools and language learning systems). However, some resources for the language are being digitised: e.g. [www.rommuz.cz/pdf/AnnualReport2002.pdf](http://www.rommuz.cz/pdf/AnnualReport2002.pdf) for the *Muzeum romské kultury*,

radio and television recordings (see <http://www.romea.cz/index.php?id=multimedia>).

## 2.5 Arts and culture

- 2.5.1 In the 90s, the cultural promotion of Romani had some significant developments. These include the publication of Hübschmannová, M., Šebková, H. and Žigová, A. *Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník* [Czech-Romani and Romani-Czech Pocket Dictionary] (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1991), and (in 1994) the publication of the first number of a regular journal of Roma studies with the support of the Phare programme: *Romano Džaniben. Časopis romistických studií* [A journal of Roma studies]. In 1999 an important textbook of Romani appeared, written by Šebková, H., Žlnayová, E. *Romaňi čhib. Učebnice slovenské romštiny* [A textbook of the Slovak Romani] (Praha: Fortuna). Havlová (2000) has collected 655 examples of literary writings by Roma authors in the CR from 1969 to 1999. The collection represents the complete literary production that originated in the period. Most of the works, written in Romani (sometimes with Czech translations), are poems, short stories and fairy tales etc. from periodicals, while only 32 works had been published as books. The vast majority of the works was sponsored by state institutions or non-governmental organizations. Although the publishing of Romani literature dates back to the end of the 1960s with the founding of the Gypsy-Roma Union, the highest publishing figures were recorded at the beginning of the 1990s.
- 2.5.2 One of the most significant Roma cultural institutions is the *Muzeum romské kultury* [The Museum of Romani Culture] (<http://www.rommuz.cz>) in Brno, which has been operational since 1991 with support from the Czech government (Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Foreign Affairs) as well as from the Brno Metropolitan Authority and other sponsors. The Museum cooperates with other institutions both in the CR and abroad (see also the 2000 report <http://www.rommuz.cz/pdf/AnnualReport2002.pdf>). Other cultural organisations are the *Nadace Romano Džaniben* [The Romano Dzaniben Foundation], *Společenstvi Romů Na Moravě* [The Society of Roma in Moravia], the Open Society Fund (<http://osf.cz>), *Nadace Mosty* [The Bridges Foundation], *Nová Škola* [The New School], *Centrum Romistiky* [The Romani Studies Centre], *Chavorikane Luma* [Children's World]. In dramatic art there seems to be no stable professional or amateur groups that work (almost) primarily in Romani. Cinema production is limited to fairy tales for children.
- 2.5.3 Traditional music in Romani is performed by V. Bílá (at present the best-known Roma singer), A. Gondolán (also owner of a Music Club in which both Roma and Non-Roma groups perform, V. Fabián (a star of the 1960s and 1970s), L. Goral (also an actor) and J. Fečo (also the author of a Roma musical) among others. Pop and rock have *Gulo čar* (a soul-funk group from Brno), *Romano Rat* (Roma music combined with jazz), *Ida Kellarová Bengas* (a present-day group) and *Syndrom Snopp*. The international cultural festival *Romfest* (held annually 1990-1996) was discontinued and changed into a Roma Song Festival, now operating on a national level. The Association of the Roma of Northern Moravia organises the festival of *Roma Song Karviná*, which fetures both traditional and contemporary Roma music. The world Roma festival *Khamoro* [Sunshine] is one of the most popular activities performed in Prague: it is organised by Word 21 Civil Association founded in 2001 and has attracted Roma artists from 12 states. There is an annual literary competition of Roma children writing in Romani *Romano suno*.

## 2.6 The business world

There is virtually no presence of Romani in this domain, with the exception of a few approx. 50 Roma assistants/advisors in civil service posts ( $\Rightarrow$  2.3) and, to some extent, in the education domain where there were more than 300 Roma assistants working in preparatory classes in the school year 2002/2003. The language is never used in advertising, but – according to *Radio Rota* – some initiatives to that effect are planned (2004). There is no consumer information available in Romani.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

- 2.7.1 The first language of Roma in the Czech Lands used to be Romani, but Slovak and Czech have been replacing it. Many members of the middle and older generations are bilingual or multilingual, using Czech, Slovak and also Hungarian (Slovak and Hungarian being required to maintain contacts abroad). Before 1989 Roma were not acknowledged as an ethnic (national) minority and Romani could not be used in public nor in the education system. Romani plays an important role in Roma groups as a symbol of their community, but little is turned into practice. Some language-related initiatives have been pursued with the assistance of agents who are not themselves Roma. A number of Romani intellectuals do not support the maintenance of Romani and claim that their “Roma-ness” [*romipen*] does not depend on the language. Among different Roma groups, however, Romani is still a vital language for everyday communication. The Roma particularism has traditionally maintained a high degree of endogamy within communities, which still continues: intergroup marriages appear to be even less common than marriages with non-Roma. This may have contributed to the maintenance of the language, but the assimilation process appears stronger.
- 2.7.2 There are as many as 35 registered civic associations and political parties for the Roma population. The *Romská občanská iniciativa* [The Roma Civic Initiative] is, with several thousand members, the largest political organisation. Other organisations include *Demokratická Aliance Romů ČR* [The Democratic Alliance of Roma of the Czech Republic]; *Romské Centrum pro Střední a východní Evropu* [The Romani Centre for Central and Eastern Europe], *Nadace Tolerance* [The Tolerance Foundation], *Romodrom* (<http://www.romodrom.org>), *Dokumentální Středisko Pro lidská Práva* [Documentation Centre for Human Rights] (<http://www.lidska-prava.cz>), *Poradna Pro občanství Bývalých Občanů ČSFR* [Citizenship Counselling Centre], *Sdružení Olašských Romů V ČR* [The Association of Vlax Roma in the Czech Republic]. *Sdružení Dženo* [Dzeno Association] (<http://www.dzeno.cz>) is a civil association aiming at the development and restoration of Roma traditions. The association enjoys the State and foreign contributions, including the Phare programme. Other associations include SLOVO 21 (which organizes international Roma Summer Schools with a particular emphasis on Romani) and *Hnutí R* [Movement R] – originally a movement of teachers and schools, aimed at introducing multicultural education into the Czech education system with a particular emphasis on Roma pupils. There has been a Union of Roma Writers in the CR since 1990, most of them writing in Romani. Details and further links are available from <http://www.romove.cz/en/article/18366>.

## 2.8 The European dimension

The Czech Republic has signed but not ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages. Roma are recognised as a minority under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which was ratified by the CR in 1998. In 1994 the regular publication of the first journal of Roma studies started with the support of the Phare programme: *Romano Džaniben. Časopis romistických studií* [A journal of Roma studies]. The project *Variants – Intercultural education* implemented was financed and carried out under the EU programme Equal, and training of the assistants for preparatory classes and teaching materials were supported by Phare 2002. In 2003 – in the framework of the project “Phare 2000 – Shift (*Posun*)” – a new study programme for training of Roma assistants and advisors was developed at three secondary schools. The *Dženo Association* is partly supported by Phare.

## 3. Conclusion

The situation of Romani reflects a process of linguistic assimilation, especially among the young generation of Roma. While in traditional Roma settings the original language and culture are relatively well preserved, in urban locations deculturation appears dominant. The situation is complicated by the fact that – unlike in Slovakia – Romani varieties are recently transplanted dialects with no areal transitions, and particularism inhibits contacts between Central Romani, Vlax and Sinti speakers. The promotion of Romani mostly occurs within the preservation and development of the Roma’s cultural heritage, but attempts have been made to use Romani as a means to overcome communication problems with Romani children at school. However, any use of Romani in special or mainstream education would have to take into account the fact that the Roma are a disadvantaged social group: and in the promotion of Romani as an educational tool care has to be taken not to deny Roma children the opportunity to improve their command of Czech, because poor knowledge of the majority language contributes to the further isolation of Roma communities. The standardisation problem, which adds to the difficulty of providing educational tools in Romani, also affects broadcasting possibilities. However, since most Romani in the CR speak mutually intelligible dialects, variation might be accepted without waiting for an international standard to be fully developed [Hübschmannova and Neustupný, 1996:105].

# **Slovak in the Czech Republic**

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Slovak [*slovenský jazyk*] is a western Slavonic language like Czech, Polish and Sorbian. It uses the Latin alphabet with four diacritics. The earliest attestations are in Latin or Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, and date from the 10<sup>th</sup> –13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Standardisation was first attempted only in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century by Anton Bernolák (1762-1813), a Catholic priest: the use of a Slovakized form of Czech was also a way to distance oneself from the Slovak protestant tradition, which had its roots in the Czech Reformation. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, parallel to the rise of Slovak nationalism, L'udovít Štúr (1815-56) developed a standard grammar which is basically in use to this day. The Slovak language differs from Czech because the two languages were standardised on the basis of different dialects on the Czecho-Slovak dialectal continuum [Berger, 2003]. Slovak and Czech are in fact mutually intelligible languages: differences between them are smaller than those existing between standard (literary) Czech and Silesian dialects. This has favoured the development of passive (or receptive) bilingualism between Czechs and Slovaks, with a situation of “semicommunication” similar to the one between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. There are no reliable data available on the presence of Slovak dialects in the CR.; as Slovaks lived dispersed throughout the country and tend to assimilate very quickly, it is generally assumed that no new dialects have come into existence.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Before the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) in 1918 the Czech and the Slovak nations were politically divided, although there was some degree of migration. Slovaks from southern Slovakia, for example, had fled to Southern Moravia following the Turkish invasion of Hungary. Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire Slovakia was part of Hungary. In 1918 Slovaks comprised – together with the Czechs – 65% of the population of the CSR. The migration of Slovak from to the more industrialized Czech regions, that had occurred since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ceased in 1939 when Slovakia was founded as a separate state and the Czech Lands became a protectorate of Germany. After the war the CSR was re-established, with the Slovaks replacing the Germans as the largest non-Czech national group. By 1947 there were as many as 170,000 Slovaks among those who settled the border areas with Germany (the former Sudetenland). Slovak immigration grew to reach a peak of 3.5% of the total CSR population in 1980, when 359,370 declared Slovak ethnicity. Unlike Germans or Poles, Slovaks are therefore mainly post-war immigrants. With the establishment of the Federal Republic in 1968 the situation of passive bilingualism intensified: an example was the arrival of many Slovaks in Prague to work within the state's administration.

Passive bilingualism was developed essentially through broadcasting, while the influence of printed media was less. Education played a significant role, with the teaching of Slovak being limited to the acquisition of a passive language knowledge.

- 1.2.2 Before World War II Czechs and Slovaks were considered as one “Czechoslovak” nation and were not differentiated in statistics. In the 2001 census, 193,190 people declared Slovak nationality; in the 1991 census there were 314,877 (3.1% of the population). However, a qualified estimate places the number of Slovaks living in the Czech Republic at between 350,000 and 400,000. There remains a decrease in Slovak ethnicity that has been occurring since the 1980s, and more sharply in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This fall in Slovak affiliation is not due to repatriation: many second- or third generation Slovaks may have chosen to declare Czech identity, Slovak immigration has slowed down and many of the Roma who had previously declared Slovak nationality (most of them do originate from Slovakia) have probably switched to Czech or Roma ethnicity [Nekvapil and Neustupný, 1998]. As to the number of speakers, in the 2001 census 208,723 declared Slovak to be their first language, while in 1991 239,355 speakers had been recorded. Unlike in 1991, therefore, the number of speakers exceeds the number of those who declare the relevant ethnicity. However, 14,109 people have declared themselves as bilingual Czech-Slovak. The census of 1981 did not include a question concerning the first language.
- 1.2.3 Although Slovaks are dispersed throughout the territory of the CR, the most numerous groups are to be found in northern Moravia, northern Bohemia and Prague. More specifically, they are found in the Karlovy Vary region, as well as in the Moravia-Silesia, Usti n.L. and Liberec regions. There are still no data available on urban or rural distribution, pending further statistical analysis.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

- 1.3.1 The Constitution of 1920 introduced a “Czechoslovak” language, although legislation in the same document specified that the language had two varieties, Czech and Slovak. They were used in their respective territories, but Czech was the language of the central administration and prevailed in most contexts. In 1938 Slovak became the official language of the state, and the codification of literary Slovak was deliberately separated from Czech. After World War II the legal concept of Czechoslovak was not revived, and Slovak continued to remain under Czech influence. With the establishment of a federal state in 1968, both Czech and Slovak were official languages and the degree of receptive multilingualism increased. With the partition of the Czechoslovakia (1993) the Slovak community in the CR became a minority.
- 1.3.2 The legal status of Slovak is not mentioned separately nor in a single general framework, but is derived by formulations that are also applicable to other minority languages. Its use is thus governed by the Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities. The main government institution dealing with the Slovak minority is the Government Council for National Minorities, where the Slovak minority is represented. The Government Council for National Minorities allocates grants for the various activities of the Slovak associations.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 There has traditionally been a lack of Slovak schools in the CR. Currently, Slovak is not taught at the pre-school, primary and secondary levels of education, nor in technical and vocational schools. In the first half of the 90s, the primary school in Karviná was the only operational Slovak school in the territory of the CR; but it ceased to exist at the end of the millennium owing to a low number of pupils. A survey conducted in the first half of the 80s revealed that many Slovaks did not consider the teaching of Slovak as appropriate for their children. In Prague (where several thousand Slovaks live) there has never been a Slovak school: in the 90s, the association *Obec Slovákov v Českej republike* had launched the project of a Slovak High School [*gymnázium*], but there were not enough applications.
- 2.1.2 After the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993 Slovak was no longer included in school curricula; some institutions in the CR continued teaching Slovak within the framework of Slavic or Czech studies, others discontinued it. Towards the end of the 1990s it was felt that more systematic attention was necessary. In 1999 the Slovak - Czech Club, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the CR, the Charles University of Prague and the Embassy of the Slovak Republic organised a conference to discuss the absence of Slovak language in the Czech education system. In 2000 the National Seminar on Teaching Slovak and Slovak Literature at Czech Universities organised by the Hradec Králové University recommended that some universities establish a Czech-Slovak major, and called for the incorporation of Slovak language and literature at primary and secondary schools within the context of multicultural education. The Protocol between the Czech and Slovak ministries of education permits students to use their mother language in admission examinations and during academic courses in the other country (i.e. the Czech language can be used at Slovak universities and vice versa, unless the course or examination is directly related to the study of the language concerned).
- 2.1.3 As a subject, Slovak is now present only at the university level, and is included into curricula of Czech Studies or Slavic Studies. There is a department (founded in 1994) of Slovak Studies at the Charles University in Prague. Slovak studies are available also at Masaryk University in Brno. As a medium of instruction, Slovak is used within the Slovak Studies programme at Charles University and Masaryk University, but in other institutions of higher education (technical, economic or medical universities) some Slovak members of the teaching staff use Slovak while teaching various subjects to Czech students. There are no particular training courses for language teachers.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

The Act on Rights of Members of National Minorities of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2001 states that “Members of national minorities living traditionally and for a long time in the territory of the Czech Republic have the right to use the language of a national minority in official documentation and discourse and in hearings before a court. Conditions for exercise of this right are determined by special regulation”. Members of the Slovak minority are thus guaranteed the right to use Slovak in contact with judicial authorities and in court. There are official interpreters from Slovak into Czech registered at the Ministry of Justice. In practice, however, the right to use minority languages in dealing with administrative authorities and in

the courts has not been supported by additional legislation, and has not been implemented. Receptive bilingualism is most frequent in such situations.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

There are no official statements/documents nor reliable data available on the use of Slovak by state or regional public authorities. Given its interintelligibility with Czech, Slovak is apparently tolerated in dealings with the administration – both in writing and in speech. No services are provided in Slovak; the signage is only in Czech. However, informal contacts with service providers can be maintained in Slovak, insofar as receptive bilingualism allows it.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

2.4.1 In 1991 there were still 14 Slovak newspapers being distributed in the CR, but not necessarily published in the Czech Lands. Today there are no dailies or weeklies in the Slovak language that are published in the Czech Republic. Only three monthlies are available in the CR: *Listy* (published by the *Klub slovenské kultury v České republice*), *Slovenské dotyky* [Slovak Touches] (published by the *Slovensko-český klub v ČR*) and *Korene* [Roots] (published by *Obec Slovákov v ČR*). *Ilustrovaný žurnál Černá labuť* – which is published only occasionally – uses both Czech and Slovak.

2.4.2 In radio broadcasting, there is a regular short programme in Slovak for the Slovak minority (including 1 hour/week of news); Slovak is sometimes used in Czech broadcasting, e.g. in sports programmes or news (in interviews with Slovak players or trainers living in CR), or by national radio stations who employ Slovak correspondents or moderators for music programmes. Since 2002, the Slovak private radio *Twist* (based in Slovakia) has broadcast in Prague and in the surrounding region. There are no separate Slovak TV channels or programmes, not even on private channels. The Slovak satellite channel *Markíza* and other Slovak networks (films and series are also dubbed in Slovak) can be picked up in the CR. It has frequently been suggested that television used to play a decisive role in the development of receptive bilingualism, and that the disappearance of the Slovak cultural programmes (as well as the alternation of announcers in news and sports) has negatively affected the passive knowledge of the language among younger generations. However, in the former CSR there was only one TV program in Slovak, and the total share of Slovak was quite limited.

2.4.3 The activities of the Slovak minority organisations are presented by the Slovak-Czech Club on [www.cz-sk.net](http://www.cz-sk.net) and on [www.slovak.sk](http://www.slovak.sk) (or [www.slovaci.cz](http://www.slovaci.cz)) by the Community of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic. On both addresses the periodicals *Slovak Touches* and *Roots* are available. In addition, the Czech-Slovak Club has put on [www.svet.czsk.net](http://www.svet.czsk.net) an Internet daily which is updated every day. This online publication addresses Czechs and Slovaks worldwide, including the Slovak minority in the CR and the Czech minority in Slovakia; it is supported by both Czech and Slovak government bodies.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

2.5.1 Materials and books in Slovak are published mainly in Slovakia. A recent production in the CR is the result of the collaboration between Czech and Slovak linguists: M. Sokolová, K. Musilová, D. Slančová and J. Dršatová (forthcoming):

*Renovovaný kurz jazyka slovenského pro Čechy – Renovovaný kurz českého jazyka pre Slovákov* [A Revised Course of Slovak for Czechs – A Revised Course of Czechs for Slovaks]. In 2003 a new textbook for secondary schools was published: *Čítanka moderní slovenské literatury pro střední školy* [An anthology of Slovak literature for secondary schools] (of Baláž, Anton, and Petřík, Vladimír: Praha: Slovensko-český klub).

- 2.5.2 Among traditional music groups are *Limbora* (founded in the 1950s) and *Pučík* (founded in 1991); they work in Prague and Brno respectively. Slovak pop and rock is very popular in the CR, but the music is produced in Slovakia. There are a few Slovak singers living and performing in the CR, among them Miro Žbirka. As far as drama is concerned, there are no professional groups that work in Slovak. The *ČeskoSlovenská scéna* [The CzechSlovak Scene] is a semi-professional group performing both in Czech and Slovak (the Czech actors speak Czech and the Slovak actors speak Slovak during the same performance). There are no films made or dubbed in Slovak, but in many Czech films there are characters using Slovak. The Club of the Slovak Culture in the Czech Republic holds lectures, seminars, performances of folklore ensembles and professional art exhibitions, publications and collection of documents. The *Slovensko-český klub* [Slovak-Czech Club] was the main organiser of *Days of the Slovak Culture* which took place in 2001 in České Budějovice, Moravská Třebová and Prague. This civil association also puts on the festival of *Czech-Slovak Theatre*, where Czech and Slovak actors play together in their respective mother tongues. In 2002 it also organised in several Czech towns *Days of the Slovak Culture in the Czech Republic*. The Community of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic was the promoter of the 4th international festival of Slovak folklore *Jánošík Ducat* at the Walachia Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm. This festival has included members of other national minorities living in the CR. In 2002 the *Limbora Slovak Folklore Association* in Prague was a main organiser of the international folklore festival *Prague - the Heart of Nations*.

## **2.6 The business world**

- 2.6.1 Many Slovaks use Slovak when talking to or negotiating with Czechs: knowledge of Slovak does not seem to be a job requirement or advantage in any sector. There is no advertising in the language. A new phenomenon is the parallelism of Czech and Slovak texts in consumer goods and trade: since producers have to use Czech texts on packages of industrial products for sale in the CR and must use Slovak for the Slovak market, the use of parallel texts in both languages is increasing.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

- 2.7.1 In general, Slovaks who only come to the CR temporarily use Slovak; those who plan to stay permanently tend to shift to Czech. The situation of bilingualism thus seems to be directly linked to the duration of the contact with Czech. The intergenerational transmission of Slovak appears to occur in only 50% of the families and presumably even less, a decrease from 50 years ago. Younger generations, not surprisingly, are considered by their parents to be less competent in the language. The degree of endogamy is low and on the wane (29.1% in 1991 and 16.2% in 1994): in mixed families communication is in Czech or in both languages, but homogeneous Slovak families also tend to use both languages.

- 2.7.2 The Slovak minority has several associations, most dealing with cultural activities: *Česko-Slovenská scéna*, *Demokratická aliancia Slovákov*, *Folklórne združenie Púčík*, *Folklórne združenie Limbora*, *Klub slovenskej kultúry*, *Obec Slovákov v ČR*, *Klub slovenské kultury v České republice*, *Slovensko-český klub*, *Spolok Detvan*, *Spolok priateľov slovenského divadla*, *Zväz Slovákov*. The *Klub slovenské kultury v České republice* [Club of the Slovak Culture in the Czech Republic] is the largest, with approx. 2,500 members. In 2001 it helped organise the first *Week of the Czech-Slovak Cultural Interaction*. The *Slovak Community in the Czech Republic* has its regional branches throughout the whole state. It holds club evening parties and is one of the main organisers of the international festival of Slovak folklore, *Jánošík Ducat*, which takes place at the Walachia Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm. At the 3rd festival in 2001 more than 20 ensembles from the CR and abroad performed. The festival was open to ensembles of other national minorities living in the CR.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The Agreement between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on good neighbourhood, friendly relations and cooperation guarantees (Art. 8) both the legal protection and support of new national minorities – the Slovak minority in the CR and the Czech one in SR, the development of educational, cultural and association activities etc. Reciprocal treatment of Slovak students in the CR and Czech students in Slovakia is guaranteed by the Protocol between the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic and the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic concerning Cooperation in the Field of Education, Youth, Physical Education and Sports in the Years 2002-2006

## **3. Conclusion**

The situation of the Slovaks in the CR appears to be one of language and cultural assimilation, as the declining number of speakers (paralleled by the diminishing ethnic affiliation) indicates. This language shift is certainly being favoured by the situation of receptive bilingualism and “semicommunication” existing between Czech and Slovak speakers – given the high degree of interintelligibility of the two languages. The role of Slovak in education and other fields is negligible, despite the existing legal framework. The lack of interest and initiatives for the language seems to characterise both official authorities and civic society domains.

### 1. Bulgarian

- 1.1 Bulgarian [*bǎlgarski ezik*] is a southern Slavonic language of the Indo-European family, together with Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovene. Codified in 1899, Bulgarian is written in the Cyrillic alphabet – in a version almost identical to the Russian script. The Bulgarian minority first organised in Bohemia in 1880, although immigration of Bulgarians in the territory of the CR mainly dates back to the 1920s and 1930s; some came immediately after World War II on the basis of an intergovernmental agreement, with many of them specifically engaged in vegetable-growing activities; they resettled areas where Germans had been evacuated.
- 1.2 According to the results of the 2001 census, 4,363 people have declared Bulgarian nationality as against 3,487 in 1991, but estimates place the number of Bulgarians living in the CR at 8,000-10,000 (including those with residence permit). Most of them have *Czech* citizenship. The Bulgarian minority lives scattered throughout the CR; most live in Prague, followed by the regions of Central Bohemia, South Bohemia, Pilsen, Karlovy Vary, Ústí n. L., Liberec, Hradec Králové, South Moravia, Olomouc and Moravia-Silesia. Almost 80% of the community are persons older than 18 years. The community is represented at the Government Council for National Minorities; the language, however, has no legal status. There are no Bulgarian schools, with the exception of the *Petr Beron* School within the Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria in Prague (the syllabus conforms to the Bulgarian one, with extended teaching of the Czech language). At university level, Bulgarian is offered within departments of Slavonic studies. There is little information on the language behaviour of Bulgarians; however, some of them are known to use Russian.
- 1.3 The Bulgarian minority first organised in Bohemia in 1880, when the association *Bulharska Sedjanka* was established in Prague in 1880. Other compatriot associations followed and eventually united to create the *Bulharska kulturne-osvetova organizace* [Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Organisation] (BCEO), as a successor to *Bulharska Sedjanka*. The BCEO is run by the roof organisation of Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Clubs in the CR (BCEC), who act as legal persons. In 1992 the St. Cyril and St. Methodius Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Club was founded, and in 2001 the civil association *Vazražďane* in Prague was born. Other recent organisations are *Pirin*, a dancing and folklore ensemble in Brno, the association of the Bulgarians and their friends in the Czech Republic *Zaedno*, the Association for Bulgaria and the *Bulharský kulturně osvětový klub*. The BCEO has some 2,000 members, most of them Bulgarians with Czech citizenship or permanent residence in the CR.
- 1.4 Although there seems to be no literary production in for Bulgarian in the CR, the BCEO issue the periodical *Roden glas* (bi-monthly), the association *Vazražďane* the magazine *Balgari*, and the St. Cyril and St. Methodius Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Club occasionally publish the bulletin *Rodna reč*. The Prague BCEO issues at times the bulletin *Inform*.
- 1.5 There is no specific broadcasting in Bulgarian: but BCEO clubs in Prague, Olomouc and Mladá Boleslav are equipped to receive every day from 1,00 p.m. to 12,00 p.m. satellite programmes of the Bulgarian National Television, and the programmes of the Bulgarian National Radio and Christo Botev Radio. There is apparently a high

degree of intergenerational transmission of the language; but mixed couples tend to use Czech.

## 2. Croatian

- 2.1 Croatian [*hrvatski jezik*] is a southern Slavonic language of the Indo-European family, together with Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovene. It is written in the Latin alphabet. Croats originally came to South Moravia as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, fleeing from Turkish invasions. After World War II the Croats were considered as a hostile minority which had collaborated with the Germans and were displaced to several villages and cities throughout the territory of the CR. At first they were relocated to places formerly inhabited by the German population (e.g. Moravský Šternberk, Hůzová, Uničov etc.), but later movements brought them to Austria (Vienna in particular) and other countries. The Croatian community in the CR have recently asked the government to redress the wrongs caused by those historical events. While they have traditionally used a local variety of Croatian (that also makes use also of a mixed Czech-Croatian orthography), communication also obtains occurs in Burgenland Croatian [*Gradišćansko Hrvatski*], which is intelligible to the majority of Croats that have dispersed in the CR, Slovakia, Austria and Hungary. However, both are languages that have evolved separately from standard Croatian as is now used in Croatia, which is little poorly intelligible to for Moravian Croats.
- 2.2 According to the 2001 census, 1,585 people have declared Croatian nationality. Some of them are also newcomers to the CR following events in the former Yugoslavia. Members of the Croatian minority live scattered throughout the territory of the CR, but many live in large cities such as Prague, Brno, Olomouc, and Ostrava. Moravian Croats [*Moravski Hrvati*] were to be found particularly in the villages of Jevišovka, Dobré Pole and Nový Přerov near the Austrian border. According to a recent survey (2002), the number of those who have competence in Croatian is extremely low (400), with only 150 actively using the language; the average age was above 30.
- 2.3 The *Sdružení občanů chorvatské národnosti v ČR* [Association of the citizens of the Croatian Minority in the CR] (established in 1991 in Brno) is the only organisation representing the interests of the Croats of the CR. The main activity of the Association is the annual festival of Croatian culture *Kiritof*, which takes place since 1948 each September in Jevišovka (Břeclav district); it is also known as the “Croatian Cultural Day”. The festival, supported within the programme of the Ministry of culture, is prepared in cooperation with the local authorities of Jevišovka and is attended by Croats from Burgenland (Austria) and Slovakia, as well as by representatives of the government of Republic of Croatia. The meeting is also an occasion to divulge publications in Burgenland Croatian. The Association has published also several texts in local Croatian vernacular, for example Bedřich Sič, *Spominanje na rodni kraj* (Brno 1991). There are no schools in Croatian, but while the language may be offered within Slavonic studies departments in universities. As far as media are concerned, there is *Hrvatske Novine*, a weekly (almost entirely in Croatian) which is published in Austria and is available during the *Kiritof* festival. Each Sunday it is possible to pick up the one-hour programme *Dobar dan, Hrvati*, broadcast in Burgenland Croatian by the Austrian ORF II. Satellite programmes from Croatia have the disadvantage that modern standard Croatian is little intelligible poorly understood to by Moravian Croats.

- 2.4 After 1989 there has been a renewed interest in Croatian culture and language in those countries affected by Croatian migration. The Agreement between the Government of the CR and the Republic of Croatia on Co-operation in the Field of Culture, Education and Science, for example, was made to ensure preservation of the cultural and historical heritage in its various aspects. The newly developed contacts with Croats from Austria and Slovakia have helped retain the existing level of the language knowledge. In the CR, however, the dispersal of the community makes the situation very difficult. Only children born to couples who had married before the displacement from South Moravia were brought up (to some extent) in Croatian; the intergenerational transmission of the language has been discontinued.

### 3. Greek

- 3.1 Greek [*Ellinika*] represents an independent branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The Greek-speaking community was originally made up of refugees during the civil war in the 1940s. Almost 75% of them opted to return to their homeland between 1975 and the end of the 1980s. The 2001 census reported 3,219 people declaring Greek nationality (though community representatives give an estimate of 7,000); they live scattered throughout the territory of the CR, but most live in Moravia-Silesia (Krnov, Ostrava, Šumperk, Jeseník, Třinec, Karviná, Bohumín, Havířov, Vrbno pod Pradědem, Albrechtice, Osoblaha, Dívčí Hrad, Rudoltice, Krásné Loučky, Staré Purkartice, Jindřichov, Zlaté Hory), in South Moravia (Brno, Znojmo, Mikulov, Hevlín) and Prague. Individual separated families also live in other localities (for example Jablonec nad Nisou, Liberec, Hradec Králové, Jihlava, Vyškov, Olomouc, Strážnice).
- 3.2 The Greek minority is represented in the Government Council for National Minorities – since 2002 – also in the Committee of Government Council for National Minorities for grant policy, in the consultative body of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports for the affairs of national minorities, in the consultative body of the Deputy Ministry of Culture for the affairs of minority culture and in the Media Commission of the Radio. The chairman of Prague Greek Community *Prague* and one member of the board of directors are the members of Commission for National Minorities on the Territory of the Capital Prague of the Council of the Capital Prague. The chairman of the Brno Greek Community Brno is the member of the committee for National Minorities of the Brno Council, the member of Karviná Greek Community Karviná is the member of the Committee for National Minorities in Karviná. *The Jeseník Greek Community Jeseník* is represented in the Commission for the Solution of the Problems of National Minorities in the municipal authority of Jeseník. Because many Greeks who arrived in the CR as refugees expected to return to their homeland, Greek schools were organised but are now disappearing, following the repatriation of many. However, in 2001/02 the teaching of Greek as a subject was still active in seven cities of Northern Moravia, in Brno and Prague, for a total of 190 students.
- 3.3 The cultural activities of regional organisations of the Greek national minority are focused on the preservation and development of traditional culture. Main activities are carried out by the Association of the Greek Communities in the Czech Republic, which in 2002 organised the 7th Greek Festival in the CR and the project “Important Days of the Greek Nation”. Traditional culture is preserved also by the civil association Lycée of the Greeks with Greek folk costumes, dance and folk traditions. In the CR there are ensembles of the Greek minority *Gorgona*, *Akropolis* and *Prométheus*, which take part in all socio-cultural activities of the

Greek minority as well as in festivals of other national minorities every year. At the Seventh Greek Festival in Krnov in June 2002, a partnership agreement was signed concluded between Krnov and Athens (Pefki). Apart from a certain presence on the net ([www.sweb.cz/hellenika](http://www.sweb.cz/hellenika), [www.rokm.aktualne.cz](http://www.rokm.aktualne.cz), <http://mujweb.cz/www/csspnk/index.htm>), the Greek Community Prague issues the quarterly *Kalimera*, supported by the Prague Metropolitan Authority; the Greek Community Brno presents the summary of events in electronic form under the title *Mantaforos tou Brno*. There are no TV or radio programmes in Greek.

#### 4. Hungarian

4.1 Hungarian [*magyar nyelv*] is an Ugrian language of the Uralic family, written in the RomanLatin alphabet. When Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 the Hungarian autochthonous minority counted a million members, mainly inhabiting Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia along the border with Hungary. A sizable presence of Hungarians in Czechia can be traced throughout the interwar years (7,000 members in 1921 and 11,500 in 1930). With the first Vienna Award of 1938 that followed the Munich Agreement most of the Hungarian minority was annexed to Hungary, but the Trianon borders were restored at the end of World War II and many Hungarians were expelled. Some 50,000 were resettled in areas to replace the German population (especially in 1946-47), but most of them returned home in the subsequent years. It was in the post-war years that the current Hungarian minority in the CR moved to Czech industrial areas: with the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993 they thus became a small, non-autochthonous minority of the CR, removed from their kin state. According to the 2001 census 14,672 people have declared Hungarian nationality, as against 19,932 in 1991. Qualified estimates, however, suggest higher numbers (approximately 19,300). Hungarians live scattered in the territory, with concentrations in Prague and the surrounding area, as well as in the Northern Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia region.

4.2 The Hungarian community is represented in the Government Council for National Minorities. The civil association of the members of the Hungarian national minority is the Association of the Hungarians Living in Bohemia. It carries out several cultural activities and runs a library and a videoteque to collect information relating to the Hungarian minority in the CR. The most important project of this organisation is the festival "Days of Hungarian Culture", which involves cultural activities in Prague, Brno, Ostrava and Pilsen. At the level of education, Charles University has been teaching Hungarian philology for more than a century; while the *Svaz Madaru zijicich v ceskych zemich* [Association of Hungarians living in the Czech Lands], in cooperation with the *Madarske kulturni stredisko* [Hungarian Cultural Centre] in Prague, offers courses in Hungarian for children from Hungarian families. Other linguistic initiatives for the minority include the publication of *Prágai Tükör*, a periodical which is issued five times a year by the Union of the Hungarians Living in Bohemia (96 pages, 1,000 copies). *Prágai Tükör* is the most important Hungarian periodical (published since 1993): it focuses on the cultural and social life of the Hungarian minority and deals with cultural/historical Czech-Hungarian relations. Every copy includes a summary/résumé in Czech and English. The attitude of the Hungarians to language maintenance does not seem to be particularly positive: surveys conducted in 1992 revealed that more than two-thirds of Hungarians spoke Czech at home, but and that 41% of the sample were not interested in transmitting the language to their children.

## 5. Russian

- 5.1 Russian [*rususkij jazyk*] is an eastern Slavonic language of the Indo-European family, related to Belarusian/Belorussian and Ukrainian and written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Russians first arrived in the CR in the 1920s as a consequence of the Russian revolution; the Czechoslovak state had established a refugee assistance programme. Their number apparently rose to more than 20,000 in the 1920s and 1930s; some of them were deported by the Soviet Army at the end of World War II. According to the results of the 2001 census, 12,369 people have declared Russian nationality, more than double the figure (5,062) recorded in 1991; as many as 18,746 persons have indicated Russian language as their mother tongue, and 670 persons consider both Czech and Russian as their mother tongues. This is consistent with former estimates ranging between 16,000 and 20,000 people. Members of the Russian national minority live scattered throughout the territory of the CR; most live in larger cities such as Prague, Brno, Karlovy Vary, Olomouc, Ústí nad Labem and in Pardubice.
- 5.2 The chairman of the civil association Russian Tradition is active as a member of the Commission of the Council of the Capital Prague for National Minorities of the Capital Prague. Russian is still being taught at a number of primary and high schools and the re-opening of the bilingual Czech-Russian high school is scheduled for 2004. Most Russian organisations are civil associations ("Russian Tradition", "Russian Institute", Russian *Občina*, *Očag*, *Ruske stredisko vedy a kultury v Praze* [Russian Centre of Science and Culture in Prague]); some of them are informal and unregistered. Activities are essentially festival meetings, cultural programmes (concerts of classical music, the presentation of prose and poetry by Russian authors etc.) and the issue of periodicals and works of local authors in Russian language. In 2002 the civil association "Russian Tradition" gained the financial support of the Metropolitan Authority to several projects, like the publication of books on Russian emigration, concerts of classical music and the publication of the magazine Russian Word. The Russian Institute publishes *Vesti*, a periodical issued 5 times a year (12 pages, 3,500 copies). The Czech Radio broadcasts a 30-minute programme in Russian language, but there are no TV programmes in Russian.
- 5.3 The Russian minority has been traditionally active associated more within the Orthodox church than in civil associations. Indeed, the Orthodox church is the only church in Bohemia where the number of believers members seems to have increased (they are estimated to be 100,000). In Bohemia, this church unites both the Russian and the Ukrainian and Belarusian/Belorussian communities. In private life the Russian language seems to be used to a large extent; in public all members of the Russian minority tend to learn Czech as soon as possible.

## 6. Ruthenian

- 6.1 Ruthenian [*rusyn'skyj jazyk*] is an Eastern Slavonic language that belongs to the Indo-European family. Until World War II the Ruthenians were a distinct component of the Czechoslovak state (the *Podkarpatská Rus*); when the Czechoslovak state was founded it was even suggested that the country be called *Česko-slovenská-rusínská republika* [Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian Republic]. The territory of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine was later annexed by the USSR (now part of Ukraine); Ruthenians in the CR were identified as a subset of Ukrainians and registered as such. In the 2001 census 1,106 people have declared Ruthenian nationality (they were 1,926 in 1991). Estimates provided by the community itself

indicate 10,000 members. Members of the Ruthenian national minority live scattered throughout the territory of the Czech Republic; most live in larger cities such as Prague, Brno, Český Těšín, Jindřichův Hradec and in Northern Bohemia. Over the years Ruthenians seem to have lost motivation and need to identify themselves with an ethnicity, and many several have assimilated with the Czechs.

- 6.2 The Ruthenian minority is represented in the Government Council for National Minorities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Foreign Institute, Prague and Brno Metropolitan Authorities and elected authorities of other towns (for example Karviná). The *Association of the Friends of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine* (AFSU) with its Ruthenian section (the *Spolecnost pratel Podkarpatske Rusi*) was founded in 1990. The AFSU associates both the members of the Ruthenian minority and the Czech well-wishers/sympathisers of the Sub-Carpathian region, its natives and people who are interested in the history, present and nature of Sub-Carpathia and tourism on its territory. AFSU is a member of World Organisation of the Ruthenians and has representatives in the World Council of the Ruthenians. It has branches in Brno, Jindřichův Hradec and Český Těšín. Every year it organises a general meeting to evaluate activities and to adopt the action programme. Other organisations include *Obščestvo Rusinov*, which associates the Ruthenians on the territory of the CR. The main priorities of the community are the restoration and development of the Ruthenian identity, the study of the history and actual problems of the Ruthenians, cultural, educational and editorial activities and co-operation with the organisations of Ruthenian national minorities in Slovakia, Hungary, Sub-Carpathian Ukraine, Poland, U.S.A. and Canada. Further priorities are the collection of documents, photographs and artefacts from their history of the Ruthenians. Other activities include lectures and informal meetings and co-operation with other organisations (National Museum, Masaryk Democratic Movement, cultural institutions). Exhibitions have been held in Jindřichův Hradec, Nové Strašecí, Mělník and many other localities of the Czech Republic. AFSU issues the magazine *Podkarpatská Rus* which includes scientific studies, memorial volumes, documents, historical and political studies and even belles lettres (within the edition *Verchovina*). The magazine is issued six times a year, since 2003 partly in the Ruthenian language. Together with other Ruthenian organisations in the Trans-Carpathian region, AFSU publishes a bilingual Czech-Ruthenian Calendar.

## 7. Ukrainian

- 7.1 Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is an Eastern Slavonic language of the Indo-European family. Ukrainian students and intellectuals started coming to Bohemia in the 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> century, but many of them arrived in the CR in the 1920s, as a consequence of the Russian revolution. A Ukrainian university used to operate in Czechoslovakia. According to the results of the 2001 census, 22,112 people declared to belong to the Ukrainian national minority (they were 8,220 in 1991). Members of the Ukrainian minority live scattered throughout the territory of the Czech Republic; most live in larger cities such as Prague, Karlovy Vary, Děčín, Brno and Ostrava. At primary school level there is the *Ridna Škola* supported by the Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic, but its relevance to Ukrainian language is unknown.
- 7.2 The Ukrainian community is represented in the Government Council for National Minorities. The largest civil association is the *Ukrajinska iniciativa v CR* [Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic]. In 2002 the *Ukrajinska iniciativa*, which in 2002 carried out the project "Preservation of the Identity and the

Development of the Ukrainian (Ukrainian-Ruthenian) National Minority in the Czech Republic” which included the annual yearly activities activity of this association, i.e. concerts, film projections, exhibitions and meetings. The activity of the Association of Ukrainian Women is active in consists in the the presentation of Ukrainian culture, especially literary traditions. It organises lectures and issues publications focused on the history of the Ukrainians and the contribution of the personalities of Ukrainian minority in Bohemia since the end of 19th century. In 2000 this association received a grant for the issue of “Ukrainian Necropolis” in the Czech Republic, at the publication on important Ukrainian personalities who lived and died in on the territory of the CRzech Republic. The Association of the Ukrainians and the Friends of Ukraine focuses on the preservation and development of Ukrainian music. They include the St.Vladimir Choir, which gives takes part in concerts and participates in Orthodox liturgical urgies services in Prague. The Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic publishes four times a year the magazine *Porohy* (36 pages, 850 copies) with the support of the government. The periodical is focused on the activities of the Ukrainian minority in the CR and all over the world. The broadcasting of *Regina Radio* station in the Ukrainian language was discontinued in 2002 after 10 years.

## 8. Other language groups

The 2001 census 2001 recorded the presence of Albanians (609), Chinese, Kalmycks, Macedonians, Romanians (1,238), Serbs (1,801) and Vietnamese (17,462) among others; some of these groups were not counted separately but included in the category “other” (⇒ The Czech Republic, 3.1). They are mostly recent immigrant communities. Albanians and Serbs appear to have arrived in the CR following the unrest in the Balkan peninsula (1990s). The Serbian community, living mainly in Prague, has been building organizational structures since the late 1990’s and it seems that in 2004 they will have a representative at the Council. The Kalmyck are a West Mongolian ethnic group — originally from a territory between Russia and China — who apparently first came to the CR as refugees following the Russian Revolution, although a distinct group arrived after the II World War. They are of Buddhist religion. Kalmyck (or Kalmuck) is a Mongolian language now written with Latin Roman characters, and is the language of the Kalmyk Republic (Russian Federation). This group has apparently maintained their own publications in Řevnice, close to Prague. Macedonians arrived in the CR at the beginning of the 1950s, following the civil war events in Greece. There are no statistics available, but their membership may be estimated at 1,000. The community is dispersed throughout the CR, and the average age is high. The language has no legal status, nor any presence in the education system or the media; because Macedonian is a Slavonic language, assimilation may have been stronger than in the case of the Greek community. The *Spolecnost pratel jiznich Slovanu* [Society of Friends of the South Slavic Peoples] in Brno is the umbrella organisation that promotes activities for Macedonian. Romanians, like Bulgarians, were resettled in areas where Germans had been evacuated after World War II. The first Vietnamese arrived in the CR as a consequence of the 1955 agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Vietnamese Democratic Republic. At the beginning of the 1980s they reached a peak of 30,000 residents. In 1989 the agreement was cancelled and the community fell to 421 members (1991), but the trend later reversed — also because of a massive influx from the former East Germany — and the 2001 census reported

17,462 Vietnamese (including those with long-term visas). The largest concentrations are in areas bordering with Germany.

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## B. Other links

- Association for Bulgaria [www.bgr.cz](http://www.bgr.cz) <http://www.bkos.wz.cz>
- Association of the Greek Communities in the Czech Republic ([www.dialogos-kpr.cz](http://www.dialogos-kpr.cz))
- Charles University <http://www.cuni.cz/>
- Council of minorities <http://www.vlada.cz/vrk/vrk.htm>
- European Commission against Racism and Intolerance [http://www.coe.int/t/E/human\\_rights/ecri](http://www.coe.int/t/E/human_rights/ecri)
- Future fund <http://www.fondbudoucnosti.cz/indexa.htm>
- Hradec Králové University [http://www.uhk.cz/index\\_eng.html](http://www.uhk.cz/index_eng.html)
- Hrvatske Novine* (<http://www.hrvatskenovine.at>)
- Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports <http://www.msmt.cz>
- PZKO <http://www.pzko.cz/>

Kongres <http://www.polonica.cz/>  
Masarik University <http://www.muni.cz>  
Palacky University <http://www.upol.cz>  
Pardubice University <http://www.upce.cz/>  
Pirin <http://www.sweb.cz/pirin>  
Purkyne university <http://www.ujep.cz/>  
*Zaedno* [www.zaedno.org](http://www.zaedno.org)

## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Estonia (EE) covers a territory of 45,226 sq km. It borders on the Russian Federation to the east and on Latvia to the south, while Finland lies only 48 miles to the north across the homonymous Gulf, which is also the north-eastern arm of the Baltic Sea. The territory of Estonia includes approx. 800 islands, of which Hiiumaa and Saaremaa are the largest (the latter is situated a few miles off the Curonian coast of Latvia). A considerable length of the eastern border with Russia is marked by the transboundary Lake Peipsi (or Lake Peipus) along its north-south extension. The main cities are Tallinn (the capital), Tartu, Pärnu, Kohtla-Järve, Narva. The population (67.4% urban and 32.6% rural) is slightly above 1.3 million, with a density of 30 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>. The country is divided into 15 counties and 241 rural municipalities.



- 1.2 The Republic of Estonia [*Eesti Vabariik*] has been a parliamentary democracy since 1991. The legislative power is vested in the *Riigikogu* (a term that cannot be officially translated), a single-chamber parliament composed of 101 members elected every four years. Following the transition to a new economic system, Estonia's gross domestic product (GDP) decreased in the post-independence years, but grew rapidly in 2000 (7.1%) through economic integration with EU Member States. Estonia mainly exports machinery and electrical equipment, wood and textile products (69% to EU Member states). Tourism and transit trade also make up a significant share of the economy. Finland and Sweden are amongst Estonia's biggest partners in business, investment and tourism. GDP/capita was 4,500 euro in 2001.

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 Estonia was originally settled by Finno-Ugric tribes, who have lived in the territory for over 5,000 years. In the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries the territory was colonised first by the Danes and later by the Order of Teutonic Knights, which formed a landowning élite also throughout the Swedish occupation (1561-1721) and during the subsequent Russian rule (1721-1918). Despite the numerical prevalence of Estonians, political and economic power was to remain with the Germans and Russians until 1918. Throughout this period, the ethnic composition of the territory remained comparatively stable, with Estonian and German as the main languages of communication. Estonian nationalism developed only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and eventually led to the establishment of the Republic of Estonia in 1918. The War of Independence lasted until 1920, when the first constitution was adopted. At that time the population was still relatively homogeneous (in 1922 there were 969,976 Estonians, 91,109 Russians, 18,319 Germans, 7,850 Swedes, 4,566 Jews and 14,508 of other nationalities). Following the Tartu Peace Treaty (1920), Estonian citizenship was granted to the whole population. In the interwar years the government promoted cultural autonomy for national minorities ( $\Rightarrow$  3.2), also to mitigate the consequences of the land reform — that had expropriated the former élites. With the Soviet-German non-aggression Pact Estonia was first occupied and then incorporated by the USSR in 1940, to become the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). Mass deportations of the local population began. The Soviet period was interrupted by German occupation (1941-1945): Jews were severely persecuted, while most Swedes left in 1943 (following a German-Swedish Treaty) and in 1944 another 70,000 Estonians left the country. After the War, the re-establishment of Russian rule involved further deportations (50,000 people between 1945 and 1949), which — combined with immigration from Russia — drastically reduced the number of Estonians: in the period 1945-1989 the percentage of non-Estonians grew from 2.7% to 38.5% of the total population. Such an intake was essentially due to the vast labour demand created by post-war industrialisation. The total number of immigrants during the Soviet period (mainly established in the north-east and Tallinn) was 1.4 million, and involved a “Russification” process in many spheres of life — government, administration, economy, education. However, the migration turnover was very high, with approx. seven out of eight immigrants emigrating at one time or another. In 1991 independence was declared and Estonian sovereignty re-established. A new constitution came into force in 1992, replacing the old one that had remained in force *de jure* also during the Soviet period. Since then Estonian society has remained ethnically divided, with marginal contacts between immigrants and the Estonian population — given the different workplaces, different cultural habits and a small number of mixed marriages.
- 2.2 After the restoration of independence, the Estonian government introduced a normalisation programme to facilitate repatriation and integrate minorities. Immigration was put under control with the Law on Immigration [*Eesti Vabariigi immigratsiooniseadus*] (1990) and the Law on Aliens [*Välismaalaste seadus*] (1993). A major issue in this context has been that of Estonian citizenship. Because this was based on the *ius sanguinis* principle, immigrants had to go through a naturalisation process, which also required a basic knowledge of Estonian. In 2000 a new state programme Integration in Estonian Society 2000-2007 was adopted, with the naturalisation process remaining a priority.
- 1.3 Because Estonia had very close ties with the former Soviet Union, the transition to a market economy was especially difficult. The north-east, in particular, heavily depended on a few large-scale manufacturing enterprises and suffered a severe

decline. In 2001 the percentage of non-Estonians employed in manufacturing was still 31.2%. as against 18.3% of Estonians in the same sector. Statistics from 2003 show another considerable difference in the electricity, gas and water supply sector – which accounts for 4.4% of non-Estonians but only 1.6% of Estonians. In 2001 the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (in % of Estonia average) was the following, broken down by main region: Northern Estonia 158.8%, Central Estonia 65.3%, North-Eastern Estonia 54.3%, Western Estonia 71.2%, Southern Estonia 63.3%. Differences between Estonians and non-Estonians also exist in the average personal net income of by main areas:

Area	Estonians	non-Estonians
Tallinn	3,854	2,904
Ida-Viru	2,296	2,445
Other regions	2,736	2,130

and in the income per family member (IFM):

IFM	Estonians	non-Estonians
Up to 100	19	20
1,001...1500	20	25
1,501...2000	23	27
2,001...3500	23	22
Over 3,500	15	6

- 1.4 Estonia has no state religion. The census taken in 2000 showed a comparatively high level of secularisation, 31.8% of respondents having declared to be followers of religious traditions. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church is the largest (14.8%), with 98% of the Lutheran congregations using the Estonian language. Next in size are the Estonian Apostolic-Orthodox Church (EAOC) and the Russian Orthodox Church (13.9% put together), which are subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople and Moscow respectively. This distinction within the Orthodox Church – which is also linguistically relevant – has been a matter of controversy, as in 1993 the Russian Orthodox Church was denied registration under the same name officially assigned to the EAOC. The issue was also dealt with in the monitoring process of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, and eventually resolved in 2002 when official registration was granted.

### 3. Demographic data

- 3.1 According to the most recent official estimates (2003) Estonia has 1,356,045 inhabitants. Data from the 2000 and the 1989 censuses (by nationality/ethnicity) are compared in the table below:

*National composition of the population*

Nationality/ ethnicity	1989		2000	
	population	%	population	%
<b>Total</b>	1,565,662	100.0	1,370,052	100.0
<b>Estonians</b>	963,281	61.5	930,219	67.9
<b>Russians</b>	474,834	30.3	351,178	25.6
<b>Ukrainians</b>	48,271	3.1	29,012	2.1
<b>Belorussians</b>	27,711	1.8	17,241	1.3
<b>Finns</b>	16,622	1.1	11,837	0.9
<b>Tatars</b>	4,058	0.2	2,582	0.2
<b>Latvians</b>	3,135	0.2	2,330	0.2
<b>Poles</b>	3,008	0.2	2,193	0.2
<b>Jews</b>	4,613	0.3	2,145	0.1
<b>Lithuanians</b>	2,568	0.2	2,116	0.1
<b>Germans</b>	3,466	0.2	1,870	0.1
<b>other</b>	14 088	0.9	9410	0.7
<b>unknown</b>	7	0.0	7 919	0.6

In the period between 1989-2000 the overall population decreased, but while the number of Estonians receded by only 3.4%, other nationalities have dropped considerably: Russians (-26%), Ukrainians (-39.9%), Belorussians (-37.8%), Finns (-28.8%) and all others (-35.2%). The general decrease in population was mainly caused by out-migration from Estonia, and in a lesser degree (21.5%) by negative natural increase. The table shows that in a decade, the gap between the Estonian ethnicity and the others has been reduced by almost 13%. However, the increase of the proportion of Estonians is not due to an increase in the number of Estonians, but to a decrease in the number of non-Estonians, some 80% of whom are Russians. The composition is still much more heterogeneous (142 nationalities in 2000, 121 in 1989) than during the first Republic: the 1934 census recorded 88% Estonians, 8% Russian, 1.5% German, 0.7% Swedes and 0.4% Jews.

- 3.2 Estonians account for less than 50% in Sillamäe (4.3%), Narva (4.9%), Narva-Jõesuu (15.2%), Kohtla-Järve (17.8%), Maardu (19.9%), Kallaste (21.1%), Paldiski (29.7%), Loksa (32.7%), Jõhvi (33.2%), Kiviõli (39.4%), Mustvee (40.7%) and Püssi (48.7%). In rural municipalities Estonians account for less than 50% in Peipsiääre (8.7%), Alajõe (14.1%), Piirissaare (17.3%), Vaivara (29.2%), Kasepää (39.6%), Vasalemma (43.7%) and Aseri (46.9%). The non-Estonian sector of the population is thus mainly concentrated in towns. In 1989 most non-Estonians were first-generation immigrants with social and family ties outside Estonia, and about 95% of them were 45 years old or younger; second-generation immigrants belonged almost exclusively to the Russian community.
- 3.3 The 2000 census in the tables below shows that out of 1,095,743 citizens 80% had Estonian citizenship, while Russian citizens account for 6.3% of the total. There were as many as 170,349 people (12.4%) with undetermined citizenship, the Russian nationality accounting for 78.3% of them; more recent figures (May 2004) show a decrease of persons with undetermined citizenship (160,270). Persons without Estonian citizenship live mainly in cities, while Estonian citizens account for over 95% in rural areas. In 1922 and 1934 the percentage of Estonian citizens was 97.7% and 98.8% respectively.

### Population by citizenship and nationality, 2000

Nationality/ ethnicity	Citizens of Estonia	Citizens of Russia	Citizens of other countries	Persons with undetermined citizenship	Citizenship unknown
<b>Total</b>	1,095,743	86,067	8,941	170,349	8,952
<b>Estonians</b>	922,204	692	165	4,896	2,262
<b>Russians</b>	141,907	73,379	1,048	133,346	1,498
<b>other</b>	29,774	11,581	7,560	31,554	267
<b>unknown</b>	1,858	415	168	553	4,925
	%				
<b>Estonians</b>	84.2	0.8	1.8	2.9	25.3
<b>Russians</b>	12.9	85.3	11.7	78.3	16.7
<b>other</b>	2.7	13.4	84.6	18.5	3.0
<b>unknown</b>	0.2	0.5	1.9	0.3	55.0

### Population by place of residence and citizenship, 2000

	Citizens of Estonia	Citizens of Russia	Citizens of other countries	Persons with undetermined citizenship	Citizenship unknown
Total	80.0	6.3	0.7	12.4	0.6
Total urban	72.6	8.9	0.8	16.9	0.8
Tartu	91.0	3.5	0.6	4.4	0.5
Pärnu	90.1	4.7	0.5	4.1	0.6
Tallinn	71.1	8.7	1.2	18.0	1.0
Kohtla-Järve	41.8	13.4	0.6	42.7	1.5
Narva	36.4	28.9	0.4	33.6	0.7
Total rural municipalities	95.2	0.9	0.2	3.3	0.4

Estonian citizens account for less than 50% in Sillamäe (21.3%), Narva (36.4%), Kohtla-Järve (41.8%), Maardu (43.2%), Paldiski (43.2%), Loksa (44.3%) and Narva-Jõesuu (47.2%) cities, as well as in Vaivara rural municipality (43.3%).

- 3.4 In the 2000 census 109 different languages were declared as mother tongues. The most frequent were:

Language	Number of Speakers	% of total population
Estonian	921,817	67.3%
Russian	406,755	29.7%
Ukrainian	12,299	0.9%
Belorussian	5,197	0.4%
Finnish	4,932	0.3%
Latvian	1,389	0.1%
Lithuanian	1,198	0.1%
Others	7,276	0.5%
Unknown	9,189	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	1,370,052	100%

The table shows that 97% of the population have Estonian or Russian as their mother tongue. Only little more than 2% of the population speak the other 107 languages. With regard to language use, 98.2% of the Russians and 97.9% of the Estonians speak their respective languages. Smaller nationalities appear to use their languages to a lesser degree. The majority of people who do not use their mother tongue speak Russian, with the exception of the Swedes, Finns, Ingrians, Roma and a few others – who prefer Estonian. In comparison with the 1989 census, a decrease in the use of their national language has been recorded for all ethnicities, i.e. language may have become less important as an identity marker. As far as the relationship between citizenship and language is concerned, 83.4% of Estonian citizens speak Estonian, 15.3% speak Russian and 1% other languages. The Estonian and non-Estonian speakers distribution pattern is quite similar to the distribution pattern by nationality.

- 3.5 The 2000 census also included questions on knowledge of foreign languages and of Estonian, as shown by the tables below:

Population by nationality and knowledge of foreign languages, 2000

Population		Estonians		Russians		Other nationalities	
<i>language</i>	%	<i>language</i>	%	<i>language</i>	%	<i>language</i>	%
Russian	49.2	Russian	68.2	Estonian	44.5	Russian	44.5
English	29.4	English	35.2	English	17.4	Estonian	44.1
Estonian	14.3	Finnish	16.6	German	5.4	national language	20.0
German	11.9	German	14.9	Finnish	1.6	English	16.3
Finnish	11.8	Estonian	1.6	Russian	1.4	German	6.4

Population by nationality and by command of the Estonian language, 1989, 2000

	% of population		% of respondents		
	1989	2000	1989	2000	
Knowledge of Estonian as a mother tongue or the second language	1.055 159	1 102 133 <sup>1</sup>	67.4	80.4	84.4
Estonians	959 111	923 005	99.6	99.2	99.6
Russians	71 208	139 575	15.0	39.7	46.1
other nationalities	24 840	38 847	19.5	48.1	51.6

1) includes persons with unknown nationality

Russian is the most widely known foreign language (49.2% of the total population), scoring the highest percentage both among Estonians and among other nationalities. The share of people with command of Estonian has significantly increased.

## 4. Language policy

- 4.1 The Estonian language [*Eesti keel*] is the state and official language of Estonia. The autoglotonym *Eesti keel* is comparatively recent (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), and until then the language was designated as the “country language” [*maakeel*]. Estonian was an official language also during the first Republic (1920-1940), while during the Soviet period it remained a language of much of education as well as of administration. Estonian, written in the Roman alphabet, belongs to the Baltic-

Finnic subgroup of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family; it is thus related to Finnish, Livonian and Karelian among others and distinct from Slavonic languages – and therefore from Russian. There are two main dialect groups, the northern and the southern. Standard Estonian is mainly based on the northern dialect of Tallinn, which gained prestige with the translation of the Bible in 1739 to the detriment of the Tartu dialect. The first grammar of the language written in Estonian dates back to 1884, and the standard language was consolidated through the national movement. The southern Võro dialect stands out as the vernacular most distinct from standard Estonian, having retained many of its original features.

- 4.2 In 1925 the Estonian Parliament passed the Act on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities, which gave to all ethnic groups of Estonia the right to preserve their ethnic identity, culture and religious affiliation. The Act, which was unique in the interwar years, entitled ethnic groups of more than 3,000 members to organise themselves into corporate bodies and run their own educational and cultural affairs. Russians and Swedes already had a rich cultural life in their native languages (including schools and churches), but did not make use of their right to cultural self-government – unlike the German and Jewish communities, who established their respective autonomies in 1925 and 1926 respectively. The act was very extensive in scope, and allowed complete devolution of educational policy. After World War II, the Russian period introduced a separate network of Russian-language speakers as well as a full-scale separate Russian education system. There was no contact with the Estonian language, although this was maintained in Estonian schools (where the teaching of Russian was compulsory) and in everyday life. Other minorities were not allowed to use their language, and their education was mostly in Russian. The result was an unbalanced situation, with a divide between the two main linguistic communities and a severe decline of the Estonian language. In 1989 the Estonian SSR felt the need to declare Estonian as an official language, but it was with the creation of the new state that forceful measures were taken to upgrade its status. Work-related language requirements were introduced by the first Language Act (1989). In 1990 a National Language Board was established to monitor the usage of Estonian and carry out the language policy in accordance with the Language Act. Requirements for those applying for Estonian citizenship were introduced in 1993 by the Law on Estonian Language requirements for applicants for citizenship [*Kodakondsuse taotlejatele esitatavate eesti keele tundmise nõuete seadus*]. In 2000 the Estonian language examination for applicants for citizenship, the Estonian language proficiency examination and the Estonian language final examination in basic and upper secondary schools (where the language of instruction is not Estonian) were integrated.
- 4.3 According to Art. 6 of the 1992 Constitution [*Põhiseadus*] and to the Language Act [*Keeleseadus*] (1995), Estonian is the official language [*riigikeel*] of Estonia both at state and local government level. The Language Law defines any other language as a “foreign language” [*võõrkeel*], and the language of a “national minority” [*vähemusrahvuse keel*] as the foreign language that Estonian citizens of that minority have historically used as their mother tongue in Estonia. The Constitution (Artt. 51 and 52) specifies that in areas where at least half of the residents belong to a national minority people are entitled to receive answers from official authorities in their own language; also, in localities where the language of the majority of the population is different from Estonian, local government authorities may use that language for internal communication. Article 41 of the Local Government Organisation Act [*Kohaliku omavalitsuse korralduse seadus*] reiterates that the working language of local government bodies is Estonian. The right to use also the minority language as a working language at local government level is subject to the approval of the Government of the Republic. The Supreme Court has twice

considered the legality of the requirement for proficiency in Estonian — which under the Language Act of 1995 applied to individuals running for the *Riigikogu* and local self-governments — and declared them invalid in 2001.

4.4 Ethnic minorities have the right to establish institutions of self-government in accordance with the Law on Cultural Autonomy for National Minorities [*Vähemusrahvuse kultuuriautonomoomia seadus*] of 1993. In Art. 1 the Law further defines members of national minorities as citizens who:

- reside on the territory of Estonia;
- maintain longstanding, firm and lasting ties with Estonia;
- are distinct from Estonians on the basis of their ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic characteristics;
- are motivated by a concern to preserve together their cultural traditions, their religion or their language which constitute the basis of their common identity.

Such a definition also formed the official declaration of Estonia in the ratification process of the FCPNM. The same Act (Art. 2) states that such cultural autonomy may be established by persons belonging to German, Russian, Swedish and Jewish minorities and by persons belonging to national minorities having more than 3000 members. The notion of “national minority” thus appears to be more restricted than that of “ethnic minority” [*rahvusvähemus*], for it involves citizenship and the existence of long-standing ties. Such an interpretation excludes in principle immigrant groups. There are no governmental bodies dealing with minority language policy, and no cultural autonomies have been initiated so far — with the exception of the Ingrian Finns ( $\Rightarrow$  Other languages, 2.3).

4.5 The Constitution (Art. 37) also provides that educational institutions for national minorities can choose the language of instruction. This possibility is subject to an application by a local government council to the Government of the Republic, following a proposal made by the board of trustees of an upper secondary school. The Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act [*Põhikooli- ja gümnaasiumiseadus*] (1993) specifies that the “language of instruction” is the language in which at least 60% of the teaching on the curriculum is provided. The same Act states that in schools where instruction is not given in Estonian, Estonian is compulsory from the first year on, and that at the upper secondary school stage the language of instruction must be Estonian. The latter provision has been controversial, although the scope of “language of instruction” makes bilingual education possible, at least in principle. The freedom of press and the right to freely obtain information disseminated for public use is protected under articles 44 and 45 of the Constitution. The Law on Cultural Autonomy for National Minorities (Art. 4) states that members of a national minority have the right to publish in their ethnic language as well as circulate and exchange information in their mother tongue. There are no specific broadcasting provisions for minorities: the media environment is mainly divided between Estonian-language and Russian-language media. On the basis of the Place Names Act (1997) public signs, signposts, announcements, notices and advertisements must be in Estonian. The second report submitted by Estonia within the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (July 2004) details the support given to national minorities associations, and provides comprehensive information in other language-related aspects.

## **5. The European dimension**

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was signed by Estonia in 1995, and has been in force since 1998. In 2001 the second EU Phare programme “The Social Integration and Language Training Programme for Ethnic Minorities in Estonia” (2001-2003) continued the first three-year EU Phare Estonian language training programme that had been completed in 2000. In 2002 the government approved the foreign aid project “Integrating Estonia 2002-2004” to strengthen cooperation between Estonians and non-Estonians. There are no bilateral agreements concerning regional or minority languages.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Russian [*russskij jazыk*] is an Eastern Slavonic language of the Indo-European Family, closely related to Ukrainian and Belorussian. Written in the Cyrillic alphabet, it is mainly spoken in the Russian Federation and former territories of the USSR. With the introduction of Christianity late in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Russian literature developed from translations of the Orthodox liturgy into Old Church Slavonic; as Russia assumed a leading role within the Eastern Orthodox Church in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Russian Church Slavonic (still used for liturgical purposes) superseded other Church Slavonic varieties. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Russian gradually emerged as a national language under the reign of the Tsars. The Russian that had developed parallel to Christianity since the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century was replaced by a written language closer to the spoken norm. Owing a great deal to efforts of the polymath Lomonosov and his Russian Grammar (1755), the modern standard language was established by the time of Pushkin (1799-1837). Since the Romanov Empire – and later on in the USSR – Russian is in close contact with over a hundred other languages, of which many are genetically unrelated to Russian. In the Lake Peipsi region of Estonia the Iisaku dialect is spoken.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The Russians have been the eastern neighbours of the Baltic nations for centuries. The establishment of a Slavonic settlement in Estonian areas is closely connected not only with trade, but also with the spreading Christianity and military expeditions. In 1030, the Grand Prince of Kiev Yaroslav the Wise organised a military expedition to Estonia, and founded the town of Yuryev [*Tartu*] on the site of the Tarbatu stronghold. During his reign the first Russian churches were founded, although it is hard to say how many Russians were in Estonia before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to the merchants living in towns, written sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> century also mention Russian villages on the western shore of Lake Peipsi. Following the schism of the Russian church (1666), the followers of the traditional Church – the “Old Believers” [*староверы*] (or староверцы старообрядцы, though considered as an archaic form) – were outlawed: many of them escaped to the periphery of the Russian Empire, including Estonia and in particular the Lake Peipsi region, where permanent settlements were recorded in the late 1730s. At that time Russians may have made up a quarter of the population around Lake Peipsi. The Nystad Peace Treaty (1721) brought Estonia under Russian rule, but also gave a special status to the Baltic region with regard to legislation, judicial authorities, self-government and education, which significantly differed from those in Russia. In 1802 the University of Tartu (originally founded by the Swedish king Gustav Adolf in 1632) was reopened, with a department of Russian language and literature. This was followed by the introduction of comparative grammar courses for Slavonic languages. Due to the special status of the Baltic region, Tartu developed into an important Russian cultural centre, with a high degree of intellectual freedom.

- 1.2.2 In 1881, Alexander III put an end to the special status of the Baltics, marking the beginning of an increased influx of Russian-speaking administrators, servicemen and workers. Economic ties between Russia and Estonia became stronger. Russian was proclaimed as the official language in Estonia, and non-Russian speaking school teachers were replaced by Russian ones. In the period between 1867 and 1881 the Russian membership in Estonia grew from 8,500 to 16,000 (about 2% of the entire population). Part of them left during and after the War of Independence (1918-1920). With the Tartu Peace Treaty (1920), Estonia regained Narva and Petseri county in the south-east: both areas were not part of Estonia during the tsarist reign and had a mixed Russian-Estonian population, so that in 1922 Estonia counted a significant proportion of Russians (92,000, or 8.2 % of the total population). Of these, 40% lived in Petseri county, 26% lived in the Lake Peipsi area and near Narva, 20% in larger towns (5.7% only in Tallinn) and the rest were dispersed across the country. This proportion remained almost unchanged until the beginning of World War II, and included a large number of Russians – mainly soldiers and refugees – who at first did not have Estonian citizenship. Russians did not make use of rights deriving from the Act on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities (1925), and cultural self-government was mostly implemented through municipal councils where they had a majority. Soviet annexation in 1940 brought about radical changes that disrupted Estonian social, political and economic structures. Part of the former Russian refugees left as early as 1939 for Germany, together with the Germans; of those who remained, many were killed or deported. Former newspapers in Russian were replaced by others and public associations were closed, and in 1941 union between the Estonian Orthodox Church and the Moscow Church was imposed by Soviet authorities. Soviet settlements avoided rural areas, so as not to assimilate with the Estonian population. With German occupation (1941-1944) a number of Russian war prisoners, refugees and forced labourers were brought in from Russian territory. In the period between 1940 and 1990 the Russians grew from 8% to 40% of the population and the function of the Russian language was considerably extended. In some sectors (foreign policy, military affairs and transportation) Russian became the dominant language, remaining so until the re-establishment of the Estonian Republic (1991).
- 1.2.3 In their traditional areas, the Old Believers still form a distinct group who strive to keep their old traditions, religious affiliation and lifestyle: the population is mostly Russian (only in Mustvee 40% of the inhabitants are Estonians), but in villages there are only about 6% Estonians. Mixed marriages are rare. Not only Estonians, but also other (Orthodox) Russians may be considered to be alien. Old people speak local dialects, with many Estonian loans and phonetic peculiarities. Fishing had also its impact on the local speech: there are e.g. about one thousand names for different fish in Russian Peipsi dialects. According to Ponomarjova (1999) there are almost 15,000 Old Believers in Estonia, but statistics show that only approx. 5,000 Russians live in traditional Old Believers areas.
- 1.2.4 In the 2000 census, 351,178 people reported Russian ethnicity (25.6% of the total population), as against 474,834 in 1989 (30.3% of the population). This drop (-26%) is paralleled by a decrease in the number of Ukrainians (-39.9%) and Belarussians (-37.8%). Russians, together with Ukrainians and Belarussians, account for more than 90% of the non-Estonian population. The table below shows data from the 2000 census according to regional distribution:

	<b>Estonians</b>	<b>Russians</b>	<b>Others</b>
<b>Total</b>	930,219	351,178	80,736
Tallinn	215,114	146,208	35,362
Paldiski	1,260	2,217	746
Maardu	3,331	10,331	2,983
Loksa	1,143	1,928	414
Ida-Viru cities	20,837	119,547	15,800
Ida-Viru rural municipalities	15,080	5,414	1,229

<b>Other rural municipalities</b>			
Alajõe	59	323	33
Mustvee	714	1,000	39
Kasepää	562	813	40
Kallaste	256	883	72
Peipsiääre	86	874	31
Piirissaare	18	83	2

The highest concentrations of Russians are in the city of Tallin (146,208) and in Ida-Viru county [*Ida-Virumaa*] (124,961), to reflect the urban and industrial immigration pattern of the Soviet period. The bulk of Russian minority is thus territorially divided between Tallinn and the North-East, the latter area mainly coinciding with Ida-Virumaa. This is the second county in Estonia in terms of population (179,702 inhabitants) and the most urbanised (89%) one. The largest towns are Narva (68,680: 3,331 Estonians, 58,702 Russians, 1,774 Ukrainians and 1,529 Belorussians), Kohtla-Järve (47,679: 8,479 Estonians, 32,843 Russians, 1,521 Ukrainians and 2,152 Belorussians) and Sillamäe (17,199: 719 Estonians, 14,756 Russians, 517 Ukrainians and 479 Belorussians); the administrative centre of the county is Jõhvi (12,1128: 4,022 Estonians, 6,482 Russians, 395 Ukrainians and 543 Belorussians). In all these places Russians account for more than 50% of the population.

- 1.2.5 Only 141,907 Russians are citizens of Estonia (12.9% of all citizens), a number almost equal to that of Russians with undetermined citizenship (133,346, tantamount to 78.3% of this category). This partly reflects the difficulties of a naturalisation process which requires proficiency in Estonian, a language that is considerably removed from Russian. There are 73,379 Russians with Russian citizenship, i.e. only 85.3% of Russian citizens, the rest being mostly Ukrainians (5,216) and Belorussians (2,844). Narva and Kohtla-Järve account for most Russians that are Russian citizens (28.9% and 13.4% respectively) or have undetermined citizenship (33.6% and 42.7% respectively). Speakers of Russian have also declined in the period 1989-2000, the total number having dropped from 544,933 to 406,755 (29.7% of the population). Their number is nevertheless considerably higher than that of people declaring Russian ethnicity, since it includes also members of other nationalities: in particular Ukrainians and Belorussians, but also Poles, Jews and (Volga) Germans. Russian is the most widespread foreign language in Estonia, with 49.2% of the population declaring to be competent in it (68.2% of Estonians and 44.5% of other nationalities).
- 1.2.6 The north and west coast of the Lake Peipsi region – the specific area of the Russian-speaking indigenous minority – is mainly devoted to agriculture, fishing and cattle breeding. These sectors have suffered from the introduction of double

customs tariffs, which denied access to the former largest market of St. Petersburg. But Ida-Virumaa is in general a highly industrialised region: the employment rate in the secondary sector is 52.7% (as against 33.2% on national average). The most important industries are power plants and textile production in Narva, electrical power engineering, oil shale (which is used as fuel in power plants) and chemicals in Kohtla-Järve, rare metal processing in Sillamäe (previously uranium for the Soviet military complex). The region, however, is undergoing a severe economic crisis. The production of oil shale has considerably declined in the last decade, and in the process of transition to a market economy many heavy industry plants have closed down. The unemployment rate is the highest in Estonia (19.8% in 1999, as against a national average of 11.7%).

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Russian has no specific legal status, and there is no specific government institution dealing with the Russian minority. In accordance with article 3 of the Language Act, the language of public administration in the Parliament and local governments, as well as in all State agencies, is Estonian. The working language of the *Riigikogu* is regulated by its Rules of Procedure Act. On the basis of the provisions of the Constitution and the Language Act, in 1995 the local government councils in Narva and Sillamäe applied for the right to use Russian in dealings with local authorities, but their requests were not granted. In practice, however, the employees in the Russian local governments are mostly Russians, and in verbal communication (including meetings, conferences, etc.) Russian is used. Documents are often made in Russian, and then translated into Estonian.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 Official educational policy for the Russian-speaking population is established in accordance with the Constitution of Estonia and with the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act [*Põhikooli- ja gümnaasiumiseadus*] (1993); the Ministry of Education and Research is the responsible body. Russian can be the language of instruction in schools at any level, but Estonian is compulsory from the first year and is the sole language of instruction in upper secondary school. Russian-speaking students who attend schools where Estonian is the language of instruction are in principle entitled to learn their own language and culture. Russian is the medium of instruction in 89 general education schools (out of total of 636), while there are 21 Estonian-Russian mixed schools. Russian is taught as a foreign language in Estonian-medium schools. Private schools can freely choose the language of instruction, but the teaching of Estonian must be ensured.
- 2.1.2 The present Russian-language school system derives from the educational system of the Soviet period. Russian schools followed the all-Union curricula and used textbooks that were meant for the whole Soviet Union. A major difficulty in reforming the education system has thus been the integration of Russian-language schools in the Estonian educational system, where pupils and students follow the Estonian curricula and use Estonian textbooks. Another problem was to provide students with an adequate level of competence in Estonian. In 1998 the Government approved the Development plan for Russian-medium schools (elaborated by the Ministry of Education), which was aimed to establish a unified

educational system. The transition from Russian-medium secondary school to instruction in Estonian was planned to start in 2000, but the Basic and Upper Secondary Schools Act (§ 52) was amended in 1997 and the date has been postponed to 2007. In March 2002 the Parliament further amended the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act, to allow full-time Russian-language education to continue beyond 2007 if requested. While the deadline of 2007 (i.e. to switch at least 60% of the upper-secondary schools curriculum into the Estonian language) still holds, exceptions are now permissible. According to the national curriculum, Russian language and Russian literature are taught in Russian medium secondary school (grades 10-12). There are approx. 105 hours of Russian language and 280 hours Russian literature, as well as 35 hours of Estonian literature.

- 2.1.3 At primary school level the language of instruction is determined by local government authorities in accordance with ethnic composition and demand. The number of students in Russian schools has decreased for demographic reasons ( $\Rightarrow$  1.2.3), but also on account of Russian students choosing Estonian-medium schools. At secondary school level the number of Russian students has decreased because of the same reasons. However, popularity of Russian has increased lately, since proficiency in Russian is considered to be a great advantage for many posts, especially for service and sales workers as well as for all business activities ( $\Rightarrow$  2.6). There is an increasing number (as compared to graduates of Estonian-medium schools) that attend vocational educational institutions. The share of Russian-medium schools is high, 1/3 of all vocational study being in Russian. Various language programmes have been launched in Russian schools: bilingual teaching, early full language immersion, and subject teaching in Estonian to cope with the problem of language requirements as specified in the national curriculum. A successful initiative is the Language Immersion Program ([www.kke.ee](http://www.kke.ee)).
- 2.1.4 Given the changing needs of the Estonian labour market, the share of Russian-medium higher education has significantly decreased in law schools, but has increased in private colleges and universities. Estonian is the language of instruction in state universities by law, and university boards can decide on the use of other languages. Graduates from Russian-medium schools can enrol in Estonian-medium universities, but the nominal study period normally takes one year longer to allow for the learning of Estonian. The Tallinn University of Technology has approx. 25% of Russian-speaking students. In Estonian private secondary schools and colleges about half of students are Russians. There are no reliable data available for adult and continuous education. However, since there are several sectors where Russian is largely employed (railway, sea transport, industry), there is continuous education for adults in Russian too, but the state does not take part in this process. Russian language teachers are trained at the University of Tartu and at the Tallinn Pedagogical University, as well as at the Narva College (University of Tartu) and at the School of Teacher Education (University of Tartu). The Department of Russian and Slavic Philology (Tartu University) offers three degrees: Bachelor (three years), Master (two years) and Doctor of Philosophy (four years). There is an Open University which offers the opportunity to obtain additional higher education in other fields. In 2000, 4,402 teachers were working in Russian-medium schools: 78% were Russians, 10% Estonians and 12% of other nationalities. The problem in Russian-medium schools is that the proportion of teachers trained in Estonian higher educational institutions is small, and they have little knowledge of the Estonian language.
- 2.1.5 In 1996, Estonia launched a programme of computerisation in the educational system called 'Tiger Leap' [*Tügrihüpe*], to provide teachers with the necessary

skills and create a structure of continuous education for teachers and students. The programme also aimed to produce Estonian language software and involved the participation of Russian-medium schools on an equal base, with the additional advantage of Russian-made software. Electronic resources include an English-Estonian-Russian Dictionary <http://www.kirjastused.com/ersen/index2.html>, a Russian-Estonian/(Estonian-Russian) Dictionary version 3.27 CD Festart, a Euro-Translator: 6-Language Quick Translator (English-German-Russian-Swedish-Finnish-Estonian dictionary), Runner Lite Russian-Estonian/Estonian-Russian Dictionary (Windows 95/98/NT4/2000), Runner Lite NET Russian-Estonian/Estonian-Russian Dictionary (Windows 95/98/NT4/2000) <http://www.realsoftware.ee/est/>. On-line and other digital learning materials for several subject-matters in Russian are available on <http://www.koolielu.ee/files/>, <http://www.hot.ee/las97> and [www.edutizer.com](http://www.edutizer.com). For general information and learning purposes, resources include <http://www.ase.ee/dict/dict.html> (Russian-Estonian-Russian on-line dictionary), <http://dict.infoweb.ee/> (multilingual on-line dictionary) and <http://www.teataja.ee/sonastik.htm> (Estonian-Russian on-line dictionary). IT development in schools from 1996 to 2000 also included a PHARE ISE project that supported a network of 20 pilot schools and the training of more than 1800 teachers, as well as various co-operation projects between the Nordic countries and the Baltic countries (BaltNet, Distance Training for Teachers, School Development in the Information Era). A large amount of digital learning materials is presented on [http://www.ee/www/Haridus/Oppematerjalid\\_Internetis/](http://www.ee/www/Haridus/Oppematerjalid_Internetis/) and on the MIKSIKE learning environment (<http://miksike.com/>).

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

Because Estonian is the official language, Russian has no special position in the courts of law and is considered like any other foreign language. The codes of procedure allow courts to hear the case in a foreign language if both the parties and judge(s) agree. If the hearing is held in Estonian and the person cannot express him/herself correctly in the official language, the court guarantees an interpreting service. If all parties are Russian speakers, the judge must decide whether to hear the case in Estonian or in Russian. Codes of civil and administrative procedure specify that documents in a foreign language may be given to parties only if they both agree, even when the procedure is conducted in Estonian. There is no essential difference between different criminal, civil and administrative court proceedings. In the North-East of Estonia as well as in Tallinn the proceedings are often conducted in Russian. Ten years ago (in particular in North-East of Estonia), judges were often unable to conduct the proceedings in Estonian due to lack of proficiency in the language. This is still the case for some judges, who are especially valuable when proceedings are held in Russian. Courts used to accept initial actions in civil and administrative cases in Russian, but now tend to give the plaintiff a reasonable time to file the action with a translation into Estonian. In Narva, civil actions initiated in Russian are accepted only if the plaintiff is a natural person and the defendant(s) is/are Russian-speaking.

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

The use of foreign languages in administration is essentially regulated by the Constitution and the Language Act, which identify Estonian as the only official language. In practice, however, Russian is widely used in dealings with the public where large numbers of Russian speakers live: also, employees in the Russian local governments are mostly Russians, and in verbal communication (including

meetings, conferences, etc.) Russian is used. Documents are often made in Russian, then translated into Estonian. The Local Government Organisation Act stipulates that the working language of local government bodies is Estonian, and this applies also where the majority of residents speak Russian: the official administrative work is carried out in Estonian, but in verbal communication Russian can be used and applications in Russian are answered in Russian. Formally, the right to use the minority language as a working language at local government level remains subject to the approval of the Government of the Republic. Local government councils in Narva and Sillamäe have applied unsuccessfully so far. Beside that Russian is used as working language in some state institutions (e.g. police, prisons). The Public Service Act, originally requiring state employees to be proficient in Estonian by the end of 1995, was amended to allow non-citizen local and national government employees without adequate knowledge of Estonian to remain until 1997. But no non-citizens can be employed after January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996. Main services are both in Estonian and Russian, and contacts can be generally in either language. It is not possible to use the Russian national patronymic in official documents, and confusion also arises when transliterating Russian names into Estonian (e.g. Юрий: Juri, Youri, Yurij, Yuriy). Geographical place names must be written in Estonian, using Estonian-Latin letters. The Place Name Act allows names in foreign languages only if they are justified for historical or cultural reasons; but when appearing in official documents and on road signs they must still be written in the Latin alphabet. Even in regions where Russian-speakers comprise the majority it is not allowed to post public notices, signs and advertisements in Russian, which is a serious disadvantage for the local non-Estonian population (particularly elderly Russian-speakers, who in general are not fluent in Estonian).

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 Daily newspapers in Russian are Молодежь Эстонии and Вести Дня (formerly Эстония), with a circulation of 10,000 and 6,400 copies respectively. Weeklies include Деловые ведомости (5,100 copies), День за днем (17,200), МЭ Суббота (9,800), Вести (17,900), Приват-инфо (9,000), Дайджест эстонской и российской прессы. Local newspapers are Нарва (9,200), Нарвская неделя, Кренгольмский проспект, Силламяэский вестник (2,000), and Kirde Экспресс (2,600). Periodicals in Russian include Вышгород, Таллинн, Радуга (literature and culture), Горизонты Эстонии (nature and ecology), Эстония государство и общество. Страна и люди. Экономика и бизнес (life in Estonia), Учитель (Teachers' newsletter), Руупор/Рупор (integration issues), Правовые Акты Эстонии (legal issues), Лада and Яна (women's magazine), Наш Лекарь and Здоровье для всех (medicine), Про это, Вестник: ERL. And Весонаблюдатели, Бухгалтерские Новости, Экспресс-Консультация, Строитель among others. These publication have been supported by the ministry of culture, in some cases also from local governments, the Integration Foundation and the Open Estonian Foundation. Generally speaking, the number of titles has increased and circulation has declined. Additionally, there is competition between local Russian press and Russian-language publications imported from Russia.
- 2.4.2 The only public radio station broadcasting mainly in Russian is Radio 4, which has also programmes in Ukrainian (1.5 hours per week), Belorussian (1 hour) and Armenian (once a month). Occasionally other minority languages are on the air. Private broadcasters are Radio 100FM, Russkoe Radio, Tartuskoe Semeinoje Radio, and Raadio 100 FM Narva. The table below lists radio programmes by year:

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Number of broadcasters	24	22	25	27	27	29
- public	1	1	1	1	1	1
- private	20	20	23	24	26	28
Total programme hours	125,929	155,439	214,009	232,975	251,414	267,078
In Estonian (%)	85.4	81.4	83.7	85.1	84.1	67.1
In Russian (%)	12.0	10.8	6.6	13.7	14.7	21.1

The Russian public radio station has been operational for a long time, while private channels appeared later. The first Russian private station was established by the Estonian language private station *Raadio Kuku* (AS Trio). *Raadio 4* is funded by the state budget. Local radio stations get some support from local government. The bilingual programme series *Päevavargad/Zevaki*, created in co-operation between *Radio Kuku* and *Radio 100FM* is financed by the Integration Foundation. Russian-based radio stations can be picked up in Estonia. Public Estonian Television (ETV) produces 4.7% of its weekly output in Russian. On a weekly average, in 2003 the ETV reached 52,840 non-Estonians (12.6% of the non-Estonian population aged above 4 years of age). Private stations include *Kanal 2* (2 hrs/week), *TV3*, *Narva TV* (100% in Russian), *Pervõi Baltiiski Kanal* (100% in Russian). The table below lists television programmes by year:

Television	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Number of broadcasters	9	7	7	7	7	5
- public law	1	1	1	1	1	1
- private law	8	6	6	6	6	4
Total programmes (hours)	8,800	8,767	20,640	23,489	25,311	32,463
In Estonian (%)	89.5	93.0	87.0	92.5	95.9	98.9
In Russian (%)	12.0	10.8	6.6	6.3	8.5	5.5

Programmes dubbed or subtitled in Russian are Estonian Television – docusoap “Animal Clinic” (dubbed), “The Case Opened” (subtitled), while *Pervõi Baltiiski Kanal Cable* channels Tele 2, Starman show programmes (dubbed). 74.8% of Russians residing in Estonia watch only Russian TV channels available to everybody over cable net. For instance, through AS TV Com and AS STV the residents of Narva can watch three Estonian, 47 Russian, five English, three German and two French channels. There are several Internet communities [see bibliography]. Electronic resources for Russian include machine-readable dictionaries, authoring aids, translation tools, language-learning systems (⇒ Bibliography). Digitising activities are under way for radio, television, libraries and other systems (⇒ Bibliography).

## 2.5 Arts and culture

The following number of books were published in Russian in recent years: 126 (1995), 145 (1996), 196 (1997), 257 (1998), 211 (1999), 214 (2000), 183 (2001), 193 (2002), covering a large spectrum of subjects. Traditional music include *Olga Lund studio*, The Russian Choir (<http://www.koorikapell.ee/>), the Folk group *Zlatõje Gorõ*, The Russian choir *Sudaruski*, The Children choir *Cantus*, the choir *Slavjanka*, the Chamber choir and folk music society *Slavutitš*, *Viivo Muusika* and the Russian philharmonic society. Pop and rock are present with *Postmortem*

(1991) ([www.postmortem.ee](http://www.postmortem.ee)), *Kin Dza Dza* (<http://kindzadza.narod.ru/>), Big Ones (<http://www.hot.ee/bigones/>), *AveNue* (<http://avenue.ee/>), PX Band (<http://www.hot.ee/pxband>), Look Around (<http://www.lookaround.ee/>), САЙГОНЬ 2000 (<http://www.day-of-apples.com>), ТРЕТЬЯ ПОЛОВИНА" (<http://polovina.nm.ru/>). The main stable professional group for drama is Русский драматический театр Эстонии (Vene Draamateater) [Russian Drama Theatre] (<http://www.grdt.ee/rus/>), founded in Tallinn in 1948. Formed by a graduating group from a Moscow theatre school, it has produced ca 500 plays, mostly by Russian authors but also translations including some Estonian plays and plays for children. Main amateur groups are Русский молодёжный театр (Vene Noorteteater) [Russian Youth Theatre] (<http://www.vnt.ee>) (established in 1988), with a repertoire based on modern plays by Russian authors, Estonian and foreign classic plays; Studio-Theatre *Ilmarine* (Narva) (<http://www.ilmarine-teater.ee>) (re-established in 1989 as the successor of the *Ilmarine* founded in 1874), who cooperate with the Russian Drama Theatre in Tallinn and mainly perform for children. Other groups include the Russian Culture Centre in Tallinn, Studio-Theatre *Grotesk* (1995), Studio-Theatre *Soolo* (1994), Theatre *Junost*, Studio-Theatre *Alesja*, Lindakivi Culture Centre, the Dream Fabric (Russian Puppet Theatre). In 2002 the Russian Drama Theatre attracted an audience of 60,100, the Russian Youth Theatre 15,000, the Studio-Theatre *Ilmarine* 16,300, while attendance in small theatres was 113,800. Russian is used also in films produced in Estonia (Heart of Bear, Names on marble plate, Baltic Love; co-productions: Lilja 4ever, Good hands); and there are some documentaries in Russian. Festivals include the yearly Slaavi pärg [Slavonic wreath] of Slavic national cultural societies and several music festivals. Other cultural activities include those of the Tartu Russian People's University and the Russian Folk University at Russian Culture Centre (Tallinn), with courses for adults on Russian culture, literature, modern Russian and foreign languages; then the Russian Romance club (music and literature, art studio for children), the publishing houses KPD, *Aleksandra* (local Russian writers and poets, translation reference books, encyclopaedias) and the Russian Research Centre in Estonia [*Vene uurimiskeskus Eestis*] (Russian writers and poets, politicians, Russian language and literature).

## 2.6 The business world

Russian is used especially in the business sector, in banking and in Estonian-Russian joint companies. In Ida-Virumaa the working language of most enterprises is mainly Russian, a fact which has acted as a deterrent to Estonian investors. The use of native languages in foreign-owned enterprises (English, Swedish, Finnish) does not seem to have any significant impact on the language use of the enterprises or in the region. The local management is staffed with Russians, or Estonians well versed in Russian. However, the change of language policy in the public sector has brought about an over-representation of Estonians in the administration and in the local self-government of the area. Because the proficiency in Russian of Estonians has declined in recent years, those who are fluent in Estonian and competent in Russian as a native language may thus be expected to enjoy a competitive edge in the labour market. Language proficiency requirements for non-Estonians have restricted access to public employment but not to private business, where language requirements can be imposed only when public interests are at stake. According to Art. 23 of the Language Act, advertisements must be in Estonian and no translations are allowed. There have been a lot of initiatives to amend this provision and the Russian-language press has called for a wider use of Russian in advertising. Only a few products are offered with labels and instructions in Russian.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

- 2.7.1 The intergenerational transmission of Russian seems to be the norm. Courtship is generally in Russian, and 67% of Russians appear to marry endogamously. Statistics indicate that 98.2% of the Russians speak Russian. In Tallinn and other major towns (Tartu, Valga, Pärnu) there has been a renewed interest in Russian, although the presence of the language within the educational system has decreased and many parents prefer to educate their children in schools where Estonian or English is the language of instruction.
- 2.7.2 There are several Russian associations in Estonia. The Union of Slavonic Educational and Charitable Societies in Estonia is an umbrella organisation for 15 various associations, including the Russian Literary Heritage Society, the Russian Artists Association of Estonia and the Russian Philharmonic Society of Estonia. Another important association is *Vene Klubi* [Russian Club]. There are approx. 20 Cultural associations/institutions (e.g. the Union of teachers in Russian schools, the Russian Research Centre in Estonia etc.), all in the directory "Cultural societies of ethnic minorities in Estonia (Tallinn: Integration Foundation, 2001). From 1997 to 2002 four conferences have been held at Tartu University, such as "The language of diaspora: problems and perspectives". Also Tallinn Pedagogical University hosts linguistic conferences and regular seminars organized by the Union of Teachers in Russian schools, the Russian Research Centre in Estonia and other organisations.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

Major relevant agreements between Russia and Estonia are: the agreement between the Republic of Estonia and Russian Federation on educational co-operation (1994), the agreement between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Federation on recognition of diplomas and academic degrees (1998) and the agreement between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Federation on co-operation for the preservation of cultural heritage (1998). The department of Russian and Slavic Philology (University of Tartu) cooperates with the leading research centres in Russia (State Russian Humanitarian University, the University of St. Petersburg, the Institute of the Russian Language at the Russian Academy of Sciences, etc.) with the Pushkin Centre in Madison, USA and many others. Student exchange is carried out with higher education institutions in Russia (the Universities of St. Petersburg and Voronezh). In 2003, 12 young Russians from Estonia entered the Higher Theatre School in Moscow to be trained specially for the Russian Theatre in Tallinn.

## **3. Conclusion**

The Russian language in Estonia has undergone a general decline for demographic, political and social reasons that are linked to a radical reorganisation of the state, where the Estonians constitute a comparatively small majority overall and a minority in some regions. The influence of the pre-war Russian population of Estonia is small compared to that of the later immigrants. Estonian language policy has been essentially aimed at reinforcing the position of the Estonian language, and Russian is now in a minority position despite having a significant

number of speakers, who form the majority in certain areas. Estonian is the only official language in the state's administration (although common practice and local government provisions allow a certain latitude to the use of Russian), and in the educational system Russian can be the language of instruction with certain limitations. The potential for a bilingual approach remains to be seen. Because of historical reasons, however, most Russian speakers have little interaction with the Estonian community. The integration issue – which is also strictly linked to the naturalisation issue – will therefore be crucial in determining the future position of the language.

### 1. Belorussian

- 1.1 Together with Russian and Ukrainian, Belorussian [*Belaruskaja mova*] belongs to the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European languages. It started to develop as a separate language in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. When the territory which now constitutes Belarus became Lithuanian the Lithuanians took over the administrative language of Kievan Rus, a language that in time got more and more local traits. This language, sometimes called Old Belorussian, became less important with the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was gradually exchanged for Polish. Modern Belorussian is essentially a product of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This language is not a continuation of Old Belorussian and much nearer to the popular language than for example Russian. It has thus far fewer Church-Slavonicisms. Within the Belorussian Soviet Republic, Belorussian was one of the national languages. The 1920s and partly the 1930s may be seen as the golden age of Modern Belorussian. From the end of the 1930s to the 1990s Belorussian gradually was ousted by Russian in all spheres of life: education, newspapers, theatre, bookprinting, politics, party administration, etc. Russian thus became the high language whereas the role of Belorussian was reduced to that of a minority language and a more or less rural language. In the mid-1980s a movement to promote the language developed, and Belorussian became an official language. This status was confirmed by the Constitution (1994) of the newly independent state of Belarus (1991), but in May 1995 – following a referendum – Russian was reinstated as a second official language in the amended Constitution (1996). This reflects a more general situation where only 75% of all Belorussians (including those who live outside Belarus) are estimated to speak the language, the rest having assimilated to Russian. Belorussians arrived in Estonia during the Soviet period, like most Russians (⇒ Russian in Estonia, 1.2.2), albeit there are records of Belorussian student organisation at Tartu university in 1909 and some outstanding Belorussian public figures have studied in Estonia: e.g. the historian Vsevolod Ignatovski (1881–1931) and the politicians Anton Lutskevitsš (1884–1946) and Jazep Dõla (1880–1973).
- 1.2 According to the 2000 census there are 17,241 Belorussians in Estonia (1.3% of the population), 4,953 of whom speak Belorussian as a mother tongue; 12,014 declared Russian and 144 Estonian as a mother tongue. The 1989 census recorded 27,711 Belorussians: 8,841 with Belorussian as mother tongue, 18,591 with Russian and 195 speaking Estonian. There were no Belorussians enumerated in prewar censuses. In the period between the last two censuses, the number of Belorussians has decreased by 37.8%, mainly because of migration from Estonia. As data clearly show, there is a considerable mismatch between ethnic affiliation and mother tongue, for most Belorussians in Estonia have Russian as their first language. Belorussians live mostly in urban areas, especially in Tallinn and Ida-Viru county.
- 1.3 There is a Belorussian Cultural Centre (*Batkaušõna*) in Tallinn (<http://www.ngonet.ee/eva>). Other cultural associations include *Spadtsõna* (1997), the Belorussian society *Sjabrõ* in Narva, *BEZ* in Ida-Virumaa and *Jalinka* in Maardu. There is a Belorussian Sunday school in Tallinn. Estonian *Radio 4* broadcasts in Belorussian 1 hour per week.

## 2. Finnish

- 2.1 Finnish [*Suomi*] is (together with Estonian) a member of the Baltic-Finnic subgroup of the Finno-Ugric languages. The written language was shaped during the Reformation (1523-1640), with the translation of the complete Bible appearing in 1642. Standard Finnish is based on the south-west dialects but incorporates features from other regions. Because Estonian Finns are mostly of Ingrian Finnish origin (with as self-designation “the Ingrian” [*inkeriläinen*] or “the Ingrian Finns” [*inkerin suomalainen*]), they call their language Ingrian Finnish [*inkerin suomen kieli*], which is not a separate language but an eastern Finnish dialect. Standard Finnish is used in writing. The historical homeland of Ingrian Finns is the Ingermanland (or Ingria/Ingeria), the territory between the Baltic Sea, Lake Peipsi and Lake Ladoga, a land bridge between Finland and Estonia (now the St. Petersburg region). The region came under Swedish influence in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, allowing for the migration of several thousand Finns in different periods. The minority of Ingrian Finns in Estonia emerged as a result of the geopolitical rearrangement of Ingria, but there are also immigrants employed by Finnish/Estonian companies. 75% of Finns in Estonia are Lutherans, less than 20% Orthodox and 8% belong to other denominations. There are Finnish congregations in Tallinn and Tartu where services are held in Finnish.
- 2.2 In the 2000 census 11,837 declared to be Finns and 358 to be Ingrians (0.9% of the population). In 1922, 401 Finns were counted in Estonia, but there were 1,608 in 1934, and after World War II more than 16,000. The number remained comparatively stable until 1989 (16,622 Finns, with Ingrians classified as Finns), but in the 1990s there was a significant emigration to Finland. According to the 2000 census, 4,932 Finns and 124 Ingrians declared Finnish to be their mother tongue. For 3,779 people (Finns and Ingrians together) Estonian was their mother tongue and for 3,886 (Finns/Ingrians) Russian. Here, too (like for other minority groups) there is a considerable mismatch between ethnic affiliation and mother tongue, equally divided between Russian and Estonian. The Finns have never concentrated in a particular area in Estonia like the Russians and Swedes, except in some areas of North-Eastern Estonia. Compared with Russians or post-war immigrant groups, Finns are less urbanised with more than 30% of them living in rural areas.
- 2.3 In the period 1918-1940 the schools in so-called Estonian Ingeria (4 villages near Narva) had Russian or Estonian as language of instruction, but they had compulsory Finnish lessons 3 hours per week. As there were no Finnish schools in Soviet Estonia, Finns attended Estonian or Russian schools. Finnish is now taught as foreign language in some schools (approx. 1,200 pupils learn it as the first, second or third language) and adult language courses. A private Finnish medium school was founded in Tallinn for children of Finnish citizens temporarily residing in Estonia (it is attended by approx. 30 children every year); there is another private Finnish school in Tartu, with less than 10 children attending per year. The Estonian Ingrian-Finnish Union, an umbrella organisation for 11 Ingrian Finnish cultural societies in Estonia, was founded in 1989. Its activities include the publication of *Inkeri* (10 numbers per year) since 1993, an annual song festival (since 1991), summer camps for children and Finnish language courses for adults. Finns are the first minority to have initiated the creation of a cultural council pursuant to the Law on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities (⇒ Estonia, 4.4), and elections for the council were held in May 2004.

### 3. German

- 3.1 German [*Deutsch*] is a west Germanic language of the Indo-European family, related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. While German dialects can be classified using different criteria, a distinction is usually accepted between standard German [*Hochdeutsch*] (the written form), colloquial German [*Umgangssprache*] and dialects. German uses the Roman alphabet. The first wave of Germans – traders, missionaries and soldiers – arrived in Estonia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Baltic Germans soon formed the clerical, land-owning and commercial elites in Estonia, securing a dominant role in the political, economic, social and cultural life throughout the Baltic States. In 1881 the proportion of Germans was 5-6%, going down to 2.5% in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and below 2% in the 1920s, parallel to their decline as the land-owning élite (⇒ Estonia, 2.1). In the interwar years Germans enjoyed full rights: they could vote, form political parties (e.g. the *Deutschbaltische Partei*), and usually held 5-8 seats in the 100-member Estonian parliament. Germans took advantage of the Act on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities (⇒ Estonia, 4.2), and in 1925 established German societies, a professional theatre and schools (14 primary schools, 9 secondary schools and 5 higher secondary schools); periodicals were issued and books of fiction published. There were a large number of German officials and intellectuals (in 1925, 6.8% of the student body of Tartu university were Germans). Germans were characterised by a very high level of urbanisation with more than 80% living in towns.
- 3.2 In the year 2000 1,870 Estonian citizens declared German nationality. The vast majority of Baltic Germans was re-located to Germany between 1939 and 1941. After World War II there were only 300 Germans left in Estonia. Most of them were deported in August 1945; those who survived were allowed to return to Estonia in 1955. In 1960s, Germans from the Russian Federation (Volga region, Siberia and Kazakhstan) began to arrive in Estonia. In 1970 there were 7,850 Germans in Estonia, and 3,466 in 1989. This decline was the result of many Germans repatriating to Germany in 1970s. In 2000, the number of people who gave German as their mother tongue was 455; 1,219 people declared Russian to be their mother tongue. Estonian was the mother tongue of 176 Germans.
- 3.3 German is taught as a foreign language in most schools in Estonia. In one upper-secondary school in Tallinn teaching is partially conducted in German. There is an Estonian German Society in Tallinn (est. 1991), an umbrella organisation for several local organisations (Tallinn Germans Society, Viljandi German Society, Narva German Society *Harmonie*, Ida-Viru German cultural society). Other associations include the Baltic-German Cultural Society in Estonia (1988) and the Academic Baltic-German Cultural Society in Tartu (1989).

### 4. Latvian

- 4.1 Latvian [*Latviešu valodas*] is one of the two extant Baltic languages, together with Lithuanian; the two languages developed side by side till the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest attestations date back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the language is written in the Roman script. Because the historical province of Livonia included both eastern Latvia and south Estonia, it is difficult to say how many Latvians lived on Estonian territory. The state boundaries between Estonia and Latvia were drawn only in 1920, and only a small Latvian minority remained in Estonia. Although pockets of Latvians could be found in southern Estonia – for example in Tsiistre (parish of Rõuge) – they were mainly dispersed, especially in the border areas, in the

counties of Valga, Võru and Setu where they had their own schools and societies (e. g. in Valga, Mõisaküla, Laura, Setu).

- 4.2 According to data from the 2000 census there were 2,330 Latvians in Estonia. The largest number of Latvians (5,435) was registered in 1934. In 1938/39 there were 6 Latvian elementary schools: in the border town of Valga, in Mõisaküla and in villages in Petseri county. In 1945 the borders were changed and Petseri county was cut off from Estonia. As a consequence, 1,500 Latvians found themselves outside Estonian borders, and their number was reduced by more than a half. In 1970s their number began to increase, reaching 3,135 in the 1989 census. Latvian is spoken as mother tongue by 1,389 persons (among them 1,248 Latvians, 63 Estonians, 37 Russians, 2 Ukrainians, 8 Belorussians, 9 Poles, 3 Jews, 6 Lithuanians, 2 Germans, 3 Azerbaijanis, 9 Romas), while 859 Latvians speak Russian and 208 speak Estonian as a mother tongue. Associations include the Estonian Latvian Society (est. 1988) in Tallinn, the South-Estonian Latvian Society in Tartu (est. 1990) and the Estonian-Latvian Institute in Valga (es. 2000). The share of mixed marriages is high and in most cases Latvian is not spoken at home. There are no Latvian schools in Estonia, only Sunday school classes organised by the Estonian Latvian Society, where Latvian children can learn their mother tongue. Latvian is also taught at the Estonian-Latvian Institute in Valga.

## 5. Lithuanian

- 5.1 Lithuanian [*Li(u)tuviskai*] is one of the two extant Baltic languages, together with Latvian; the two languages developed side by side till the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest manuscript (the text of a prayer) dates back to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, while the first dictionary was the Latin-Polish-Lithuanian *Dictionarium trium linguarum* of 1620. A standard form of the language gained acceptance at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Roman alphabet was introduced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but Gothic was the language of the earliest scripts and remained in use until WW II in the territory of Eastern Prussia.
- 5.2 Lithuanians arrived in Estonia at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to work primarily in ports and construction. When Vilnius University was closed down in 1832, Lithuanians came to study at Tartu University, most of them returning to Lithuania after graduating. From 1864 to 1904 the printing of Lithuanian texts in the Roman alphabet was forbidden in Lithuania and the “Lithuanian grammar” by the famous linguist J. Jablonskis was printed in Estonia in 1899. In 1897 there were 134 Lithuanians in Estonia. The Lithuanian Student Society *Dorpata* was established in 1895 (Tartu) and the Revel Lithuanian society in 1917 (Tallinn), but there are no records about the activities of these societies. More Lithuanians arrived after World War II as the result of Soviet migration policy, settling mostly in industrial regions and in Tallinn.
- 5.3 According to data from the 2000 census there were 2,116 Lithuanians in Estonia, with 1,813 of them living in urban areas. The largest number of Lithuanians (2,568) was registered in 1989: Lithuanian was spoken as mother tongue by 1,198 persons, while 849 of them spoke Russian and 100 Estonian as a mother tongue. The proportion of mixed marriages is around 90% and in most cases Lithuanian is not spoken at home. The *Eesti Leedulaste Ühendus* [Estonian Lithuanian Society] was established in 1980 in Tallinn, but it was only in 1988 that it was officially registered. In 1990 it became a member of World Lithuanian Community. There are no Lithuanian schools in Estonia. A Sunday school has been operating since 2000 in Tallinn.

## 6. Polish

- 6.1 As a Slavic language Polish [*język polski*] is closely related to Kashubian with which it forms the Lechitic branch of West Slavonic. The earliest attestations of Polish are to be found in Latin documents from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The language emerges in a broadly standardised form in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century; the first Polish grammar of Stojenski-Statorius (*Polonicae grammatices institutio*) dates from 1568. Standard Polish is based on the dialects of both the Wielkopolska and Małopolska areas. Warsaw did not play a role, since it joined Poland only at a later stage. Polish has always used the Roman alphabet.
- 6.2 Records of Poles in Estonian areas date back to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. When the universities in Warsaw and Vilnius were closed down in the 1830s, Poles came to Tartu University. In 1828 the first Polish students' club "Polonia" was established, followed by many other societies and clubs between 1830 and 1918. In the interwar years Polish National Society (est. 1930) played an important role in the life of the local Polish community. A chair of the Polish language was established at Tartu University in 1930s. There were 1,608 Poles in 1934 in Estonia. After World War II the number of Poles increased to reach a peak of 3,008 in 1989, most of them arriving from the eastern regions of Soviet Union (only 141 were born outside of the territory of the Soviet Union). In the 1990s the number of Poles declined: according to data from the 2000 census there were 2,193 Poles in Estonia, with 1,941 of them living in urban areas. Polish was spoken as mother tongue by 593 persons, while 1,338 Poles speak Russian and 133 speak Estonian as a mother tongue. The proportion of mixed marriages is high, amounting to 90% of all marriages, in most mixed families Russian is spoken.
- 6.3 In 1988 the Estonian Polish Society was re-established and in 1989 it was registered as Polish cultural society "Polonia" with local branches in Narva (1995) and Kohtla-Järve (1996). The society organises Polish language classes for adults and summer camps in Poland for children. Sunday schools are operating in Kohtla-Järve and Narva. Polish can be studied as a minor at Tallinn Pedagogical University and Tartu University. Most of those declaring a religious affiliation are Roman-Catholic (867), then Orthodox (207) and Lutheran (33). Services are held in Polish twice a week in Tallinn and once a week in Narva, Tartu and Rakvere.

## 7. Romani

- 7.1 Romani [*Romanes*], or Romany, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language — like Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali — which belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (12<sup>th</sup> century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups, the main ones being Northern Central, Southern Central, Vlax and Sinti), which include approximately 60 dialects and varieties. Although the Roma communities are highly differentiated, they often use the same term *Romanes* to refer to the language. Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century Romani was essentially an oral language; in its written form, it has accepted various orthographies depending on the host country.
- 7.2 Roma have lived in Estonia since 1533. In 1841 they were forced to settle in Laiuse parish (Raaduverre village). Before World War II, 743 Romas were counted in

Estonia, 60 of them living in Laiuse. They could be regarded as ethnic Estonian Romas. In 1989, 665 Roma were registered in Estonia. The Estonian Roma Society, however, has given an estimate of 1,500 members. The 2000 census counted 542 Romas in Estonia, 426 speaking Estonian Romani as their mother tongue, 45 Estonian and 59 Russian. In 1991 the Estonian Roma Society was founded with the aim to preserve the Roma culture and language, and to cooperate with Roma organisations in other countries. In 2000, the South-Estonian Roma Society was founded to improve educational and social conditions of Roma children and young people.

## 8. Swedish

- 8.1 Swedish [*Svenska*] is a North Germanic language, written in the Roman alphabet. The earliest attestations are runic inscriptions from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Standard Swedish is largely based on varieties from central Sweden while the Swedish spoken in Estonia belongs to a group of eastern dialects. As these dialects were comparatively isolated from the mother country, they have preserved many characteristics of the more archaic Swedish language, and are only partly understandable to speakers of Standard Swedish.
- 8.2 Coastal Swedes (or *aibofolke* [Island People] as they called themselves) first came to Estonia in the 13 and 14<sup>th</sup> century, as Swedish fishermen settled on the inhabited North-Western islands of Estonia (Vormsi, Osmussaar, Pakri, Naissaar and Ruhnu) and on the Noarootsi Peninsula. Later on Swedes also started land cultivation and partially moved to the mainland coast of Western Estonia. Swedish farmers made up a class of free tenants, whose social status remained unchanged even during the Swedish period in Estonia (1561–1721) (⇒ Estonia, 2.1). The number of Swedes grew until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in some of the small islands they formed virtually the entire population. Swedes did not take advantage of the Act on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities (⇒ Estonia, 4.2), since by virtue of their compact settlement they had a Swedish-language local government and a Secretary of National Affairs in the Ministry of Education. In the period before World War II, the Estonian Swedes had altogether 20 elementary schools, in addition to adult education courses (e.g. the Pürksi Agricultural and People's University) and an upper secondary school. Swedes had their own cultural societies, the Swedish-language newspaper *Kustbon* and a political organisation, the *Svenska Folkförbundet*. In 1939 Estonian Swedes were forced to leave the islands of Osmussaar, Naissaar and Pakri as Soviet military bases were established there. From 1941 to 1944 approximately 7,000 Estonian Swedes left for Sweden on the basis of a German-Swedish Treaty. According to the 1989 census there were 297 Swedes left in Estonia, and the 2000 census gave almost the same result (300). In 2000, 107 Swedes declared Swedish to be their mother tongue, 171 Estonian and 16 Russian.
- 8.3 In Noarootsi there is an upper secondary (state) School specialising in Swedish language and culture, founded in co-operation and with the aid of the Swedish embassy in 1990. Swedish is studied as foreign language in some schools (approx. 400 pupils learn it as the second or third foreign language) and in language courses for adult learners. There is a Swedish folk university (former Paslepa folk university) in Haapsalu and in Tallinn, offering courses for adults (Estonian and Swedish language, culture, arts, see [http://www.rre-sfe.ee/ee/ee\\_freim.htm](http://www.rre-sfe.ee/ee/ee_freim.htm)). The Coastal Swedes Museum (est. 1992) shows the history and culture of Estonian Swedes, and arranges exhibitions and other activities (<http://www.aiboland.ee/>). The most prominent association is the Cultural Society of Estonian Swedes (1988)

([aibom@haapsalu.ee](mailto:aibom@haapsalu.ee)) which collects, preserves and presents the Estonian Swedish cultural heritage, supporting the cultural and economic development of the Estonian Swedish areas and the teaching of Swedish all over Estonia. There is close contact with Estonian Swedish organisations in Sweden, with Finnish Swedes and many other organisations and institutions in the Nordic countries. From 1988 to 1996 the Society published the newspaper *Ronor* in Estonian and Swedish.

- 8.4 Pursuant to the Place Name Act of 1997 (⇒ Estonia, 4.5), Estonia's historical minorities are entitled to signage in their language. Accordingly, the place names in formerly Swedish-populated territories are mostly Swedish (e.g. in Vormsi Norrby, Borrby, Rälby, Saxby) or have Estonian-Swedish parallels: Vormsi/Ormsö, Ruhnu/Runö, Osmussaar/Odensholm, Pakri/Rågö, Riguldi/Rickul, Noarootsi/Nuckö, Risti/Kors, Naissaar/Nargö.

## 9. Tatar

Tatar is a Turkic language of the Uralic group. It was written in the Arabic and Roman scripts until 1939, when the Cyrillic alphabet was adopted. Tatars, of Islamic faith, have been living in Estonia since the 1870s, setting up their organisations and religious groups in the 1920s. Most of Estonian Tatars consider themselves descendants of Mishars and Kazan Tatars and their ancestors (mostly merchants and Tsar army soldiers) who arrived in Estonia in the 1870s and earlier. There is no information about Crimean Tatars living in pre-war Estonia. In 1989, there were 12 Crimean Tatars in Estonia, but in 2000 census they were apparently classified as other nationalities. In 1989, 4,058 Tatars were counted in Estonia, 3,315 in 1997 and 2,582 in 2000, of whom 1,229 (47.6%) speak Tatar as a mother tongue, 1,295 Russian and 51 Estonian. In 1988 a Tatar Cultural Society was founded in Tallinn. There is also a Cultural society *Idel* [Volga] (1995), the Tatar Community of Estonia (1990) and Tatar cultural societies in Narva and Jõhvi. The Tatar Community of Estonia and the Ida-Virumaa Tatar Cultural Society run Sunday schools for Tatar and Estonian languages for children and adults.

## 10. Ukrainian

- 10.1 Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is an Eastern Slavonic language of the Indo-European family, written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Ukrainians arrived in Estonia from different regions of the Soviet Union in the post-war period, like most Russians (⇒ Russian in Estonia, 1.2.2). This is shown by the fact that in 1934 there were only 92 Ukrainians in Estonia, while in 1989 the census recorded the presence of 48,271 Ukrainians. In 2000 there were only 29,012, a sharp drop (-39.9%) due to outward migration (⇒ Estonia, 3.1). The percentage of Ukrainians having Ukrainian as a mother tongue does not reflect ethnic affiliation (⇒ 1.2): in 2000 only 12,299 declared Ukrainian as mother tongue (0.9% of the total population): 11,923 Ukrainians and 376 representatives of other nationalities (Russians, Estonians, Belorussians, Poles, Jews, Germans, Tatars, Moldavians, Roma). For the other Ukrainians, the mother tongue is Russian (for 16,486) and Estonian (481). Ukrainians live mostly in urban areas, and 79.3% of them are concentrated in Tallinn, Maardu, and in Ida-Viru county (⇒ Russian in Estonia, 1.2.3).
- 10.2 There are no Ukrainian-language schools in Estonia. A Ukrainian class temporarily operated at Tallinn but there was not enough interest on the parents' side and the

initiative died out in a couple of years. An attempt was made in 1997 to open an Ukrainian class in the Tallinn Liivalaia secondary school (with Estonian as language of instruction), but it was closed down for the same reason. Cultural societies include the Ukrainian Compatriots' Society (<http://www.hot.ee/uke/indexest.html>) (1988), an umbrella organisation for Narva, and Sillamäe Ukrainian Compatriots' Societies. The Union of Ukrainian Societies in Estonia (<http://www.hot.ee/uoae/>) incorporates several cultural and educational institutions. There are several musical groups (*Vidlunnja*, *Žurba* etc.) and Sunday schools are operating in Tallinn, Narva and Sillamäe. The newspaper *Strunõ* in Ukrainian is published irregularly. Estonian Radio 4 broadcasts in Ukrainian one and a half hour per week.

## 11. Yiddish

- 11.1 Yiddish arose in the middle ages as a trade language of the Jews, with urban varieties of Middle High German as the dominant component and with influences from Semitic and Slavonic languages. It is written in the Hebrew alphabet. Jews came to Estonia in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as they were allowed to settle in the western provinces of tsarist Russia. They established their own network of education, with schools being organised in Tallinn in the 1880s. Jewish synagogues were built in Tallinn in 1883 and Tartu in 1903. In the interwar years Jews founded a number of cultural societies: Jewish Drama Club in Tartu, H. N. Bialik literary and Drama Society in Tallinn and in Viljandi, Pärnu, Narva and elsewhere. A Jewish primary school was opened in Tallinn in 1919, and a secondary school was founded in 1923. In its first year 223 pupils studied there. A chair of *Judaica* was established in Tartu University in 1934. Jews took advantage of the Act on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities ( $\Rightarrow$  Estonia, 4.2), and in June 1926 the Cultural Council was elected and the Jewish cultural autonomy was declared. The administrative organ of this autonomy was the Board of Jewish Culture. By 1939 there were 32 different Jewish organisations active in Estonia. During the Soviet occupation Yiddish was never used as a language of instruction in schools, nor as a taught as a subject.
- 11.2 According to data from the 2000 census there were 2,145 Jews in Estonia (0.1% of the population). In 1934 they were 4,381 (0.4% of the population). Jews were persecuted during World War II and have considerably fallen in number, but a part of those who had managed to flee to the Soviet Union returned to Estonia. In 1989 there were 4,613 Jews in Estonia, more than 80% of them being post-war immigrants from different parts of the Soviet Union. In the 90s many Jews left for Israel or the USA.
- 11.3 The census of 1989 recorded 570 Jews declaring Yiddish to be their mother tongue. For 3,614 Jews Russian was their mother tongue and for 389 it was Estonian. In 2000, of the 2,145 Jews only 124 had Yiddish as a mother tongue, 1,728 Russian and 248 Estonian. Older speakers have a native(-like) command of at least two languages: beside Estonian, Russian or German, they speak the local Yiddish dialect (Estonian Yiddish). However, many of them have no writing competence in Yiddish and, at best, would be able to read and speak it. There are cases when oral communication is in Yiddish and written communication in another language. The extremely low figures of Yiddish speakers in both censuses reflect the major sociocultural dislocations (Soviet and Nazi occupation, Soviet deportations and language policy), but also the difference between the pre- 1940 (indigenous) and the post-1940 (non-indigenous) Jews: among post-1940 Jews the language shift from Yiddish to Russian seems to have occurred already before their arrival in

Estonia. The prevalence of people with Russian as mother tongue reflects the prevalence of non-indigenous Jews; and the fact that highest number of “national” speakers of Yiddish is among Estonian citizens demonstrates that Yiddish is a part of the linguistic repertoire of the indigenous minority. The average age of both indigenous and non-indigenous Jews is high, as is the percentage of mixed marriages: such circumstances do not favour the intergenerational transmission of the language. Although there are no data to establish a correlation between the use of Yiddish and age, there appears to be nobody younger than 60 speaking Yiddish as a first language.

- 11.4 In 1989 a Jewish Sunday school was established in Tallinn, and in 1990 a Jewish School started working under the Tallinn Education Board (the first school for a national minority to be opened after restoration of independence), but there is no teaching of Yiddish. Hebrew, Judaism and Yiddish culture are taught at the Estonian Institute of Humanities. The Estonian Jewish Community (1992) acts as an umbrella organisation for Jewish cultural associations. The newspaper *Hashachar* has been issued by the Community since 1989, but is printed in Estonian and Russian. Radio 4 – which broadcasts the programme *Shalom Aleychem* each month – is in Russian. Until March 2004 there was a programme in Yiddish every Friday, financed by the PHARE project. According to the Law on Cultural Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities ( $\Rightarrow$  Estonia, 4.2), minorities have a right to promote their national cultures and languages but the Jewish community does not appear to be interested in studying or promoting Yiddish, even as a second language. This can be explained partly by the fact that Yiddish is an internally “conflicted” language; i.e. when people with the same ethnolinguistic/ethnocultural background construct their identity in different ways. Elderly speakers of Yiddish meet (now rather irregularly) in Yiddish language club.

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## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Hungary [*Magyarország*] currently covers approx. 93,000 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population of about 10.2 million. 64% of the population live in urban, 34% in rural areas. With approximately 1.8 million inhabitants Budapest is the largest Hungarian city. Other major cities include Debrecen (approx. 200,000 inhabitants), Miskolc (approx. 170,000), Szeged (approx. 155,000), Pécs (approx. 155,000) and Győr (approx. 125,000).



The Republic of Hungary is a parliamentary democracy. Its state structure has a three-level administration: there are (1) 3,131 settlements/municipalities [*település*], (2) 19 counties [*megye*] plus the city of Budapest; and (c) 7 regions [*régió*]. The 19 counties are: Bács-Kiskun, Baranya, Békés, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Csongrád, Fejér, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hajdú-Bihar, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Komárom-Esztergom, Nógrád, Pest, Somogy, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Tolna, Vas, Veszprém, Zala. Hungary's transition from a single-party political and a planned economic system into a multi-party democracy and market economy proceeded relatively smoothly due to Hungary's familiarity with bargaining mechanisms and the relative flourishing of the second (grey) economy starting in the mid 1960s after the revolution. Since 1997 Hungary's economic growth has reached rates around 4% a year (with a slight decrease since 2001). Exports have been an important factor in economic growth.

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 Ruled by Árpád, the Magyars (Hungarian tribes) arrived in the plains around the Danube river in 896 A.D. where they found Avar, Slavic, and Celtic populations who had settled there.

At the beginning of the 11th century Steven the Great, a descendant of Árpád, founded the kingdom of Hungary and started spreading Christianity and West European social norms with the help of German knights and Italian and French monks. The growth of the Hungarian kingdom was halted when, in 1526, the Turks invaded the country. In 1541 the Turks succeeded in conquering the major central part of Hungary, including the dual capital of Buda and Pest (which was to become Budapest in 1873). In 1689 Hapsburg-led European troops managed to expel the Turks from Hungary. As a consequence Hungary had to acknowledge the House of Hapsburg's permanent claim to the Hungarian throne. In the years following 1689 Hapsburg rule was consolidated and a period of economic, social and cultural development started. Hungary became a multiethnic country offering land and employment to Western European groups as well as to Balkan groups fleeing Turkish rule. A period of unrest occurred in 1848-49. It was, however, quickly put down by Franz Joseph I and led to the formation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1867. At that time Franz Joseph was crowned King of Hungary.

- 2.2 After World War I, following the defeat of its ally, Germany, the Hapsburg Empire and the multiethnic Hungarian state fell apart. After the Treaty of Trianon in June 1920 millions of Hungarians became citizens of the new states emerging from the ruins of the former empire. Hungary was reduced to one third of its former territory. The lost parts went chiefly to Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. A strong dislike for the results of the Treaty of Trianon motivated Hungary to become one of the minor Axis powers in World War II. Stalinist communists took power in Hungary after a short-lived attempt to establish a post-war pluralistic democratic system. In 1947 a peace treaty with Hungary, Romania, Italy, Bulgaria and Finland was signed in Paris. Hungary's borders were defined to be identical to those of 1 June 1938 (the 'Trianon Borders') with the difference that Czechoslovakia received three villages: Oroszvár (today's Rusovce), Dunacsúny (today's Cunovo) and Horvátjárfalu (today's Jarovce). In 1956 the reform-communist Prime Minister, Imre Nagy, led a revolution against the communist regime. The revolution was crushed by Soviet troops. After a period of repression Hungarian leaders installed a more moderate communist regime, introducing some capitalist features. In 1989, after more liberal communist tendencies had started appearing in all Soviet republics, Hungary proclaimed its independence. In 1991 the last Soviet soldiers left Hungary's territory. In 1999 Hungary became a member of NATO. On 1 May 2004, Hungary became a member of the EU.

### **3. Demographic data**

- 3.1 Demographers at the Central Statistical Office agree that the size of a nationality in Hungary varies according to the questions asked in the census. The tendency is for the "nationality" figures to be smaller, and for the "mother tongue" figures to be larger. The largest figure is usually obtained in answer to the question: "What language other than your mother tongue do you speak?". Note, however, that after the two World Wars census results have been strongly affected by, e.g., population exchanges, re-settlements and the attribution of collective guilt to entire minorities. This explains (a) the differences from one census to the next that are due to a combination of real demographic changes and people's readiness to identify with the minority or majority populations and (b) the deviation between official census figures and estimates made by minority organisations. The difference between official census figures and estimates made by minority organisations is shown in Table 1, which is based on data from the beginning of the

1990s. The actual population with minority identity and commitment is likely to be somewhere between the census figures and the estimated figures.

**Table 1: National Minorities in Hungary in 1990**

Minorities	mother tongue	minority membership	Estimated number
Roma	48,072	142,683	400,000-600,000
German	37,511	30,824	200,000-220,000
Slovakian	12,745	10,459	100,000-110,000
Croatian	17,577	13,570	80,000-90,000
Romanian	8,730	10,740	25,000
Polish	3,788	no data	10,000
Serbian	2,953	2,905	5,000-10,000
Slovenian	2,627	1,930	5,000
Bulgarian	1,370	no data	3,000-3,500
Greek	1,640	no data	4,000-4,500
Armenian	37	no data	3,500-10,000
Ukrainian	674	no data	2000
Ruthenian			6000
<b>Total:</b>			<b>835,000 - 1,083,955</b>

Following complaints by minority organisations and the Hungarian minority self-governments (⇒ 3.3.2.) efforts were made to reduce the gap between census data and estimates at the time of the 2001 census. To achieve this goal the national self-governments of the minorities were involved in the preparation of the census. As a result of various consultation rounds the 2001 census form contained four questions (as opposed to only two in 1990) that specifically asked information about identity, mother tongue, cultural ties and language use in the family and with friends. Several answers could be given in view of the potentially existing multiple ties. Official results of the 2001 census are not yet available. The data used further on in this report are unofficial summary data provided by the Central Statistical Office and the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities.

- 3.2 At the time of the 2001 census the total population of Hungary was 10,198,000. Most of the people declared to be of Hungarian nationality. The number of people belonging to the 13 officially recognised national minorities in Hungary (⇒ 3.3. on the definition of nationality) is listed in Table 2.

**Table 2: Results of the 2001 Census**

Minority group	Mother tongue speakers			Minority membership			Use of minority culture and tradition	N. of those using the language with friends
	1990	2001	change %	1990	2001	change %	2001	2001
Bulgarian	1,370	1,299	-5.2	...	1,358	...	1,693	1,118
Roma	48,072	48,685	1.3	142,683	190,046	33.2	129,259	53,323
Greek	1,640	1,921	17.1	...	2,509	...	6,140	1,974
Croatian	17,577	14,345	-18.4	13,570	15,620	15.1	19,715	14,788
Polish	3,788	2,580	-31.9	...	2,962	...	3,983	2,659
German	37,511	33,792	-9.9	30,824	62,233	101.9	88,416	53,040
Armenian	37	294	694.6	...	620	...	836	300
Romanian	8,730	8,482	-2.8	10,740	7,995	-25.6	9,162	8,215
Serbian	2,953	3,388	14.7	2,905	3,816	31.4	5,279	4,186
Slovak	12,745	11,816	-7.3	10,459	17,692	69.2	26,631	18,056
Slovenian	2,627	3,187	21.3	1,930	3,040	57.5	3,442	3,119
Ruthenian	674	1,113	...	...	1,098	...	1,292	1,068
Ukrainian		4,885	...	...	5,070	...	4,779	4,519
Total	137,724	135,787	-1.4	213,111	314,059		300,627	166,365
Budapest		16,061			29,884		35,372	21,958
Countryside		53,973			115,262		115,520	66,920
Villages		65,754			168,914		149,735	77,488

Based on data of the Central Office of Statistics

Compiled by the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities

As Table 2 shows 314,059 people or roughly 3% of the total population declared themselves as belonging to one of the 13 national minorities in Hungary in 2001.

3.3 Hungarian citizenship is inherited by birth (*ius sanguis*), thus the children of Hungarian citizens are generally also eligible to become Hungarian citizens. People born prior to 1957 could only inherit Hungarian citizenship from their father, but those born after 1957 can inherit it from either parent. The assessment of the citizenship can be very complicated due to the historical changes of borders and citizenships in Central Europe and so this work is done exclusively by the Citizenship Department of the Ministry of the Interior in Budapest.

3.4 Judging from the data in Table 2, less than half of the people who declared themselves as belonging to one of the 13 national minorities declare the language corresponding to that minority to be their mother tongue. In the case of the Roma, Greeks, Croats, Poles, Germans, Armenians, Serbs and Slovaks the number of people using the minority language with friends exceeds those who declared that language to be their mother tongue. The results from the Bulgarians, Romanians, Slovenes, Ruthenians and Ukrainians show exactly the opposite.

#### 4. Language policy

4.1 Hungary has no law stating that Hungarian is the official language. Everyone is free to use his native language. Act XX of the 1949 Constitution [*alkotmány*] of the Hungarian People's Republic already made discrimination according to sex, or nationality punishable by law and guaranteed all citizens equal opportunity of

education in their mother tongue and the use and practice of their national culture. Art. 68,2 of the amended Constitution of 1989 of the Hungarian Republic declares that the national and language minorities are under the protection of the Hungarian Republic. They are entitled to full political participation, to practice their own culture, to use their mother-tongue, to receive education in their mother-tongue, and to use personal names in their language. The 1993 Minorities Act [*kisebbségi törvény*] ( $\Rightarrow$  3.2. and 3.3.) provides individual and collective rights for the national minorities, pertaining to personal autonomy and the creation of self-governments. The fact that the Hungarian government is vitally interested in fostering language maintenance among Hungary's national minorities also reflects Hungary's deep concern for the right of Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries.

- 4.2 Hungary started preparing for the self-administration of national minorities in the early 1990s. With Government Decree 34/1990 (VIII. 30.) the Hungarian government established the National and Ethnic Minorities Office [*Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségi Hivatal*]. As an independent government organisation operating under the supervision of the Minister of Justice the Minorities Office is in charge of preparing the Government's minorities policy decisions and of developing its minorities policy programme. The Minorities Office assists in developing the government programme for implementing the Minorities Act and maintains continuous relations with the Minorities Ombudsman [*kisebbségi szószóló*]. These two essential features of minority policy in Hungary (the Minorities Act and the Minorities Ombudsman) are discussed in more detail below.
- 4.3 Act LXXVII on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities [*nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségi jogok*] (also referred to as the Minorities Act) was passed in 1993. Subsection (2) of Section 1 of the Minorities Act practically adopted the so-called Capotorti definition of national and ethnic minorities. According to this definition, national and ethnic minorities are all groups of people that have lived in Hungary for at least one century; they represent a numerical minority in the country's population; their members are Hungarian citizens; they are distinguished from the rest of the population by their own languages, cultures, and traditions; they demonstrate a commitment to the importance of preserving all of these and expressing and protecting the interests of their historical communities. The groups that, according to the regulations of the Minorities Act, are considered national groups are, in alphabetical order, Armenians, Bulgarians, Croats, Germans, Greeks, Roma, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Ukrainians. If any other minority wants to prove that it fulfils the conditions that are stipulated in the Minorities Act, at least 1,000 voting citizens who declare themselves to be members of this minority can submit their initiative to the Speaker of Parliament. No such initiatives have been made since 1993.
- 4.4 According to the Minorities Act minority languages may be used by anybody anytime anywhere. Members of Parliament have the right to use their language in Parliament. Local governments must write their decrees and announcements in the minority language. In addition to Hungarian, forms and documents used must be made available in the minority language, and place names and public signs can also be used in the minority's mother tongue. Personal names of individuals may be used in documents in non-Roman script, but in such cases Hungarian must be used side by side with the minority language. Minority groups have the right to create their own schools using the minority language as the medium of instruction, or it plus Hungarian.

4.5 The Minorities Act gives the 13 national minorities the right to establish self-governing bodies. Minority self-governing bodies are elected bodies that represent the interests of national or ethnic minorities at local or national level. The current number of local self-governments is listed in Table 3. The national minority self-governments represent the minorities at the national level. National minority self-governments are formed on the basis of electoral assemblies following the formation of local self-governments. In total there are 13 national self-governments (one for each recognised national minority). As partners in legislation and state administration they can give their views on planned legal regulations concerning their minorities and they can monitor minority education. The legal framework for electing minority self-government representatives was stipulated in the course of amending Act LXIV on the Election of Local Government Representatives and Mayors of 1990. There are some state-acknowledged problems related to the electoral mechanism of self-governments. One is the so-called ‘cuckoo phenomenon’, meaning that in some cases persons who do not belong to an actual minority and do not possess any knowledge of the minority language still manage to be elected into the self-government of the given group. Another problem arises in the attempt to provide the minority groups with parliamentary representation. The minorities do not have a guaranteed representation in the Hungarian parliament. Currently an amendment to the Minorities Act is under discussion. A primary objective of the amendment is the further development of the system of minority self-governments. The amendment aims to encourage self-governments to take over minority institutions and to provide the framework of state guarantees necessary for the transfer.

**Table 3: Minority Self-Governments per County in January 2004**

	Bulgarian	Roma	Greek	Croatian	Polish	German	Armenian	Romanian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Slovakian	Slovenian	Ukrainian	Total
Budapest	21	22	19	18	15	23	16	18	15	16	14	2	4	203
Főváros	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	11
Bács-Kiskun		33		11		23				3	3			73
Baranya	1	110	1	31	1	85			1	4			2	236
Békés		25			1	8		12		1	17			64
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	2	149	1	2	12	9	3		9		17	1	1	206
Csongrád		15	1	1	1	2	1	5		4	3		1	34
Fejér		19	1	2	3	16	1			3	2	1		48
Győr-Moson-Sopron	1	17	1	8	1	11	1					1		41
Hajdú-Bihar	1	44					1	9		1				56
Heves		58	1		1	1					2			63
Jász-Nagykun Szolnok		39			1									40
Komárom-Esztergom		13	1		3	20	1				9		1	48
Nógrád		59				2					20			81
Pest	3	69	3	4	4	37	2		5	10	24		1	162
Somogy		59		6	1	5	1							72
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg		106			2	7	1		1		1		1	119
Tolna		40	1	1		34				1	1			78
Vas		18		11		10							8	47
Veszprém	1	32		1	4	43	1				1		1	84
Zala		56		11		4	1							72
Total	31	984	31	108	51	341	31	44	32	44	115	13	13	1,838

Source: Office for National and Ethnic Minorities

4.6 Paragraph (2) of Article 32/B of the Constitution created the post of Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minority Rights [*nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségi jogok országgyűlési szószólója*]. This commissioner, often referred to as

the Minorities Ombudsman, investigates any kind of abuse that comes to his attention and initiates measures in order to remedy them. Act LXXX of 1993 on Parliamentary Guarantee of Civil Rights [*emberi jogok országgyűlési biztosítása*] gives details on the tasks of the minorities ombudsman.

- 4.7 Apart from the Ombudsman several other legal protection institutions started to operate in the 1990s. These include, e.g., the National and Ethnic Minorities Legal Protection Office, the Office for Enforcing Roma Rights and Interests, the Conflict Prevention and Legal Protection Office of the Roma Parliament, and the Legal Protection Office of the Roma Civil Rights Foundation. These offices provide the people who contact them with legal counsel and representation. Institutions such as the Public Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary and the Public Foundation for the Hungarian Roma provide minority funding. Minority cultural programmes are financed by the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage [*Nemzeti Kulturális Örökség Minisztériuma*]. To highlight the importance of language minorities, to attract public attention and develop and maintain a minority-friendly social atmosphere the Hungarian Government declared December 18, the day in 1995 on which the General Assembly adopted the *UN Statement on the Rights of People of National, Ethnic, Religious, and Language Minorities*, as Minorities Day. As one of the important events on Minorities Day, the Minorities Prize, is awarded every year
- 4.8 Significant regulations for minorities in Hungary can also be found in Act CXL of 1997 on the Protection of Cultural Goods, Museum Institutions, the Supply of Public Libraries, and Public Education (often referred to as the Act on Culture). The Act on Culture emphasises the need for the preservation and maintenance of the minority cultural heritage, among others through a network of minority central libraries. The Ministerial Decree on the Organisation and Operation of the Library Network states that minority central libraries must include children's books, fiction, technical literature and periodicals, as well as library documents prepared by any technical process in the native language of the given minority. The National Library of Foreign Literature in Budapest, county libraries, local and school libraries function as minority central libraries.
- 4.9 The Minorities Act ( $\Rightarrow$  4.3) makes provisions for the languages of recognised minorities in education. Art. 43 of the Act states that children belonging to a minority have the opportunity to be educated in their mother tongue or 'bilingually', i.e. in their mother tongue. The education of minorities in their mother tongue or 'bilingually' may be provided in minority kindergartens, schools, or in classes or groups within schools, according to local possibilities and demands. It is compulsory to establish a minority class or group at the request of the parents or legal representatives of eight students belonging to the same minority group. Art. 50 of the Minorities Act guarantees the compilation of textbooks and the provision of equipment necessary for minority education. According to Art. 46 of the Minorities Act it is the duty of the state to train native teachers to provide education in the mother tongue or 'bilingually' to minorities. Teacher and student exchange is encouraged through various international agreements. All teachers in minority education are obliged to take professional development courses every seven years.
- 4.10 The most fundamental measures necessary for creating consistency with the Minorities Act were taken with the enactment of Act LXXIX of 1993 On Public Education [*Oktatási törvény*] and its amendments in 1996, 1999 and 2003. The

Government issued the National Core Curriculum [*Nemzeti Alaptanterv*] with Government Decree 130/1995 (X. 26.) in order to modernise the public education system. This Curriculum was introduced in 1998. In conjunction with the changes in the structure of general education, the government also considered the reform of minority education timely and necessary. The Ministry of Culture and Education issued Decree No. 32/1997 (XI. 5.) on “Guidelines for Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities” and “Guidelines for Academic Education of National and Ethnic Minorities”.

- 4.11 In addition to the above mentioned Act on Public Education the legal framework of pre-school education is defined by Government Decree No. 137/1996 (VIII. 28.) on Issuing the National Master Programme for Pre-School Instruction, and by Decree No. 32/1997 (XI. 5.) on “Guidelines for Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities”. According to the guidelines of Decree No. 32/1997 (XI. 5.) there are three types of minority pre-school education. In the *first type*, i.e. native language pre-schools, all pre-school life is organised in the minority language but children are provided the opportunity to become familiar with the Hungarian language, culture and musical tradition. In the *second type*, i.e. bilingual pre-schools providing minority instruction, both languages, i.e. the minority language and Hungarian, are used in pre-school activities. The ratio of the use of the two languages should be determined in the instruction programme based on the linguistic knowledge of the children at the beginning of the pre-school period. The *third type* involves pre-schools providing Roma cultural instruction (⇒ Romani in Hungary for more details) that may be conducted either in the minority language, bilingually or in the Hungarian language within the framework of Roma cultural instruction. In the year 2000, about 20,000 children attended pre-primary educational institutions educating in national languages. They made up 5.4% of children attending pre-primary educational institutions. The following table, provided by the Ministry of Education, shows the number of pre-schools providing minority instruction in the school year 1999/2000 and the number of children receiving minority instruction in pre-schools in the same year:

**Table 4: Minority Pre-School Instruction in 1999/2000**

	pre- primary schools	children in minority pre- primary schools	children in bilingual pre- primary schools	Total
German	263	1,488	12,653	14,141
Slovakian	73	103	2,947	3,050
Croatian	37	253	1,135	1,388
Romanian	14	130	417	547
Serbian	9	87	94	181
Slovenian	5	0	112	112
<b>Total</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>2,061</b>	<b>17,358</b>	<b>19,419</b>

Source: Ministry of Education

- 4.12 As explained in the Second Periodical Report of the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the Implementation of its Commitments Assumed by Ratifying the

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe, published in 2004, minority primary education may be organised according to the following types. In the *first type* (native language education) the minority language is used for all subjects with the exception of Hungarian Language and Literature. The *second type* (dual language minority education) provides school instruction in two languages. Subjects other than the minority language are also taught in the minority language. At least 50% of the weekly obligatory classes shall be in the minority language. The *third type* (language teaching education) takes place in Hungarian, but the minority language is studied by the pupils in the frame of a minimum of four classes per week (five classes in the case of German). There are only few schools with native language education (*first type*) in Hungary. It is the third type that is prevalent in the Hungarian educational system. The reason for this is that, for demographic reasons and due to the advanced stages of linguistic assimilation, children entering school hardly know their minority language. Table 5 below lists the number of schools, teachers and pupils involved in minority primary education in Hungary in the school year 1999-2000.

**Table 5: Minority Primary Education in 1999-2000**

	German	Romanian	Serbian	Croatian	Slovak	Slovenian	Greek	Other	Total
Number of schools <sup>1)</sup>	284	14	11	34	59	4	2	5	395
Number of teachers	1,130	67	20	88	136	10	3	7	1,461
Number of language groups	3,197	97	32	211	364	20	9	11	3,941
Number of pupils	46,254	1,198	275	2,526	4,424	116	83	137	55,013
% of the total number of pupils	4.8	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7
Pupils in native language education	758	427	164	319	92	-	-	-	1,760
Pupils in dual-language education	4,911	188	-	-	658	22	-	-	5,779
Pupils studying the language	40,585	583	111	2,207	3,674	94	83	137	47,474

1) Schools may have pupils belonging to several different minorities.  
Source: Ministry of Education

- 4.13 The second periodical report on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages does not mention two forms of minority education that are listed in Decree No. 32/1997 (XI. 5.) issuing “Guidelines on Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities” and the “Guidelines on Academic Education of National and Ethnic Minorities”. The *fourth type* mentioned in this decree (academic improvement education for the Roma minority) ensures familiarization with Roma cultural values and the teaching of information on the history, literature, arts, music, dance culture and traditions of the Roma minority. Instruction in the Roma language is a non-obligatory element of this programme, but depending on the needs of the parents, it ensures instruction of the Romani variety spoken by the parents ( $\Rightarrow$  Romani in Hungary for more details). The *fifth type* (intercultural education) can be organised by schools implementing any of the former four types for those pupils who do not take part in minority education in the school in question. The goal of this form of education is

to teach pupils about the culture of the particular minority within the framework of non-required class hours. No data could be obtained on these forms of education.

- 4.14 The legal framework of secondary education is defined – in addition to the Act on Public Education – by Decree No. 32/1997 (XI.5.) on “Guidelines on Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities”. Access regulations relating to minority secondary education are contained in Decree No. 24/1997 (VI. 5) of the Minister of Culture and Public Education on Regulations for Basic Education Examinations, and Government Decree No. 100/1997 (VI.13.) on the Regulations for the Secondary School Final Examinations, which together define the requirements of organisation and contents of minority secondary school final examinations. The detailed requirements of the final examination in the subjects of minority languages, knowledge of minority literature and minority nationality studies are presently being worked out. Table 6 shows the number of students in secondary schools offering education in a minority language or courses on a minority language in the academic year 1999-2000.

**Table 6: Minority Secondary Schools in 1999-2000.**

	Number of institutions		Number of students in secondary grammar-schools		Number of students in specialized secondary schools		Total
	minority language, bilingual	lang. instr.	minority language, bilingual	language instr.	minority language, bilingual	language instr.	
German	4	9	1,007	692	122	157	1,978
Slovakian	2		105		13		118
Croatian	2		219				219
Romanian	1	2	129	128			257
Serbian	1		126				126
Slovenian		1		9			9
Roma		1		118			118
Total	10	13	1,586	947	135	157	2,825

Source: Ministry of Education

- 4.15 Although the Public Education Act allows all of them to choose any form of education the Bulgarian, Greek, Polish, Ruthenian and Ukrainian communities have no minority schools. They develop their native language skills mostly in so-called ‘Sunday schools’, i.e. within the framework of an activity beyond the system of public education. For these communities that are characterised by the low number and wide scattering of their members, the organisation of education mainly started subsequent to the adoption of the Minorities Act. The amended Public Education Act (Subsection (5) of Section 86) provides them with the opportunity of organising a new form of education: the *supplementary minority education* that provides the organisation of education within the school system for those minorities that have no schools of their own.
- 4.16 Following the Minorities Act (Art. 18), minorities have the right to initiate the establishment of higher education in their own language. The Act also states that it is the State’s responsibility to provide training of language teachers for the instruction of minorities. In Hungarian higher education, nursery-school pedagogues, teachers instructing minority language and literature and minority teachers are trained (⇒ language reports on teacher training institutions). There are special minority language and literature departments in institutions of higher education. In most minority departments, a lecturer from the minority’s ‘country of origin’ who is made available by a bilateral international treaty assists instruction.

The qualification requirements for certain basic degrees in faculties of arts and letters and social sciences, including the training requirements of minority studies at college or universities, are published in accordance with the provisions of the Act on Higher Education (Government Decree No. 129/2001 (VII. 13)). The Decree is meant to ensure the equivalence of certificates received abroad and in Hungary.

**Table 7: Minority Languages in Higher Education in 1999-2000**

Language of national group	Number of students in the academic year 1999/2000
Croatian	93
German	(4,746)*
Romanian	102
Serbian	66
Slovakian	228
Slovenian	6

Source: Ministry of Education

\*The number in parentheses includes the number of students studying German as a foreign language (in German departments, language teacher training for students with a German major), in addition to students belonging to the German minority.

On the basis of bilateral agreements several minorities have the opportunity to apply for scholarships to take part in courses in “kin states” on a full-time or part-time basis. In the case of certain minorities (Slovak, Serb, Croatian, Romanian) they may even receive scholarships from these states.

- 4.17 In the last years several minority research institutes have been set up by minorities to study their native traditions, past and present (⇒ language reports for more details). The Department for Non-Hungarian Nationalities of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society operates parallel to these institutes, conducts research to explore the ethnographic values of minority cultures, and regularly publishes its findings. The UNESCO Minority Sociology Department within the Sociology Institute of ELTE University in Budapest primarily researches Roma society. The Office for National and Ethnic minorities in Budapest provides minority specific information.
- 4.18 Hungarian law guarantees minorities access to the media. The Minorities Act provides legislation requiring public television and radio stations to ensure that national and ethnic minority programmes are produced and broadcast on a regular basis. Act I of 1996 on *Radio and Television Broadcasting* (often referred to as the *Media Act*) made the preparation of programmes dealing with the culture and lives of minorities a compulsory responsibility of the public service media. The same act also authorizes the national minority self-governments to delegate a member to one of the boards of the foundations overseeing public broadcasting in Hungary, such as the Public Foundations for Hungarian Radio and Television.
- 4.19 On Hungarian public radio there currently are native-language radio programmes for all national and ethnic minorities. The average broadcasting time of minority programmes in the Hungarian public radio presently exceeds 10 hours a day. Members of the minority national self-governments have the right to decide independently how they will use this time. The producers of the minority programmes are located in three cities in the country: Pécs (Croatian, German) Szeged (Romanian, Slovak, Serb) and Szombathely (Slovenian). The programmes of the Bulgarian, Greek, Polish, Armenian, Ruthenian and Ukrainian minorities are produced in Budapest. Minority programmes of national coverage are broadcast in

the evening hours, between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. Minority broadcasts can be received on the short and medium wave frequencies of the public regional radio stations. Regional minority programmes are broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon (⇒ Table 8 and language reports for details on the minority radio programmes). With a view to acquaint the majority society with the history, culture and traditions of the minorities, the public service Hungarian Radio launched a 55-minute programme entitled '*Egy hazában*' ('in one homeland'). This programme in Hungarian provides information to the listeners about the life, culture and history of the minorities living in Hungary. Furthermore public service radio transmits a 3-hour programme on minorities every three months, with contributions from the local stations. In order to introduce minority culture, the public-service broadcast two radio programmes a month in 2003 within its very popular programme '*Jó éjszakát gyerekek!*' (Good night, children) in Hungarian from the collection of fairy tales of the following minorities: Bulgarian, Roma, Greek, Polish, German, Armenian, Romanian, Slovakian and Ukrainian. Croatian, Ruthenian, Serbian and Slovenian fairy tales will be broadcast in 2004. Besides Hungarian national radio also the Catholic radio and a number of private radio stations broadcast in minority languages.

- 4.20 Public-service television broadcasts weekly nation-wide for the Croatian, German, Romanian, Slovak and Serbian minorities, and also broadcasts nation-wide for the Slovenian minority every second week. The programmes are produced in the same places as the radio programmes (⇒ 3.8.1). The Bulgarian, Greek, Polish, Armenian, Ruthenian and Ukrainian minorities share the programme time of the biweekly magazine '*Rondó*'. '*Rondó*', along with the *Roma magazine* that is broadcast once a week and the Cigany Forum that is broadcast four times a year are all edited in Budapest. The broadcasting time of weekly or biweekly programmes is 26 minutes each (⇒ Table 8 for more details). The broadcasting of minority programmes takes place between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian Television. The programmes are repeated on Saturdays in the morning on satellite Channel 2. In the opinion of the minority leaders, this broadcasting time does not allow easy access to these programmes.

**Table 8: Minority Broadcasting**

	<b>Television</b>	<b>Radio</b>
<b>Croatian</b>	26 min./week (repeated)	90 min./day, regional 30 min./day, country-wide
<b>German</b>	26 min./week (repeated)	idem
<b>Romanian</b>	26 min./week (repeated)	idem
<b>Serbian</b>	26 min./week (repeated)	30 min./day + 50 min./4 times a week, regional 30 min./day, country-wide
<b>Slovak</b>	26 min./week (repeated)	120 min./day, regional 30 min./day, country wide
<b>Slovenian</b>	26 min./twice per month (repeated)	30 min./week, regional 30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Roma</b>	26 min./week (repeated) and 4 times/year 52 min. for the programme 'Cigany Forum'	30 min./6 times a week, country wide
<b>Armenian</b>	'Rondo' (shared programme for six minority groups: Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Polish, Ruthenian and Ukrainian), 52 min./ twice a month (26 min. repeated)	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Bulgarian</b>	'Rondo'	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Greek</b>	'Rondo'	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Polish</b>	'Rondo'	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Ruthenian</b>	'Rondo'	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Ukrainian</b>	'Rondo'	30 min./week, country-wide
<b>Multiethnic (programme about minorities intended for a majority audience)</b>	'Együtt' (Together); 52 min./twice a month (26 min. repeated)	'Egy hazaban' (in one homeland); 30 min./week (one week every month the programme lasts 180 min.)

Source: Gosselin 2003

Hungarian Television broadcasts the programme called '*Együtt*' (Together), a documentary workshop, every second week, for 52 or 26 minutes. This programme intends to disseminate information on the situation of minorities in Hungary to a wide audience. The MTV Religious Editors (MTV = *Magyar Televízió*) regularly broadcast masses in the native languages of minorities for the Roma, German, Slovak, and Croatian minority groups. The series has continued in 2004 by also broadcasting masses in Romanian and Serbian. And in general, public service television's news programmes report minority affairs in brief.

- 4.21 As is the case for radio and television the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities and the Public Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities also finances some minority printed media. Each of Hungary's minorities has at least one publication supported by public funds (⇒ language country reports for more details).
- 4.22 Most Hungarian minority members live in small settlements and little villages and have not had many opportunities to have access to the 'outer world'. In order to facilitate the information and communication work of the minority self-governments in native languages, the relevant Ministry provided subsidies in 2003 through tenders whereby almost two-thirds of the local minority self-governments (i.e. 1,005 self-governments) received IT devices. Internet connections are generally provided in the community houses ([www.telehaz.hu](http://www.telehaz.hu)). As a first step, the minority printed news appeared on the Internet. Thanks to the Internet, the printed news of minorities can be read on the World Wide Web sometimes earlier than in printed form. Hungarian Radio opened a minority page on its Internet website where the advance information and contents of minority programmes and the reports on major minority events are available. Among the national minority self-governments, the Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, German, Slovakian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian self-governments have launched their own websites. Armenians,

Romanians, and Poles are represented through their national organisations or organisations in Budapest or in the provinces and have their own website on the Internet. Minorities have started developing their own homepages and use one of the following three forms: (1) some pages are published in trilingual versions, i.e. in addition to the minority language, in Hungarian and English, (2) some publish information in the minority language and in Hungarian, and (3) others only use the minority language. About 20% of the websites created by minority communities and institutions are published in Hungarian only. The other 80% of them are published in the minority language as well as in Hungarian. Only very few sites use any of the Roma dialects. Most of the Roma-related websites disclose information in English and, occasionally, in Ruthenian and Slovakian. Ukrainian websites are also sometimes published in English, too. At the end of 2003, 81 internet websites concerning Hungarian minorities were operated by the minorities themselves (⇒ language reports for more details). Presently there are more than 100 minority websites on the Internet which deal with more than one Hungarian nationality. Among websites introducing minority-related issues, *Etnonet*, a minority Internet newspaper operating independently, deserves special mention. The Ministry of Information and Communication supports the project 'Digital Secondary School' aimed at assisting those pupils who have failed to complete their traditional secondary education to obtain their secondary school certificate.

- 4.23 In 2003 Act I of 2002, referred to as the New Act on Criminal Procedure entered into force (replacing Act XIX of 1998 on Criminal Procedure). Section 9 of the New Act directly refers to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and allows everyone to use their native language in criminal proceedings in speech and in writing. The New Act on Criminal Procedure modified the provisions relating to interpretation. Now the use of interpreters is mandatory where regional or minority languages are used. The cost of translation and interpretation are borne by the State (Section 339 subsection 2). Civil proceedings are regulated by Act CX of 1999. The law states that the official language of proceedings is Hungarian. Courts shall, however, allow the use of the native minority language before the court. According to the ECMRL report of 2004 neither the Minorities Ombudsman nor the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities have received complaints with regard to the exercise of minority language rights during the past years.
- 4.24 According to the provisions of the Minorities Act, local governments shall provide signs with the name of the settlement, streets, public offices, and public authorities in the mother tongue of the minority (in addition to the Hungarian wording and name variant, with identical contents and form), whenever it is requested by the local minority self-government operating in their district of competency. Following Art. 53 of the Minorities Act the municipal government must ensure that the forms used in the course of administrative procedures are also available in the minority language. The municipal government must also ensure that the announcement of its regulations and the publication of its announcements are made in the language of the minority as well as in Hungarian. To ensure the usage of the minority language in public life the local government has to publish its decrees, its decisions affecting the life of minorities, and the minutes of its sessions in the language of the local minority (ies). Often, the documents are made public either by broadcasting them on local cable television, or by publishing them in a local newspaper. A problem related to the use of minority languages in (local) administrations is the technical language training of public officials speaking a minority language. Some national minority self-governments started using glossaries that contain technical expressions used in public administration both in Hungarian and in the minority language. The Government supports the publication of such glossaries.

- 4.25 Act XCVI of 2001 on the Publication of Business Advertisements, Shop Signs and Certain Announcements of Public Interest in the Hungarian language stipulates that Hungarian must be used in all public service announcements, in all signs purporting economic advertisement, and in all signs indicating shops/businesses. There is only one exception to that general obligation: Article 6, subsection (4) of the Act says that "the requirements defined here will not prejudice the commercial advertisements and signs posted in the minority languages defined in Article 42 of Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, in settlements where the minority using the language concerned has a minority self-government." No other regulations exist in Hungary relevant to the use of language of economic actors. People decide for themselves which language they wish to use in their activities and correspondence.
- 4.26 Hungary has sophisticated language minority legislation and an almost fully-fledged language policy. Nevertheless the legislation needs some fine-tuning (election system of self-governments) and there seems to be a rather large gap between theory (legislation) and praxis (the state the language minorities find themselves in and the way in which legal measures are put into practice). According to language minorities two main reasons for the existing gap between 'theory' and 'praxis' are (1) the slow pace with which state regulations are transformed into concrete measures on the local level (sometimes due to lack of awareness on behalf of the officials); and (2) the lack of funding of (potential) minority initiatives.

## **5. The European dimension**

- 5.1 Hungary signed the European Charter for Minority or Regional languages on 5 November 1992. Ratification followed on 26 April 1995. The Charter entered into force on 1 March 1998 and, according to a declaration made by Hungary, applies to the Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Slovene languages. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was signed by Hungary on 1 February 1995. It was ratified on 25 September, 1995 and entered into force on 1 February, 1998.
- 5.2 Bilateral treaties with direct relevance to minorities include the Treaty on Good-neighbourly Relations and Friendly Co-operation between the Republic of Hungary and the Slovak Republic (19 March 1995); Treaty on the Bases of Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Republic of Hungary and Ukraine (6 December 1991); Declaration on the Principles of Co-operation between the Republic of Hungary and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Guaranteeing the Rights of National Minorities (31 May 1991); Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and Romania on Understanding, Co-operation and Good Neighbourliness (16 September 1996); Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Croatia on Friendly Relations and Co-operation (16 December 1992); Convention between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Croatia on the Protection of the Hungarian Minority in the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Minority in the Republic of Hungary (5 April 1995); Treaty on Friendship and Co-operation between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Slovenia (1 December 1992); Convention on Providing Special Rights for the Slovenian Minority Living in the Republic of Hungary and for the Hungarian Minority Living in the Republic of Slovenia (6 November 1992); Declaration on the Principles Guiding the Co-operation between the Republic of Hungary and the Russian Federation regarding

the Guarantee of the Rights of National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (11 November 1992).

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Together with Serbian, Slovenian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, Croatian [*hrvatski jezik*] builds the South Slavic branch of the Slavic languages. Croatian is closely related to Serbian and is spoken by around 5.8 million people, most of whom live in Croatia (4.8 million). The Croatian in Hungary is characterised by considerable Hungarian influence and as such diverges from the variety spoken in Croatia.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The predecessors of the Croatians living in modern Hungary arrived at their current locations mainly as a result of a continuous immigration caused by the existence of a close partnership between Croatia and Hungary in the Croatian-Hungarian personal union that existed from around 1102 until 1918. Most Croatians settled in Hungary between 1520 and 1579 (during the time of the Turkish occupation). Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century immigration decreased. It almost came to an end when Croatia joined with Yugoslavia in 1918.

1.2.2 Most Croatians now live in small settlements near the Hungarian-Croatian national border in the southern and western counties of Baranya, Zala, Vas, Győr-Moson-Sopron and Bács-Kiskun. Significant Croatian communities also live in the central part of the country.

1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the Croatian minority in Hungary is estimated between 15,620 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census) and 90,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Croatian national minority in the 2001 census about 9% belong to the age group '0-14', about 28% to the age group '15-39', about 34% to the age group '40-59' and about 28% to the age group '60+'. Of the 38% Croatians that according to the 2001 census are economically active about 4% work in the primary, 32% in the secondary and 56% in the tertiary sector.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Information on the legal status of Croatian and of official policies affecting Croatian in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

In the school year 1999/2000 there were 37 pre-primary Croatian schools. In total, the Croatian native language pre-primary schools (*first type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had an enrolment of 253 pupils, the bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had 1,135 pupils. In the same school year 34 schools offered primary Croatian education. 319 pupils attended native language primary schools (*first type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile), 2,207 pupils were enrolled in Croatian language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in Croatian was offered at 2 schools. 219 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in grammar school. In the academic year 1999/2000, 93 students studied Croatian in institutions of higher education. In the academic year 2000/2001, 15 students were granted scholarships by the Hungarian government to study in Croatia. Nursery-school pedagogue training for Croatian is offered at Eötvös József College of Pedagogy in Baja, at Pécs University of Arts and Sciences, Illyés Gyula College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szekszárd and at the University of West-Hungary Benedek Elek College Faculty of Pedagogy in Sopron. Primary school teacher training is offered at the Eötvös József College in Baja. Training of secondary school language teachers takes place at Eötvös Lóránt University of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) Faculty of Arts (BTK) in Budapest. Secondary school teacher training is offered at Berzsényi Dániel College in Szombathely and at Pécs University of Arts and Sciences BTK (Faculty of Arts). In 1995, the Association of Croatian Academic Researchers was founded to conduct scientific research on the language, culture and traditions of Croatians living in Hungary. Besides performing academic research, the Association participates in the reform of the Croatian minority education and the development of new textbooks.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary). Regarding the use of Croatian in administration, the Second Report of the Republic of Hungary on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (February 2004) reports that the Bács-Kiskun County Office of Public Administration announced that local information materials were published in the Croatian language at the village of Gara. In Bács-Kiskun County employees of public administration who speak the language of the local Croatian minority tend to use Croatian quite frequently in verbal administrative procedures. Also in Zala County verbal administration takes place in Croatian in several settlements populated entirely by the Croatian minority (Semjénháza, Molnári, Petrivente, Tótszerdahely, Tótszentmárton). Minutes, applications and resolutions, however, are drawn up in Hungarian.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

- 2.4.1 There is one state funded weekly magazine, *Hrvatski Glasnik* (owned by the Association of Croatians in Hungary). In addition to the publishing houses *Izdan and Noi*, a new publishing house of Croatian-language textbooks and other publications was established under the name Croatica Public Service Company, owned by the National Croatian Self-government and the Association of Croatians in Hungary. Four central libraries and a network of local and school libraries provide materials for Croatian readers.
- 2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a daily regional 90-minute Croatian programme and a daily country-wide 30-minute programme. The programme of national coverage is broadcast in the evening between 6.30 p.m. and 10.30 p.m. The regional programme is broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon. The Croatian programmes are produced at the regional studio in Pécs. No information was obtained on the use of Croatian on Hungarian private radio stations.
- 2.4.3 Hungarian public television broadcasts a 26-minute weekly Croatian programme called *Hrvatska Kronika*. It is broadcast between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. The Croatian programmes are produced in the studio in Pécs. Besides the programmes mentioned religious editors of public television regularly broadcast masses in Croatian. No information was obtained on the use of Croatian on Hungarian private television.
- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003, 4 websites operated by the Croatians in Hungary were present on the internet. Links to several Croatian organisations and institutions are provided by [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu). (⇒ 3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities)

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

The cultural activities of the Croatian community are organised by national, regional and local organisations and ensembles. There are traditional ensembles, orchestras, choirs in most settlements that are important in preserving the identity of the Croatian minority population. The Croatian ensembles *Baranya*, *Fáklya* and *Tanac* are widely known. The Croatian minority has a central museum. The Croatian Theatre in Pécs plays an important role in the transmission of Croatian language and culture. Since 1994 it operates independently, and currently it is the only theatre beyond the borders of Croatia where performances are held in the Croatian language. In 1995, the Association of Croatian Academic Researchers was founded to conduct scientific research on the language, culture and traditions of Croatians living in Hungary. Croatians in Hungary are establishing more and more contacts with settlements in the mother country. This has a stimulating effect on cultural activities.

## **2.6 The business world**

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

Whereas in the 1990 census 17,577 people declared Croatian to be their mother tongue, only 14,345 did so in the 2001 census. Although census figures have to be treated with great caution ( $\Rightarrow$  2.1 of the country profile) this decline of 18.4% seems to indicate that the assimilation of the Croats to the Hungarian language that has been going on mainly since Croatia joined Yugoslavia and the Croats were cut off from their kin-State in 1918, is still continuing. Croats in Hungary are mostly bi- or trilingual (meaning that they use Hungarian, and/or a local variety of Croatian and/or standard Croatian). There are clear intergenerational differences: whereas the old generation is Croatian-dominant bilingual and uses local varieties of Croatian, the younger generation mainly is Hungarian-dominant bilingual (or even Hungarian monolingual). The younger generations master the local variety of Croatian less and less. They tend to adhere more to the Croatian standard that is used at schools and universities as well as in the media. The language use of the bi- or trilingual Croats can be characterised as di- or triglossia. This means that in official and public domains as well as on the work floor most Croats use Hungarian. The local variety of Croatian is usually used in private life (with family and close friends) and in some semi-public domains in the villages where Croats reside. In the opinion of some Croats the knowledge of Croatian is not necessary to maintain the Croatian culture and identity.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The Croatian – Hungarian Joint Committee on Minorities held two sessions in the past three years. The recommendations of this Committee concentrate on assistance to the education of the Croats in Hungary, to the cultural activities of speakers of the minority language, and to the nurturing of traditions, and to measures to be taken in order to protect the language of Croats living in Hungary.

## **3. Conclusion**

Together with the Slovakian minority the Croatian minority is one of the larger minorities within Hungary. The number of people belonging to the Croatian minority is estimated between 15,620 (2001 census) and 90,000 (estimates of minority organisations). The Croats, whose predecessors settled in Hungary mainly in the 16th century, have largely assimilated to Hungarian over the past centuries. Nowadays the rather limited presence of Croatian in the media, as well as its use in several cultural organisations only help to slow down the further assimilation of Croats to Hungarian to a small degree. It appears that the intergenerational transmission of Croatian is being broken. Attempts are being made to reverse Croatian-Hungarian language shift by establishing Croatian native language schools or Croatian-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. Whereas pre-primary and primary Croatian education is successful, measures to aid the flow of Croatian pupils to secondary Croatian education seem to be necessary. But even if that succeeds it remains unclear whether that will help in revitalising the use of Croatian in the daily life of the Croatian minority. To guarantee a successful revitalisation of Croatian complementary measures will have to be deployed in different areas of the lives of the Croatian minority. Despite the highly sophisticated Minorities Act such measures have not yet been taken. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual

implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that Croatian culture and identity can survive without the Croatian language seem to be the main reasons for this.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

German is an Indo-European language that belongs to the West-Germanic subgroup of Germanic languages. As such, German is closely related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. German is spoken by about 101 million people worldwide as a first or second language. Most of them live in Germany (approximately 81.5 million), Austria (around 7.6 million) and Switzerland (around 4.2 million). German is a typical example of a pluricentric language characterised by an extensive geographical variation. The varieties of German used in Hungary are Rhenish-Franconian, Bavarian and Moselle-Franconian settlement dialects (*Siedlungs-mundarten*), that emerged as the result of a diachronic process of levelling (*Ausgleich*) of the idioms that were gradually brought into the country by settlers (Franconian, Hessian, Swabian, Alemannic, Bavarian and others) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is thus possible to denominate the dialects used in Hungary as Bavarian, Franconian, or Swabian only when bearing in mind that they are in fact Hungarian varieties of the original inner-German Bavarian, Franconian, or Swabian dialects.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Two waves of German immigration to Hungary can be distinguished. The first period of German immigration occurred almost parallel to the settlement of the Magyars on the plains of the Danube river in 896. Forms of cooperation between the early German settlers coming mainly from the northern and central regions of the Holy Roman Empire with the Hungarians only started in the 10<sup>th</sup> century when the Hungarian state was formed following the western-feudal, German-Slavic example. The second wave of immigration, in which most of the Germans found their way to Hungary, started after the Turkish occupiers had been driven away from Hungary. During the 150 years of Turkish occupation a majority of settlements in Hungary had either been destroyed or depopulated. To ascertain the post-war reconstruction of Hungary the Hungarian rulers appealed to German colonists, who were eager to leave Germany that had been facing the Thirty Years War (*Dreißigjährige Krieg*, 1618-1648). The German colonists, mainly originating from southern and central Germany, were familiar with modern agricultural techniques, greatly contributed to the recovery of Hungary and managed to hold a relatively strong position in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The position of the Germans living in Hungary was fundamentally changed by the events that followed World War II. The enforcement of collective responsibility resulted in the complete transformation of the economic and social structures of their communities. Of those who declared themselves ethnic Germans in the 1941 census, approximately 135,000 people were sent to the American occupation zone in Germany in January 1946, and it is estimated that approximately 50,000-60,000 people were sent to the Soviet occupation zone.

1.2.2 Although Germans are dispersed throughout Hungary it is possible to broadly distinguish three German centres. One is situated in western Hungary along the Hungarian-Austrian state border.

The history of this settlement goes back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. A second centre is in the Hungarian central mountain range (Mittelgebirge) between the so-called 'Donauknie' and the 'Plattensee'. A third centre is in the south of the so-called Swabian Turkic part of the country (*Schwäbische Türkei*), around the city of Pécs/Fünfkirchen.

- 1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the German national minority in Hungary is estimated to be between 62,233 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census) and 220,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ country profile on Hungary, Table 1). Of those declaring themselves as belonging to the German national minority in the 2001 census about 9% belong to the age group '0-14', about 29% to the age group '15-39', about 34% to the age group '40-59' and about 28% to the age group '60+'. Of the 40% Germans that according to the 2001 census are economically active about 3% work in the primary, 27% in the secondary and 65% in the tertiary sector.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Information on the legal status of German and of official policies affecting German in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

In 1999/2000 there were 263 pre-primary German schools. In all the German native language pre-primary schools (*first type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had 1,488 pupils, while the bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had 12,653 pupils. In the same school year 284 primary schools offered German education. 785 pupils attended native language primary schools (*first type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile), 4,911 pupils attended bilingual primary schools (*second type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile) and 40,585 pupils enrolled in German language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in German was offered at 4 schools offering native language or bilingual instruction and at 9 schools offering German language teaching. 1,007 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in grammar school and 692 attended German language teaching classes in grammar school. 122 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in specialized schools and 157 pupils attended German language teaching classes in specialised schools. In 1999/2000, 4,746 students studied German in institutions of higher education (this number includes the students studying German as a foreign language, as well as students belonging to the German minority). Nursery-school pedagogue training for German is offered at Eötvös József College of Pedagogy in Baja, Pécs University of Arts and Sciences Illyés Gyula College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szekszárd, and the University of West-Hungary Benedek Elek College Faculty of Pedagogy in Sopron. Primary school teacher training is offered at ELTE Teacher Training College Faculty in Budapest, Eötvös József College in Baja, Pécs University of Arts and Sciences Illyés Gyula College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szekszárd, Apor Vilmos Catholic College in Zsámbék, and Vitéz János Roman Catholic Teacher Training

College in Esztergom. Training of secondary school language teachers is offered at Eötvös Lóránt University of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) Faculty of Arts (BTK) in Budapest, Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba, József Attila University of Arts and Sciences in Szeged, and Pécs University of Arts and Sciences BTK (Faculty of Arts) in Pécs. Secondary school teacher training takes place at Szeged University of Arts and Sciences Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College Faculty in Szeged, and Berzsenyi Dániel College in Szombathely. Research programmes are coordinated by the Research and Teacher Training Center of Germans in Hungary working under the aegis of the Institute of German Studies at ELTE University.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary). According to the Second Report of the Republic of Hungary on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (February 2004), direct communication in the county office of public administration in Baranya county frequently goes on in German (that is, in the local Swabian dialect of German) in settlements inhabited by the German minority.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

- 2.4.1 The German press in Hungary is strongly represented. There is one state funded newspaper, *Die Neue Zeitung* (owned by the Neue Zeitung Foundation), founded in 1957, that appears weekly, has about 16 pages and prints approx. 3,000 copies. There are also two associations who have their own newspaper. The *German Cultural Association* (Deutscher Kulturverein) publishes the *Deutsche Boten* since 1990, as a critical alternative to the *Neue Zeitung*. And the Jakob Bleyer Association (Jakob-Bleyer Gemeinschaft) distributes the *Sonntagsblatt* (established in 1921 and re-founded in 1991) that concentrates to some extent on historical issues and also focuses on the day to day events of German minorities all over Europe. Apart from the newspapers already mentioned there is another independent weekly newspaper *Pester Lloyd* (existing from 1854 until 1945 and re-founded in 1994). Like the *Budapester Zeitung* it is printed in Hungary's capital. The *Budapester Zeitung*, on the market since 1999, is a 16-page weekly newspaper of which 15,000 copies are distributed. There is one 'holiday newspaper' that appears once a month: the *Balaton Zeitung* (founded in 1998) of which 10,000 copies are distributed. Since 2003, the magazine *PEP!*, of which 15,000 monthly copies are distributed, reports on life style issues. The magazine *Wirtschaft in Ungarn*, published by the German-Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, gives information about the economic situation in Germany and Hungary in about 50 pages and has a distribution of 5,000 copies. A similar magazine is *Ungarische Wirtschaft*, published by the Hungarian Ministry of Economic Affairs three times a year. In addition, there are other magazines with specific target groups. *Deutschunterricht für Ungarn* (DufU), a magazine founded in 2001, serves as an information source for teachers of German. It appears twice a year. *Germanistisches Magazin* (GeMa), the magazine of the students at the German

Institute at the University of Szeged, was founded in 2001 and appears twice a year. *Das Schwarze Brett* is an information letter for teachers of German and has been published since 1994 by the Goethe Institute in Budapest. The Hungarian Humboldt Association has its own *Humboldt Nachrichten* that is published twice a year. *Óperencia* is the monthly magazine of the Austrian school in Budapest. The *Gemeindebrief der Deutschsprachigen Kirchengemeinden* appears twice a month in Budapest (1,200 copies). And the *Deutscher Kalender* is published by the Self-Government of the Germans in Hungary. This list of German printed media does not include German articles and columns that sometimes appear in some local newspapers or magazines all over the country.

- 2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a daily 90-minute regional programme and a daily country-wide half-hourly programme. The national programme is broadcast between 7:30 p.m. and 8 p.m. The regional programmes are broadcast between 10:30 a.m. and 12:00 a.m. The German minority programmes are produced in the regional studio of Pécs/Fünfkirchen. More details are available on the website of Radio Pécs ([www.pecsiradio.hu](http://www.pecsiradio.hu)). Radio Budapest (the Hungarian world service) also broadcasts German programmes. Also popular is the programme 'Gruß und Kuß' (kiss and greet). No reliable information was found on the existence of private local German radio stations in Hungary.
- 2.4.3 Hungarian public television broadcasts a 26 minute weekly German programme called *Unser Bildschirm* between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. The German public television programmes are produced in the studio in Pécs. Besides the programmes mentioned it should be noted that the religious editors of public television regularly broadcast masses in German. No information could be obtained as to the existence of private German television programmes in Hungary.
- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003, 23 websites operated by the Germans in Hungary were found on the internet. German magazines and newspapers have their websites (links are provided through [www.press-guide.com/hungary.htm](http://www.press-guide.com/hungary.htm)). Links to several German organisations and institutions can be found via [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu). (⇒ 3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities)

## 2.5 Arts and culture

Larger German associations are the Association of Hungarian Germans (*Verband der Ungarndeutschen*), the Jakob-Bleyer Association (*Jakob Bleyer Gemeinschaft*), the German Cultural Association (*Deutscher Kulturverein*), the Nikolaus Lenau Cultural Association (*Kulturverein Nikolaus Lenau e.V.*) and the Association of Young German Hungarians (*Gemeinschaft junger Ungarndeutschen - GJU*). The Association of German Writers and Artists in Hungary, founded in 1990, studies the past and present of the German minority in Hungary by literary and artistic means. In 1990, the first anthology of works of fiction written by Germans living in Hungary, titled "*Bekentnisse eines Birkenbaumes*" was published. Since 1992, five volumes have been published in the "*VUDAK-Bücher*" series. The Association has 45 members who are involved in the literary or fine art sections. The German Theatre at Szekszárd, founded in the mid-eighties, is another important cultural institution of the German minority in Hungary. In November 1994, the *Deutsche Bühne Ungarn* was provided with their own theatre which was refurbished with subsidies from Hungary and Germany.

The German Nationality Museum has been operating since 1972. There are also regional folk houses in many settlements with German minority inhabitants. The National Council of German Song, Music and Dance Groups was established in 1996. Cultural activities of the German minority are organised by several associations, ranging from church and children choirs to several brass bands, dance groups and school or local amateur theatre groups.

## **2.6 The business world**

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

While in the 1990 census 37,511 people declared German to be their mother tongue only 33,792 did so in the 2001 census. Although census figures have to be treated with great caution (⇒ 2.1 of the country profile) this decline of 9.9% seems to indicate that the assimilation of Germans is still continuing. Germans in Hungary mostly are bi- or even trilingual (meaning that they use Hungarian and/or a local variety of German and/or standard German). There are clear intergenerational differences. The majority of the people belonging to the older generation is German-dominant bilingual, and the German they use tends to be a local variety of German. The younger people are Hungarian-dominant bilingual. The German they use is more the standard German that is taught to them in schools, since that is where most of them learn German. Learning German in school does not seem to encourage them to use German in everyday life. The use of German is characterised by bi- or triglossia, whereby (a local variety of) German is mainly used in the private sector and Hungarian is reserved for the public and most of the semi-public spheres. The downturn of the actual everyday use of (a local variety of) German does not seem to affect German identity. Apparently the view is starting to prevail that German identity (and German culture and traditions for that matter) can be upheld without a direct adherence to the German language.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The first partnerships were formed between the Republic of Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1992. In the documents which provide a basis for the co-operation, the Republic of Hungary undertakes to protect the identity and the language of the German minority living in Hungary. The co-operation focuses on the development of the teaching of German. This includes among others the extension of the system of German minority education and the development and support of the network of schools with dual language instruction in German and Hungarian. The agreement between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on co-operation in the field of education was signed in December 2000. It aims at raising the awareness of the German language and culture in Hungary, deepening the mutual cultural contacts of the two states, and establishing German-Hungarian sections in Hungarian schools. The South-Tyrol Autonomous Province renders assistance in native language instruction.

### **3. Conclusion**

With estimates between 62,233 (2001 census) and 220,000 (estimates of minority organisations) the German minority is one of the largest Hungarian minorities. The Germans, whose predecessors settled in two waves in Hungary (in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries), have largely assimilated to Hungarian over the past centuries. An extensive written German press, vital cultural organisations and the rather limited presence of German on radio and television contribute to the maintenance of German in Hungary. Attempts are being made to reverse German-Hungarian language shift by establishing German native language schools or German-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. The German community itself would like to deploy further activities especially in the field minority secondary education to counteract the sputtering intergenerational transmission of German as a mother tongue. Despite the sophisticated Minorities Act no coordinated measures to revive German have yet been taken. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that German culture and identity can survive without the German language seem to be the main reasons for that. The German language might not yet be in immediate danger but it seems inevitable that complementary measures in different sectors of the German minority will have to be deployed to secure its present status in the future.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Like Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali, Romani [*Romanes*], or Romany, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language that belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The language retains much of the Indic morphology, phonology and lexicon, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by contact with other languages. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (8th century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups. Nowadays, we can distinguish the following main groups (each with different 'subvarieties') that result from the contact of Romani with regional languages: northern Romani (best represented by the *chaladytka roma*, the Russian Roma), central Romani (best represented by the group of the Hungarian and Slovakian Roma, the *ungrike roma*), vlach Roma (best represented by the Kalderaš-Romani), balkan Romani (best represented by the dialects in Macedonia). Most Roma in Europe use Kalderaš. The Roma minority living in Hungary can be divided into three large groups according to tribal origin and native language. The Romungros, whose mother tongue is Hungarian, constitute the majority of the Gypsies. The Olah Roma, whose native language is Romani (or better: the variety called Lovari), constitute approximately 20%-22%, while the Bea Roma, who speak an archaic version of Romani (called Beas), constitute 8%-10% of the Roma in Hungary.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 There have been Roma in Hungary for over 650 years. Historical records indicate that they came to Hungary between 1416 and 1417 from Transylvania (Siebenbürgen) during the reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437), though linguistic evidence indicates that Roma had begun to settle there earlier. From the outset they were subjected to varying degrees of discrimination. The Roma responded with some outbreaks of violence in certain areas, though in most instances they simply left Hungary for other parts of Europe. In 1940, Hungary passed a law ordering all Roma in its newly acquired Yugoslavian territory to leave the country. Roma persecution mainly took place under the German occupation of Hungary in 1944. Although they were not considered to be a national minority in the Republic of Hungary that was founded in 1949, the Roma were granted more or less the same rights as the national minorities. They became a national minority with the *Minorities Act* of 1993.

1.2.2 The Roma national minority lives more or less throughout Hungary.

1.2.3 It has always been difficult to determine the exact number of Roma in Hungary because of their traditional nomadic life-style and the atmosphere of prejudice that made them hesitant to officially identify themselves as Roma.

Currently the number of people belonging to the Roma minority in Hungary is estimated between 190,046 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census)

and 400,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Some even estimate the number of Roma living in Hungary to be between 800,000 and 1,000,000. Of the people declaring themselves to belong to the Roma national minority in the 2001 census about 35% belong to the age group '0-14', about 43% to the age group '15-39', about 17% to the age group '40-59' and about 4% to the age group '60+'. Of the 10% Roma that according to the 2001 census are economically active about 6% work in the primary, 41% in the secondary and 20% in the tertiary sector. The traditional occupations in commerce and crafts (adobe brick-making, trough-making, and trade) were rendered superfluous by the industrial mass production of the 20th century. Consequently a great number of Roma undertook unskilled labour in large factories during the socialist industrialisation. They were the first to lose their jobs and their modest livelihoods after the change of regime in the 1990s. The development of measures to counteract high degrees of unemployment among the Roma is a high priority on the Hungarian government's agenda.

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

- 1.3.1 The difficulties experienced in creating a viable organisational structure for a group that had no settled traditions or an official organisational history combined with deep prejudice toward the Roma throughout Hungary prompted the government of the young Republic of Hungary to develop a policy that was different from those for other minorities. On 20 June 1961 the Central Committee decreed that Hungary's Roma did not constitute a national minority, but was entitled to receive the same developmental and constitutional privileges as other groups. In 1979 an attempt was made to establish a more representative Roma organization, the *Országos Cigánytanács* that substantially helped to improve Roma cultural life. By May 1986 authorities created the *Ungro-themeske Romane Kulturake Ekipe* (Rom Cultural Association). At that time there were two hundred official Roma cultural groups and forty dance troupes nationwide. Further steps in providing more (cultural) autonomy for the Roma were taken in the 1990s, especially in the wake of the *Minorities Act* that recognises the Roma as one of the 13 national minorities in Hungary.
- 1.3.2 Since the beginning of the 1990s new measures have been taken to improve the situation of the Roma. With Government Resolution 1093/1997 (VII. 29.), the Government accepted a package plan consisting of more than 60 measures for improving the living conditions and social integration of the Roma minority, among others related to education, employment, social care, health care and housing. The Prime Minister of Hungary recently announced the programme '2005-2015: The Decade of Roma Integration', which aims at the acceleration of the processes targeting improvement of the economic and social situation of the Roma population. The Minorities Office proposes the establishment of a Roma Interministerial Committee.
- 1.3.3 More information on the legal status of Romani and of official policies affecting Romani in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 Unlike other minorities, who were given their own network of institutions and classes in some cases, authorities in the 1970s decided to attempt to integrate Roma children directly into Hungarian schools, despite the fact that in 1970, 89% of Hungary's Roma children were Vlach, and often entered schools knowing only thirty to forty Hungarian words. Subsequently, Hungarian officials began to create special classes and opened a limited number of schools exclusively for Roma children to deal with their special needs.
- 2.1.2 Within the legal framework for pre-primary education ( $\Rightarrow$  4.11 of the country profile on Hungary) a specific form a pre-primary education is defined that specifically aims at the Roma. Roma cultural instruction may be conducted either in the minority language, bilingually or in the Hungarian language within the framework of Roma cultural instruction. The legal framework for primary and secondary education also defines a specific type of education that specifically aims at Roma ( $\Rightarrow$  4.12 of the country profile on Hungary). Academic improvement education for the Roma minority ensures familiarisation with Roma cultural values and the teaching of information on the history, literature, arts, music, dance culture and traditions of the Roma minority. Instruction in the Romani language is an optional element of this programme, but depending on the needs of the parents, the programme ensures instruction in the variety of Romani spoken by the parents.
- 2.1.3 Precise data on Roma minority education at pre-primary and primary levels could not be obtained. It is, however, known that roughly 250 kindergartens and roughly 650 primary schools offer Roma minority education, with estimates putting the number of those instructed to 25,000 for children attending kindergarten and 55,000 for pupils at school. The fact is that even today a significant majority of Roma children do not complete primary school.
- 2.1.4 Because many Roma children do not complete primary education the number of Roma children in secondary schools is limited. In 1999/2000 118 Roma children received language instruction in their language in a grammar school.
- 2.1.5 In the past decade some institutions of higher education have established departments for Roma/Gypsy Studies ("Romology"), and offer special courses in the subject. Institutes of higher education engaged in Roma pedagogue training include ELTE BTK Division of Training Science in Budapest (Gypsy Division Group), ELTE BTK Division of Cultural Anthropology in Budapest (programme), Pécs University of Arts and Sciences BTK Division of Romology in Pécs, Nyíregyháza College in Nyíregyháza (special college), Kaposvár University in Kaposvár (postgraduate training in romology), Apor Vilmos Catholic Colleges in Zsámbék (Roma Division), ELTE Teacher Training College Faculty in Budapest (special college), Miskolc University Comenius Teacher Training College Faculty in Sárospatak (special college), Miskolc University BTK Division of Cultural Anthropology in Miskolc (special college), Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training Calvinist College in Debrecen (postgraduate training in romology), Tessedik Sámuel College, College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szarvas (special college), Eötvös József College in Baja (special college), and Debrecen University Wargha István College Faculty of Pedagogy in Hajdúböszörmény (special college). In 1995, the Association of Roma Academic Researchers was founded to conduct scientific research on the language, culture and traditions of Roma living in Hungary.

Besides performing academic research, the Association participates in the reform of the Roma minority education and the development of new textbooks.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

2.4.1 In recognition of the special position of the Roma minority, there is an independent press office, the Roma Press Centre, which provides information in connection with the minority.

2.4.2 Six times a week Hungarian public radio transmits a country-wide Romani programme of 30 minutes. The minority programme is broadcast between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. In July 2003, the public-service Hungarian Radio took over and started broadcasting the programme of 'Radio C', a Roma private radio, nation-wide for one hour a day. Thus the Romani programmes of the public service Hungarian Radio have been expanded to 570 minutes.

2.4.3 Hungarian public television broadcasts a 26 minutes weekly Roma programme (*Roma magazine*). Romani is only used in 10% of this weekly topical programme. The broadcasting takes place between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. In addition the 52 minutes *Cigany Forum* is broadcast four times a year. Romani programmes are produced in the studio in Budapest.

2.4.4 In 2001 a study of the Minorities Office revealed that more than half of the 78 Roma organisations had access to the Internet, often through the local self-government or another institution. According to the survey, 38% of the Roma community organisations have e-mail addresses. Nowadays the Roma community organisations appear on the Internet with their own Web sites (cf. the summarising home pages [www.romacentrum.hu](http://www.romacentrum.hu), [www.romakontakt.hu](http://www.romakontakt.hu) and [www.romaweb.hu](http://www.romaweb.hu)).

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

Folk art is an integral part of everyday life of the traditional Roma communities and thus helps preserving the Roma cultural heritage. Regional Roma cultural institutions, as well as Roma artists and artistic groups can call on the National Roma Information and Cultural Centre for assistance. The National Roma Information and Cultural Centre is also responsible for collecting, processing and ensuring availability to public information, and for announcements regarding the Roma population. In 1998 the Roma Cultural and Art Council was established on the basis of the initiative of the Minorities Office. This council can initiate, put forward and discuss proposals, in order to assist in preserving the traditional

values of the Roma, and to promote Roma artists on the national and international scene. In 1994, the Roma Research Institute was established with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Education, and since 1995 it operates as an institution of the national self-government of the Roma minority. The Hungarian Ethnographic Museum has established a documentation centre on Roma ethnography that collects materials that could form the basis of a future national Roma museum.

## **2.6 The business world**

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

Roughly three quarters of Roma in Hungary have lost their mother tongue and only speak Hungarian. 20% of Hungary's Roma speak the Lovari variety of Romani, another 8-10% speak Beas, an archaic form of Romani.

## **3. Conclusion**

The Roma minority is the largest minority in Hungary. The number of Roma is estimated between 190,046 (2001 census) and 600,000 (minority organisations). The first concern of the Hungarian government regarding the position of the Roma is their integration into society. In this respect the government has been active in establishing programmes for Roma integration concentrating on social well-being, employment and education. Within the field of education the focus lies on school attendance among Roma children more than on the use of a variety of Romani in education. Efforts to maintain Romani, which either in its Lovaria or Beas variety now is the mother tongue of roughly one quarter of Hungarian Roma, are restricted to the limited presence of Romani in the media and in cultural organisations.

# **Romanian in Hungary**

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Romanian is a Romance language that, together with the now extinct Dalmatian, belongs to the group of Balkan Romance languages. It is spoken worldwide by about 27 million people, most of whom (approx. 20.4 million) live in Romania. The Romanian language variants in Hungary vary from settlement to settlement. A distinction is usually made between two major groups. The first group includes variants spoken in the villages of Békés (with just one exception) and Csongrád counties. The other includes the variants of all minority villages in Hajdú-Bihar, and that of Méhkerék (Békés county). Besides several phonetic and lexical differences the most significant difference between the two dialect groups is seen in the divergent form of the conjunctive. Apart from the existence of these two broader groups, variation also exists within settlements, along a scale that has Standard Romanian at one end and an archaic local variant of the language at the other.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The ancestors of the Hungary Romanians came to Hungary in several waves. Most of them, however, settled between 1700 and 1750, after the Turks were expelled from Hungary. As a consequence of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), the Romanian communities in Hungary were isolated from the millions of Transylvanian Romanians and left on their own as a small ethnic group.

1.2.2 Most of the Romanians currently living in Hungary can be found in nearly twenty settlements near the Hungarian-Romanian border, in the three south-eastern counties of Hungary: Békés, Hajdú-Bihar and Csongrád. A considerable number of Romanians live in the city of Budapest. The cultural centre of Hungarian Romanians is the city of Gyula (Békés county).

1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the Romanian national minority is estimated between 7,995 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census) and 25,000 (according to figures from minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Of the people declaring themselves as belonging to the Romanian national minority in the 2001 census about 9% belong to the age group '0-14', about 44% to the age group '15-39', about 27% to the age group '40-59' and about 19% to the age group '60+'. Of the 38% Romanians that according to the 2001 census are economically active about 8% work in the primary, 15% in the secondary and 46% in the tertiary sector.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Information on the legal status of Romanian and of official policies affecting Romanian in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

In the school year 1999/2000 there were 14 pre-primary Romanian schools. The Romanian native language pre-primary schools (*first type* of minority pre-school education  $\Rightarrow$  4.11 of the country profile) had an enrolment of 130 pupils; the bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education  $\Rightarrow$  4.11 of the country profile) had 417 pupils. In the same school year 14 schools offered primary Romanian education. 427 pupils attended native language primary schools (*first type* of minority primary education  $\Rightarrow$  4.12 of the country profile), 188 pupils attended bilingual primary schools (*second type* of minority primary education  $\Rightarrow$  4.12 of the country profile) and 583 pupils enrolled in Romanian language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education  $\Rightarrow$  4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in Romanian took place at one school offering native language or bilingual instruction, and at two schools offering Romanian language teaching. 129 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in grammar school and 128 attended Romanian language teaching classes in grammar school. In the academic year 1999/2000, 102 students studied Romanian in institutions of higher education. In the academic year 2000/2001 28 students were granted scholarships by the Hungarian government to study in Romania. Nursery-school pedagogue training for Romanian is offered at Tessedik Sámuel College Brunszvik Teréz College Faculty of Nursery-school Pedagogue Training in Szarvas. Primary school teacher training is offered at Tessedik Sámuel College, College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szarvas. Secondary school language teachers are trained at the Szeged University of Arts and Sciences Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College Faculty in Szeged. Thanks to its linguistic and ethnographic research work, the Research Institute of Romanians in Hungary, set up in 1993, provides useful input for minority education programmes.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile ( $\Rightarrow$  Hungary).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile ( $\Rightarrow$  Hungary). In case of the Romanian minority the Second Report of the Republic of Hungary on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (February 2004) states that in Magyarcsanak (Csongrád County), the verbal use of minority languages (Romanian and Serbian) is regular in relations with the administration. In Békés County an information brochure in Romanian is distributed in the town of Gyula and the neighbouring settlements with Romanian population (Körösszakál, Körösszegapáti) thus pointing to the use of Romanian in matters related to public administration. Still, information on the use of Romanian in public administration should not be generalised. In 2003, the Minorities Office assigned the Research Institute of Romanians in Hungary to carry out an overall evaluation in Méhkerék, a village near the Hungarian-Romanian border that can be considered a central settlement of the Romanian minority in Hungary. The research was aimed at the overall analysis of the minority language use in all fields of the settlement's life. In

the settlement with 2,500 inhabitants the overwhelming majority of the local inhabitants are Hungarian citizens who belong to the Romanian nationality group and whose native language is Romanian. All members of the village's self-government and the mayor are also Romanian. Nevertheless, local inhabitants use their native language when managing public affairs ever more rarely.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

- 2.4.1 State-funded printed media controlled by the Cultural Association of Romanians in Hungary and the Romanian Minority National Self-Government include *Foaia Romaneasca* (1,000 copies are distributed), *Cronica* (a monthly, 1,000 copies), *Lumina* (500 copies) and *Izvorul* (500 copies). The *Calendarul Romanesc* (1,500 copies), *Almanach* (500 copies) and *Szimpozion* (500 copies) are published once a year. Since 1976, about 30 books have been published in Romanian (ranging from poetry and novels to school books, children's books and religious books). In 2001, four books were published and in 2002, eight were published. Since 1992, The Romanian Publishing House in Hungary produces independent publications of fiction and scientific works by Romanian authors living in Hungary. Romanian books can be consulted in local libraries.
- 2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a daily regional Romanian programme of 90 minutes and a daily country-wide programme of 30 minutes. The national programme is broadcast between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. The regional programme is broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon. The Romanian programmes are produced at the regional studio in Szeged. It was reported that Romanian radio stations (from the cities of Timisoara, Oradea or Bucuresti) can be picked up in the territory of the Romanians in Hungary. Information on the extent to which private local Hungarian radio stations transmit Romanian programmes could not be obtained.
- 2.4.3 Hungarian public television weekly broadcasts a 26-minute Romanian programme entitled *Ecranul nostru*. The broadcasting takes place between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. The Romanian programmes are produced in the studio in Szeged. Information on the existence of private local Hungarian Romanian television could not be obtained.
- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003 five websites operated by the Romanians in Hungary were present on the internet. Links to several Romanian organisations and institutions are given on [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu). (⇒ 3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities)

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

Since the 1980s several new local cultural associations have been established. Their task is to reinforce Romanian ethnic identity and cultivate the Romanian language and culture. The traditional folk culture of the Romanian minority is preserved by traditional ensembles. Some Romanian dance ensembles are known across the country. In some schools and villages local amateur theatre groups are active. Anthropologists and museologists from the Romanian minority take care of the relics of the material and intellectual folk culture. Romanian central museums operate in Békéscsaba and Gyula. Kétegyháza has a Romanian folk house. Important organisations are the Cultural Association of Romanians in Hungary,

the Association of Romanian Researchers and Creators in Hungary, the 'Pro Musica' Foundation and the Hungarian Foundation for Romanian Culture.

## **2.6 The business world**

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

Whereas in the 1990 census 8,730 people declared Romanian to be their mother tongue only 8,482 did so in the 2001 census. Although census figures have to be treated with great caution (⇒ 2.1 of the country profile) this relatively small decline of 2.8% seems to indicate that the assimilation of the Romanians to the Hungarian language still continues. In any case most Romanians in Hungary are Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals. The majority of the oldest generation and a small part of the middle-aged generation can be considered Romanian-dominant bilinguals. Hungarian-dominant bilinguals belong mainly to the younger generation. Bilingualism can be considered a transitory stage between Romanian and Hungarian monolingualism. At present, a minor part of the Romanian community, mainly the younger generation, can be considered Hungarian monolingual. Bilingualism among Romanians in Hungary results from the post-war border modifications of 1920. Between the two World Wars, the assimilationist tendencies on the part of the Hungarian majority elicited an emotion of solidarity (Gal 1991) in the Romanian minority, causing an increase in loyalty towards their minority language. Following World War II, however, in the Hungary Romanian minority, solidarity and loyalty towards their own minority group declined. Since the 1950s, the Romanians in Hungary have established stronger contact with the Hungarian majority and have modified their attitudes and emotions towards their own Romanian minority culture and language. The attitude of Hungarians towards the Hungary Romanian minority and their language is mostly neutral or negative. The prestige of the Romanian language variants spoken in Hungary is low among the Romanians of Romania. It is doubtful whether bilingualism among Hungarian Romanians is accompanied by diglossia. The situation cannot be described as diglossia, because neither the Romanian language variants nor the Hungarian language have clearly distinguishable functions.. If they are used at all, Romanian variants (symbolising the past, the hard peasant life, backwardness and lack of education) are used in conversations within family, between friends and neighbours, during Orthodox religious services, at meetings, in Romanian language classes. Hungarian Romanians, however, more often tend to use Hungarian, that they regard as symbolizing the present and the future, that is, modern life, educational opportunities and careers.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

On 19 October 2001 the Hungarian-Romanian Intergovernmental Joint Commission for Active Co-operation and Partnership held its 4<sup>th</sup> session. At that occasion a *Protocol* and *Recommendations* concerning the respective situation and unresolved problems of the Romanian minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Romania were signed. The National Self-government of the Romanians living in Hungary cooperates with the State University operating in Arad, Romania,

in regular retraining of pedagogues teaching in Romanian minority schools in Hungary.

### **3. Conclusion**

With a membership estimated between 7,995 (2001 census) and 25,000 (minority organisations) the Romanian minority is one of the smallest Hungarian minorities. The Romanians, whose predecessors settled in Hungary mainly in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, have largely assimilated to Hungarian. Romanian is used in the media as well as in some cultural organisations, but the actual frequent daily use of Romanian is restricted to an aged minority within the minority. Attempts are being made to reverse Romanian-Hungarian language shift by establishing Romanian native language schools or Romanian-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. If these initiatives are to boost the intergenerational transmission and the use of Romanian in everyday life within the Romanian community again, they will have to be accompanied by other coordinated measures in different areas of the lives of the Romanian minority. Despite the sophisticated Minorities Act such measures have yet to be set up. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that Romanian culture and identity can survive without the Romanian language seem to be the main reasons for this.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Serbian [*Srpski*] is a South Slavic language closely related to Croatian. It is spoken worldwide by about 12 million people most of whom (approximately 6.7 million) live in Serbia. Together with Croatian, Serbian has retained more common Slavic elements in its vocabulary than other Slavic languages. The Serbian variants used in Hungary are greatly influenced by Hungarian and as such they differ from the Serbian spoken in Serbia.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Serbian-Hungarian contacts date back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The first known Serbian settlement in Hungary was founded on the island of Csepel in 1404. Serbians settled in Hungary on a massive scale in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as a result of the Ottoman occupation of the Balkan peninsula and their later penetration into the Danube basin. On the basis of the privileges granted by the Hapsburg emperor, the Serbians acquired personal, religious and related national autonomy in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Serbians controlled a major part of the Danube trade. The cultural centres of Serbian life at that time were Buda, Pest and Szentendre. Due to an emerging “Magyarisation” the Serbians started withdrawing from Hungary towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the Treaty of Trianon, which concluded World War I, most of the Serbians who lived scattered about in the country's current territory moved to Yugoslavia in the 1920s.

1.2.2 Half of the Serbs live in or around Budapest. The other half mainly live in cities of southern counties: Békés and Csongrád, Bács-Kiskun and Baranya.

1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the Serbian national minority is estimated between 3,816 (according to the provisional results of the 2001 census) and 10,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Of the people declaring themselves as belonging to the Serbian national minority according to the 2001 census about 8% belong to the age group ‘0-14’, about 38% to the age group ‘15-39’, about 35% to the age group ‘40-59’ and about 18% to the age group ‘60+’. Of the 44% Serbians that according to the 2001 census are economically active, about 2% work in the primary sector, 14% in the secondary sector and 77% in the tertiary sector.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Information on the legal status of Serbian and of official policies affecting Serbian in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

In the school year 1999/2000 there were 9 pre-primary Serbian schools. The Serbian native language pre-primary schools (*first type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had an enrolment of 87 pupils, the bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had 94 pupils. In the same school year 11 schools offered primary Serbian education. 164 pupils attended native language primary schools (*first type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile), and 111 pupils enrolled in Serbian language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in Serbian took place at 1 school offering native language or bilingual instruction. 126 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in grammar school. In 1999/2000 66 students studied Serbian in institutions of higher education. Primary school teacher training in Serbian is offered at ELTE Teacher Training College Faculty in Budapest. Training of secondary school language teachers is offered at Eötvös Lóránt University of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) Faculty of Arts (BTK) in Budapest, and József Attila University of Arts and Sciences in Szeged.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary). It is not clear to what extent the members of minorities request the documents in their native language. According to the Second Report of the Republic of Hungary on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (February 2004), in some cases minority members are not even aware that translations exist. In Magyarcsanak (Csongrád County), the verbal use of Serbian is regular in relations with the administration. The same goes for the village of Deszk.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

2.4.1 With regards to State funded printed media, there is one weekly Serbian newspaper, *Srpske Narodne Novine*, which is controlled by the Szerb Demokratikus Szovetseg. Serbian books can be consulted, among others, in local libraries.

2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a daily half-hourly regional Serbian programme, a regional 50-minute programme 4 times a week and a daily country-wide half-hour programme. The national programme is broadcast between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. The regional programme is broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon. No information was obtained on the existence of private Hungarian local radio stations operating in Serbian.

- 2.4.3 Hungarian public television broadcasts a 26-minute weekly Serbian programme entitled *Srpski ekran*. It is broadcast between 2 and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. The Serbian programmes are produced in the studio in Szeged. No information was obtained on the existence of private Hungarian local television stations operating in Serbian.
- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003 three websites operated by the Serbians in Hungary were present on the internet. Links to several Serbian organisations and institutions are given on [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu). (⇒ 3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities)

## 2.5 Arts and culture

Serbian traditions, national and religious customs are preserved in the family, the church, the religious community and the schools. Regional and local cultural institutions preserve and present folklore traditions. The most important Serbian libraries in Hungary are: the Library and Archive of the Episcopacy of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Library of the national self-government of the Serbian minority and the library of the Serbian School in Budapest. The *Izdan* Publishing Workshop, often in cooperation with partner publishers in Yugoslavia, publishes scientific, fiction and non-fiction works of Serbian novelists, short story writers, poets and playwrights. Three to five books are published annually. In 1998, a encyclopaedic CD-ROM was released in the Serbian language under the title "The History of Serbian Culture in Hungary". The local government of Pomáz and the Serbian Democratic Association jointly founded the *Joakim Vujity* Serbian Theatre, now operating in the village of Lórév. The Office of the Serbian National Self-Government operates as a national cultural centre.

## 2.6 The business world

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## 2.7 Family and social use of the language

While in the 1990 census 2,953 people declared Serbian to be their mother tongue 3,388 did so in the 2001 census. Given the purely indicative nature of census figures (⇒ 2.1. of the country profile) it is not clear whether this relatively small increase points to a reversal of language shift. The Hungarian Serbs nowadays are mostly bi- or trilingual (meaning that they use Hungarian and/or a local variety of Serbian and/or standard Serbian). There are intergenerational differences: whereas the older generation predominantly is Serbian-dominant bilingual the younger generation is Hungarian-dominant bilingual (if not Hungarian monolingual).

## **2.8 The European dimension**

A bilateral agreement on the protection of the rights of the Hungarian minority living in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the Serbs living in the Republic of Hungary has been drafted.

## **3. Conclusion**

With a membership estimated between 3,816 (2001 census) and 10,000 (minority organisations) the Serbian minority is one of the smallest Hungarian minorities. The Serbs, whose predecessors settled in Hungary mainly in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, have largely assimilated to Hungarian. Serbian is used in a limited way in the media as well as in some cultural organisations, but the actual frequent daily use of Serbian is restricted to an aged minority within the minority. Attempts are being made to reverse Serbian-Hungarian language shift by establishing Serbian native language schools or Serbian-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. If these initiatives are to boost the intergenerational transmission and the use of Serbian in everyday life within the Serbian community again, they will have to be accompanied by other coordinated measures in different areas of the lives of the Slovenian minority. Despite the highly sophisticated Minorities Act no such measures have yet been put into place. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that Serbian culture and identity can survive without the Serbian language seem to be the main reasons for this.

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

Slovak [*slovenský jazyk*] is a Slavic language that together with Czech, Polish and Sorbian belongs to the group of west Slavic languages. The number of Slovak speakers is estimated at 5.7 to 7 million. Most of them live in Slovakia (4.9 million or approx. 85.7% of the country's population). The varieties of Slovak spoken in Hungary are influenced by Hungarian and differ from the Slovak used in Slovakia.

### 1.2 History, geography and demography

1.2.1 The presence of the Slovak minority in Hungary mainly dates back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century when they started settling in the northern parts of Hungary and developed strong mutual language contact with the Hungarians. Following a period of Slovak demand for autonomy within Hungarian territory rivalries between Slovaks and Hungarians arose. With the Treaty of Trianon (1920) Hungary lost a significant part of its Slovak-speaking territory. The population movement from Hungary to Slovakia that took place after 1920 was repeated after World War II when about 73,000 Slovaks resettled from Hungary to Slovakia.

1.2.2 The Slovaks in Hungary mainly live in three areas: in the southeast (the counties of Békés and Csongrád), in the northern middle mountain range (county of Nógrád), and in Transdanubia (counties of Pest and Komárom-Esztergom).

1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the Slovak national minority is estimated to be between 17,692 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census) and 110,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Slovak national minority about 8% belong to the age group '0-14', about 24% to the age group '15-39', about 33% to the age group '40-59' and about 34% to the age group '60+'. Of the 34% of Slovaks that according to the 2001 census are economically active about 5% work in the primary, 29% in the secondary and 56% in the tertiary sector.

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

Information on the legal status of Slovak and of official policies affecting Slovak in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## 2. Presence and use of the language in various fields

### 2.1 Education

In the school year 1999/2000 there were 73 pre-primary Slovak schools. The Slovak native language pre-primary schools (*first type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had an enrolment of 103 pupils, the bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education ⇒

4.11 of the country profile) had 2,947 pupils. In the same school year 59 schools offered primary Slovak education. 92 pupils attended native language primary schools (*first type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile), 658 pupils attended bilingual primary schools (*second type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile) and 3,674 pupils enrolled in Slovak language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in Slovak took place at 2 schools offering native language or bilingual instruction. 105 pupils attended native language or bilingual classes in grammar schools, and 13 attended native language or bilingual education in specialised schools. In the academic year 1999/2000 228 students studied Slovak in institutions of higher education. In the academic year 2000/2001, 13 students were granted scholarships by the Hungarian government to study in Slovakia. Nursery-school teacher training is offered at Tessedik Sámuel College Brunszvik Teréz College Faculty of Nursery-school Teacher Training in Szarvas. Primary school teacher training is offered at Tessedik Sámuel College, College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szarvas and Vitéz János Roman Catholic Teacher Training College in Esztergom. Secondary school language teachers are trained at the Eötvös Lóránt University of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) Faculty of Arts (BTK) in Budapest, and the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba. Secondary school teacher training is offered at the Szeged University of Arts and Sciences Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College Faculty in Szeged.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

- 2.4.1 The Slovak weekly newspaper *Ludové noviny*, founded in 1957, is now controlled by the Slovak National Self-Government and funded by the state. It now has a distribution of approximately 2,000 copies. Other entirely Slovak independent periodicals are the regional monthlies *Čabän* (400 copies are distributed) and *Budapeštianský Slovák* (500 copies). In a few local newspapers Slovak contributions sometimes appear but never exceed 50% of the total volume. The Association of Slovaks in Hungary distributes its annual calendar ‚Naš kalendár‘ and the ‚Čabiansky kalendár‘ is published in Békéscsaba. In recent years more and more Slovak books are published in Hungary (fiction as well as poetry, school books, children’s books and religious books). In 2001, 21 Slovak books were published. The demand for reading materials in the Slovak language is met through the four regional libraries and the network of local and school libraries which are supplied by them.
- 2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a daily two-hour Slovak regional programme and a daily half-hourly country-wide programme. The national programme is broadcast between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. The regional programme is broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon. The Slovak programmes are produced in the regional studio in Szeged. No information was obtained on the existence of private local Hungarian radio stations that broadcast Slovak programmes.

- 2.4.3 Hungarian television broadcasts a 26 minute weekly Slovak programme entitled *Domovina*. It is broadcast between 2 and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian television, and is repeated on Saturday mornings on satellite Channel 2. These Slovak programmes are produced in the studio in Szeged. Besides the programmes mentioned the religious editors of public television regularly broadcast masses in Slovak. No information was obtained on the existence of private local Hungarian television stations that broadcast programmes in Slovak.
- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003 10 homepages operated by the Slovaks in Hungary were present on the internet. Links to several Slovak organisations and institutions are given on [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu). (⇒ 3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities)

## 2.5 Arts and culture

Several institutions play an important role in preserving and developing the cultural identity of the Slovak minority in Hungary. Among the most important ones are the national and local offices of the Association of Slovaks in Hungary, the Slovak House of Culture, the Research Institute of the Slovak Minority (Békéscsaba), the Further Education Centre (Bánk) and various NGOs. The *Slovak House of Culture* opened in the autumn of 1996 in the town of Békéscsaba with the financial support of the Hungarian and Slovak governments. The *Mihály Munkácsy Museum* in Békéscsaba functions as the Slovak central museum. Most of the settlements of the Slovak minority in Hungary are serviced by some sort of local institution or cultural centre to meet the cultural needs and by a local primary school responsible for local general education needs. More than half of these settlements have an active local community which also organises local cultural events on its own initiative. The Slovak community in Hungary has about 30 adult choirs, 15 dance ensembles, 10 brass bands, 5 traditional bands, several children's choirs and bands, and 10 amateur theatre companies. In recent years, the regional libraries have been actively involved in organizing literary discussions, meetings between authors and readers, and exhibitions as well.

## 2.6 The business world

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## 2.7 Family and social use of the language

While in the 1990 census 12,745 people declared Slovak to be their mother tongue, only 11,816 did so in the 2001 census. Although census figures have to be treated with great caution (⇒ 2.1 of the country profile) this relatively small decline of 7% seems to indicate that the language shift from Slovak to Hungarian still continues. Slovaks are mostly bi- or trilingual (meaning that they use Hungarian and/or a local variety of Slovak and/or standard Slovak). There are intergenerational differences: whereas the older generation predominantly is dominant Slovak bilingual the younger generation is Hungarian dominant bilingual (if not Hungarian monolingual). According to a study carried out in 1991 slightly less than 30 percent of the children of the parents who are linguistically the most Slovak have learned Slovak to native proficiency, and 70 percent have deficient or no knowledge of Slovak. The use of Slovak is mainly restricted to the private domain, whereas Hungarian is used in most cases in the public and semi-public domain.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

On the basis of the Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and the Slovak Republic on Good-neighbourly Relations and Friendly Co-operation, twelve joint committees were created to provide the framework for the co-operation between the two countries in different areas of economic and social life. On 23 April 2001 the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and the Slovak Republic signed in Budapest an Agreement on the Cross-border Co-operation of Local Self-governments and Public Administration Bodies. The agreement enables the promotion of national minority language education, the nurturing of the minority cultures, the support to the co-operation among twinned schools and the formation of partnerships between local and regional municipalities in the territory of which a significant population of Hungarian or Slovak national minorities is established.

## **3. Conclusion**

Together with the Croatian minority the Slovak minority is one of the larger minorities within Hungary. The number of people belonging to the Slovak minority is estimated between 17,692 (2001 census) and 110,000 (estimates of minority organisations). The Slovaks, whose predecessors settled in what is today Hungary mainly in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, have largely assimilated to Hungarian over the past centuries. Nowadays the rather limited presence of Slovak in the media, as well as its use in several cultural organisations only slightly help to slow down the further assimilation of Slovaks to Hungarian. It appears that the intergenerational transmission of Slovak is faltering. Attempts are being made to reverse Slovak-Hungarian language shift by establishing Slovak native language schools or Slovak-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. Whereas pre-primary and primary Slovak education is successful, measures to encourage the flow of Slovak pupils into secondary Slovak minority education seem to be necessary. But even if that succeeds it remains unclear whether that will help in revitalising the use of Slovak in the daily life of the Slovak minority. To guarantee a successful revitalization of Slovak, complementary measures will have to be deployed in different areas of the lives of the Slovak minority. Despite the sophisticated Minorities Act such measures have not yet been put in place. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that Slovak culture and identity can survive without the Slovak language seem to be the main reasons for this.

# Slovenian in Hungary

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

Slovenian [*slovenski jezik/slovenščina*] is a South Slavic language closely related to Croatian. Both Slovenian and Croatian belong to the western subgroup of South Slavic. In all some 2.4 million people speak Slovenian. Most of them live in Slovenia (1.75 million or approximately 87.8% of the country's population). The Slovenian varieties spoken in Hungary differ from those used in Slovenia.

### 1.2 History, geography and demography

1.2.1 The Slovenian community is one of the indigenous national minorities in Hungary that has coexisted longest alongside the Hungarians, i.e. since the Hungarians settled in the plains around the middle Danube river. It is, however, not clear to what extent the Slovenes that now live in the Raab-region are related to the first Slovene settlers in Hungary.

1.2.2 Most of the Slovenes in Hungary live in seven neighbouring settlements to the south of St. Gotthard [*Szentgotthárd*] and the Raab (Rába) river in a geographically isolated area sandwiched in the corner of the Slovenian and Austrian border. This area (approx. 92 km<sup>2</sup>) belongs to the region that was formerly known as the 'Wenden-region' and now is usually designated as the Slovene-region. This region is in Vas county.

1.2.3 The number of people belonging to the Slovene national minority in Hungary is estimated between 3,040 (according to the provisional results of the 2001 census) and 5,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Of those stating that they belong to the Slovenian national minority in the 2001 census, about 11% were in the '0-14' age group, about 37% were in the '15-39' age group, about 27% were in the '40-59' age group and about 24% were in the '60+' age group. Of the 37% Slovenes that according to the 2001 census are economically active, about 4% work in the primary, 16% in the secondary and 74% in the tertiary sector.

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

Information on the legal status of Slovenian and of official policies affecting Slovenian in Hungary can be found in section 3 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## 2. Presence and use of the language in various fields

### 2.1 Education

In 1999/2000 there were 5 pre-primary Slovenian schools. The Slovenian bilingual pre-primary schools (*second type* of minority pre-school education ⇒ 4.11 of the country profile) had an enrolment of 112 pupils. In the same school year 4 schools

offered primary Slovenian education. 22 pupils attended bilingual primary schools (*second type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile) and 94 pupils enrolled in Slovenian language teaching education (*third type* of minority primary education ⇒ 4.12 of the country profile). Secondary education in Slovenian was offered at one school offering Slovenian language instruction for 9 pupils. In the academic year 1999/2000 6 students studied Slovenian in institutions of higher education. In the academic year 2000/2001, 5 students were granted scholarships by the Hungarian government to study in Slovenia. Training of secondary school language teachers is offered at Eötvös Lóránt University of Arts and Sciences (ELTE) Faculty of Arts (BTK) in Budapest. At the pedagogical institute *Dániel Berzsenyi* in Szombathely there is a department of Slovenian language and literature that trains Slovenian teachers and scientists.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.11 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on this issue is given in section 3.12 of the country profile (⇒ Hungary).

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

2.4.1 The weekly magazine *Porabje*, controlled by the Association of Slovenes in Hungary, is state funded and is published in Szentgotthárd.

2.4.2 Hungarian public radio transmits a weekly regional Slovenian programme of 30 minutes and a weekly half-hour country-wide programme. The national programme is broadcast between 6:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. The regional programme is broadcast in the morning as well as in the afternoon. The Slovenian programmes are produced in the regional studio in Szombathely. Among the national minority self-governments of Hungary, the Slovene self-government was the first to create its own radio station: *Radio Monoster*. It broadcasts in Slovenian from Szentgotthárd and has its own bandwidth. In 1999 the national minority self-government was granted a broadcasting licence for eight hours per week in accordance with the rules of the Act on the Media. Regular broadcasts started in June 2000. This radio station broadcasts one hour of native-language programmes daily from Monday to Saturday, and two hours on Sunday. The national self-government received significant support for the necessary equipment from Slovenia. No further information on the use of Slovenian on Hungarian radio could be found.

2.4.3 Hungarian public television broadcasts a fortnightly 26-minute Slovenian programme entitled *Slovenski Utrinki*. The broadcast takes place between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. on workdays on Channel 1 of the Hungarian television. The programme is repeated on Saturday morning on satellite Channel 2. Slovenian television programmes are produced in the studio in Szombathely. No further information on the use of Slovenian on Hungarian television could be found.

- 2.4.4 At the end of 2003 one homepage operated by the Slovenes in Hungary was present on the internet. Links to several Slovenian organisations and institutions are given on [www.kisebbseg.lap.hu](http://www.kisebbseg.lap.hu) ( $\Rightarrow$  3.10 of the country profile for general information on the situation of the new media in the case of Hungary's minorities).

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

The cultural life of the Slovenian minority is characterised by the activities of traditional ensembles and school groups operating in the settlements inhabited by the Slovenian minority. The activities of the recently established Slovenian self-government have contributed to the invigoration of Slovenian cultural life. With financial support from the kin-State, the Federation of Slovenians in Hungary founded the Slovenian Cultural and Information Centre at Szentgotthárd. It is clear that the geographical and intellectual proximity of Slovenia positively influences the cultural life of the Slovenes in Hungary.

## **2.6 The business world**

General information on this issue is provided in section 3.13 of the country profile ( $\Rightarrow$  Hungary).

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

The Hungarian Slovenes nowadays are mostly bi- or trilingual (meaning that they use Hungarian and/or a local variety of Slovenian and/or standard Slovenian). There are intergenerational differences: whereas the older generation is predominantly dominant Slovenian bilingual, the younger generation is Hungarian dominant bilingual (if not Hungarian monolingual). A sociological study of Slovene-Hungarian bilingualism on both sides of the border, carried out in the mid-1980s, found that the use of Slovene in Hungary predominates within the nuclear and the extended family, whereas language use in conversations with friends and school-mates, as well as for shopping, tends to be bilingual. While in the 1990 census 2,627 people declared Slovenian to be their mother tongue, 3,187 did so in the 2001 census. Given the purely indicative nature of census figures it is not clear whether this increase points to a reversal of language shift.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Slovenia signed an Agreement of Co-operation in the fields of Education, Culture and Sciences in 1999, for the period of time from 2000 to 2003. Both the Slovenian Cultural and Information Centre in Szentgotthárd and the Slovenian radio station owned by the National Slovenian Self-Government are operating successfully. They enjoy support from both countries.

## **3. Conclusion**

With a membership estimated between 3,040 (2001 census) and 5,000 (according to minority organisations) the Slovenian minority is one of the smallest minorities

in Hungary. The Slovenes, whose predecessors settled in Hungary mainly in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, have largely assimilated to Hungarian. Slovenian is used in a limited way in the media as well as in some cultural organisations, but the actual frequent daily use of Slovenian is restricted to an aged minority within the minority. Attempts are being made to reverse Slovenian-Hungarian language shift by establishing Slovenian native language schools or Slovenian-Hungarian bilingual schools as allowed by the Education Act. If these initiatives are to boost the intergenerational transmission and the use of Slovenian in everyday life within the Slovenian community again, they will have to be accompanied by other coordinated measures in different areas of the lives of the Slovenian minority. Alas, despite the sophisticated Minorities Act such measures have not been yet been put in place. A lack of funding, the apparent gap between the legal framework and the actual implementation of the legal provisions in the field and the convictions of some minority members that Slovenian culture and identity can survive without the Slovenian language seem to be the main reasons for this.

### 1. Armenian

Armenian constitutes its own linguistic branch within the Indo-European languages. Together with the Slavic, Baltic and Indo-Iranian languages, Armenian belongs to the so-called Satem-languages. Of the estimated 7.4 million speakers of Armenian some 5.1 million live in European states (3.2 million in Armenia, that became independent in 1991 after the break-up of the USSR). The number of people belonging to the Armenian national minority in Hungary is estimated between 620 (according to the provisional results of the 2001 census) and 3,500 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). About two thirds of the Armenian minority live in Budapest and in Pest County. The others live spread over the country. The Armenians have 31 self-governments: 16 in the capital Budapest and 15 in 12 other counties (⇒ Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). Most of the Armenians who migrated to Hungary in the 17<sup>th</sup> century have merged with the Hungarians as a result of natural assimilation. Only their religious denomination (Armenian Catholic) reminds of their origins. Those Armenians that settled in Hungary after the World Wars are still concerned about the preservation of their language and culture. The Armenian Cultural and Information Centre opened in Budapest serves as one the most important institutions of Armenians living in Hungary. The Armenian Catholic Priesthood that has operated in Hungary since 1924 hosts some cultural programmes (such as chamber exhibitions and concerts of religious character). Of the persons that declare themselves to belong to the Armenian national minority in the 2001 census about half have Armenian as mother tongue. The number of persons indicating Armenian to be their mother tongue has gone up from 37 in the 1990 census to 294 in the 2001 census.

### 2. Bulgarian

Bulgarian [*bǎlgarski ezik*] is a South Slavic language that is closely related to Macedonian. It is spoken by approx. 9 million people worldwide, most of which live in Bulgaria. The number of people belonging to the Bulgarian national minority in Hungary is estimated between 1,358 (according to the provisional results of the 2001 census) and 3,000 (according to minority organisations⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Most of them live in and around Budapest. The Bulgarians have 31 self-governments: 21 in the capital Budapest and the rest in 7 other counties (⇒ Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). The Bulgarians settled in the Carpathian basin in several waves. The first arrived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and mainly settled in the Banat region. Others came in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most of them have assimilated to Hungarian. According to the provisional results of the 2001 census a great majority of people declaring themselves to belong to the Bulgarian national minority have Bulgarian as mother tongue. Nevertheless the number of persons indicating Bulgarian to be their mother tongue has fallen from 1,370 in the 1990 census to 1,299 in the 2001 census. Those who state Bulgarian as their mother tongue are Hungarian-Bulgarian bilinguals using Bulgarian mainly in the private sphere. An association that plays a significant role in the Bulgarian community is the *Association of Bulgarians in Hungary* that was established in Budapest in 1914.

The Association owns the Bulgarian Cultural Centre and supports the internationally acclaimed *Martenica* and *Zdravec* folk dance and song ensembles as well as the Rila folk orchestra. In 1996, the national self-government of the Bulgarian minority established an Institute for Bulgarian Studies.

### 3. Greek

Some 12 million people worldwide speak New Greek that developed during the second half of the 15th century. Most of them (approx. 9.9 million) live in Greece. The current number of people belonging to the Greek national minority in Hungary is estimated to be between 2,509 (according to the provisional results of the 2001 census) and 4,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). The Greeks mainly live in and around Budapest, although a small concentration of Greeks lives in Fejér County. The Greeks have 31 self-governments: 19 in Budapest and 12 in 10 other Counties (⇒ Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). The history of the Greeks in Hungary goes back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Greek merchants arrived. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they had their own churches and chapels in 19 towns and they operated several Greek schools and a teacher training school in Pest. A new wave of Greeks arrived in Hungary between 1948 and 1950 as refugees from the Greek civil war and settled in Budapest, Pécs, Tatabánya, Miskolc, and Beloiannisz. It is mainly these 'new Greeks' that show an interest in maintaining their language and culture. About three quarters of the Greeks declaring themselves to belong to the national Greek minority in the 2001 census indicate Greek as their mother tongue. The number of persons indicating Greek to be their mother tongue increased from 1,640 in the 1990 census to 1,921 in the 2001 census. Greek is component of Greek-Hungarian bilingualism with Greek restricted mainly to use in the private sphere. For the past fifty years the Cultural Association of the Greek community in Hungary has existed. It plays an important role in the life of the Greek community in Hungary. Some dance ensembles like *Ilios*, *Aitosz* and the *Helidonaki* Greek Heritage Children's and Youth Dance Ensemble are (internationally) successful. There is also a Greek heritage club. The various musical bands (*Sirtos*, *Zeus*, *Maskarades*, *Akropolis* and *Palio Buzuki*) are also recognised for their cultural activity. To further serve the Greek minority living in Hungary a Greek Cultural Centre was opened in Kecskemét.

### 4. Polish

As a Slavic language Polish [*język polski*] is closely related to Kashubian with which it forms the Lechitic branch of West Slavonic. The 16<sup>th</sup> century is generally considered to be the 'golden age' of the Polish literary language. At that time the first Polish grammar of Stojenski-Statorius (*Polonicae grammatices institutio*, 1568) was written and dictionaries were composed. About 45 million people speak Polish. Most of them (around 37 million) live in Poland. The number of people belonging to the Polish minority in Hungary is estimated to be 2,962 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census). Most Poles live in Budapest and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. The Poles have 51 self-governments: 15 in Budapest, 12 in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and 24 in 14 other counties (⇒ Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). The communities of the Polish minority in Hungary were largest in the middle of the last century. The József Bem Polish Cultural Association, the Saint Adalbert Association of Polish Catholics in Hungary and the *Dwa Bratanki* Dance Ensemble are a few of the organisations carrying on the cultural heritage of the Polish minority in Hungary. The Polish House and the

Polish Archives were founded in 1998 to collect and analyse the remains of material culture. Both the national self-government of the Polish minority and the local self-government councils assume an important role in exhibiting Polish culture and preservation and collection of elements of Polish traditions. The Hungarian Government awarded the Prize for the Promotion of Minorities to the József Bem Polish Cultural Association and to the Saint Adalbert Association of Polish Catholics in Hungary.

## 5. Ruthenian

Along with Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian, Ruthenian (also referred to as Rusyn [*rusyn'skyj jazyk*]) belongs to the East Slavic branch of languages. From a linguistic point of view Ruthenian is generally considered to be a dialect of Ukrainian or a transitional dialect of Ukrainian and Slovak. It should however be noted that Ruthenian is now considered to be an official language in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (Serbia). There are two Ruthenian dialects: Carpatho-Ruthenian that is close to Russian and Ukrainian and Panonian-Ruthenian that is close to West Slavic and in particular to Slovak. The Ruthenian used in Hungary is of the Panonian-Ruthenian variety. The number of people belonging to the Ruthenian minority in Hungary is estimated between 1,098 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census) and 6,000 (according to minority organisations ⇒ Table 1 of the country profile on Hungary). Around half of them live in Budapest and in Pest County. Others live in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. Of the 32 local self-governments 15 are located in Budapest and 16 in 5 other counties (⇒ Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). The Ruthenian communities in Hungary were most populous in the pre-1920 historical territories. The Ruthenian minority of Hungary possesses a folk house and a museum. The Research Institute of Ruthenians in Hungary was set up in the framework of an initiative by the Organization of Ruthenians in Hungary. To preserve and develop Ruthenian cultural traditions the Hungarian Andy Warhol Association (an organisation of artists of Ruthenian origin), the *Drany* folk dance ensemble and the Ruthenian Publishing House have been established. The Ruthenian community has two publications: *Ruszinszkij Zsivot/Rusynskyj Život* (Rusyn Life) and *Országos Ruszin Hírlap/Vsederžavnyj Rusynskyj Visnyk* (National Ruthenian Newsbulletin). The Rusyn language is used as a mode of communication only in two villages (Múcsony and Komlóska) in the county Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. The number of people indicating Ruthenian to be their mother tongue in the 2001 census was 1,113. More general information on the Ruthenians can be found on the website of the Ruthenian Minority Autonomy of the Capital (located in Budapest) ([www.ruthen.hu](http://www.ruthen.hu)), the Carpatho-Rusyn knowledge base society ([www.carpatho-rusyn.org](http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org)) as well as the Carpatho-Rusyn society ([www.carpatho-rusyn.org/crs/](http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/crs/)).

## 6. Ukrainian

Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is an East Slavonic language closely related to Russian and Belorussian, with which it forms the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European. On the basis of the south-western dialects of medieval East Slavonic, Ukrainian developed as a separate language in the course of the 14th century. As a written language Ukrainian was only developed towards the end of the 18th century. The number of Ukrainian speakers today amounts to approximately 45 million worldwide. Most of them live in Ukraine (around 37.4 million or 70.5% of the country's population). The number of people belonging to

the Ukrainian minority in Hungary is estimated at 5,070 (according to provisional results of the 2001 census). Most of them live in Budapest and in Pest County, although a larger concentration of Ukrainians can also be found in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County and in the larger towns around the country. The Ukrainians have 13 local self-governments: 4 in Budapest and 9 in 8 other counties ( $\Rightarrow$  Table 3 of the country profile on Hungary for more details). The largest Ukrainian communities in Hungary live in Budapest. In order to nurture their cultural inheritance and enforce their interests, the Ukrainians founded the Cultural Association of Ukrainians in Hungary in 1991. There is a Hungarian–Ukrainian Joint Committee on Minorities.

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## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Together with Estonia and Lithuania, Latvia [*Latvija*] is one of the three Baltic states. Its territory covers about 64,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Most of Latvia's population (around 68% of its 2,309,339 inhabitants) resides in urban areas. Latvian cities and towns differ greatly in size. 21 cities have over 10,000 inhabitants, the three largest being Rīga (population of about 815,000), Daugavpils (approximately 117,500), and Liepāja (approx. 96,270).



- 1.2 The Republic of Latvia is a parliamentary democracy. The Latvian Parliament (the *Saeima*) is a unicameral assembly. Its 100 members are elected for four years. It is the *Saeima* that elects Latvia's president. Like the members of parliament, the president is elected for a term of four years (a term that is once renewable). Latvia has a three-level administration. Apart from central government there are 26 districts (*Rajons*), 550 local authorities (70 cities and 480 *Pagasts*), and five economic planning regions that correspond very closely to historical regions: Latgale (East); Zemgale (South); Kurzeme (West); Vidzeme (North) and the Rīga region. The Latvian economy is still in transition. The main services contributing to the GDP (according to 2002 figures) are services (70%), industry (19%), construction (6%) and agriculture including forestry and fishery (5%). Unemployment (approximately 12%) remains a concern, especially since it is not decreasing despite rather rapid economic growth (an average yearly growth of 6% since 1996). In 2003 the average per capita income was just over one third of the EU average.

## 2. General aspects

The territory now known as Latvia has been inhabited since 9000 BC by ancient peoples of unknown origin. Around 3000 BC the Finno-Ugric Livs (called *libiesi* in Latvian) settled there. From the first half of the second millennium BC the ancient Baltic tribes arrived and started developing trading networks. In about 900 AD the Balts started to form specific tribal groups. Four groups can be distinguished: the Couronians (*kursi* in Latvian), Latgaliens (*latgali*), Selonians (*seli*) and Sengallians (*zemgali*). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century German crusaders conquered and christianised the pagan Baltic and Finno-Ugric tribes and reduced them to serfdom. In 1282 Riga joined the Hanseatic League. The cities of Cēsis, Limbaži, Koknese and Valmiera also joined this Northern German trading organisation at a later date. Around the 16<sup>th</sup> century the German crusaders lost power and significance. After the “Livonian War” (1558-1583) today’s Latvian territory fell in the hands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Polish-Lithuanian rule only lasted until the Polish-Swedish War (1600-1629) after which Latvia was ruled by the Swedes for about half a century. After the Great Northern War (1700-1721) between Sweden and Russia today’s Latvian territory became part of the Romanov Empire of Czar Peter the Great (Treaty of Nystad 1721) in which it functioned as one of the most developed provinces. In 1918, after the implosion of the Russian Empire, Latvia declared its independence and signed a peace treaty with Russia in 1920. The first period of Latvian independence came to an end after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed on 23 August 1939, for a few months later, on 17 June 1940 Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Army. Shortly afterwards German forces occupied Latvia, until 1944, when Soviet occupation brought Soviet rule to Latvia again. A large immigration of Russians as well as Ukrainians and Belorussians took place and Soviet-farming methods and collectivisation were introduced. It was only after certain more liberalist tendencies (*glasnost* and *perestroika*) transformed the communist regime in the mid-1980s that Latvia declared its independence on 4 May 1990 and was recognised as an independent state by the USSR on 21 August 1991. Since its independence Latvia has started a period of economic and social transition. In February 1999 it joined the World Trade Organisation, in March 2004 NATO and as of 1 May 2004 it is a full member of the EU.

## 3. Demographic data

- 3.1 In 2004 Latvia had 2,309,339 inhabitants. The following table lists the ethnic composition of Latvia’s population. The table is based on rounded-off data taken from the 1989 census and data from the Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs (1 July 2004).

**Table 1: Ethnic Composition of Latvia (1989 and 2004)**

	1989		2004	
<b>Latvians</b>	52.2%	1,396,100	58.7%	1,356,081
<b>Russians</b>	34.0%	902,300	28.8%	664,082
<b>Belarusians</b>	4.4%	117,200	3.9%	88,998
<b>Ukrainians</b>	3.4%	89,300	2.6%	59,403
<b>Poles</b>	2.2%	59,700	2.5%	56,798
<b>Germans</b>	0.1%	2,900	0.2%	3,311
<b>Lithuanians</b>	1.3%	34,100	1.4%	31,840
<b>Jews</b>	0.6%	16,300	0.4%	9,820
<b>Roma</b>	0.3%	7,200	0.3%	8,436
<b>Other</b>	1.2%	31,900	1.2%	28,030
<b>Total</b>		<b>2,657,000</b>		<b>2,309,339</b>

Source: 1989 census and Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs

Compared to the 1989 figures, the percentage of ethnic Latvians in the year 2000 increased whereas the percentage of most other ethnic groups (with the exception of the Poles and the Lithuanians) decreased or remained relatively stable. This can be explained by the fact that about 215,000 people emigrated from Latvia in the 1990s, of whom 16,000 were Latvians and 199,000 non-Latvians. Most of the non-Latvians were Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians living in Latvia as temporary workers, who moved back to their homelands because of non-favourable economic circumstances and also – as mentioned in sociological literature – because of the character of the Latvian Citizenship Law ( $\Rightarrow$  3.2). The fact that many Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians moved back to their home-countries did not change the ethnic composition of Latvia dramatically. Latvians still account for only 58% of the total population and there still is a high proportion of Russians in Latvia mainly residing in the seven biggest cities in which they constitute the majority of the population.

- 3.2 In 1991, shortly after independence, the Decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia On The Restoration of the Rights of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia and Regulations for Naturalization [*Rezolūcija par Latvijas Republikas pilsoņu tiesībām un pilsonības iegūšanas pamatprincipiem*] restored citizenship only to those persons who had been citizens of Latvia between World Wars I and II, and their descendants. This resolution above all affected non-Latvians, many of whom had arrived after 1945 from several Soviet republics. It affected more than 60% of the large ethnic Russian minority and 1.6% of ethnic Latvians. Four years passed before a framework for the naturalization of non-citizens was established. In 1994 the Law on Citizenship [*Pilsonības likums*] entered into force. It introduced an ‘age windows’ timetable for application. Those people who were born in Latvia and aged between 16 and 20 could apply first. Other people had to await their ‘window’, the last of which was to ‘open’ in 2003. This system was abolished by amendments to the Law that were passed in a 1998 referendum. From that moment on all stateless children born in Latvia since 21 August 1991 were granted the right to receive Latvian citizenship at the request of their parents. A central issue of the current naturalisation process is language requirement. The applicants’ command of Latvian is measured by a written and oral test. Despite the fact that the liberalisation of the Law on Citizenship in 1998 led to a jump in the naturalisation rate, Latvia still has about 470,220 ‘non-citizens’. 467,733 of them are ethnic non-Latvians. The following table is based on data of the Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs of 1 July 2004 and lists the residents of Latvia by ethnicity and citizenship.

**Table 2: Residents of Latvia by Ethnicity and Citizenship in 2004**

	Citizens	Non-citizens	Foreigners	Total	Percent
<b>Latvians</b>	1,352,733	2,387	961	1,356,081	58.7%
<b>Russians</b>	330,201	314,178	19,713	664,092	28.8%
<b>Belarusians</b>	26,281	60,818	1,899	88,998	3.9%
<b>Ukrainians</b>	11,440	44,319,	3,644	59,403	2.6%
<b>Poles</b>	40,223	16,059	516	56,798	2.5%
<b>Lithuanians</b>	17,125	13,312	1,403	31,840	1.4%
<b>Jews</b>	6,424	3,079	317	9,820	0.4%
<b>Estonians</b>	1,470	750	310	2,530	0.1%
<b>Others</b>	19,259	15,318	5,200	39,777	1.7%
<b>Total</b>	1,805,156	470,220	33,963	2,309,339	100.0%

Source: Board of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, 01.07.04.

18 of the 100 MPs in the *Saeima* (elected 2002) are ethnic non-Latvians: 15 Russians, 1 Pole, 2 Jews and 1 Karelian.

- 3.3 Judging by provisional figures taken from the 2000 official census the most significant ethnic minorities in Latvia – with the exception of Lithuanians – show higher percentages of Russian as mother tongue in comparison to both Latvian and to the mother tongue corresponding to their ethnicity. This is shown in Table 3.

**Table 3: Mother Tongue of Ethnic Minorities**

ethnicity	Nr.	mother tongue corresponding to ethnicity	%	Other mother tongue					
				Latvian	%	Russian	%	Other	%
Latvian	1,370,703	1,311,093	96	1,311,093	96	48,242	4	11,368	1
Russian	703,243	664,743	95	31,141	4	664,743	95	7,359	1
Belarusian	97,150	18,265	19	6,347	7	70,717	73	1,821	2
Ukrainian	63,644	17,301	27	2,309	4	43,159	68	875	1
Polish	59,505	11,529	19	11,727	20	34,340	58	1,909	3
Lithuanian	33,430	13,187	39	14,203	42	5,437	16	603	2
Jewish	10,385	825	8	918	9	8,211	79	431	4
German	3,465	541	16	854	25	1,970	57	100	3

Source: 2000 Latvian census

Since 1996 the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (BISS) publishes a (mainly quantitative) study on language use among non-Latvians each year. The studies of the BISS show that the significant means and efforts in improving the Latvian language skills (among others in the NPLLT ⇒ 3.3.4.) are beginning to show results: while in 1996, 36% of non-Latvian speakers had good Latvian language skills and 22% did not know Latvian at all, the respective figures in the year 2000 were 41% and 9% (in comparison: about 85% of Latvians have a good knowledge of Russian). Fewer than 30% of people over 50 know the Latvian language well. Younger people, who acquired education after the restoration of independence, in general have a better knowledge of Latvian.

## 4. Language policy

- 4.1 According to Article 4 of the Latvian Constitution [*Latvijas Republikas Satversme*] “the Latvian language is the official language in the Republic of Latvia”. The Latvian language – that together with Lithuanian builds the East-Baltic group of languages and is spoken by approx. 1.55 million people worldwide – regained the status it was given in 1921 during the first period of Latvian independence. On 15 October 1998 the *Saeima* also incorporated a chapter on ‘Fundamental Human Rights’ in the Constitution. Article 114 of this chapter states that “persons belonging to ethnic minorities have the right to preserve and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity”. These rights correspond to those mentioned in The Law on Unrestricted Development of National Minorities and Ethnic Groups of Latvia and the Rights to Cultural Autonomy [*Par Latvijas nacionālo un etnisko grupu brīvu attīstību un tiesībām uz kultūras autonomiju*] that was passed on 19 March 1991. They can also be found in the 1999 Law on the State Language [*Valsts valodas likums*].
- 4.2 In 1989 the Latvian Supreme Council (today’s *Saeima*) adopted the Law on Languages of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia [*LPSR Valodu likums*]. The second law (Republic of Latvia Language Law; *Latvijas Republikas Valodu likums*) was adopted in 1992. The years between 1989 and 1992 served as a kind of transition period.
- 4.3 The 1989 Law on Languages stated that all state institutions were to use the state-language in their communication with the public as well as in their daily work. In their contacts with the authorities individuals were still allowed to use Russian and state documents continued to be used in Russian as well as in Latvian. In private life there was freedom of speech, though people were encouraged to learn Latvian: Latvian language instruction programmes were developed, self-teaching materials were brought on the market and some companies offered free language tuition during regular working-hours for non-Latvians. In March 1992 a State Language Centre [*Valsts valodas centrs*] was set up by the Latvian Council of Ministers and made responsible for the legal status of the Latvian language and the strengthening and use of the Latvian language. The Chief Certification Commission at the State Language Centre worked out language levels for different professions and it was the task of the State Language Inspection to supervise proficiency tests and the attestation commissions responsible for the language exams (cf. Official State Language Proficiency Certification Regulation [*Valsts valodas prasmes atestācijas nolikums*] (1992)). It was now obligatory to use Latvian in official documents, place names and signs, amongst other things. It was still possible to use other languages in private documents, but fines were specified for such cases in which Latvian was not used in the prescribed way. From the early 1990s onwards the Latvian government started sending out language inspectors whose main task is to deal with complaints about violations of the Language Law. They act as a consultative unit. The Language Advisory Service also works actively, providing advice about the Latvian language free of charge.
- 4.4 A revised language law was written in the mid 1990s focusing more on the integration of minorities into Latvian society. The Law on the State Language that came into effect on 1 September 2000 ensures the integration of members of ethnic minorities into the society of Latvia, while observing their rights to use their native language or other languages (Art. 1,4). The Law among other measures ensures the maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language (⇒ Other Languages) as a historic variant of the Latvian language (Art. 3,4) and officially recognizes Liv (⇒ Other languages) as an autochthonous language (Art.

- 4). For the purpose of the Law on the State Language all other languages are considered to be “foreign” (Art. 5). Further on the Law envisages that all state documents shall be in the state language only or shall be accompanied by a certified translation into the state language (Art 8). Unless a notary-certified translation into the state language is attached the Law prohibits state, municipal and judicial institutions from accepting written applications, statements and complaints from private persons in any language other than Latvian, except for some emergency situations. Moreover the Law states that place names in the Republic of Latvia shall be created and use thereof shall be in the official language (Art. 18,1). It says that there shall be set out in a passport or birth certificate, in addition to the name and surname of the person presented in accordance with the existing norms of the Latvian language, the historic family name of the person, or the original form of the personal name in a different language, transliterated in the Roman alphabet, if the person or the parents of a minor person so wish and can verify such by documents (Art. 19,2). Furthermore, the use of minority languages in the private sphere is not unlimited: state intervention into the private sphere to regulate language use is envisaged to a degree determined by a lawful interest of the public, e.g. in matters affecting public health, public safety and public order (Art 2,2). It is the task of the State Language Centre to supervise compliance with this Law. The State Language Centre itself is subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Justice (Art. 26).
- 4.5 By establishing the Social Integration Foundation at the end of the 1990s, whose task it is to implement the National Program ‘The Integration of Society in Latvia’, the Latvian government has tried to create favourable circumstances that will on the one hand help people in maintaining their language and on the other encourage them on to learn Latvian which they need for economic advancement, thus creating a diglossic use of Latvian and the minority language. The integration program provides approximately 1 million US dollars per year for ethnic minorities.
- 4.6 Education in Latvia is regulated by the Law on Higher Education Establishments [*Augstskolu likums*] (1995), the Education Law [*Izglītības likums*] (1998), the Law on General Education [*Vispārējās izglītības likums*] (1999) and the Law on Professional Education [*Profesionālās izglītības likums*] (1999). There are also regulations from the Cabinet of Ministers and instructions from the Ministry of Education and Science.
- 4.7 During Soviet rule the languages of education were Latvian and Russian. Russian was an obligatory subject in Latvian schools, but Latvian was not compulsory at Russian schools. Following Latvian independence minority schools were refounded and comparisons were made with the first period of Latvian independence in which minority languages were allowed in schools.
- 4.8 Several stages can be distinguished in the renewed introduction of minority languages in education: a transition period between 1989 and 1995, and three periods of education reform. In the transitional period, minority education was restored in eight languages (Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, Estonian, Romany and Lithuanian). Latvian was made an obligatory subject in all educational institutions and a proficiency test was designed in Latvian for graduates of minority schools. During the first period of education reform (1995-1999) an amendment to Article 5 of the old Education Law specified the role of the Latvian language in minority schools. In years 1 to 9 of basic education 2 subjects were to be taught in Latvian. In years 10 to 12 the number of subjects taught in Latvian had to be 3. The second period of education reform took place between 1999 and 2003 and followed the adoption of the new Law on Education (1998) that provides a basis for minority education. This law states that:

- Education in state and local government educational institutions is obtained in the official state language (Art. 9, 1). Education may be (acquired) in another language (1) in private educational institutions, (2) in state and local government institutions in which educational programmes for ethnic minorities are implemented, and (3) in educational institutions specified in other laws (Art. 9,2). The law states that the *Ministry of Education and Science* shall specify such educational programs, and the subjects of study in these programmes are to be taught in the official language.
- Educational programmes for ethnic minorities shall be developed by educational institutions in accordance with State educational standards on the basis of general educational program models approved by the Ministry of Education and Science (Art. 41,1); these programmes shall include content necessary for acquisition of the relevant ethnic culture and for integration of ethnic minorities in Latvia (Art. 41,2) and the Ministry of Education and Science shall specify the subjects of study in the educational programmes for minorities which must be acquired in the official language (Art. 41,3).
- the National Education State Inspectorate (a structural unit of the ministry) supervises the way in which educational institutions follow the law (Article 20) and the Ministry hires and dismisses school directors (Art. 15,25)

There has been some misunderstanding on the time available to implement the minority programs. According to a clarification made by the Ministry of Education in 1999, all classes in minority elementary schools must be taught on the basis of the minority education program that the school has selected from the school year 2002/2003. The third period of the education reform started in 2004. In secondary schools the implementation of minority education curricula started as of September 2004 with year 10. Year 11 will follow in 2005 and year 12 in 2006. The change implies that 3/5 of classes will be taught in Latvian and 2/5 in the minority language (this is the so-called 60/40 norm). The proportion of 2/5 usage of minority languages in minority secondary schools was incorporated in a legally binding document on 13 May 2003. At that point the Latvian Government amended Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers On the State General Secondary Education Standard [*Valsts vispārējās vidējās izglītības standarts*]. The respective amendments to the Education Law followed on 12 August 2003. On 22 January 2004 the Saeima amended the Education Law, such that the subjects taught in minority languages may only be minority language subjects or subjects “related to minority identity and culture”. This would mean that only 10 to 15% of the curriculum could be taught in minority languages. The discussed reform will embrace the whole secondary school system in 2007. The minority system will have reached complete implementation in 2010 since students who started in 1999 will then have reached year 12. As far as universities and adult education is concerned it should be noted that courses in state-financed universities are conducted in Latvian, while a number of private educational institutions have language(s) of instruction other than Latvian. At university one can of course enrol in courses of the Slavic departments where languages such as Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian are taught.

- 4.9 Judging by the figures for the 2002/2003 school year provided by the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 733 schools in Latvia had Latvian as the sole language of instruction, 164 schools had Russian as a language of instruction (i.e. with a Russian-Latvian bilingual curriculum), and 148 schools had both classes with instruction in Latvian only, and classes with instruction in Russian as well (i.e. with a bilingual curriculum). There were 6 Polish and 2 Hebrew schools, 1 Ukrainian, 1 Estonian, 1 Lithuanian and 1 Belorussian school, and separate classes in 2 schools taught in Romany. Since 1998 matters relating to minority education are dealt with by the Integration Section of the General Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Science [*Izglītības un zinātnes ministrijas Vispārējās izglītības*

*departamenta Sabiedrības integrācijas nodaļa*]. Upon the initiative of the Integration Section an *Advisory Council on Minority Education Issues* was established to improve communication between various parties involved in minority education. The following table (based on information by the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) shows the evolution of the total number of pupils by language of instruction from 1995/96 until 2003/04

**Table 4: Number of Students by Language of Instruction**

	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04
L	203,607	212,017	219,794	233,939	238,652	242,475	242,183	237,425	230,212
R	132,540	129,120	125,643	125,741	120,612	96,053	89,874	101,486	95,841
O*	1,513	1,664	1,817	2,042	2,168	2,331	2,479	1,397	1,305
T	337,660	342,801	347,254	361,722	361,432	340,859	334,536	340,308	327,358
%	60.3	61.8	63.3	64.7	66.0	71.1	72.3	69.8	70.3

L = Latvian; R = Russian; O = Other languages; % = % learning in Latvian

\* Note: in some minority schools the language of instruction is predominantly either Latvian or Russian

- 4.10 The number of pupils attending schools where Latvian is the medium of instruction (either in combination with a minority language or not) has increased over the last years and is now a little over 70%. In the 2003/2004 school year, 74.4 % of first-years began studies in Latvian. As scientific literature suggests this may be due both to legal measures (Language Law and regulations of the Education Law) and to parents seeking an education for their children that ensures for them increased opportunities for university study and greater competitiveness in the labour market. Since school is the main institution where non-Latvians learn Latvian lots of efforts were put in the National Programme for Latvian Language Training [*Latviešu valodas apguves valsts programma*]. This Programme, developed with the support of the United Nations Development Program, started in 1995 and covers five main fields: (1) teacher training, (2) development of new teaching materials, (3) LSL-courses (Latvian as a Second Language) for adults; (4) Integration activities and (5) development of the programme management. It is specifically meant to encourage non-Latvians and minority organisations to be socially active and to promote (linguistic) tolerance and understanding as essential elements for a future conflict-free development of the country.
- 4.11 No regulations exist regarding the language of publication in the field of printed media. The situation is different for radio and television. In 1995 Latvian parliament adopted a new Radio and Television Law [*Radio un televīzijas likums*]. Amendments on language issues were adopted in 1997 and 1998. According to Art. 19,5 the amount of broadcasting time in foreign languages in programmes produced by broadcasting organizations should not exceed 25% of the total volume of the broadcasting time in a 24-hour period. Russian radio stations which did not take into account the legal regulations were suspended by the Latvian National Radio and Television Council that also reprimanded Latvian TV channels that showed too many Russian-language films. The quotas for language use on radio and television were repealed by the Latvian Constitutional Court on 5 June 2003.
- 4.12 The Law On Judicial Power [*Likums par tiesu varu*], adopted on 15 September 1992 with amendments adopted up to 2001, states that judicial proceedings in the Republic of Latvia shall be conducted in the official language. A court may allow also another language to be used in judicial proceedings if the parties, their advocates and the prosecutor agree to it (Art. 21, 1). For a person who participates in a matter, but is not fluent in the language of the judicial proceedings, a court

shall ensure the right to become acquainted with the materials of the matter and to participate in the court process with the assistance of an interpreter as well as the right to appear before the court in the particular language in which such person is fluent (Art. 21, 2).

## **5. The European dimension**

- 5.1 Latvia has not yet signed the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML). It signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) on 11 May 1995 but has not ratified it yet.
- 5.2 Several bilateral agreements exist between Latvia and the states the ethnic minorities residing in Latvia belong to. A database of bilateral agreements is provided by the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Latvia has signed agreements of cooperation with Poland, Israel, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus on professional qualifications for teachers of national minority schools.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Together with Russian and Ukrainian, Belorussian [*belaruskaja mova*] belongs to the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European languages. It started to develop as a separate language in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. When the territory which now constitutes Belarus became Lithuanian, the Lithuanians took over the administrative language of Kievan Rus, a language that in time acquired more and more local traits. This language, sometimes called Old Belorussian, became less important with the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was gradually exchanged for Polish. Modern Belorussian is essentially a product of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This language is not a continuation of Old Belorussian and much nearer to the popular language than for example Russian. It has thus far fewer Church-Slavonicisms. Within the Belorussian Soviet Republic, Belorussian was one of the national languages. The 1920s and partly the 1930s may be seen as the golden age of Modern Belorussian. From the end of the 1930s to the 1990s Belorussian gradually was ousted by Russian in all spheres of life: education, newspapers, theatre, book publishing, politics, party administration, etc. Russian thus became the high language whereas the role of Belorussian was reduced to that of a minority language and a more or less rural language. In the mid-1980s a movement to promote a “re-Belarussianification” developed, and Belorussian became the state language. This status was confirmed by the Constitution (1994) of the newly independent state of Belarus (1991), but in May 1995 – following a referendum – Russian was reinstated as a second state language in the amended Constitution (1996). This reflects a more general situation where only 75% of all Belorussians (including those who live outside Belarus) are estimated to speak the language, the rest having assimilated Russian.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Belorussians in Latvia form a traditionally historic national group living in Latgale, the eastern part of Latvia. In 1897 there were about 66,000 Belorussians on Latvian territory, in 1920 about 75,000 and – due to immigration from the USSR – about 120,000 in 1989 (approximately 4.7% of the total population). In the 1990s about 12,000 people left Latvia for their ethnic homeland Belarus. From an historical point of view Belorussian in Latvia flourished above all during the first period of Latvian independence.

1.2.2 Up to 70% of the Belorussians live in Latvia’s biggest cities, where the standard of living is higher than in the rest of the country, or in Latgale, where the standard is much lower. The highest proportion of Belorussians is found in Daugavpils (approx. 8% of the city’s population). Relatively high concentrations of Belorussians are also found in Liepāja and Rīga.

1.2.3 According to the 2004 Civil Data Register some 89,000 Belorussians (approximately 4% of the total population) currently live in Latvia.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

According to the Latvian language law Belorussian is one of the ‘foreign languages’. Only when translation into Latvian is ensured can Belorussian be used in state and local government institutions, courts and institutions constituting the judicial system, State or local government undertakings, and companies in which the greatest share of capital is owned by the State or a local government. Also employees of private institutions, organisations, undertakings (companies), and self-employed persons have to use the official language if they perform specific public functions and in record-keeping and documents if their activities affect the lawful interests of the public (public security, health, morality, health care, protection of consumer rights and employment rights, safety at the work place and public administration supervision). Still, Art. 114 of the Latvian Constitution gives Belorussians the right to preserve and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

Judging on figures from the Latvian Institute about 52 pupils (less than 0.05%) attended a Belorussian minority school in 1999/2000. The figure slightly increased to 64 in 2000/2001 but still accounts for less than 0.05% of the total number of pupils in Latvia. The great majority of Belarusian pupils still attend Russian schools in Latvia. It is not clear how many pupils attend the Riga Belorussian Sunday School that in 1994 emerged out of the Belorussian Art Studio *Vjasjolka* (founded in 1989) and is now fully state financed. But it is unlikely that their number exceeds 0.5% of the total number of pupils in Latvia.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on the use of languages in Latvian courts is provided in 3.5 of the Latvia country profile. No detailed information is available on the specific situation of Belorussian.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

With the exception of some emergency situations (that lack any definition) the official language has to be used in communication with public authorities. Documents in Belorussian (and other foreign languages) can only be accepted when a notary-certified translation into the state language is attached. It is not clear to what extent Belorussian is used in oral communication with public authorities.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There are no Belorussian newspapers in Latvia, Belorussian periodicals are limited to those of the Belorussian Cultural Heritage Society (1997-1999), and the latest periodicals from Belarus and Poland can be consulted, together with books, in the

Belorussian library in Riga. On the radio, Belorussian programmes are limited to a 30 minute weekly programme on Latvian public Radio 4. There is no Belorussian television in Latvia.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

Cultural reproduction of Belorussian in the more traditional sphere takes place through cultural organisations (such as the Belorussian Cultural Society), choirs, etc. Apart from *Svitanak* (see below), the Latvian Branch of the Belorussian Artists in the Baltics, *Maju gonar*, is very active.

## **2.6 The business world**

Belorussian does not play a significant role in Latvian business life and is as good as absent in advertisements.

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

As to the situation of Belorussian in Latvia today, according to provisional census figures from 2000, about 18,000 Belarusians (19% of the total number) declare Belorussian to be their mother tongue. These people use Belorussian on a daily basis. 7% of Belarusians declare Latvian to be their mother tongue, and 73% declare Russian to be their mother tongue (96% have knowledge of Russian). This high percentage is largely due to the “Russification” campaign during the Soviet period which contributed significantly to the reduction of mother tongue retention rates and loss of identity among Belarusians. The situation of the Belarusians is similar to that of the Ukrainians; it seems that more Belarusians have started to identify with the Russians following Latvia’s independence in 1991. Since Belarusians seem to adhere more to Russian than to their own language (which shows a high degree of mutual intelligibility with Russian and Ukrainian) it comes as no surprise that intergenerational language transmission of Ukrainian is limited to a motivated cultural minority that has only limited sources at its disposal in its attempts to maintain Belorussian. Although more qualitative research needs to be done in this respect, the waning of the prestige of Belorussian in its home country could be one of the forces driving Belarusians in Latvia more to the use of Russian than before. In Belarus only half of the Belarusian population is said to use Belorussian in the family and in Minsk, e.g., Russian is the everyday language for 88% of the families. The last Minsk high school with instruction in Belorussian was closed in 2003. An organisation that actively strives for the preservation of the Belorussian language and cultural identity as well as the integration of Belarusians into Latvian society is the Belorussian Cultural Society *Svitanak*, founded in November 1988.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

There are no special agreements concerning Belorussian in Latvia.

### **3. Conclusion**

Together with Ukrainians and Poles the Belarusians belong to the smaller Latvian minorities. They constitute approximately 4% of the population. The Belarusians in Latvia display a heterogeneous linguistic behaviour. A major part of Belarusians (approximately 73%) have Russian as their first language (mother tongue), a smaller part (19%) claims the 'ethnic language' to be their first language and yet another minor part (7%) claims Latvian to be their first language. Most of the persons who don't have Russian as their first language possess Russian language skills. Despite efforts of the Latvian government in stimulating activities that are meant to encourage Belorussian/Latvian bilingualism the number of persons having knowledge of Latvian among the Belarusians is only growing slowly. With the ethnic integration programme the Latvian government hopes to create favourable circumstances that will help people in maintaining their own 'ethnic language', and that will encourage them to learn Latvian instead of the process of "Russification" they have experienced hitherto. At present only a minority within the minority takes up the task to foster the minority language. It is questionable whether the limited use of Belorussian on Latvian public radio (half an hour per week), its use in some cultural organisations and the almost complete failure of Belorussian minority schools will soon succeed in reviving the Belorussian language. More coordinated efforts will have to be developed in the future in several societal niches to secure the situation of Belorussian in the future. A major obstacle to the maintenance of Belorussian seems to be that some interest groups are more in favour of further "Russification" or the maintenance of Belorussian culture without necessarily having to maintain the Belorussian language. They tend to counter the minority within the minority that is interested in the revitalisation of the Belorussian language. This poses identity problems within the minorities themselves that urgently need to be studied from a qualitative point of view focusing on language attitudes and language awareness.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

As a Slavic language Polish [język polski] is closely related to Kashubian with which it forms the Lechitic branch of West Slavonic. The 16<sup>th</sup> century is generally considered to be the 'golden age' of the Polish literary language. At that time the first Polish grammar of Stojenski-Statorius (*Polonicae grammatices institutio*, 1568) was written and dictionaries were composed. About 45 million people speak Polish. Most of them (around 37 million) live in Poland.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Poles have inhabited Latvian lands since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when they protected the inhabitants from the troops of the Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible. They mainly exerted cultural influence in the Riga, Vidzeme, Kurzeme and Latgale regions of the country. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were about 65,000 Poles in Latvia. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century most Poles resided in Riga (some 45,500). With the outbreak of World War I Polish cultural life in Latvia was paralysed. The Polish male population was forced to conscription and Polish workers were deported to remote Russian provinces. Only in the first Republic of Latvia did Polish cultural life start flourishing again. This period was halted by World War II, following which a period of "Russification", assimilation, repression and collectivisation started. In the years after World War II the number of Polish inhabitants in Latvia remained fairly constant. In 1959 about 52,800 Poles resided in Latvia. In 1989 their number had slightly increased to 60,400. The second period of Latvian independence starting in 1991 made it possible for the Poles to resume their cultural, social and political activities again.

1.2.2 Polish is spoken in Latvia above all in the cities of Daugavpils, Rīga, Kraslava, Rēzekne and Jelgava.

1.2.3 According to the 2004 Civil Data Register there currently are about 56,800 Poles in Latvia, making up approx. 2.5% of the population.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

According to the Latvian language law Polish is one of the 'foreign languages'. Only when translation into Latvian is ensured Polish can be used in state and local government institutions, courts and institutions constituting the judicial system, State or local government undertakings, and companies in which the greatest share of capital is owned by the State or a local government. Also employees of private institutions, organizations, undertakings (companies), and self-employed persons have to use the official language if they perform specific public functions and in record-keeping and documents if their activities affect the lawful interests of the public (public security, health, morality, health care, protection of consumer rights and employment rights, safety at the work place and public administration supervision).

Still, Art. 114 of the Latvian *Constitution* gives Poles the right to preserve and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity. Out of the 100 members of the *Saeima* there are 3 ethnic Poles.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

In the last ten years a network of Polish Sunday Schools has been created. In pre-primary education Polish is taught in a school in Riga and another in Daugavpils. In Latvia there are 5 Polish minority schools in basic education. There are three Polish secondary schools (in Riga, Daugavpils and Rēzekne). The implementation of Polish in education has received and still receives strong support from the state, regional and local government. Judging on figures from the Latvian Institute the number of pupils in Polish minority schools increased from 1,169 in the school year 1999/2000 to 1,272 in the school year 2000/2001. At university level Polish is taught at Riga and at the pedagogical university in Daugavpils.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on the use of languages in Latvian Courts is provided in 3.5. of the country profile on Latvia (⇒ Latvia). No detailed information is available on the specific situation of Polish.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

With the exception of some emergency situations (that lack any definition) the official language has to be used in communication with public authorities. Documents in Polish (and other foreign languages) can only be accepted when a notary-certified translation into the state language is attached. It is not clear to what extent Polish is used in oral communication with public authorities.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

No daily or weekly newspapers are published in Polish in Latvia. There is, however, one weekly newspaper “*Nasz Czas*” created in Vilnius (Lithuania) that is also read by Poles in Latvia. Two magazines are written in Polish in Latvia: “*Polak na Lotwie*” (Pole in Latvia) is published fortnightly by the Latvian Polish Society, has about 32 pages, is distributed to 650 persons and/or societies and is preparing a web edition; and the Daugavpils branch of the Latvian Polish Society publishes the local monthly magazine “*Słowo Polskie*” (the Polish word), that has about 4 pages. Public radio stations in Latvia do not broadcast entirely in Polish. They do offer part of their programmes in Polish: a 30-minute weekly Polish programme “*Nasz Głos*” (our voice) is broadcast by Radio 4, and is transmitted (like every other minority programme on Latvian Radio 4) at 2.15 p.m. In Daugavpils a local 30-minute Polish programme, “*Głos Młodych Polaków*” (Voice of the Polish Youth) is broadcast monthly by the private radio station *Alise Puls* for a fixed fee. Since no radio stations in Latvia offer Polish programmes on a daily basis, many people who can pick it up also listen to the first programme of Polish national radio.

Polish public television in Latvia does not exist. And no private television stations broadcast entirely in Polish. There is, however, a private television station (*Millions*) that twice a week broadcasts a popular 20 minutes Polish programme in the Daugavpils region (again for a fixed fee). Currently the Polish community is lobbying to start up a Polish programme for the whole of Latvia.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

The 'Latvian Polish Society', an institution that actively strives for the preservation of the Polish language and cultural identity, has thirteen regional branches. It supports theatres and choirs, and local branches participate in local festivals such as the festival of Polish culture in Pasiene and the festival of Polish folklore and light music in Riga.

## **2.6 The business world**

Polish does not play a significant role in Latvian business life and is as good as absent in advertisements.

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

According to provisional 2000 statistics about 19% of persons belonging to the Polish minority have Polish as their mother tongue, 58% have Russian, 20% have Latvian and 3% have another language. Latvian Polish Society research, however, has shown that about 40,000 of the ethnic Poles have a certain knowledge of Polish. According to this society about 1/3 of the Latvian Poles use Polish in communication with their offspring. The number has increased since 1989 when Polish started to be used more overtly in cultural societies, school and the press in Latvia. Although a certain cultural dynamic can be witnessed in the Latvian Polish community since 1989 the situation of Polish remains far from bright. Mainly interested in the maintenance, vitality and the future of Polish within Latvia is an enthusiastic minority within the minority that stresses the importance of Polish in education.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

There is an agreement between Latvia and Poland on cooperation in culture, education and science (July 1, 1992).

## **3. Conclusion**

Together with Ukrainians and Belarusians the Poles belong to the smaller Latvian minorities. They constitute approx. 2.2% of the population. The Poles in Latvia display a heterogeneous linguistic behaviour. Over half of the Poles (approx. 58%) have Russian as their first language (mother tongue), a smaller part (19%) claims the 'ethnic language' to be their first language and yet another part (20%) claims Latvian to be their first language. Most of the persons who don't have Russian as their first language possess Russian language skills. Despite efforts of the Latvian government in stimulating activities that are meant to encourage Polish/Latvian bilingualism, the number of persons having knowledge of Latvian among the Poles

is only growing slowly. With the ethnic integration programme the Latvian government hopes to create favourable circumstances that will help people in maintaining their own 'ethnic language', and that will encourage them to learn Latvian instead of the process of "Russification" they have experienced hitherto. At present only a minority within the minority takes up the task to foster the minority language. Polish is used on radio and television, in written press and in some cultural organisations. Polish parents start sending their children to Polish minority schools but the number of pupils attending these minority schools in general remains rather small. A major obstacle to the revitalization of Polish is the existence of interest groups who are more in favour of further Russification or the maintenance of Polish culture without necessarily having to maintain the Polish language. They tend to counter the minority within the minority that is interested in the revitalization of the Polish language. This poses identity problems within the minorities themselves that urgently need to be studied from a qualitative point of view focusing on language attitudes and language awareness.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Russian [*ruskij jazyk*] is a Slavonic language closely related to Belorussian and Ukrainian with which it forms the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European. Owing a great deal to efforts of the polymath Lomonosov and his *Russian Grammar* (1755) modern standard Russian was established by the time of Pushkin (1799-1837). Today's Russian speech community is multiethnic and dispersed over many states. It is estimated that about 233 million people speak Russian (approximately 164 million as a first language and 69 million as a second language). About 119 million people in the Russian Federation use Russian as a first language and 27.1 million use it as a second language.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 According to Russian and Latvian chronicles the earliest Russian merchants came to Latvia in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century. The first major wave of Russians, however, entered Latvia after the Great Northern War (1700-1721) when today's Latvian territory became part of the Romanov Empire of Tsar Peter the Great (Treaty of Nystad 1721). Around 1880 the centralisation of the Romanov Empire led to powerful Russification, backed up by the resources of the tsarist authorities. Russian was used in municipal institutions, in the courts and by the police, and was made compulsory in elementary education. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Russians had become the second biggest nationality in Latvia (behind the Latvians). During the time of the first Latvian Republic that was founded after the implosion of the Romanov Empire and World War I the number of Russians was estimated at 91,000 (according to the 1920 Latvian census). According to 1935 figures they amounted to approximately 170,000 (around 9% of the total population). This number further grew after World War II when Latvia became part of the USSR and a second major wave of Russians moved to Latvia where they worked as members of the Communist party, army personnel or temporary blue and white collar workers. In 1989 there were about 902,000 Russians in Latvia. They made up approximately 35% of the total population. After the collapse of the USSR and the foundation of the second independent Republic of Latvia a considerable number of Russians moved back to their homeland. The Russian minority is still the biggest minority in Latvia (⇒ 1.2.3.).

1.2.2 About 50% of the total number of Russians live in Latvia's biggest cities: Russians make up around 43% of the population in Riga, around 55% in Daugavpils, around 32% in Jelgava, around 37% in Jūrmala, around 35% in Liepāja, around 50% in Rēzekne and approx. 32% in Ventspils. The other Russians live spread all over the country: some 30% live in small cities (10-50,000 inhabitants), some 15% in semi-urbanised areas (population between 1,000 and 10,000 inhabitants) and some 5% in rural areas (villages under 1,000 inhabitants).

1.2.3 According to 2004 data from the Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs around 665,000, that is, about 29% of the total population, are ethnic Russians.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

In view of the Latvian language law Russian is one of the ‘foreign’ languages. Only when translation into Latvian is ensured Russian can be used in state and local government institutions, courts and institutions constituting the judicial system, State or local government undertakings, and companies in which the greatest share of capital is owned by the State or a local authority. In addition, employees of private institutions, organisations, enterprises (companies), and self-employed persons have to use the official language if they perform specific public functions and in record-keeping and documents if their activities affect the lawful interests of the public (public security, health, morality, health care, protection of consumer rights and employment rights, safety at the work place and public administration supervision). Still, Art. 114 of the Latvian Constitution gives Russians the right to preserve and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity. Nine of the 100 members of the *Saeima* (Parliament) are ethnic Russians.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

During Soviet rule the languages of education were Latvian and Russian. Russian was an obligatory subject in Latvian schools, but Latvian was not compulsory in Russian schools. Following Latvian independence minority schools were renewed and links were made to the first period of Latvian independence in which minority languages in schools were allowed. Nowadays in Latvia about 300 (33.3%) general education schools use Russian as a medium of instruction. Russian is taught both in primary and secondary levels. In many ways the Russian schools are not typical national minority schools, for not only Russians but also Belorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Jews and others attend these schools. The number of pupils attending Russian schools is, however, decreasing. While in the school year 1995/96 39% of pupils attended Russian schools, their number decreased to 33% in 1999/2000 and to 24% in 2002/2003. A reason for this is that the number of pupils in other (non-Russian) minority schools is increasing and that parents (especially those in mixed families) have begun to send their children to Latvian-medium schools. It is not clear what influence the initiative of the Latvian government to transform all Russian schools into bilingual schools (⇒ 3.3.2.) has had on the decrease of pupils attending Russian schools. In any case the 2004 introduction of the 60/40 norm in secondary education as well as the 2004 amendments to the Education Law (⇒ 3.3.) have aroused criticism. In 2003 a campaign was launched by the Union of Political Organisations “For Human Rights in United Latvia” against the so-called education reform. It was supported by the Association of Russian Language Teachers, and the Latvian Association for Support of Schools with Russian Language of Instruction (LASHOR) also campaigned against bilingual education in Russian schools. The Latvian Ministry of Education and Science organises regular training sessions for Russian language teachers. Study visits to Russia are also widespread. Russian language teachers are trained at the University of Latvia’s Faculty of Philology (Department of Slavic languages) and at Daugavpils University’s Faculty of Humanities.

## 2.2 Judicial authorities

General information on the use of languages in Latvian Courts is provided in 3.5. of the Latvia country profile. No detailed information is available on the specific situation of Russian.

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

With the exception of some emergency situations (that lack any definition) the official language has to be used in communication with public authorities. Documents in Russian (and other foreign languages) can only be accepted when a notary-certified translation into the state language is attached. The high proportion of Russian-speakers in Latvia and the fact that most Latvians know Russian both explain why Russian is used in oral communication with public authorities.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 In Latvia 5 national daily newspapers are 100% in Russian: *Chas*, *Vestji Segodnja*, *Komersant Baltik*, *Telegraf*, and *Bizness & Baltija*. There are about 30 regional newspapers in Russian. The number of titles has increased over the last years and it seems that there is a strong competition going on between Russian papers printed in Latvia and papers printed in Russia. About 30 weekly or monthly journals in Russian are printed in Latvia. Among periodicals (all 100% in Russian) are *Ljublju*, *Lilit*, and *Eva*. Here too the number of periodicals is increasing and there is a form of competition with titles printed in Russia. Hundreds of books are published in Latvia in Russian on all sorts of topics and books printed in Russia are widely available. Russian versions of Latvian websites are available on the internet (3 out of 4 biggest internet portals have Russian versions). Numerous homepages are available in Russian.
- 2.4.2 The second National Latvian Radio channel transmits up to 20% of its programmes in Russian. More important is that 34 private-owned radio channels and 3 regional broadcasting companies broadcast 24 hours a day, 7 days a week up to 90% in Russian.
- 2.4.3 The second National TV channel broadcasts up to 40% in Russian. 4 privately - owned TV channels broadcast 20-50% in Russian and 5 regional broadcasting companies 10-80% in Russian. Russians living in Latvia have wide access to numerous cable TV programmes from Russia and several Latvian channels broadcast some movies and transmissions in Russian or at least provide Russian subtitles. Many cinemas offer subtitles in Russian too so as to attract a wider audience. Initially the Latvian Parliament tried to put a halt to the extensive use of the Russian language on Latvian radio and television with the provision of quotas in the Law on Radio and Television. Due to a decision of the Constitutional Court (2002) the quotas for broadcasting in languages other than Latvian were eliminated.
- 2.4.4 A characteristic of the Latvian media landscape is the existence of a double information space within Latvia: one Latvian and one Russian. The intermediate stratum of people who participate in both information spaces (people who read the press in both languages or get their information about Latvian politics from both Latvian and Russian sources) is said to be very small. And since diverging views on an issue (language use in this case) do not exist within one media group, one is

always confronted either with a 'Latvian' or a 'Russian' opinion. The existence of a double information space is regarded as a major obstacle to Russian-Latvian conflict prevention.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

Russians are culturally well organised. There are about 10 Russian culture festivals per year (in Riga, Daugavpils, Ventspils) with a lot of performances and visits by artists from Russia. There are about 200 Russian cultural heritage associations having close contacts with Russian schools. Russian cultural activities, like those organised by Belarusians, Poles, Ukrainians etc., are supported through the 'ethnic integration programme' of the Latvian Society Integration Foundation.

## **2.6 The business world**

Unlike other minority languages in Latvia, Russian plays a role on the job market, especially in privately-owned businesses, of which about 70% are said to function in Russian. Not surprisingly, Russian language skills are mentioned in job advertisements as prerequisites to obtain a job. Russian is also used in commercial advertisements, not only in the street but in the press, on radio, and on television as well.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of language**

The intergenerational transmission of Russian functions extremely well, so that mother tongue retention rates are high. A study conducted by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2003) shows that 99% of the sample having Russian nationality have Russian as their native language. The same study showed that the number of people whose native language is Russian and who 'mostly' use Latvian has increased slowly and gradually (from 9% in 1996 to 26% at the end of 2002). In general it can be observed that the use of Latvian has been increasing in formal environments (at work), while in informal environments the usage of Russian has increased. In the wake of Latvia's independence, organisations were established that actively strive for the preservation of the Russian language and cultural identity. The Russian Community of Latvia (ROL) is one of the most ambitious ones. It was founded in 1991 and attempted to create a broad Russian front. Initially ROL managed to bring together leaders from different Russian organisations. Internal quarrels, however, tore the organisation apart and local branches declared their independence. Now ROL is only one of several organisations. Next to it there are organisations such as the Latvian Association of Russian Societies (LARO) established in 1995, and the somewhat later established Centre of Russian Culture in Latvia and the Russian Cultural Autonomy Association. None of these organisations represent the entire Russian-speaking population of Latvia.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

There are no special agreements regarding the situation of the Russians in Latvia.

### **3. Conclusion**

More than ten years after Latvian independence Russians still are the biggest minority within Latvian society. Russians constitute approx. 29% of the Latvian population. With more than 95% of the Russians having Russian as their mother tongue it is clear that the intergenerational transmission of the language functions very well. The former 'language of interethnic communication' has not only consolidated its position in the private sphere. Russian still plays a prominent role in the Latvian economy, is present in all the media and is used as a means of communication in numerous vital cultural organisations. These circumstances ascertain Russian-speakers a high degree of self-sufficiency in their own language and prevent them from perceiving themselves to be members of a minority. Russians, who numerically outnumber Latvians in the biggest Latvian cities, feel more like members of a majority. The Russian community in Latvia is a constant worry for Latvian language planners, not only because most of them have not learned the national language of Latvia, but also because members of other minorities (Belarusians, Ukrainians and Poles) reinforce the already strong Russian community since they have a better knowledge of Russian than they have of their own language and/or Latvian. In recent times the Latvian government has taken measures to reduce the hours devoted to Russian in Russian minority schools. It remains to be seen whether these measures will influence the strong position of Russian within Latvian society.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is an East Slavonic language that is closely related to Russian and Belorussian with which it forms the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European. On the basis of the south-western dialects of medieval East Slavonic Ukrainian developed as a separate language in the course of the 14th century. As a written language Ukrainian was only developed by the end of the 18th century. The number of Ukrainian speakers today amounts to approx. 45 million worldwide. Most of them live in Ukraine (around 37.4 million, or 70.5% of the country's population).

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

- 1.2.1 Ukrainians mainly entered Latvia after World War II and especially after 1959 as part of the labour force used to carry out large construction projects or as part of the Soviet army. The number of Ukrainians rose from 0.1% (around 1,800 persons) of the total population in 1935 to 3.5% (around 92,100) of the total population in 1989. Following Latvian independence part of the Latvian Ukrainian population moved back to Ukraine where they mainly settled in towns.
- 1.2.2 The Ukrainians in Latvia mainly live in urban areas. About 80% of Ukrainians live in Liepāja, Daugavpils and Rīga, where the standard of living is higher than in the rest of the country.
- 1.2.3 According to 2004 data from the Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs approximately 59,400 Ukrainian persons (some 2.6% of the total population) currently live in Latvia.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

According to the Latvian language law Ukrainian is one of the 'foreign languages'. Only when translation into Latvian is ensured Ukrainian can be used in state and local government institutions, courts and institutions constituting the judicial system, State or local government undertakings, and companies in which the greatest share of capital is owned by the State or a local government. Employees of private institutions, organizations, companies, and self-employed persons also have to use the official language if they perform specific public functions and in record-keeping and documents if their activities affect the lawful interests of the public (public security, health, morality, health care, protection of consumer rights and employment rights, safety at the work place and public administration supervision). Still, Art. 114 of the Latvian *Constitution* grants Ukrainians the right to preserve and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

Judging on figures from the Latvian Institute about 256 pupils (some 0.07% of all Latvian pupils) attended a Ukrainian minority school in the school year 1999/2000. The figure slightly increased to 302 in the school year 2000/2001 (some 0.09% of all Latvian pupils). A significant number of Ukrainian pupils still attend Russian schools in Latvia, but their number is expected to diminish mainly due to the efforts of the Riga Ukrainian High School that is considered to be the main cultural force of Ukrainian culture and language reproduction. This school developed out of the Ukrainian Primary School established in 1991 in Riga. The *Riga Ukrainian High School* nowadays has about 300 students, is fully state-sponsored, seems to enjoy high social prestige and actively participates in cultural events such as the Riga Song festival. Its director is a member of the State Language Commission established by the President of Latvia. Apart from the Riga Ukrainian High School there are a number of Ukrainian Sunday schools, the first of which was established in the autumn of 1989. It is not clear exactly how many pupils attend Ukrainian Sunday Schools.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on the use of languages in Latvian Courts is provided in 3.5. of the country profile on Latvia. No detailed information is available on the specific situation of Ukrainian.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

With the exception of some emergency situations (that lack any definition) the official language has to be used in communication with public authorities. Documents in Ukrainian (and other foreign languages) can only be accepted when a notary-certified translation into the state language is attached. It is not clear to what extent Ukrainian is used in oral communication with public authorities.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There is no daily Ukrainian newspaper, only a periodical of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Society. Few Ukrainians in Latvia have their own Ukrainian websites. Cultural reproduction through other media also is very low. Ukrainian radio in Latvia is limited to a 30-minute weekly programme on the (state-financed) public radio. There is no use of Ukrainian on Latvian television.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

Cultural reproduction in the more traditional sphere (through cultural organisations, choirs etc.) is one of the aims of the Ukrainian National Cultural Society *Dnipro*, that organises various parties and concerts of Ukrainian songs, and of the Ukrainian society *Ukraine – Latvia* which organises conferences, and Ukrainian choirs.

## **2.6 The business world**

Ukrainian does not play a significant role in Latvian business life and is as good as absent in advertisements.

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

According to provisional statistical figures from 2000, in Latvia about 17.000 Ukrainians (27% of the total number) declare Ukrainian to be their mother tongue. These people use Ukrainian on a daily basis. 4% of Ukrainians declare Latvian to be their mother tongue, and 68% declare Russian to be their mother tongue (whereas 96% has knowledge of Russian). On the one hand this high percentage is due to the “Russification” campaign during the Soviet period which contributed significantly to the reduction of mother tongue retention rates and loss of identity among Ukrainians. But on the other hand it needs to be stressed that the number of Ukrainians declaring Russian as their mother tongue (L1) in 1989 was ‘only’ 49.3% and has thus increased by more than 15% since Latvian independence. Although more qualitative research would need to be done in this field, this increase in Russian as a mother tongue could be linked to Ukrainians identifying themselves more overtly as Russians within the new Latvian state-political constellation. Since Ukrainians seem to adhere more to Russian than to their own language (which shows a high degree of mutual intelligibility with Russian and Belorussian) it comes as no surprise that intergenerational language transmission of Ukrainian is limited to a motivated cultural minority.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

There is an agreement between Latvia and Ukraine on cooperation in culture, education and science (21 November 1995).

## **3. Conclusion**

Together with Poles and Belarusians the Ukrainians belong to the smaller Latvian minorities. They constitute approx. 2.6% of the population. The Ukrainians in Latvia display a heterogeneous linguistic behaviour. A major part of the Ukrainians (approximately 68%) have Russian as their first language (mother tongue), a smaller part (27%) claims the ‘ethnic language’ to be their first language and yet another part (4%) claims Latvian to be their first language. Most of the persons who don’t have Russian as their first language possess Russian language skills. Despite efforts of the Latvian government in stimulating activities that are meant to encourage Ukrainian/Latvian bilingualism the number of persons having knowledge of Latvian among the Ukrainians is only growing slowly. With the ethnic integration programme the Latvian government hopes to create favourable circumstances that will help people in maintaining their own ‘ethnic language’, and that will encourage them to learn Latvian instead of the process of “Russification” they have experienced hitherto. At present only a minority within the minority takes up the task to foster the minority language. It is questionable whether the limited use of Ukrainian on Latvian public radio (half an hour per week), its use in some cultural organisations and the very limited success of Ukrainian minority schools will help to revive the Ukrainian language. More coordinated efforts will have to be developed in the future in several societal niches to secure the situation

of Ukrainian in the future. A major obstacle to the revitalisation of Ukrainian is the existence of interest groups who are in favour of further “Russification” or the maintenance of Ukrainian culture without necessarily having to maintain the Ukrainian language. They tend to counter those who are interested in the revitalization of Ukrainian. This poses identity problems within the Ukrainian minority that urgently need to be studied from a qualitative point of view focusing on language attitudes and language awareness.

### 1. German

- 1.1 German [*Deutsch*] is an Indo-European language that belongs to the group of Germanic languages. Belonging to the West-Germanic subgroup of Germanic languages it is closely related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. German is spoken by approximately 101 million people worldwide as a first or second language. It is spoken by roughly 81.5 million people in Germany, approximately 7.6 million in Austria, around 4.2 million in Switzerland.
- 1.2 The Germans in Latvia have some historical significance. German crusaders entered Latvia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, conquered and christianised the pagan Baltic and Finno-Ugric tribes and reduced them to serfdom. In 1282 Riga joined the Hanseatic League. The years under German rule were characterised by the development of ports, cities and agriculture. As a consequence of German rule the German language started to play an essential role in society and quickly became an important instrument in the process of upward social mobility. When Latvia became part of the Romanov Empire (*Treaty of Nystad* 1721) few changes took place in the internal structure of Latvia. The administrative and military skills of the German landowning nobility (still dominating the serfs) were highly esteemed, and German kept its high status and continued to function as the major channel of upward social mobility. With the emancipation of the serfs at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the changing political relations between the now firmly established czarist authorities and the German nobility, the attitude towards the German language started to change. Around 1880 the centralisation of the Romanov Empire led to powerful “Russification” backed up by the resources of the czarist authorities. German was replaced by Russian in municipal institutions, justice and the police. Russian was made compulsory in elementary education and became the language of instruction for all subjects except religion. With the outbreak of World War I many Germans were forced to leave Latvia. In the years following World War I Germans managed to play a minor political role in the Latvian Republic but their numbers continuously declined. In 1925 there were about 71,000 Germans in Latvia, while in 1935 there were only 62,000. Then shortly before and during World War II more than 51,000 Germans left Latvia. When around 10,000 more Germans left when Latvia was incorporated into the USSR only about 1,500 Baltic Germans remained on Latvian territory
- 1.3 According to the 2004 Civil Data Register the number of Germans in Latvia is about 3,300 (approx. 0.2% of the total population), but this number has to be treated with caution, for only some 400 to 500 of them are Baltic Germans, most of whom have mixed Latvian-German marriages, were willing to express their allegiance to the German cultural sphere and are active in several German-Latvian cultural organisations. The others consist of Russian Germans (Volga Germans) who formed the organisation *Wiedergeburt in Lettland* and turned Latvia into their home.

### 2. Latgalian

- 2.1 Latgalian [*latgalu volūda*] belongs to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European languages. The Latgalian used in Latvia originally was closely related to Lithuanian with which it shared phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic features. Due to

lexical and syntactic borrowings it has recently become more similar to Latvian and Russian.

- 2.2. The history of Latgalian goes back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It has a literary tradition since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1919 it was declared the official language of Latgale; in the first parliamentary era in Latvia (1920-1934) it lost its status as an official language and was considered a dialect of Latvian by the government. It was, however, taught in schools until 1934 when the dictatorship of Karlis Ulmans started (1934-1940). During and after World War II Latgalians started to assimilate to Latvian more strongly than before. Whereas in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there used to be half a million speakers of Latgalian, today approx. 150,000 people speak Latgalian as a mother tongue. Most of them live in Latgale, the eastern part of Latvia. About 10 books are published in Latgalian every year. On Thursdays from 2:15 p.m. to 2:45 p.m. a programme (*Doma Laukums*) is broadcast on Latvian Radio 4. After a period of nearly ten years Latvian television stopped broadcasting programmes in Latgalian in 2000. The website of the Latgalians' online magazine, *Graidi*, on Latgalian culture, [www.graidi.lv](http://www.graidi.lv), is not currently active. Latgalian is not taught at schools. In 2001 an Association of Latgalian language and literature teachers has been established that aims at obtaining support from the Latvian government to teach Latgalian in Latgale. A problem, however, seems to be the lack of funding possibilities.
- 2.3. In present-day Latvia a debate is going on between linguists, politicians and cultural activists on the current status of Latgalian. The Law on the State Language that came into effect on 1 September 2000 ensures the maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as a historic variant of the Latvian language (Art. 3,4). Some cultural activists and linguists agree with this law, others argue that Latgalian should not be considered a variety of Latvian but a separate language.

### **3. Lithuanian**

- 3.1 Lithuanian [*lietuvių kalba*] is an Indo-European language. Together with Latvian it belongs to the eastern branch of the Baltic languages. In the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Lithuanian evolved away from East Baltic and became a separate language, showing more conservative traits than the neighbouring Latvian language. Lithuanian has continued to preserve its ancient phonetic system and most of its morphological features. The development of written Lithuanian dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. About 3.5 million people speak Lithuanian. Most of these people live in Lithuania (approximately 3 million or 81% of the country's population).
- 3.2 Lithuanians mainly migrated to Latvia in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, towards the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the early days of the first Republic of Latvia and after World War II. Nowadays the number of Lithuanians in Latvia amounts to approx. 31,800 people (or approximately 1.4% of the total Latvian population). More than half of them reside in cities and towns.
- 3.3 One of the major Lithuanian organisations is the *Latvian Lithuanian Community* (LLC, founded in 1991) that unites six existing Lithuanian cultural societies. The LLC represents the Lithuanians through societies in Kurzeme, Vidzeme, Zemgale and Latgale. The LLC is responsible for the establishment of 6 Sunday schools. Besides Sunday schools Lithuanian classes have been established in Liepāja Secondary school and in the Riga Lithuanian Basic school. Judging by figures from the Latvian Institute there were 111 pupils in Lithuanian minority schools

(approximately 0.03% of the total number of pupils) in 1999/2000 and 132 (around 0.04%) in 2000/2001. The LLC restarted publishing the newspaper *Lietuviu balsas* (The Voice of Lithuania), initially published between the two World Wars. The LLC also organises a radio broadcast on Latvian radio.

#### **4. Livonian**

- 4.1 Livonian [*Līvo kēl*] is a Finno-Ugric language that together with Estonian and Wotic constitutes the south-western branch of the Finno-Ugric languages. There used to be two regional variants: the Livonian spoken in Livonia and the Livonian spoken in Courland, but only the latter remains.
- 4.2 The Finno-Ugric Livonians (who refer to themselves as *raandalists*, "coast dwellers", or *kalamied*, "fishermen") populated the shores of the Gulf of Riga around 3000 BC. Settled close to the river Vāina the Livonians managed to establish close trading contacts with Gotland (Ojamaa), Kievan Rus and Finland by the Early Middle Ages. After the arrival of German merchants in Livonia, Bishop Albert von Buxhöveden founded the city of Riga on Livonian territory in 1201. A year later he founded the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, a military order composed of German warrior monks. This order defeated the Livonians in 1206. The Livonians were now forced to join the German monks in following military campaigns. Under the rule of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword Livonia became a confederation of lands that finally became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the "Livonian War" (1558-1583).
- 4.3. The "latvianisation" of the Livonians started in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century when the Indo-European Balts (Couronians, Semgallians, Latgalians and Selonians) settled in the Livonian areas. With the exception of those people living in remote areas Livonians gradually started to assimilate to Latvian over the centuries. It is hard to give estimates on the number of Livonians in the Middle Ages. The first reliable data go back to 1835 when the number of Livonians was estimated at 2,074. Following World War I, during which a significant number of Livonians left Latvia, the number of Livonians dropped to 1,238 persons (1925 Latvian census). In the 1920s attempts were made to revive the Livonian language. The Republic of Latvia allowed the creation of a Livonian Society, the organisation of a Livonian song festival and other cultural initiatives. World War II and the ethnic suppression under the Soviet Regime, however, erased the interwar efforts. Of the approximately 200 people that nowadays consider themselves to be ethnic Livonians, 111 (around 55%) live in Latvia, mostly in villages in the area of the Couronian Spit. Some of them live in cities like Riga and Ventspils. About 90 Livonians live scattered in cities of the Russian Federation. Of the total number of Livonians mentioned only about 100 people have knowledge of the Livonian language. Livonian is recognised as an autochthonous Latvian language in Art. 4 of the Law on the State Language that came into effect on 1 September 2000. Less than 20 people speak Livonian fluently.

#### **5. Yiddish**

- 5.1 Yiddish arose in the middle ages as a trading language of Jews, with urban varieties of Middle High German as the dominant component and influences from Semitic and Slavonic languages. It is written in the Hebrew alphabet.

- 5.2 The first written reference to Jews on Latvian territory dates back to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. It took, however, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century before Jews were allowed to participate fully in public life. In the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century many Jews started to arrive in Couronia from Germany. The role of the Jewish community was enhanced in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when manufacturing and a market economy began to develop in Latvia. At that time the Jews acted as chief intermediaries between the city and the farmers by supplying the farmers with necessary goods. Jews from Lithuania, Belarus, Poland and Ukraine moved to Latvia, so that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century about 142,000 Jews were living in Latvia. Their number grew to 170,000 before World War I. World War I led to a decline of Jewish life in Latvia. Some 127,000 Jews left Latvia during the war and only one third of them was to return after the war. Nevertheless the Jewish community managed to restore their political, social, cultural and economic life for a short time in the mid 1930s in the first Republic of Latvia. But World War II erased their inter war efforts. Only because many Jews from the USSR found their way to the less anti-semitic Baltic countries after World War II did the number of Jews in Latvia increase to 36,000 in 1970. During the Communist era in Latvia Jews were forbidden to restore their schools or to conduct cultural events in their home language. A change occurred when Latvia regained its independence.
- 5.3 After Latvia's independence some Jews migrated to Israel, others to Western countries. According to the 2004 Civil Data Register about 9,800 Jews (or 0.4% of the Latvian population) live in Latvia. Some 6,000 Jews are said to be active in organisations or associations. These include among others the Riga Jewish Community, Latvia's War Veterans' Association, the Charitable Association Vizo-Rahamin, the Jewish medical society *Bikur Holim*, the sports society *Makkabi*, and Latvia's Jewish Youth Association. The Jewish Community publishes its own monthly newspaper called *Gesharim* (Bridges). Two of the 100 MPs in the *Saeima* are ethnic Jews. There are two Jewish day schools in Riga: the Dubnov school (a secular day school) and Chabad's Jewish Private School. Judging on figures from the Latvian Institute there were 303 pupils in Jewish minority schools (0.08% of the total number of pupils) in 1999/2000 and 326 (0.09%) in 2000/2001. It is not clear to what extent Yiddish or Hebrew are used in education. Nor is it clear to what extent the Latvian Jews use Yiddish or Hebrew in their daily lives. The use of Yiddish or Hebrew is likely to be very limited since the year 2000 census results show that 79% of the Latvian Jews have Russian as their mother tongue. This is possibly due to the fact that a considerable part of today's Latvian Jews originate from the former Soviet Union. Only 8% of the Latvian Jews declare that their mother tongue is the language corresponding to their ethnicity. 9% of the Latvian Jews declare Latvian to be their mother tongue.

## 6. Romani

Like Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali Romani [*Romanes*], or Romani, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language that belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The language retains much of the Indic morphology, phonology and lexicon, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by contact with other languages. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (8th century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups. Nowadays we can distinguish five main groups (each with different sub varieties) that result from the contact of Romani with regional languages: northern Romani (best represented by the *chaladytka roma*, the Russian Roma), central Romani (best represented by the group of the Hungarian and Slovakian Roma, the *ungriike roma*), vlach Roma (best represented by the Kalderaš-Romani), balkan

Romani (best represented by the dialects in Macedonia). According to the 2000 census there were 8,205 Roma in Latvia. In Latvia's Joint Inclusion Memorandum of 2003 officials estimate the number of Roma in Latvia to be between 13,000 and 15,000, whereas Latvian Roma leaders estimate the number of Roma in Latvia to be between 15,000 and 20,000. The Latvian Roma mainly live in cities like Ventspils, Talsi, Sabile and others in which they constitute approximately 5% of the population. Latvia faces difficulties in integrating the Roma into Latvian society. It is not clear to what extent the Roma have succeeded in maintaining their language.

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## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Lithuania [*Lietuva*] (LT) is the most southerly of the three Baltic States. Its territory covers little more than 65,000 km<sup>2</sup> of which a considerable part is woodland (30%). Most of Lithuania's population (67% of its 3.4 million inhabitants) resides in urban areas; 33% of the population live in the country. The five major cities are Vilnius (the capital), Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai and Panevėžys.



- 1.2 Lithuania is a parliamentary republic headed by a president who is directly elected for a period of five years. The unicameral Lithuanian parliament (the *Seimas*) consists of 141 members. They are elected for four years. Lithuania is divided into 10 higher administrative units that are part of the State government (the counties Alytus, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Marijampolė, Panevėžys, Šiauliai, Tauragė, Telšiai, Utena and Vilnius) and 60 lower-level administrative units (or municipalities). One of the major tasks of the counties is to promote regional development. In recent years Lithuania has had a yearly average economic growth of 6%. The average standard of living in Lithuania is roughly 30% of the EU average and the average gross monthly salary is 1,222 Litass (354 EUR). One of the major problems in Lithuania is unemployment: although it is gradually decreasing in cities, it remains rather high in the country (approximately 12.4% in 2003 (data provided by the Ministry of Social Security and Labour).

## **2. General aspects**

- 2.1 Lithuania's history dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC when Baltic tribes settled on present-day Lithuanian territory. Although the name Lithuania already appeared in written sources in 1009 AD, the emergence of the Lithuanian state dates back to 1240. At that time Grand Duke Mindaugas successfully led a rebellion against the German crusaders who were starting to settle in the Baltic regions and whose main goal it was to christianise the pagans. Because the Catholic Church denied political existence to pagan tribes Mindaugas accepted baptism and thus achieved peace. He received the title of King of the Holy Roman Empire on 6 June 1253. According to some historians the crowning of Mindaugas in 1253 can be seen as the starting date of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that was to last until 1795. After the death of Mindaugas, Lithuania extended its territory from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea under Grand Dukes Algirdas and Kęstutis (1345-1377). Because of a worsening of general geopolitical circumstances Lithuania made an alliance with Poland in 1385 (Treaty of Krėva) and adopted Christianity a second time in 1387 to put a halt to ongoing attacks from the German crusaders. The bond with Poland was tightened in the late 15th century and in 1569 Poland and Lithuania united in a confederate state in Lublin. In the parliament of the Republic of Two Nations, the *Seimas*, Lithuania held one third of the seats. Lithuania experienced a flourishing of intellectual life. With the arrival of Jesuits a network of schools was created and Vilnius University was founded in 1579. Towards the 17th century the Republic of the Two Nations started feeling the consequences of the expansionist politics of the Swedes, the Russians, the Prussians and the Austrians. In 1772 Russia, Prussia and Austria partitioned Lithuania for a first time. In 1793 Lithuanian territory was reduced for the second time by Russia and Prussia. And in 1795 the Polish-Lithuanian state ceased to exist when Prussia, Russia and Austria divided it a third time. The greater part of Lithuania went to the Russian Empire. Lithuania only recovered its independence at the end of World War I. This did not last for long, though, since the Polish army annexed Vilnius and the territory surrounding it in 1920. In 1939 the Soviet Union helped to return Vilnius and part of its surrounding territory to Lithuania while the Germans annexed Klaipėda (Memel). In the same year the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact marked the end of the independent Lithuanian state. Annexation by the Soviet Union in 1939 was followed by German occupation from 1941 to 1944 and Soviet rule from 1944 until 1990. On 11 March 1990 Lithuania declared its independence.
- 2.2 Since its independence Lithuania has started a period of social and economic transition. On 17 September 1991 Lithuania joined the UN. Russian troops were finally withdrawn from Lithuanian territory on 31 August 1993. In March 2004 Lithuania joined NATO. On 1 May 2004 it became a full member of the EU.

## **3 Demographic data**

- 3.1 According to the population census of 2001 some 115 nationalities, also referred to as ethnicities in Lithuanian governmental discourse, are living in Lithuania. Apart from 83.5% Lithuanians who have a clear majority there are 6.7% Poles, 6.3% Russians, 1.2% Belarussians, 0.7% Ukrainians, 0.1% Jews and some other minorities such as Tatars, Karaims, Germans and Roma. The following table compares the figures for nationality/ethnicity from the 1989 census with those of the 2001 census.

**Table 1: Nationalities/Ethnicities in Lithuania (the 1989 and the 2001 census)**

	1989		2001	
Total	3,674,802	100%	3,483,972	100%
Lithuanians	2,925,142	79.6%	2,907,293	83.45%
Poles	257,994	7.0%	234,989	6.74%
Russians	344,455	9.4%	219,789	6.31%
Belarussians	63,169	1.7%	42,866	1.23%
Ukrainians	44,789	1.2%	22,488	0.65%
Jews	12,314	0.3%	4,007	0.12%
Other/unknown	26,939	0.8	39,059	1.12%

The figures show that compared to 1989 the percentage of Lithuanians has increased in 2001 whereas the percentage of Poles, Russians, Belarussians, Ukrainians and Jews has decreased. Mainly Russians, Belarussians and Ukrainians, who had settled in Lithuania as temporary workers after World War II, moved back to their homelands after Lithuanian independence. Between 1990 and 2000 more than 270,000 people emigrated mainly because of industrial decline and lack of employment. Now the situation appears relatively stable. Still, mainly due to considerable emigration in the 1990s, the parliament recently revised the law on citizenship.

- 3.2 In its 1989 Law on Citizenship [*Pilietybės įstatymas*] Lithuania opted for a so-called ‘zero version’. This means that any non-Lithuanian, irrespective of the duration of his or her stay in Lithuania, was granted Lithuanian citizenship. Subsequently, a majority of the population (including 90% of all the residents of different nationality) became Lithuanian citizens. In 1991 the Law on Citizenship was tightened. From 1991 onwards applicants for naturalisation must have resided ten years in the country. Furthermore they must have permanent employment (or another legal source of support) and they must pass an exam testing their knowledge of the Lithuanian language and the Lithuanian Constitution. This mainly caused problems for the Roma ( $\Rightarrow$  Other languages in Lithuania). According to the 2001 census 99% of the people living in Lithuania are Lithuanian citizens, 0.4% are citizens of the Russian Federation, 0.2% are citizens of other countries, 0.3% have no citizenship and 0.1% did not indicate their citizenship. Until 2002 Lithuanian citizens automatically lost their citizenship once they became citizens of another country. But in the 1990s there was considerable emigration and it was thought that such a provision would practically prevent them from returning to Lithuania. The Law on Citizenship was therefore changed in 2002. Lithuanian citizens are now allowed to retain Lithuanian citizenship even after acquiring the citizenship of another country.
- 3.3 Scientific research in the 1990s has shown that about 80% of the Lithuanian population consider Lithuanian [*lietuvių kalbà*] to be their native language (mother tongue). Judging by the number of native speakers Russian [*rùsų kalbà*] is the second language in Lithuania. Approx. 96% of the Russians, about half of the Ukrainians, Belarussians and Germans, nearly one third of the Jews and Poles, and smaller percentages of other minorities declare Russian to be their mother tongue.

## 4. Language Policy

- 4.1 Art. 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania [*Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija*] (1988, ratified in 1992) declares Lithuanian to be the state language. Apart from this, the status of Lithuanian is secured by the Law on the State Language [*Valstybinės kalbos įstatymas*] (1995). As can be derived from Art. 37 of the Constitution and Art. 1 of the 1989 Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities [*Tautinių mažumų įstatymas*] the national minorities in Lithuania have the right to foster their language and are guaranteed that their language shall be respected. Furthermore Art. 45 of the Constitution emphasizes that national communities of citizens shall be independent in managing affairs related to their culture, education, charity and mutual assistance and that the state shall provide support to national communities. Lithuanian legislation, however, does not contain any definition of the concept of a national community, national minority or a group of persons recognized to be a national minority.
- 4.2 The Law on the State Language (1995) specifies the status of the Lithuanian language in public life (in state institutions, in court, in official events, in education and culture, on signs and information). It leaves room for other non-specified languages in translations and guarantees ethnic minorities the right to use their own language in education, cultural events, and on radio and television (Art 13). The rights for minorities are drawn up in the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities (1989, amended in 1991). According to Art 4 of the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities the language of that national minority (local language) shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority. Art. 5 states that information signs in administrative-territorial units referred to in Art. 4 of the Law can also use the language of the national minority (local language) in addition to the Lithuanian language. The status of the Lithuanian language is monitored by the State Lithuanian Language Commission [*Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija*] and the State Language Inspectorate [*Valstybinė kalbos inspekcija*]. National minorities receive support from a number of institutions. In 1989, the year in which the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities was adopted, the government also established the Department of Nationalities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. This department formulates and puts into practice the government's policy on national minorities. It also conducts surveys on national minorities and informs the public about them. The Department maintains a House of National Communities in Vilnius in which minority groups can organise cultural, social and educational activities. It also offers free legal consultations once a week. Similar centres can be found in Kaunas, Alytus, Visaginas and Kirtimai (the latter is the public centre of the Roma community). In 2003 the Lithuanian government established the regulations of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. On the basis of these regulations the Board of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad was formed, of which the head of the Council of National Communities is a member. The Council of National Communities was founded in 1995 under the authority of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. This Council coordinates the activities of national minority communities, maintains and tries to improve inter-ethnic relations in Lithuania and oversees participation in the implementation of state-minority policy. It is currently composed of representatives of 20 national communities (including the Roma). The seats in the Council are allocated according to the size of the minority: minority communities of 100,000 members or more are given three seats (this is the case for Poles and Russians), communities of 10,000 – 100,000 are given 2 seats (this is the case for Belarussians and Ukrainians) and communities with less than 10,000 members are given 1 seat (this

is, among others, the case for Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Estonians, Georgians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Jews, Karaims, Latvians, Roma, Romanians and Tatars). In 2003, under the authority of the President, the Council of National Communities was established. Its members are the head of the Council for National Communities and the head of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. The analysis of acts of law, the regulation of the national legal system and the drafting of policy proposals concerning the preservation of national identity are the main tasks of this council.

- 4.3 The main educational issues in Lithuania are regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania. In 1992 the Lithuanian government approved the General Concept of Education [*Lietuvos švietimo koncepcija*] in Lithuania. On 2 July 1998 several essential amendments were added to the 1991 Law on Education [*Švietimo įstatymas*]: the introduction of basic 10-year education, admission of schoolchildren from the age of 14 to vocational schools, etc. A draft law of the amendment was discussed in 2001. On 17 June 2003 a draft of the Law on the Amendment of the Law on Education [*Švietimo įstatymo pakeitimo įstatymas*] was published. Further legal documents dealing with educational matters in Lithuania are the Law on Science and Studies [*Mokslo ir studijų įstatymas*] (1991) on institutions of science and higher education, the Law on Vocational Education and Training [*Profesinio mokymo įstatymas*] (1997), the Law on special education [*Specialiojo ugdymo įstatymas*] (1998), the Law on Informal Adult Education [*Neformaliojo suaugusiųjų švietimo įstatymas*] (1998), and the Law on Higher Education [*Aukštojo mokslo įstatymas*] (2000).
- 4.4 National minorities are granted the right to hold lessons in their mother tongue. Art 2 of the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities gives people the right to have schooling in their own language. Art. 30.2 of the Law on the Amendment of the Law on Education states that general education and non-formal education schools must provide teaching in the language of the ethnic minority and foster the ethnic minority's culture. Furthermore, it states that in these schools the teaching process must be conducted or certain subjects must be taught in the language of the ethnic minority and that the subject of the Lithuanian state language must be a constituent part of the curriculum. The main provisions describing the place of schools for national minorities in the educational system of Lithuania are laid down in the Provisions for Integrating Schools for National Minorities into the Educational System of the Republic of Lithuania [*Tautinių mažumų mokyklų integravimosi į Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo sistemą nuostatos*], i.e. Decision No 76 of 22 December 1992 of the Collegium of the Ministry of Culture and Education.
- 4.5 In the year 2000 the total number of schools in Lithuania was 2,031. In 74 schools the language of instruction was Polish, in 68 it was Russian, in 26 Russian and Polish, in 23 Lithuanian and Russian, in 11 Lithuanian and Polish, in 10 Lithuanian, Russian and Polish, in 1 Belarusian, in 1 Russian and Belarusian and in 1 in Lithuanian and English. The following table, based on data taken from the Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review (Motuzas 2001), shows the number of pupils attending schools with Lithuanian, Polish and Russian as language of instruction from 1990/91 until 2000/01.

**Table 2: Number of Pupils According to Language of Instruction**

school year	Number of pupils according to language of instruction			Total number of pupils
	Lithuanian	Polish	Russian	
1990/91	409,295	11,407	76,038	501,740
1991/92	414,119	12,611	72,762	499,692
1992/93	415,971	13,881	67,506	497,359
1993/94	422,216	15,312	58,743	496,384
1994/95	434,469	16,631	57,655	508,887
1995/96	46,336	17,898	55,237	519,659
1996/97	459,799	19,212	52,315	531,480
1997/98	475,253	20,263	49,347	545,042
1998/99	490,589	21,038	46,325	558,160
1999/00	508,373	21,826	44,058	574,486
2000/01	522,569	22,303	41,162	586,294

According to information provided by the Eurydice network, there were 138 secondary schools with one language of instruction, which was not Lithuanian, and 63 schools with several languages of instruction in 2002-2003. According to data from the Ministry of Education and Science, the number of schools where the language of instruction is not Lithuanian increased to 202 in 2003-2004. These schools include 58 schools with Russian as the language of instruction, 83 schools with Polish as the language of instruction and one school with Belorussian as the language of instruction. The mixed schools included 17 Lithuanian-Russian, 14 Lithuanian-Polish, 18 Russian-Polish, 8 Lithuanian-Russian-Polish, 2 Jewish and 1 German school. Apart from the schools of national minorities that are financed according to the same principles and criteria as Lithuanian schools there are also private schools for national minorities. Certain national minorities have established Sunday Schools. Since 2001 Lithuania has 38 Sunday Schools: 11 of them are Polish, 4 Ukrainian, 3 Armenian, 3 Tartar, 3 German, 3 Jewish, 2 Belorussian, 2 Latvian, 2 Russian, 1 Greek, 1 Karait, 1 Estonian, 1 Roma and 1 Romanian. In these schools children improve the knowledge of the minority language and learn about the history, religion and culture of the minority they belong to. The Lithuanian Government has introduced a system of student vouchers that cover some of the money needed to buy textbooks, teaching aids and other educational needs. Government funds are increased by 10% per pupil of an ethnic minority school.

- 4.6 Art. 2 of the 1989 Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities guarantees national minorities the right to freely express their thoughts and to receive information in their mother tongue. This is related to the possibility of Lithuania's national minorities to have mass media in their mother tongue. As far as radio and television broadcasting is concerned the principles to be followed are laid down in the Law on the National Radio and Television [*Lietuvos nacionalinio radijo ir televizijos įstatymas*] (1996, amended in 2000). Art. 4 of this law stipulates that the national broadcaster must ensure a variety of topics and genres in its programmes and must direct them towards the various strata of society and people of different ages, various nationalities and convictions. Efforts are made by the Lithuanian authorities to increase the number of programmes for national minorities on radio and television in order to present more material and information on ethnic, linguistic, religious and other groups living in Lithuania.
- 4.7 Art. 8 of the Lithuanian Law on the State Language states that legal proceedings in the Republic of Lithuania shall be conducted in the state language. Participants in

the legal proceedings, who do not know the state language, shall be provided with the services of an interpreter free of charge.

- 4.8 According to Art. 4 of the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities the language of national minorities (local language) shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority.

## **5. The European dimension**

- 5.1 Lithuania signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) on 1 February 1995. The convention was ratified on 23 March 2000 and entered into force on 1 July 2000. Lithuania has not yet signed the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML).
- 5.2 Lithuania has signed bilateral treaties with the countries its national minorities belong to. A list of agreements and cooperation is provided for by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## **1. General aspects**

### **1.1 The language**

As a Slavic language Polish [*język polski*] is closely related to Kashubian, Czech, and Slovak with which it forms the Lechitic branch of West Slavonic. The 16<sup>th</sup> century is generally considered to be the 'golden age' of the Polish literary language. At that time the first Polish grammar of Stojenski-Statorius (*Polonicae grammatices institutio*, 1568) was written and dictionaries were composed. Most of them (approximately 37 million) live in Poland. In Lithuania the contact between the Lithuanian and the Polish language also resulted in the creation of the so-called *po-prostemu* (local language) that is perceived by the 'locals' neither as Polish, nor as Lithuanian. As micro-aerial studies in the Vilnius district have shown, it remains difficult to get a clear picture of those people who consider themselves 'locals' using the 'local language' as opposed to those people who consider themselves Poles using a Polish variety. Therefore no truly objective data about the linguistic classification of the population of this region are available and census figures should be treated with great care.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

- 1.2.1 The history of the Poles in Lithuania mainly dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century in which Lithuania made an Alliance with Poland that developed into a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569 –1795). In the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Polish culture was mainly dominant in the Vilnius district. After having belonged to the Russian Empire from 1795 onwards the Vilnius district became part of Poland after World War I. It was returned to Lithuania in 1939 as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop-Pact. In 1697 when the *Sejm/Seimas* enacted a bill of rights that resulted in changing the language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into Polish, the prestige of the Polish language (the language of the 'small nobility', the so-called *szlachta*) increased as opposed to Lithuanian as the language of the peasantry. The higher prestige of Polish as well as the usage of Polish by the Catholic Church led to the "Polonisation" of part of the Lithuanian population mainly in the Vilnius region. As several linguists put it, the distinction between Poles and Lithuanians was almost strictly based on economic status and religion. Polish identification was a reflection of status and was independent of ethnic identity.
- 1.2.2 The Poles live all over Lithuania but the largest groups (90% of the Poles) can be found in the city of Vilnius (18.7% of the inhabitants are Poles), and further on in the Vilnius district and the districts of Švenčionys, Trakai, Šalčininkai and Varėna. Some Poles also live near the Polish-Lithuanian border.
- 1.2.3 According to the 2001 census the Polish nationality is the largest minority in Lithuania. 234,989 people or 6.74% of the total population consider themselves to be Poles.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

- 1.3.1 The Lithuanian Law on the State Language secures the status of Lithuanian in public life in Lithuania. In dealing with the Lithuanian state other languages can be used either in translations or, according to the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities (Art. 4), shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority. Art. 37 of the Constitution and Art. 1 of the Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities give national minorities the right to foster their language and guarantee national minorities that their language shall be respected. The Law on the State Language guarantees ethnic minorities the right to use their own language in education, cultural events and on the radio and television. Some Polish organisations see it as their task to make sure that the legal provisions are, to a certain extent, put into practice.
- 1.3.2 In 1988 the Social and Cultural Association of the Poles in Lithuania was founded with the specific aim to revive and protect the 'polishness' of Lithuanian Poles. In 1989 the organisation turned into a national movement with a few thousand members and changed its name to the Union of Poles in Lithuania [*Związek Polaków na Litwie – ZPL*]. Nowadays, the ZPL (the biggest Polish social organisation with a membership of around 10,000) is politically supported by the Lithuanian Poles' Election Campaign [*Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie - AWPL*], founded in 1996 in accordance with the law concerning the election system of the Republic of Lithuania. The AWPL currently has two members in the Parliament (Parliamentary Group of Liberal Democrats). The main alternative to the ZPL is the Congress of Lithuanian Poles [*Kongres Polaków Litwy – KPL*] that was founded in 1995 by Polish activists who were dismissed from the ZPL. The KPL wants to form influential groups and increase the participation of local Poles in the country's economy and education. One person from the KPL is a member of Parliament on the list of the Social-democratic Coalition. Poles are not only represented in the Parliament but also have influence at a local level. The AWPL administers the Vilnius and Šalčininkai districts. And Poles also have influential factions in the Švenčionys and Trakai local councils.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The Law on the Amendment of the Law on Education (2003) ascertains national minorities the right for education in their language. The Polish minority makes use of these rights. In the school year 2003-2004 there were 83 Polish schools, 14 Lithuanian-Polish schools, 18 Russian-Polish schools and 8 Lithuanian-Russian-Polish schools. 13,813 pupils attended schools with Polish as the language of instruction. 7,201 pupils attended mixed schools where Polish is one of the languages of instruction. Since 2001 there are 11 Polish Sunday Schools where children improve their knowledge of the Polish language and learn about the history, religion and the national culture of the Poles. In higher education some 200 students receive (part of) their education in Polish. Some of them attend the Vilnius and Seiveniškės higher schools of agriculture. Two universities in Vilnius (Vilnius University and Vilnius Pedagogical University) offer a programme in Polish language teaching. There is co-operation between the Lithuanian and Polish government on teacher exchange. Since the beginning of the 1990s, up to 80 students go to Poland for higher education every year. The *Polska Macierz Szkolna*

(Association of Polish Teachers in Lithuania, established in 1990) controls Polish education. This association is one of the biggest Polish organisations in Lithuania and organises qualification courses and methodological sessions for pedagogues working in schools with Polish as the language of instruction. They also organise summer vacations for Polish children, excursions to Poland and youth competitions. For a few years now the Polish Academic Association has been making a great effort to develop a Polish University in Vilnius. The efforts of the association so far have not led to an official recognition of the Polish University in Vilnius. In general the material conditions for Polish education in Lithuania are improving steadily.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

Art. 8 of the Lithuanian *Law on the State Language* states that legal proceedings in the Republic of Lithuania shall be conducted in the state language. Participants in the legal proceedings, who do not know the state language, shall be provided with the services of an interpreter free of charge.

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

According to Art. 4 of the *Law on National (Ethnic) Minorities* the language of national minorities (local language) shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority. According to statistics people make use of these regulations. In 1997 a survey on “Eastern Lithuania and the Official Language” revealed that approx. 48.3% of the Poles mostly use Polish in public places.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

- 2.4.1 Polish is represented in the written media. There is one Polish daily (*Kurier Wileński*), there are two Polish weeklies (*Nasza gazeta*, the ZPL’s newspaper; and *Przyjaźń*), there is one Polish monthly (*Magazyn Wilenski*), one publication is published twice a month (*Spotkania*), there is one Polish quarterly (*Znad Wilii*) and one irregular publication (*W kręgu kultury*). The circulation of the Polish press in Lithuania barely exceeds 5,000 copies. The publishing house *Magazyn Wileński* publishes books in Polish and the Polish Scholars’ Society publishes research findings. Polish books include works on important historical persons such as the politician Pilsudski and the poets Galczinsky and Mickewicz. The Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science finances Polish textbooks for schools.
- 2.4.2 The second station of the Lithuanian Radio broadcasts a regular 1.5-hour programme entitled *Vaivorykštė* (the Rainbow). This programme is devoted to the cultural, linguistic, educational and other everyday problems of Lithuania’s national communities. The programme includes a 30-minute broadcast in Polish. Apart from public radio, Lithuania has private radio stations that broadcast programmes in the languages of Lithuania’s minorities. *Znad Wilii*, a radio station established in 1992, transmits Polish programmes around the clock (it sometimes broadcasts in Russian and Lithuanian as well). Some Polish radio programmes can be heard through the internet.
- 2.4.3 There is a Polish show on National Television called *Rozmowy Wileńskie*. In areas with a dense specific national minority population some local private TV stations

offer programmes in the language of those minorities. Regional television in Vilnius has a programme for Poles (*Co Słycać*). In addition other private stations offer news programmes in Polish and people have the opportunity to watch relay television programmes from Poland.

- 2.4.4 A website that gives practical information on Polish organisations in Lithuania is [www.polonia.org/litwa.htm](http://www.polonia.org/litwa.htm). In general Polish organisations and associations in Lithuania are rather poorly represented on the internet.

## 2.5 Arts and culture

- 2.5.1 There currently are 54 Polish public organisations in Lithuania. The largest of them is the Union of Lithuanian Poles (ZPL  $\Rightarrow$  1.3.2 above) that includes 11 local branches. Others include the Society of Teachers of Polish Schools in Lithuania (Macierz szkolna), the S. Moniuszka Cultural Centre of Lithuanian Poles, the Scientists' Society of Lithuanian Poles caring for culture and education, the Society of Polish Medical Workers, the Society of Polish Women in Lithuania and the Catholic Society of Lithuanian Poles.
- 2.5.2 Besides the public organisations there are some 60 Polish art groups mainly involved in music, dance and theatre. They participate in festivals such as the amateur art festival *Kwiaty Polski* (Polish flowers) in the Vilnius region, the Lithuanian Poles' Day of Poetry (*Maj nad Wilia*), the Polish Music Festival, the S. Moniuszka Music Festival, and the Sunday School Festival.
- 2.5.3 The largest youth organisation is the Association of the Polish Harcers in Lithuania (ZHPL). This organisation that unites 600 Polish scouts did not escape being divided, like the rest of the Polish organisations. Another youth organisation is the tourist club of the Vilnius Wanderers (50 members). Both youth organisations co-operate with the KPL ( $\Rightarrow$  1.3.2 above). In recent years several new Polish youth organisations were founded, such as the Polish Students' Association, the Youth Forum, the Alternative Youth Club and the Senior Wanderers Club. Often Polish organisations in Lithuania have close ties to similar organisations in Poland.
- 2.5.4 The House of Poles in Vilnius functions as a centre for various activities organised by Polish organisations. Similar houses exist in Druskininkai and Eišiškes. Lithuanian museums, archives and libraries have collections of Polish cultural and historical heritage. There are projects running to restore Polish monuments in diverse Lithuanian cities.

## 2.6 The business world

In 1993 the Vilnius Entrepreneurs Club was established uniting 15 entrepreneurs of Polish origin. The aim of this club is to support and promote business initiatives among Lithuanian Poles, to develop and strengthen economic co-operation between Lithuania and Poland and to establish economic networks facilitating the exchange of everyday work experience between Lithuanian and Polish entrepreneurs. In 1995 the First Union of Lithuanian Poles was established. 20% of its 418 members have their own business in Lithuania. The First Union of Lithuanian Poles has a deposit of 2 million Litas. Some of the businessmen and businesswomen belonging to the Union take credit to expand their business in Lithuania and abroad.

## **2.7 Family and social use of the language**

According to the 1989 census, 60% of Poles declared Russian to be their native language. This percentage might have been somewhat exaggerated then, as nowadays the number of Poles who have Russian as their first language is estimated at one third. Clear data as to the intergenerational transmission of Polish are, however, lacking.

## **2.8. The European dimension**

In 1998 the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the Republic of Poland signed an agreement on cooperation in the fields of culture, education and science. Further bilateral treaties can be consulted through the website of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## **3. Conclusion**

The Poles are the largest national minority in Lithuania alongside the Russians. About 234,989 people (approximately 6.74% of the population) declared to be members of the Polish community in the 2001 census. The Poles are active in various organisations that, together with the clear presence of Polish in the media and in schools, contributed largely to the revival of 'polishness' among Lithuanian Poles after Lithuanian independence. The number of Poles that still use Polish as a first language is currently estimated at 30% of the Polish population.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Russian [*ruskij jazyk*] is a Slavonic language closely related to Belorussian and Ukrainian with which it forms the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European. Owing a great deal to efforts of the polymath Lomonosov and his *Russian Grammar* (1755) modern standard Russian was established by the time of Pushkin (1799-1837). Today's Russian speech community is multiethnic and dispersed over many states. It is estimated that about 233 million people speak Russian (approximately 164 million as a first language and 69 million as a second language). About 119 million people in the Russian Federation use Russian as a first language and 27.1 million use it as second language.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

The immigration of Russians into Lithuania mainly started at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Other important migration waves were those under Tsarist rule, after the Russian Revolution and during Soviet rule. After the restoration of Lithuanian independence a number of Russians moved back to their homeland. Most Russians live in Vilnius, Klaipėda and Visaginas. The Russians (219,789 according to the 2001 census) constitute approximately 6.3% of the Lithuanian population.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

- 1.3.1 The Lithuanian *Law on the State Language* secures the status of Lithuanian in public life in Lithuania. In dealing with the Lithuanian state other languages can be used either in translations or – according to the Law on National Minorities (Art. 4) – shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority. Art. 37 of the Constitution and Art. 1 of the Law on National Minorities grants national minorities the right to foster their language and guarantee national minorities that their language shall be respected. The Law on the State Language guarantees ethnic minorities the right to use their own language in education, cultural events and radio and television. Some Russian organisations see it as their task to make sure that the legal provisions are – to a certain extent – put into practice.
- 1.3.2 Especially the political organisation Union of the Russians in Lithuania [*Lietuvos rusų sąjunga*] and the party Alliance of the citizens of Lithuania [*Lietuvos piliečių aljansas*] proclaim themselves as representatives of Russian interests. Three persons from Union of the Russians in Lithuania are members of Parliament on the list of the Social-democratic Coalition. Some representatives of these two organisations are elected in the self-governmental bodies of Vilnius and Klaipėda.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

Before and shortly after the restoration of Lithuania's independence the situation of the Russian minority with respect to education was much better than that of the other minorities living in Lithuania. Under Soviet rule in Lithuania (1945 – 1990) Russians had pre-primary, primary and secondary schools where the sole language of instruction was Russian. In addition there were a number of vocational schools, schools of further education and establishments of higher education where Russian youngsters received education in their mother tongue. Since Lithuania's independence the number of Russian schools and the number of pupils attending Russian schools has decreased, partly because of the re-migration of Russians back to their home-country, partly because of the overall decreasing demographical situation, and partly because children not only from mixed but also from Russian families more often enter schools with Lithuanian as the language of instruction. The possibility to use Russian in education is guaranteed by the Law on the Amendment of the Law on Education (2003). The Russian minority makes use of these rights. In the school year 2003-2004 there were 58 schools with Russian as the language of instruction and a number of mixed-schools where Russian is one of the languages of instruction (17 Lithuanian-Russian schools, 18 Russian-Polish schools, and 8 Lithuanian-Russian-Polish schools). In the school year 2003-2004 30,465 pupils attended Russian schools (with Russian as the language of instruction or as one of the languages of instruction in mixed schools). Apart from Russian public schools there is one Russian private school in Vilnius. The two Russian Sunday schools are situated in Vilnius and Alytus.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

Art. 8 of the Lithuanian Law on the State Language states that legal proceedings in the Republic of Lithuania shall be conducted in the state language. Participants in the legal proceedings, who do not know the state language, shall be provided with the services of an interpreter free of charge.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

According to Art. 4 of the Law on National Minorities the language of national minorities (local language) shall be used in local bodies and organisations alongside the official language in administrative-territorial units with a concentrated national minority. According to statistics people make use of these regulations. In 1997 a survey on "Eastern Lithuania and the Official Language" revealed that approximately 55.6% of Russians use Russian.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

2.4.1 There is one daily Russian regional newspaper *Klaipeda*; there are five Russian weeklies (*Litovskij Kurjer*, *Obzor*, *Druzhiba*, *Sugardas*, *V kazhdyj*), three Russian monthlies (*Nasha kuchnia v Litve*, *Zhivonosnyj istochnik*, and *Vilnius*), two irregular publications in Russian (*Golos staroverov*, *Lad*). Furthermore there is one monthly (*Peremena*) published in Lithuanian and Russian and a quarterly published in Russian, Lithuanian and English (*Jūra - More – Sea*). In addition the

following Lithuanian papers provide translations into Russian: *Respublika* (a daily), *Lietuvos Rytas*, *Ekspres nedelia*, *Golos Litvy*, *Šalčia* (all of them are weeklies), *Švenčionių kraštas* and *Žeimenos krantai* (both are published twice a week). There are Russian translations of advertising publications and there are also publishing houses in Lithuania which publish books (novels and poetry) in Russian. The Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science finances Russian textbooks for schools. Since independence, more than 185 Russian textbooks were published in Lithuania. Only some of the textbooks for Russian schools are purchased in Russia.

- 2.4.2 Every day, the first station of the Lithuanian Radio broadcasts a 30-minute news programme transmitted in Russian. Apart from public radio, Lithuania has private radio stations that broadcast programmes in the languages of Lithuania's minorities. *Russkoye radio* transmits Russian programmes around the clock. The private radio station *Znad Wili* transmits a daily one-hour programme in Russian. And the life of Russians in Lithuania is also reflected in programmes of the radio station *Vaivorykštė* (Rainbow). Furthermore the Radio of the Russian Culture Centre (*Radio T*, an independent radio station) relays programmes of the *Radio of Russia – Nostalgia* in co-operation with the television. The *Hansa* radio company also broadcasts its own programmes in Russian.
- 2.4.3 On National Television there is a daily 10-minute long news programme in Russian, *Vechernij Vestnik*, and once a week there is a Russian programme entitled *Russkaya ulitsa*. In areas with a dense specific national minority population some local private TV stations offer programmes in the language of those minorities. Regional television in Vilnius has a programme for Russians (entitled *Nedelia*). In addition, other private stations such as Channel 11, Vilsat and Sugardas offer news programmes in Russian or Polish and people have the opportunity to watch relay television programmes from Russia.
- 2.4.4 Funded by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad as well as by the Fund of Press, Radio and Television the public organisation Russian Resources has initiated a project to develop the online Baltic Archive. The project aims at employing modern technologies to increase the amount of information on Russians living in the Baltic States and Poland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and to provide easy access to this information.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

- 2.5.1 Many non-governmental organisations are committed to the conservation of the Russian national consciousness and the development of Russian culture. Currently there are 68 Russian public organisations. The majority of them, i.e. 44, are located in Vilnius. The rest of the organisations are mainly located in other towns. The public organisations among others include Melos (the Society of Russian Romantic literature Lovers in Lithuania), Sozvuchije (the Association of Russian Poetry and Theatre Lovers), Malachite (the Association of the Alytus Sunday School 'Malachit'), the Cultural Fund of Lithuanian Russians, the Association of Teachers from Russian Schools, Zhivoj Kolos (the educational association of Lithuanian Old Believers) and Slovo (the Klaipėda Christian education society). Several organisations such as 'The Muse' (the Creative Association of Lithuanian Russian Children) and Elena Tchudakova's International Fund for the Support of Young Talents aim at uniting Russian children.

- 2.5.2 Apart from the public organisations there currently are some 40 Russian amateur art groups in Lithuania. Some of these organisations are located in small Lithuanian towns under the guidance of the local Russian school. Teachers and parents of the schoolchildren constitute the core of these organisations. Their activities mostly have a cultural and educational character: evenings of Russian poetry and romantic literature, celebrations of Christmas and traditional Russian holidays. Apart from Russian art groups there are also other types of organisations that, among others, include professional associations of engineers, builders and teachers.
- 2.5.3 The oldest and most influential Russian organization is the Russian Cultural Centre. Since 1988 it has arranged publications in the press, TV transmissions and broadcasting, musical and literary evenings, exhibitions devoted to important persons of Russian culture, scientific and socio-political conferences and seminars. The Russian Cultural Centre has created an independent radio station the Radio of the Russian Cultural Centre, broadcasting in Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian. The Confidence-Building Measures programme of the Council of Europe has supported this project. The Russian Cultural Centre also opened a Russian gallery and a specialised bookshop 'The Russian Book' to popularise Russian literature and to provide the inhabitants of Vilnius with special and educational literature in Russian.
- 2.5.4 A number of festivals such as the Days of Russian Culture (each autumn since the beginning of the 1990s), the Russian Romance Festival, the Festival of Slavic Writing and Ethnoculture, the International Festival of National Minorities (Slavianskaja raduga – Slavic Rainbow) and the children and youth festival Mūza (The Muse) contribute largely to Russian cultural life in Lithuania.

## **2.6 The business world**

No data are available on the use of Russian in the Lithuanian business world or in advertisements.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of language**

*It is estimated that about 96% of the Russians have Russian as their first language. Judging from this figure one cannot but conclude that the intergenerational transmission of Russian seems to be secured.*

## **2.8. The European dimension**

The Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Soviet Federal Republic have signed bilateral political agreements on the Foundations of Inter-State Relations implementing the effective instruments of co-operation on ethnic minorities and national relations. Bilateral treaties can be consulted through the website of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## **3. Conclusion**

The Russians are the largest minority in Lithuania alongside the Poles. The 219,789 Russians in Lithuania (6.3% of the total population according to the 2001 census)

manage to secure the intergenerational continuity of Russian as a first language. It is estimated that 96% of the Russians have Russian as their first language. The intergenerational continuity of Russian is supported by its presence in the media, at schools and in various cultural organisations. The fact that members of other Lithuanian national minorities (Ukrainians, Belarussians, Germans, Jews and others) also use Russian as a first language helps to secure the position of Russian in Lithuanian society.

### 1. Belorussian

- 1.1 Together with Russian and Ukrainian, Belorussian [*Belaruskaja mova*] belongs to the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European languages. It started to develop as a separate language in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. When the territory which now constitutes Belarus became Lithuanian, the Lithuanians took over the administrative language of Kievan Rus, a language that in time acquired more and more local traits. This language, sometimes called Old Belorussian, became less important with the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was gradually exchanged for Polish. Modern Belorussian is essentially a product of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This language is not a continuation of Old Belorussian and much nearer to the popular language than for example Russian. It has thus far fewer Church-Slavonicisms. Within the Belorussian Soviet Republic, Belorussian was one of the national languages. The 1920s and partly the 1930s may be seen as the golden age of Modern Belorussian. From the end of the 1930s to the 1990s Belorussian was gradually ousted by Russian in all spheres of life: education, newspapers, theatre, book publishing, politics, party administration, etc. Russian thus became the high language whereas the role of Belorussian was reduced to that of a minority language and a more or less rural language. In the mid-1980s a movement to promote a “re-Belarusification” developed, and Belorussian became the state language. This status was confirmed by the Constitution (1994) of the newly independent state of Belarus (1991), but in May 1995 – following a referendum – Russian was reinstated as a second state language in the amended Constitution (1996). This reflects a more general situation where only 75% of all Belarusians (including those who live outside Belarus) are estimated to speak the language, the rest having assimilated Russian.
- 1.2 The country now known as the Belarus was part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since the mid of the 13th century and Belarusians have been present in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since the Middle Ages. An intensification of immigration waves could be noticed after World War II. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Belorussian was used in official administrative documents from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the Union between Poland and Lithuania in 1569 Polish, however, ‘elbowed out’ Belorussian. In 1697 Polish became the sole administrative language of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The border between Lithuania and Belarus reflects a somewhat fuzzy transition zone between the Belorussian (East Slavic) and Lithuanian (East Baltic) language territories, in which most intensive (and complicated) linguistic contacts have taken place and which roughly coincides with the historical centre of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the course of history a ‘simple local language’ (a kind of mixture between Belorussian, Lithuanian and Polish) developed that is used by people who consider themselves to be locals (*tuteishy*; i.e. neither Belarusians, nor Lithuanians). These locals need to be distinguished from the Belarusians who immigrated to Lithuania in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They are usually the Belarusians who appear in official statistics and – in contrast to the ‘locals’ who find Polish to be more prestigious than their own language – are striving for the cultivation of the Belorussian language. Since no truly objective data about the linguistic classification of ‘Belarusians’ are available, census figures should be treated with great care.

- 1.3 According to the 2001 census the 42,866 Belarusians in Lithuania constitute 1.2% of the total population. The largest number of Belarusians can be found in villages and small towns to the south, north-west and north-east of Vilnius as well as in the areas bordering the Republic of Belarus. Some Belarusians also live in the area of Klaipėda.
- 1.4 In the school year 2003-2004 there was one school with Belorussian as the language of instruction in Vilnius (the Pranciskus Skorina secondary school). In the Ateities ("The Future") secondary school in Visaginas there are classes in Belorussian and in the Šalčinkai secondary school there is a pre-school group in Belorussian and an elective course of Belorussian. Belorussian can also be learned at the Sunday School in Visaginas. In 1991 a chair of Belorussian language, literature and ethnic culture was introduced at the Vilnius Pedagogical University aimed at training teachers for the Lithuanian Belorussian schools. The Slavic Philology Department at the University of Vilnius organises a Master of Arts in Belorussian.
- 1.5 Before Soviet Rule, Vilnius was a thriving centre of Belorussian cultural life. Now the cultural life of Belarusians in Lithuania is gradually restored. In 1988 the *Lithuanian Cultural Fund* created the first Belorussian organisation. Now there are 22 socio-cultural organisations, promoting traditions, culture and the Belorussian language, including among others the Association of Public Organisations of Lithuanian Belarusians, the Belorussian Cultural Society, the *Siabryna* Society and the Society of Vilnius Political Prisoners and Deportees. Every year, the Community of Lithuanian Belarusians organises exhibitions, seminars, concerts as well as other events.
- 1.6 There are daily programmes in Belorussian on the Lithuanian National Radio. There is a Belorussian programme on national TV. Three monthlies are published in Belorussian: *Run= Nasa storonka* and *Arche*. The two Belorussian quarterlies published in Lithuania are *Belaruski gistorychny ogliad* and *Fragmenty*.
- 1.7 Research in the 1990s showed that about half of the Belarusians use Belorussian as their mother tongue. No recent data on the intergenerational transmission of Belorussian are available but experts agree that most Belarusians are Belorussian-Russian bilinguals.

## **2. German**

- 2.1 German [Deutsch] is an Indo-European language that belongs to the group of Germanic languages. Belonging to the West-Germanic subgroup of Germanic languages it is closely related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. Approximately 101 million people world-wide speak German as a first or second language. It is spoken by around 81.5 million people in Germany, around 7.6 million in Austria and around 4.2 million in Switzerland.
- 2.2 In the 13<sup>th</sup> century Germans settled in East Prussia and the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) as a consequence of the conquests of the Teutonic Order. These parts remained German until they were incorporated into the Republic of Lithuania in 1923. The number of Germans in Lithuania has never been very large and was largely reduced after World War II. Nowadays the number of Germans is about 0.1% of the total population.
- 2.3 In the summer of 1988 when the Lithuanians started thinking about independence, it affected other communities living in Lithuania. Citizens of different nationalities

began reviving their own cultural organisations. In April 1989 the German and Lithuanian Cultural Association was established, uniting local Germans and Lithuanians of German origin. At the end of 1989 the 'Richard Wagner Association' was founded in Klaipėda in order to promote professional music and theatre. Apart from the German and Lithuanian Cultural Association there is a Lithuanian Germans Union that unites six German organisations from Vilnius, Ignalina, Visaginas, Šiauliai, Tauragė and Jurbarkas. The Russian Germans who came from the former Soviet Union are predominant in this organisation. In 1993 the Confederation of German Organisations was founded in Lithuania. Nine organisations from Kaunas, Jurbarkas, Šakiai, Elektrėnai, Kėdainiai, Jonava, Prienai, Vilkija, and Vilkaviškis allied into one. The confederation headquarters are in Kaunas. The Germans from the Klaipėda land (Memelenderiai) form the *Heide* of Šilutė and the Klaipėda's Germans Association. *Heide* with 924 members has the biggest membership of all associations. In the Old Town of Klaipėda there is a Lithuanian and German Meeting Centre 'Simon Dach's House' that also helps the Germans to preserve their national identity and tradition, promotes Lithuanian and German understanding of each other, and organises educational and cultural programmes. The headquarters of the Klaipėda German's Association (founded in 1991) are situated in Klaipėda. The *Edelweiss-Wolfskinder* association (located in Vilnius with branch offices in Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Tauragė, Marijampolė, Jurbarkas and Kaunas) unites those people from Eastern Prussia who found shelter in Lithuania during the post-war hunger period. Currently 28 German public organisations are active in Lithuania. The Informational Co-ordination Centre of the Lithuanian Germans Associations, founded in 1996, unites these organisations.

- 2.4 Local Germans try to maintain their identity not only through cultural organisations but also through German schools, German newspapers and religion. The German press in Lithuania includes the monthly *Baltische Rundschau* (in German and Russian), the monthly *Deutsche Nachrichten in Litauen* (published in German and Lithuanian), a quarterly *Miteinander* and an irregular publication *Gyvenimas*. Every year the German Embassy in Lithuania invites teachers from Germany and organises language courses for people of German origin living in Vilnius, Klaipėda, Šilutė and other towns. A German school has been operating since 1992 (attention is paid to the German language and culture, but most of the classes are taught in Lithuanian). Religion and the church play a significant spiritual role for the Germans. There are two German religious groups in Lithuania: the Evangelist Lutherans and the Evangelist Reformats. Sermons in German are found in Vilnius, Klaipėda and Šilutė. Research in the 1990s showed that about half of the Lithuanian Germans had Russian as their mother tongue. It is not clear whether the other half of the Germans in Lithuania managed to maintain German as their mother tongue.

### 3. Yiddish

After Lithuania's independence, Jewish (religious) life in Lithuania was revived. In 1991 the conference of Lithuania's Jewish Community (LJC) was held in Vilnius. It united all Lithuanian Jews and represented the cultural, religious and property interests of the Jewish national minority. Jewish religious communities and synagogues started functioning in Vilnius and Kaunas; similarly Jewish communities were registered in a few other cities. The national Jewish museum developed and prepared exhibitions in the Great Vilnius Synagogue. An event of great significance for the Jewish community was the publication of the monthly newspaper *Lietuvos Jeruzalė* ('Lithuanian Jerusalem' with articles in Yiddish, Lithuanian, English and Russian). A Jewish national school with emphasis on

Jewish traditions opened again in 1989. In 1991 studies of Judaism were renewed at Vilnius university. Two years later the Judaism Studies Centre was opened. It co-operates closely with Oxford University's Yiddish Centre (UK) and many Western European Universities. In 1997 a Jewish history course was introduced in Kaunas Vytautas Magnus university. Now there is a Jewish academics and intellectuals association *Vilnor*, medical, youth and students associations, a sports club *Maccabi* and other organisations. In general the situation of Jews has improved in Lithuania. But still migration to Israel and the USA has not ceased. The low birth rate in Jewish families cannot compensate for the shrinking of the Jewish Community caused by emigration and natural death, leaving only 4,007 Jews in Lithuania today (according to the 2001 census). Research in the 1990s showed that about one third of Lithuanian Jews have Russian as their mother tongue. It is not clear how far either Yiddish or Hebrew have survived as the mother tongue of Lithuanian Jews.

#### **4. Karaim**

4.1 Karaim [*Karaj*] is a Turkic language, belonging to the Kipchak-Polovtsy (Altai) group, more precisely to West Kipchaki. Apart from Lithuania, Karaim also live in the Crimea, Western Ukraine as well as in Poland, USA and Romania. The worldwide number of users does not exceed 5,000. It is therefore a highly endangered language.

4.2 The history of the Karaims in Lithuania (sometimes also designated as Karaites) goes back to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when Great Duke Vytautas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania between 1397 and 1398 brought about 380 Karaite families from the banks of the Black Sea to Trakai. At that time the political and administrative centre of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in the south-eastern part of present Lithuania. On his expedition to the Black Sea (1397-98) he brought back Tatar settlers of two distinct religious beliefs: Islamic and Judaic. Three hundred representatives of the latter were allowed to settle at Vytautas' residence at Trakai. Later their number increased to 5,000. Known as Karaites, they were considerably outnumbered by the Islamic Tatars, who settled at or near Ašmena, Vilnius, Trakai, Aukštadvaris, Semeliškės, Butrimonys, Alytus, and other localities. In popular consciousness the Karaims are not always clearly kept apart from the Tatars.

4.3 The total number of Karaims residing in Lithuania has decreased over the last years. In 1959 there were about 423 Karaim, in 1970 some 388; in 1979 there were 352, and 289 in 1989. In 1997 the statistics department of Lithuania carried out ethno-statistic research on the Karaims. According to figures derived from that research there were 257 Karaims living in Lithuania: 138 in Vilnius, 65 in Trakai, 10 in the Trakai region, 4 in Kaunas, 4 in the Kaunas region, 4 in Panevėžys, 2 in the Panevėžys region, 2 in Pasvalys and 1 in the Radviliškis region. A major problem for the Karaim in Lithuania is the preservation of intergenerational continuity. The number of current daily users is estimated at about 30 to 50.

4.4 Karaim is only taught at Sunday schools and is culturally supported by the *Cultural Society of the Karaims in Lithuania* (founded in 1988) and the *Religious Society of the Karaims*. These two organisations unite the Karaims of Lithuania. In 1997 the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Karaims' (and Tatars') settlement in Lithuania was commemorated. It gave rise to a few book publications on the Karaims. The Karaim community annually organises the international Karaims' youth culture and sport holiday with the aim of familiarising young Karaims with the national

history and culture of their people. The cultural and historical heritage of the Russians, Jews, Tatars and Karaims is presented on the virtual exhibition (at <http://daugenis.mch.mii.lt/paveldas2000/>).

## 5. Romani

- 5.1 Like Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali Romani [*Romanes*], or Romani, is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language that belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The language retains much of the Indic morphology, phonology and lexicon, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by contact with other languages. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (8th century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups. Nowadays the following main groups (each with different subvarieties) are distinguished as a result of the contact of Romani with regional languages: northern Romani (best represented by the *chaladytka roma*, the Russian Roma), central Romani (best represented by the group of the Hungarian and Slovakian Roma, the *ungrike roma*), vlach Roma (best represented by the Kalderaš-Romani), balkan Romani (best represented by the dialects in Macedonia).
- 5.2 Roma live all over Lithuania. Coming from an estimated total of 100 in 1945 the current number of Roma living in Lithuania is estimated at 2,571 (based on the 2001 census), although some estimate it to be between 3,000 and 4,000. The Roma community is characterized by a high rate of endogamy (97%) and a high intergenerational continuity of the language (Romani). A serious problem for the Roma is that they suffer from a negative popular image. Very often they are referred to as potential criminals. These allegations are echoed in the mainstream press. This has a lot to do with high rates of unemployment and low school attendance. In the year 1996/97 there were 276 Roma pupils in Lithuanian public schools, 125 of whom dropped out during the school year. These high drop-out rates are linked to the fact that most Roma pupils only speak Romani, do not master Lithuanian in a sufficient way to attend Lithuanian classes and cannot attend Roma classes since they most often fail. Unemployment rates are higher than the national average and higher than those of any other minority group. Because unemployment rates are high those Roma who failed to apply for citizenship before 1991 are now unable to meet the more stringent post 1991 citizenship standards (ten years residence, permanent employment, test of knowledge of Lithuanian language, test of knowledge of provisions of the Constitution), and consequently remain without citizenship even today.
- 5.3 To improve the unfavourable conditions of the Roma population the *Foundation on Developing Education* organised summer camps for children and courses for Roma teachers. The *Lithuanian Children's Fund* organised projects on social issues on behalf of the Roma (1994-2004), and the Phare Lien project 'Kirtimai Roma Community Centre' focused on pre-school Roma education, Roma art activities, international workshops on Roma social, economic, legal, educational, and cultural situation in Lithuania (2000-2002). An important impetus to improve the general situation of Roma in Lithuania was given by the Programme for the Integration of Roma in Lithuanian Society for 2000-2004, approved by the Lithuanian government in 2000. This programme is, however, criticized by the Roma and is said to suffer from two serious drawbacks. Firstly, it apparently was developed without adequate consultation with the Roma. And secondly, the programme does not adequately acknowledge the existence of discrimination.

- 5.4 Roma NGO's that are active include Romano Dzhiyipe ('Roma Life', established in 1995), Romani Yagory (Roma Bonfire, 1997), Romen (1998), and the Roma Community Union 'Roma Mission' (1999). The latter is established as a national organisation with the aim of supporting and coordinating the activities of Lithuania's Roma NGO's (presently six NGO's are member). However, no single organisation can be said to represent Lithuania's entire Roma population. Roma organisations have joined forces on issues of concern to the community as a whole but sometimes suffer from internal quarrels or show diverging opinions on matters such as the ABC of Roma. The Lithuanian language was presented recently (2004) in the Roma Community Centre in Kirtimai, Vilnius (near the biggest Roma settlement in Lithuania) and this is supposed to have been of great help in improving literacy among Roma children.

## 6. Tatar

- 6.1 The Tatar community settled in Lithuania in the 13th and 14th century. The earliest of the Tatar settlers were taken to Lithuania as captives during the time of Mindaugas and Traidenis in the second half of the 13th century. Later Lithuanian grand dukes Gediminas, Algirdas and Keštutis fought against crusaders with the help of Tatar mercenaries who had settled there with their families and had been awarded land and privileges. The majority of Tatars, however, were settled in Lithuania by Great Duke Vytautas (1392-1430). On his march to the Kipchiak steppes in 1397 Lithuanian soldiers took thousands of Tatars as prisoners. It is believed that in 16<sup>th</sup> century 3000-4000 Tatars lived in Lithuania. The biggest settlements were in Trakai, Vilnius and Ašmena regions. The Tatars long preserved their customs, faith and language. But from the 16th century on, they started giving up their language and gradually switch to the language of the ethnic groups surrounding them. Greater assimilation (primarily to Belorussian), though, started in the 18th century. In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century some intellectuals took up Russian and Polish.
- 6.2 There are very few statistics available on the Tatar community. It is recorded that the overall number of Tatars on Lithuanian territory at the time of the 1897 census was 4,500. Unfortunately it is not clear how many of them were Lithuanian Tatars. Under Soviet rule no ethnic census of Lithuanian Tatars took place, but still their number (in Belorussian and Lithuania together) was estimated at 7,000-8,000. The 1989 Lithuanian census recorded 5,188 Tatars. According to the latest census there are currently 3,235 Tatars living in Lithuania (mainly in the Visaginas, Vilnius and Kaunas, Alytus region). Most of them are no longer able to speak Tatar [*tatar tele/tatarça*]. According to some sources only about 500 of them are said to be able to speak it on an everyday basis. This might be due to efforts aiming at revitalising Tatar.
- 6.3 Nowadays Tatar is popularised in Sunday schools in Vilnius and Visaginas (in total there are about 8 Sunday Schools in Lithuania). It also should be noted that there is a Centre for Stateless Cultures at the University of Vilnius (where they give a course on Tatar). The Centre of Oriental Culture (founded in 1992 at Vilnius University) collects material on the influence of oriental national cultures on Lithuanian culture.
- 6.4 In 1995 Tatars started printing a monthly (*Lietuvos totoriai*) in Lithuanian (with some items in Russian). National Lithuanian Radio twice a month (on the first and third Saturday of the month) broadcasts a 30-minute programme (with 500 to 600 listeners); in Visaginas people can watch commercial TV station from Tatarstan.

- 6.5 Tatar customs are cultivated at cultural festivals and there are collaborations with foreign Tatar cultural societies. In 1988 the Lithuanian Cultural Fund established the Lithuanian Tartars Cultural Association. The main task of this organisation was to renovate or build mosques, and to renew Tartar social life. In 1994 it was reorganised in two separate social organisations: the Union of Lithuanian Tartars communities, which organised summer camps as well as religious lessons and the Lithuanian Vilnius lands Tartar community. In 1997 the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tatars' (and Karaims') settlement in Lithuania was commemorated.

## 7. Ukrainian

- 7.1 Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is an East Slavonic language that is closely related to Russian and Belorussian with which it forms the East Slavonic group within the Slavonic branch of Indo-European. On the basis of the south-western dialects of medieval East Slavonic Ukrainian developed as a separate language in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. As a written language Ukrainian was only developed by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The traditional alphabet is Cyrillic. The number of Ukrainian speakers today amounts to approximately 45 million worldwide. Most of them live in the Ukraine (approximately 37.4 million, or 70.5% of the country's population).
- 7.2 According to the 2001 census 22,488 persons in Lithuania consider themselves to be Ukrainians (compared to 44,789 according to the 1989 census). Above all in the 1990s the number of Ukrainians diminished since the lack of employment and a process of de-industrialisation made temporary workers return to their homeland. Around 90% of the Ukrainians in Lithuania live in the biggest towns, mainly in the south-eastern region. Research in the 1990s showed that about half of the Lithuanian Ukrainians use Ukrainian as their mother tongue.
- 7.3 The first Ukrainian school, the T. Shevchenko Sunday School, became operational in the Vilnius Teachers' House in 1989. Currently there are five Sunday Schools (in Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Visaginas and Jonava). The children learn their language, and the curriculum includes history and geography of the Ukraine as well as Ukrainian songs. In 1995, the first class where children were taught completely in Ukrainian was opened at the A. Vienuolis secondary school in Vilnius. Every year, two or three Lithuanian Ukrainians study at universities in the Ukraine.
- 7.4 The Ukrainian community maintains its national culture mainly via folk and dance groups and a number of bigger organisations. In 1989, the Vilnius Ukrainian Community was established that now unites Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Jonava and Visaginas Ukrainian societies. It has a lot of contacts with the Ukraine. In 1992 the Lithuanian Ukrainian Association was founded and in 1997 two Ukrainian cultural centres were established: one in Vilnius and one in Visaginas. In total there are 19 non-governmental Ukrainian organisations in Lithuania including among others The Union of Ukrainian Women and the Association of Lithuanian Ukrainianists. Most of the organisations maintain relations with their historical homeland. Apart from the non-governmental organisations there are numerous Ukrainian art groups that actively participate in festivals such as Days of Culture of the Ukrainian Community.
- 7.5 Besides cultural organisations also the media are involved in the promotion of the Ukrainian language and culture. There is a Ukrainian church newspaper: *Parafialne Slovo*. Ukrainian books and other publications are available in libraries. Lithuanian Public Radio broadcasts a 20-minute programme in Ukrainian twice a

month. People can also listen to Ukrainian programme on BBC World Service. Lithuanian Public television broadcasts a 10-minute programme once a week (over the years, the time diminished from 30 minutes to 20 and now to 10). Local TV stations in Jonava and Visaginas also have programmes in Ukrainian. *Radio T*, created by the Russian Cultural Centre, translates a programme in Ukrainian language every Sunday. And some people have the opportunity to watch programmes from the Ukraine.

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## 1. General information

- 1.1 Malta (MT) lies in the Mediterranean Sea, 96 km from Sicily and 290 km from the North African coast. The most important islands in the archipelago are Malta [*Malta*] and Gozo [*Għawdex*], and their total surface area is 316 sq. km. Malta is much more densely populated than Gozo. The population totals about 390,000 (89% urban), and has a density of 1,234 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> – one of the highest in the world. The capital is Valletta [*Il-Belt*].



The Republic of Malta/*Repubblika ta' Malta* is a parliamentary democracy. The legislative power is vested in the House of Representatives, a single-chamber parliament composed of 65 members elected every four years.

Natural resources are nearly non-existent: Malta produces only about 20% of its food needs, has limited fresh water supplies and no domestic energy sources. Tourism accounts for roughly 25% of the GDP, and the economy is also dependent on foreign trade in a few sectors, mainly in electronics, machinery and transport equipment. The Roman Catholic Church is the established church in Malta; and 97% of the Maltese declare to be Roman Catholics.

- 1.2 In antiquity, Malta witnessed a well-developed Neolithic temple culture (dating back to 3600 BC), which was succeeded by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, the Romans and the Byzantines. The island was occupied by North African Arabs from 870 to 1090 AD. With the expulsion of the Moslems (13<sup>th</sup> century) Malta was definitively cut off from the Arab world, but for another 900 years the island remained under a series of European rules: Sicilians, Normans, Angevins, Catalans/Aragonese and Castilians, the Order of St. John, the French and the British. Although Malta politically separated from Sicily in 1530, the Italian influence remained considerable. Malta became a part of the British Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was granted devolution in 1921 and became independent in 1964.
- 1.3 In 1995 Malta signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, declaring that no minorities exist on its territory in the sense of the Convention — which came into force in 1998. The report submitted by the government pursuant to Art. 25, par. 1 of the Convention further states that there are no minority languages in Malta; Malta nevertheless signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages in 1992. Maltese, which is the first language of about 98% of the inhabitants of Malta and the national official language, cannot be considered as a minority language in terms of the Charter. The present report is thus meant to describe the linguistic situation of the island, regardless of the fact that Maltese does not fall *per definitionem* in principle within the scope of Euromosaic III.

## **2. Languages**

- 2.1 Maltese [*il-Malti*] is a language with a largely Semitic grammatical structure and a European (Romance and English) infrastructure affecting it at all levels but mainly in its vocabulary, phonology and to a lesser extent the syntax. As such it is the only Semitic language which is an official language of the institutions of the European Union. Maltese is also used with varying levels of competence by a large diaspora of emigrants roughly equal to the current population of Malta itself, living mainly in English-speaking countries (44,800 went to Australia<sup>62</sup>, 12,800 went to the UK, and 11,100 went to Canada). Between 1963 and 1994<sup>63</sup> 74,000 Maltese left the country (300,000 in Australia, 8,000 in Canada, 20,000 in the United States and 20,000 in the U.K.). Standard Maltese is used in all communication at the national level, in official, religious and cultural activities; it is used extensively in the media and is the exclusive medium in the local political sphere. Maltese has also a flourishing, though small, literature. It is also used in education but mainly at the spoken level. Local Maltese dialects are used extensively at the familiar and informal levels. However, greater mobility, general education and the levelling function of the media have affected these dialects quite strongly, especially in the last decades.
- 2.2 Old theories assigning a Phoenician origin to Maltese have given way to more pragmatic scientific research, according to which Maltese would hark back to the

Arabic vernacular. Many features of the language is reminiscent of the contemporary Arabic varieties (especially those used in the Magreb), although the long separation from the Moslem world has produced mutual unintelligibility between Maltese and Arabic. When Malta was definitely cut off from the Arabo-Islamic culture, religion and language, Maltese — as a basically Semitic language — survived as a low-prestige but widely spoken variety beside the ruler's languages. Sicilian, Tuscan Italian, French and English not only enjoyed the prestige of a written official language but also exercised a strong influence on the Maltese vernacular, especially in the urban centres where the varieties came in close contact. The earliest document written in Maltese, Caxaro's *Cantilena*, dates from the mid-15th century, and sporadic references to the Maltese language dated from roughly the same period. Clear signs of the estrangement of Maltese from its Arabo-Islamic roots can be seen synchronically not only in the fact that it has always been written in the Roman script, but also in the European semantic content, which has often replaced the original cultural meaning in words of Arabic origin.

- 2.3 Technical language in Maltese is particularly lacking, and specialists with some interest in the language have met with considerable difficulties when trying to develop the necessary terminology for their particular area of interest. Such has been, for example, the experience in translating the EU's *Acquis Communautaire*. Also — because of the lack of qualified translators — when Malta joined the European Union on 1 May 2004 a transitional period of three years had to be established, during which the institutions of the European Union will not have to publish all acts in Maltese.
- 2.4 There is an English-speaking community in Malta, made up mainly of retired British nationals who live in Malta mostly because of its moderate Mediterranean climate. Some also have old links with the island, having served with the British forces in the past. The fact that most Maltese can converse in English is an added attraction, and helps greatly in the participation of these foreigners in the fabric of Maltese society. In fact, a few have generously supported local charitable and philanthropic institutions. A small percentage are also conversant with, if not fluent in, Maltese, though the strong presence of English in Maltese society and the ease with which they can communicate wherever they go does not provide a strong incentive for them to learn the local language. The age and the particular situation of most of the English-speaking members seems to rule out further development of that community, with future change being limited to new individuals joining the group and others leaving it, without altering the basic nature of its social and linguistic relations, whether internal or external.
- 2.5 Because of the residence in Malta of about a thousand native speakers of Arabic, made up mostly of Libyans, Palestinians, Tunisians and Egyptians, each of these countries has a diplomatic mission there. Most of them are diplomats, teachers and other persons involved in commercial activities, along with their families. Apart from speakers of Arabic who have married Maltese, this community is not, in general, a stable one, for individuals tend to live in Malta for only 3-4 years. Religious activity for these people centres around a mosque, and there is also an Islamic Cultural Centre.

### **3. Language policy**

- 3.1 The 1964 Constitution of the Republic of Malta (Chapter I,5) states that:

- (1) The National language of Malta is the Maltese language.
- (2) The Maltese and the English languages and such other language as may be prescribed by Parliament (by a law passed by not less than two-thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives) shall be the official languages of Malta and the Administration may for all official purposes use any of such languages: provided that any person may address the Administration in any of the official languages and the reply of the Administration thereto shall be in such language.
- (3) The language of the courts shall be the Maltese language: provided that Parliament may make such provision for the use of the English language in such cases and under such conditions as it may prescribe.
- (4) The House of Representatives may, in regulating its own procedure, determine the language or languages that shall be used in Parliamentary proceedings and records.

Legislation is thus enacted in both Maltese and English, but Maltese texts normally prevail over the English ones in case of conflict. When Malta was part of the British Empire English and Italian were used as official languages; Italian ceased to be an official language in 1936.

- 3.2 In 1994 the Maltese Government embarked on a new language planning strategy in 1994. A Bord għall-Ilsien Malti [Maltese Language Board] was set up with the aim of analysing the Maltese linguistic situation and making suggestions – not excluding legal measures – to protect and promote the Maltese language. In 2001 the Board produced *Strategġija għal-Lingwa Nazzjonali* [A Strategy for the National Language], a report which formed the backbone of the Maltese Language Act adopted in 2004. After stating the principles on which the Act rests, the bill envisages a Maltese Language Council [*Il-Kunsill Nazzjonali ta' l-Ilsien Malti*] which is a two-tier body, the Council proper being an executive body which deliberates on and carries out the technical language-planning decisions which are taken in the other tier, a technical commission embracing both linguists and people involved in different walks of life. The commission will operate through a number of nuclei related to the most important areas of language use, such as the media, technical terminology, translation, linguistic research, spelling, literature and information technology. Given the scarcity of statistical information regarding the actual state of the Maltese language, the Council will have to commission an appropriate description of the present state of Maltese. The main novelty in the draft Maltese Language Law is that, for the first time, the State shares with the voluntary organisations the responsibility of promoting the language, by supplying them with the means to operate better and stimulating cooperation among them.

## **4. Presence and use of the languages in various fields**

### **4.1 Education**

- 4.1.1 In the educational system (at least up to and including the secondary level), the official policy opts for bilingual education in Maltese and English, but generally speaking the subjects covered by the two languages complement each other so that subjects with an affective relation to Maltese (such as social studies, religious knowledge, Maltese history and, naturally, Maltese), while career-oriented subjects (the sciences, mathematics, business studies, etc.) are taught in English. There are a number of private “English-speaking” centres, where instruction is given exclusively in English from the pre-school level right up to university entrance. They are usually regarded as more serious and fashionable organisations by more

elitist sections of the society, and – though Maltese is taught as a compulsory subject in these schools – their students reach a level of proficiency in Maltese understandably lower than that of other centres, often coping with difficulty and lower achievement in the compulsory school-leaving examinations, which are in Maltese.

- 4.1.2 In children’s education there is more than one pattern of linguistic behaviour. The following four patterns can be distinguished on the basis of the different sequence (indicated by the numbers/letters) in which varieties are acquired by children of different families.

<b>Pattern</b>	<b>MALTESE dialect</b>	<b>MALTESE standard</b>	<b>ENGLISH</b>
A		1	2
B	1a	1b	2
C		1	1
D		2	1

One of the problems facing Maltese in education – resulting from the smallness of the community that speaks it – regards textbooks, which are predominantly in English at every level, and exclusively so in subjects which are taught in English. The small Maltese market does not ensure a regular production of new and updated textbooks. Besides, many argue that, especially for subjects without a marked cultural content, English is the ideal choice, since all the technical terminology learned from textbooks in English will prove useful for students embarking on a career. Hence the use in classroom conversation of a strain of mixed Maltese-English characterised by heavy code-switching, in which technical descriptions and terminology are always in English and serve as links to the textbook.

- 4.1.3 Maltese is the main language of instruction in most pre-school centres and is taught as a compulsory subject in all of them. In recent years there has been a slight increase in the presence of cultural content in Maltese at this level, especially in the form of nursery rhymes and children’s songs in Maltese. At the primary level, Maltese is the language of instruction in most centres and it is taught as a compulsory subject in all of them. As already stated, textbooks in Maltese are generally few, and are limited to the subjects which are taught through the language. There have been few changes in recent years other than the appointment of an Education Officer for Maltese exclusively for the primary level, which may lead to improvements. In secondary schools, Maltese is the language of instruction only in a limited number of subjects ( $\Rightarrow$  4.1.1), though it is a compulsory subject in all of them. As the student proceeds in his/her studies, the need and the presence of English becomes more felt and the use of Maltese decreases. This approach has been enshrined in the National Minimum Curriculum (the only attempt at a language policy apart from the Maltese Language Bill mentioned above), which tries to limit the widespread use of Maltese as a spoken medium of instruction and communication in schools in favour of English. The success of this policy, however, has still to be ascertained. In centres for technical and vocational education, Maltese is practically the sole medium of instruction, and this is related to the fact that nearly all these students come from workers’ families without a tradition of literacy. The shift towards English as the language of instruction becomes almost total in the sphere of tertiary education, where instruction (involving the use of external examiners and foreign visiting lecturers) entails the use of English in practically all written and spoken situations, excepting of course language courses.

Besides, the presence of non-Maltese English-speaking students in several University courses makes the use of English inevitable. There is a Department of Maltese at the University of Malta which teaches both the language and the literature up to Ph.D. level and also offers an introductory course in Maltese to interested foreign students reading for a degree in Malta or on shorter EU exchange programs. In the Faculty of Education, the Department for Languages in Education offers a 4-year undergraduate course for prospective teachers, including teachers of Maltese. Maltese is also taught at a few foreign tertiary institutions (Sorbonne in Paris and the universities of Bremen and Osnabrück in Germany) offering several study units in the language mainly for comparative purposes, due to its affinities with North African Arabic.

- 4.1.4 The Arabic-speaking community has a school for Arab children covering twelve years of schooling. Here Arabic is used as the medium of instruction: the teachers are Arabs, very often Libyan, and the schooling system follows the Libyan model, including the use of the same textbooks as in Libyan schools. Some of these families, however, prefer to send their children to Maltese state or private schools. This enables them to proceed to tertiary education without further pre-University study, as is the case with children going to the Arab school. The Islamic Cultural Centre organises Arabic lessons on Saturdays and in religion lessons for children attending Maltese schools. The Centre also runs a kindergarten and organises evening Arabic language courses by Maltese teachers specifically for non-Arab adult learners, averaging two sessions a week.

## **4.2 Judicial authorities**

Judicial proceedings normally take place in Maltese. It became the official language of the Courts in 1934<sup>64</sup>; and Art.5 para. 3 of the Constitution lays down that “The language of the courts shall be the Maltese language: Provided that Parliament may make such provision for the use of the English language in such cases and under such conditions as it may prescribe”. Art 35 states that “Any person who is arrested or detained shall be informed, at the time of his arrest or detention, in a language that he understands, of the reasons for his arrest or detention: Provided that if an interpreter is necessary and is not readily available or if it is otherwise impracticable to comply with the provisions of this subsection at the time of the person's arrest or detention, such provisions shall be complied with as soon as practicable.”

## **4.3 Public authorities and services**

English — the last of a long series of foreign rulers' languages — is often associated with education and social advancement. Much written official and administrative business is still conducted in English, though Maltese seems to be gaining ground in different areas in which it was not previously used. In its day-to-day dealings, the Government uses both Maltese and English, since they are constitutionally recognised as official languages. One long-drawn effect of the British colonial period is the tradition of considering English as the official working language of the Civil Service. However, both independence and (perhaps to a similar extent) the recent accession of Malta to the EU have reinforced the position of Maltese, which is gradually gaining ground in areas formerly occupied solely by English. Most official correspondence is now carried out in both languages and there is a marked

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<sup>64</sup> <http://www.doi.gov.mt/EN/islands/periods/malta9.asp>

effort to make Maltese more visible. In the political domain, Maltese is the only working language, presumably because it is the language with the larger democratic appeal. It is also the only language used both in Parliament and in the local councils.

#### 4.4 Mass media and information technology

Maltese features prominently in the media. Out of four daily newspapers, two are published completely in Maltese. They are *In-Nazzjon* [The Nation] and *L-Orizzont* [The Horizon], the official organs of the PN (Christian Democratic Party) and the GWU (General Workers' Union) respectively. Three Sunday newspapers and two dailies are in English. Five of the nine weeklies are published exclusively in Maltese<sup>65</sup>: *Il-Mument* [The Moment] (PN), *KullHadd* (every Sunday, by the Malta Labour Party), *It-Torċa* [The Torch] (GWU), the official Church organ *Leĥen is-Sewwa* [The Voice of Truth], *Il-Ġens* [The People] (owned by the Maltese Church). Three of the main periodicals published in Malta are in Maltese: *Antenna* [Antenna], *Gwida* [Guide], *Familja Kana* [Cana Family]. Of the radio stations, all 10, of which 8 are private stations, broadcast mainly in Maltese. The predominance of private stations is due to the introduction of pluralism in broadcasting in the early nineties. There are four main television stations and they all broadcast mainly in Maltese. According to a recent audience survey commissioned by Broadcasting Authority Malta,<sup>66</sup> TVM took 49% of the morning share, 16% of the afternoon share (second to Super 1, with 27% and alongside Satellite, with 16%), and 33% of the evening share (ahead of Super 1, with 25%). Programmes in English tend to be relegated to off-peak hours. However, all films are shown in English; the bilingual situation and financial considerations make the dubbing of films impracticable. Programmes in Maltese, especially sitcoms, comedies and variety programmes, are immensely popular, especially during prime time viewing in the evening. Also still popular are television programmes on Italian channels. In the sphere of information technology, Maltese, like other languages of small communities, tends to lag behind. There is no spell-checker for Maltese yet and no computer-assisted translation tools, and only one very basic online dictionary. There is a governmental site on the use of new technologies (<http://www.cimu.gov.mt/htdocs/content.asp?c=497>). Other popular websites in Maltese include three online newspapers (*L-Orizzont*, *It-Torċa* and *KullHadd*). Several television networks relay films and newsreels in English, and there are three Sunday newspapers and two dailies in English.

#### 4.5 Arts, culture and associations

- 4.5.1 Most books published in Malta are in Maltese. They are mainly children's books, novels and religious books. In the sphere of popular music, apart from the traditional *għana* which is restricted to a tiny sector of Maltese society but which has lately been boosted by the organisation of a yearly *Festival ta' l-Għana* [Festival of Folk Music], one can find two types of musical composition in Maltese, the folk-art song associated mainly with the yearly festival *L-Għanja tal-Poplu* [The People's Song], and the commercial type of song, the common platform for which are the festivals organised by the two main political parties. However, as in other European countries, the predominance of modern music in English is evident also in the Maltese islands. Plays in Maltese, at both the literary and

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.aboutmalta.com/grazio/press.html>

<sup>66</sup> [http://www.ba-malta.org/surveys/m\\_audience.htm](http://www.ba-malta.org/surveys/m_audience.htm)

popular levels, are quite popular. However, recent comments by theatre critics in the press have highlighted a gradual decrease in the production of Maltese or translated literary plays in the National Theatre, heavily subsidised by the government.

- 4.5.2 Although organisations promoting Maltese cultural identity have existed at least since the 19th century, at the beginning the Maltese language did not feature prominently in their programme: members of the associations normally belonged to the higher echelons of society and used Italian. However, following the Language Question (which successfully challenged the cultural supremacy of Italian), the movement in favour of Maltese gave rise to a small number of organisations — mainly of a literary nature — with the express aim of developing a Maltese literature in answer to the old taunts that Maltese was an uncultured dialect or “language of the kitchen” [*lingwa tal-kċina*]. The oldest and most prestigious of these was the *Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti* [Society of Maltese Authors], founded in 1920 and renamed *Akkademja tal-Malti* [Academy of the Maltese Language] in 1964. The Academy’s first task was to establish a standard spelling for Maltese, which came about in 1924 and was made official in 1934. This orthography, which is still the official spelling of Maltese, uses Roman letters with roughly their equivalent Italian sound, but introduces a minimum of diacritical signs aimed at rendering the script more strictly phonetic (*ċ* = ‘ch’ in ‘chin’, *ġ* = ‘g’ in ‘gin’, *ħ* = ‘h’ in ‘help’, *ż* = ‘z’ in ‘zip’, and the mute digraph *għ*). It was followed by the university students’ society *L-Għaqda tal-Malti (Università)* which is very active at present, and by a number of other literary groups, including the *Moviment Qawmien Letterarju* [Movement for a Literary Renaissance] which in the 60’s and 70’s caused a veritable upheaval in the priorities of themes and stylistics of Maltese writing. More recently an association for teachers of Maltese *Għaqda ta’ l-Għalliema tal-Malti* was established. It has been very successful in helping teachers of Maltese update and upgrade their teaching methods and academic knowledge. *PoezijaPlus* and *Inizjamed* have also been very active recently in the literary sphere, the latter establishing interesting contacts with foreign literary centres and embarking on a programme of exchange of literary figures, in an effort to overcome cultural isolation and make Maltese literature available abroad. Overall, it may be claimed that — apart from promoting Maltese literature — the voluntary organisations, however active, have not done much in the way of language planning: their tradition and attitude were predominantly literary, and their scope not wide enough to encompass all aspects of language use.

## 4.6 The business world

Both Maltese and English are considered as job requirements by most employers in Malta, although English usually takes the precedence. Advertising in Maltese is on the increase, though it has a long way to go in order to compete with English. This is particularly true in the case of newspaper advertisements. If there is a field where Maltese seems to be totally absent, that it is the field of consumer information: except for a few locally produced items, goods are labelled and instructions given exclusively in English, and less frequently in Italian or in another European language.

## 4.7 Family and the social use of the languages

- 4.7.1 In general, there is a dearth of statistical data relating to the state of Maltese and its use in the different walks of life. It has often been noted that — compared to other emigrant populations — the Maltese exhibit a low level of retention of their native language. In spite of its smallness, Maltese has several geographically-determined dialects going back to a time when the demography of the islands permitted the existence of various tiny communities, each with its own particular phonetic and intonational variants, but with few differences where grammar and vocabulary are concerned. Dialect speakers are normally regarded as rustic and uncouth by non-dialect speakers, and educated people tend to avoid all traces of dialect in their speech. Within many older town and village centres, however, the dialect is spoken extensively, and is occasionally used as a social bond to the exclusion of “foreigners”.
- 4.7.2 While “correct” British English is considered as a socially desirable goal, practically all usage is influenced by Maltese to varying extents. Linguists identify a particular mixed form of English which they term “Maltese English”. It is also quite common to hear persons, especially of the younger generation, code-mixing or code-switching between Maltese and English.
- 4.7.3 As evinced by a recent survey (Sciriha and Vassallo 2001), Maltese features very highly in the interpersonal and family spheres of communication. About 90% claim to use it to communicate with family members, while the figure drops to 83.6% for communication with friends. Besides, there is a general tendency for the figure to decrease gradually as we go down the age scale, perhaps indicating that, as the younger generations become more bilingual, a steadily increasing percentage tend to communicate with family and friends in English. This could also be explained, if not triggered, by the growing tendency of a relatively small portion of Maltese to educate (and speak to) their children in English. On the other hand, according to the same study, a full 98.6% consider Maltese as their native language. According to Milian i Massana (2004) as many as 14% of the population seem to use English in the family, and 29% at work. For Maltese these figures are 90% (as mentioned above) and 70% respectively. Other interesting figures from the 1995 census indicated that 76% of the adult population knew English, and 36% Italian.
- 4.7.4 It has been noted that while Maltese may be almost absent in the life of children who are educated solely in English, its role increases as the child grows and integrates into society — despite a different initial set of sociolinguistic values and attitudes. Thus, when the young man or woman begins to work, as often as not they adapt — albeit with some difficulty — to the new situation where colleagues communicate mainly in Maltese and in mixed Maltese-English. The gender variable is present in the choice of language and somehow intersects the age variable, men tend to use Maltese more than women especially among the young, while older women (of whom only a small percentage go out to work) use Maltese more than their male peers.. Some people are critical of the use of Maltese by the younger generation, especially where the sectorial language of young people is concerned. They tend to regard language as their inherited possession and even as a static code, which they regard young people and most people in the media as being guilty of tarnishing. On the other hand, the new European status of Maltese has boosted its image and has given to many a new confidence in their language.

- 4.7.5 Church services (including mass, homilies and ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, etc.) are almost exclusively in Maltese, except for services for the small communities of foreign language speakers. There is a small percentage of society who prefer church services in English, and a church in Sliema holds services exclusively in English. Church hymns are predominantly in Maltese, though most of the younger generation do not seem averse to the introduction of hymns in English during mass.

## **5. Summary and conclusions**

Through Malta's long history of successive dominations the native language has played a subordinate role to the ruling language, and this has kept the language both from enjoying any sort of social status and from being cultivated in its corpus. This process has brought Maltese nearest to the typical position of a minority language, despite being the language of the absolute majority of the people: it was precisely the large mass of isolated monolinguals that actually assured its continued preservation in the face of so many cultural and linguistic dominations. Although the last century has witnessed a substantial change in the status of Maltese (both locally and internationally), its development is now affected by the massive influence of media in English and by the fact that the great majority of the Maltese are now bilingual, and thus free to choose either English or Maltese as their own and their children's medium of expression. The present situation of Maltese clearly reflects the historical situation, both in the language itself and, even more so, in the people's attitudes towards their mother tongue and other languages. The inferior status traditionally associated with Maltese has also contributed to a sense of low self-esteem wherever the language is concerned. As we have seen, there is a thematic — and therefore cultural — subdivision in education between emotional/affective subjects (in Maltese) and career-oriented subjects (in English), and Maltese lacks the terminology for many areas of modern life from which it has been traditionally excluded. As far as bilingualism goes, Malta has inherited (and at present enjoys) what could be described as an ideal situation on the one hand a small but dynamic language of identity and on the other a language of international standing which enables vital contacts between the island and the outside world. But the social connotations that are linked to language choice, and the fact that many parents tend to consider bilingualism as an unwelcome if not unnecessary burden on their children — often opting to expose them solely to one of the two languages during their first five or even ten years of education — potentially undermines the benefits of bilingualism.

## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 The nation-state of Poland (PL) covers an area of 312,685 km<sup>2</sup> in Central Europe. To the West, the country borders on Germany, in the South-West on the Czech Republic, in the South on Slovakia, in the South-East on the Ukraine, in the East on Belarus, in the North-East on Lithuania and in the North on Russia and the Baltic Sea. The biggest cities are the capital Warsaw [*Warszawa*] (approx. 1.6 million inhabitants), Lodz [*ŁódźŁódź*] (approx. 800,000 inhabitants), Krakow [*Kraków*] (approx. 740,000 inhabitants), Wrocław [*Wrocław*] (approx. 637,000 inhabitants) and Poznan [*Poznań*] (approx. 578,000 inhabitants). In 2001 the employment rate was 56.7% of the labour force, 18.1% working in agri- and silviculture, 31.4% in industry and construction and 50.5% in services. The North-East (Warmian-Masurian Voivodship [*województwo*]; shortened version: Warmia-Masuria) and the East (Lublin Voivodship) are economically weak areas, whereas the centre around Warsaw is booming. After the administrative reform in 1999, Poland was divided into 16 provinces/voivodships (see map) which are in turn divided into 315 districts [*powiat*] and 2,489 municipalities [*gmina*].



- 1.2 The Republic of Poland [*Rzeczpospolita Polska*] is a parliamentary democracy. The head of state is the president, who is elected directly for a term of five years. The head of government is the prime minister, who is appointed by the president and confirmed by the parliament: the Sejm [*Sejm*]. The members of Sejm are elected by proportional representation for a four-year term. Between 1995 and 1999 the gross domestic product per capita increased by 10.7%, in 2003 by 3.7%. In 2000 unemployment was at 12.1 % and in 2003 it increased to approximately 20%. Inflation was approximately 7% in 2001 and until 2004 it decreased to 3.7%. The major export goods of Poland are machines (assembly plants of various car companies), electronic goods and textiles. Poland's most important trade partners are other EU countries, especially Germany, France and Italy.

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 The region between Vistula [*Wisła*] and Warta, known as Greater Poland [*Wielkopolska*] is the origin of the Polish state. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century it was populated by the Slavonic tribe of the Polans whose main settlement was *Gniezno* and who were ruled by the Piasts. The Jewish beginnings in Poland also date back to that period, since the Polans accommodated Jews who were persecuted in many parts of Europe. Important historical events regarding the ethnic constitution were the shift of the borders to the East in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as well as political unions with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Kreva Union of 1385, Horodło Union of 1413 and Lublin Union of 1569). Apart from an expansion to the East, this Union (which lasted until 1795) entailed a Germanisation of the western Polish settlements and a Polishisation of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian population. 1795 was also the date of the third division of Poland among Russia, Austria and Prussia when the Polish state ceased to exist for 123 years. Poland entered the era of nation states with a certain amount of delay, in 1918. However, the interwar republic struggled with its borders since the regions it incorporated were quite controversial in West Prussia, Poznań, East Prussia and Upper Silesia. Most German inhabitants of the former Prussian provinces Posen and West Prussia emigrated to Germany. During the Second World War the Republic of Poland was broken up between Soviet Russia and Germany. As a result of the Yalta Agreement, Poland lost one third of its pre-war territories which were annexed to the Soviet Union. As “compensation” Poland received a large part of Germany, i. e. all territories east of the rivers Oder and Neisse (Brandenburg, East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia), from the allies. Nearly the whole ‘original’ population in these regions, which remained sedentary despite the above-mentioned border shifts, had already fled in 1945 or was expelled or resettled in Germany. The regions were populated with Polish refugees from the eastern parts of Poland, who did not want to live under a Soviet government. At that time, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were forced to leave Poland and settle in the Soviet Union. Most of the Jews who survived the extinction policy of the Nazi regime emigrated to Israel or the US. Between 1947 and 1989 (the Stalinist era lasted till 1956) Poland, as a communist state, was part of the Soviet sphere of influence. In the 1980s the economic decline triggered a political change promoted by the union *Solidarność*. In the 1989 elections the communists were defeated and *Solidarność* won every seat it sought. Later on *Solidarność* constituted the government followed by the dissociation of the Communist Bloc.
- 2.2 The first free parliamentary elections took place in 1991 and in 1992 a transitional Constitution was established. In 1999 Poland joined NATO, after the Constitution of the Republic of Poland had been adopted on 2 April two years before. Article 34 of the Constitution states that the Polish nationality is gained through birth by parents of Polish nationality. The new Constitution brought a short period of political stability to the country, which was followed by a process of intrastate changes following the presidential elections in 2000. Independence became the symbol of Polish politics, and during the last elections euroscepticism grew stronger. The 1989 political change left its traces in all Slavonic languages. The Anglo-American influence on the vocabulary is particularly striking. More subtle but none the less important are the profound changes due to the abolition of censorship and thus the various political language provisions well as the orientation towards the European Union (especially in the press).
- 2.3 With respect to religion On the other hand Poland is a very homogenous area regarding religion. Over 90% of the population declare themselves being of Roman-Catholic faith. The second group is the Orthodox community which is

mainly composed of members of the Belarusian and Ruthenian ethnic minorities. In addition, there are about 100,000 Protestants as well as 110,000 members of the Ukrainian Uniate Church and as many of Jehovah's Witnesses and a few thousand Jews. The high homogeneity is due to the fact that in the time around World War II, the Protestant Germans fled or were expelled, Poland lost the regions with a high proportion of Orthodox and the Jews became victims of the Holocaust. Therefore, no noteworthy religious conflicts have occurred in recent times. Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities were only able to reclaim their sacred buildings after the democratisation in 1990, as they had previously been used by the Roman Catholic church since WWII.

### 3. Demographic data

3.1 According to the 2002 census Poland has 38 million inhabitants with a density of 123 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>. The population has remained relatively stable over the last 30 years. In addition, there has hardly been any migration. Until 1989 official sources mentioned 'old immigrants', some of which were political refugees from Greece and Macedonia in the 1960s. The 'new immigrants' are Belarusians, Armenians, Russians and immigrants from Asian countries, especially from Vietnam. However, there is an enormous rupture distinction between the pre- and the post-war time: before World War II the non-Polish population was estimated at 30% to 60% whereas today national minorities in Poland only account for 2% to 4% (approx. 1.1 to 1.7 million) of the population.

3.2 In order to prepare for the ratification and implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which was signed in 2003, the Polish authorities distinguish three categories of regional and national minorities: members of nine national minorities [mniejszości narodowe], members of four ethnic minorities [mniejszości etniczne] and one community using a regional language [społeczność posługująca się językiem regionalnym] (see also Report Submitted by Poland on the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities). The following estimates can be made regarding the size of these 14 language groups:

Official category	Language	Estimate*	% of total population
<b>National minorities</b>	German	300,000 – 400,000	0.8 – 1.0%
	Belorussian/arusian	250,000 – 300,000	0.6 – 0.8%
	Ukrainian	300,000	0.8%
	Lithuanian	30,000	0.08%
	Russian	20,000	0.05%
	Slovak	15,000	0.04%
	Czech	3,000	0.01%
	Yiddish	5,000	0.01%
	Armenian	1,500	0.01%
<b>Ethnic minorities</b>	Ruthenian/Russinian/ Lemkish	50,000	0.13%
	Roma	20,000	0.05%
	Tartarian	2,000	0.01%
	Karaim	150	-
<b>Regional language group</b>	Kashubian	250,000 – 300,000	0.6-0.8%
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,246,650 – 1,446,650</b>	<b>3.2 – 3.8%</b>

\* Sources: <http://www.armenien.at>; Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook on Contact Linguistics 1996, International Journal of the Sociology of Language 1996, <http://www.cesnur.org> 2003.

- 3.3 The figures of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights from 1999 and the Association for Civic Media (Poland) from 2003 are slightly higher. They count the Greek speakers who do not appear in the official lists for ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as a minority. However, the Helsinki list does not distinguish between Ukrainian and Ruthenian/Lemkish, so the number of language groups is still 14. Irrespective of the number of speakers in those statistics the minorities in Poland can be divided into groups which live in a greater coherent area and groups which are scattered all over the country. Historically and geographically the first group in eastern Poland includes the Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian minorities. However, it should be noted that after the military Vistula Operation [Akcja Wisła/Wisła Akcion] in April 1947 approximately 150,000 Ukrainians (including Ruthenians/Lemks) from South-West Poland were dispersed into northern and western Poland in order to break their civil disorder. This operation was condemned by the new Polish parliament in 1990. The Slovaks in the South of Poland have fixed settlements, whereas there were several shifts in the West. As a result, the German language minority of this region claims its own nationality – Silesian. To the North there is the settlement area of the Kashubians, which is also cohesive.
- 3.4 There are differing estimates and statistics for the national and ethnic minorities, which is not only due to the fact that during Socialism, nationality was not explicitly registered. For the first time after the interwar period, the last census in 2002 included questions on ethnicity and nationality. According to the census 471,000 inhabitants of Poland (whereof 444,590 of them citizens) belonged to a national minority – a number which hugely differs from the scientific estimates made by the above-mentioned sources. The following table shows the major ethnicities according to national identity and use of a language as ‘home language’:

	<b>People of Polish and non-Polish citizenship</b>	
	<b>Other ethnicity</b>	<b>Other home language</b>
German	152,897	204,573
Jewish/ Hebrew	1,133	Hebrew: 225
Karaim	45	-
Kashubian	5,062	52,665
Lemkish	5,863	5,627
Lithuanian	5,864	5,838
Roma	12,855	15,788
Silesian	173,153	56,643
Slovak	2,001	921
Tartarian	495	-
Czech	831	1,482
Ukrainian	30,957	22,698
Belarusian	48,737	40,650
<b>Total</b>	<b>439,893</b>	<b>407,110</b>

The largest minority is the Silesians with 174,000 members. The 5,062 members of the Kashubian minority live in the area around Gdansk. Polish citizens with of German origins have been able to apply for dual citizenship for some time now. Until 2002, this right was used by approx. 288,000 persons (Source: Main statistical authority/*Główny Urząd Statystyczny*).

- 3.5 It is very difficult to give an unbiased answer to the question which ethnic or national group a person belongs to. Generally it is not possible to give an answer that is unbiased with regards to the ethnic or national group that a person belongs to. A total of 770,000 participants did not even declare their nationality. According to the census 204,000 persons stated using the German language at home on a daily basis. It was estimated that 300,000 members of the German minority live in the region of Opole-Silesia. However, according to a report issued by the statistical authority only about 107,000 Germans live there. According to this source, there are also 24,200 Silesians and 157,000 inhabitants with dual citizenship (Polish-German) living in the voivodship ([http://www.vda-globus.de/Aktuelles/hauptteil\\_aktuelles.html](http://www.vda-globus.de/Aktuelles/hauptteil_aktuelles.html)). These figures must be compared to the ones of the census where approx. 57,000 persons stated that they speak Silesian at home in everyday life. Furthermore, there are more members of the German nationality than speakers of German whereas the opposite is true for Silesian. Despite Poland being a relatively homogeneous country, the issue of ethnic and national identity remains of high relevance.

#### **4. Language policy**

- 4.1 While pre-war Poland was very open towards its heterogeneous character this situation changed fundamentally after World War II. Especially during the Stalinist era minorities had no rights in the centralised socialist state; they were even oppressed (see for example the 2000 Pax Christi International). The main victims of this policy were the Ukrainian and German minorities due to the events of the Second World War. Although the policy towards minorities changed with the end of the Stalinist era in 1956, it was only in the 1980s that a new awareness emerged in this respect. With the election of a representative of the Ukrainian minority to the Sejm in 1989, the true 'revival' of the minorities began, until this time they were not very organised on a political level. Today the Ministry of the Interior is in charge of minority matters and since January 2000 it runs its own department for national minorities. It was completed on 6 February 2002 by the team for national minorities which is still working today.
- 4.2 Article 35 of the Polish Constitution guarantees Polish citizens who belong to a national or ethnic minority the freedom to preserve and to develop their own language, to maintain their customs and traditions as well as to develop their own culture. According to article 27 of the 1997 Constitution, Polish is the official language of the Republic of Poland. This legislation does not infringe upon the rights of national minorities guaranteed by ratified international law. Article 35 of the Constitution states the following regarding national minorities: "National and ethnic minorities shall have the right to establish educational and cultural institutions, institutions designed to protect religious identity, as well as the right to participate in the resolution of matters connected with their cultural identity" (Source: <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/english/konstytucja/kon1.htm>). According to this differentiation, the regulation applies to: Armenian, Belarusian, Czech, German, Jewish, Lithuanian, Russian, Slovak and Ukrainian.
- 4.3 The constitutional principles concerning national minorities were further developed through the Act on the Polish Language of 7 October 1999. It states that the status of the Polish language should not be extended at the cost of other languages. Direct positive developments are: the bilateral agreements between the Republic of Poland and Germany, the Czech and the Slovak Republic, the Republic of Belarus, the Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania. On 10 November 2000 President Aleksander Kwaśniewski signed the Framework Convention for the

Protection of National Minorities and on 1 April 2001 the Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Report Submitted by Poland on the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities). The Minister for the Interior is responsible for policies concerning national minorities. These policies are coordinated by a team in charge of matters of national minorities (see above).

4.4 Minority languages have been formally acknowledged in the education system in the context of article 13 of the regulation on the school system since the transition period after 1989. Moreover, the decree of 3 December 2002 issued by the Minister for Education and Sports specifies how minorities can preserve their national, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity within the education system ranging from pre- to secondary school by learning more about their language, history and culture. The decree extended the scope of the 1992 decree – which restricted the minority rights – to include national minorities. Minority language classes depend on a required minimum of pupils. If this number is reached, the minority language will be taken into consideration as follows:

- a) Schools and nurseries can offer classes and education in the minority language.
- b) Bilingual institutions can be established.
- c) Schools can offer classes in minority languages as an extra subject.
- d) Finally, there is the possibility of inter-school groups which combine minority language classes of different schools.

The schools are financed by the government, based on the decree of 22 December 2003 on the self-administration of schools as of 2004, which was issued by the Minister for Education and Sports. According to the decree, financial support from the government for school expenses may be raised to 20% (and in some schools even to 50%) per pupil belonging to a minority. This is an important incentive for minorities since most of their schools are public, except for the Jewish minority schools in Warsaw. In Poland compulsory education applies to all children between the ages of six and 15/16. The education system is formally divided into six levels and according to the 2002 decree minorities can promote their culture throughout the system (and minorities can support their culture according to the 2002 decree): I. Nursery [*przedszkole*] – 3/4 to 6/7 years; II. Primary school [*szkoła podstawowa*] – 6/7 to 12/13 years; III. Grammar school [*gimnazjum*] – 12/13 to 15/16 years; IV. General secondary school [*liceum ogólnokształcące*] or Vocational secondary school [*technikum / liceum techniczne*] – 15/16 to 18/19 years or General vocational school/Economics school [*zasadnicza szkoła zawodowa*], V. University [*uniwersytet, akademia, wyższa szkoła*] – 18/19 to 23/24 years and VI. Postgraduate education: four-year doctorate studies [*studia doktoranckie*] or one- to two-year certificate courses [*studia podyplomowe*]. Comparing the official Polish list with the Helsinki list, the following distribution rates can be determined for seven of the 15 language groups:

Language	Number of Schools		
	Primary (2002/2003)	Grammar (2002/2003)	Secondary (2002/2003)
German	261	63	1
Kashubian	48	8	4
Ruthenian/ Lemkish	14	6	1
Lithuanian	13	3	3
Slovak	6	4	1
Ukrainian	80	46	10
Belarusian	24	12	4

Several universities have departments for different languages. However, this does not mean that they are being studied as minority languages. Interestingly, there is no representation of the Kashubians who are classified as a regional language community by Polish authorities. The state produces teaching materials, but ultimately this depends on the local situation. The Ministry for Education and Sports monitors the minority schools at a provincial level [*województwo*]. There is an increasing trend to use the internet for classes or to distribute teaching materials for minority languages.

- 4.5 Article 21, section 9 of the Act on Radio and Television of 29 December 1992 commits public stations to adapt their programmes to the needs of national minorities and ethnic groups. The public regional TV station *Telewizja Polska 3* broadcasts twelve regional programmes for several minorities: Białystok, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk, Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warszawa (Warsaw) and Wrocław. In a revision of this legislation, which was adopted on 1 February 2001, a new category of social stations was created which minority stations can apply for and which work in close cooperation with public stations.
- 4.6 According to article 5 of the act on the constitution of general courts of 27 July 2001 (Journal of Laws no. 98, item 1070) persons with insufficient knowledge of Polish have the right to request an interpreter for their respective language. This right applies to criminal proceedings, civil proceedings and administrative courts. Legal documents can only be written in Polish but translations into other languages are possible. A document issued in a minority language has to be translated into Polish in order to be legally binding.
- 4.7 Since Polish is the only official language (art. 27 of the Polish Constitution) other languages may neither be used in contacts with authorities nor in business. Therefore, descriptions of goods, offers and advertisements in a language other than Polish and appearing in a legal context whatsoever have to be translated into Polish. However, national, regional and local authorities allow the use of minority language names and surnames. The act on the Polish language also allows the use of names and information texts in minority languages.

#### 4. The European dimension

On 12 May 2003 Poland signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. As a result, the national and ethnic minorities as well as the Kashubian regional language group are registered in additional lists. Moreover, Poland seeks a regional approach regarding minority issues by concluding transnational and bilateral agreements with its neighbours as well as adopting the Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (see above).

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

1.1.1 Belorussian [*belaruskaja mova*], along with Russian and Ukrainian, is an East Slavonic language. The three languages were spoken in the Kievan Rus region (9<sup>th</sup> century; see language report Ukrainian). Today, the centre for the Belorussian language in Poland is Białystok [*Belastok*] the capital of the Podlasie Voivodship (North East Poland) at approx. 180km from Warsaw. The language is mostly spoken by students and Belorussian academics, often in the context of religious or folk celebrations.

1.1.2 In Soviet times, Belorussian was almost completely replaced by the Russian language. In Belarus much of the population speaks a language that is mixed with Russian (which is deprecatingly called *Trasjanka* [fodder]) although Belorussian is the official language. Even in Poland it is hard to speak in terms of a Belorussian standard language as many inhabitants in rural areas speak Belorussian, Ukrainian or Polish dialects or mixed forms. Interference between the languages is extremely common and has generated special toponymical forms.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The ancestors of the Belorussians in Poland settled in this region since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Most Belorussians still live in Białystok or its surroundings. The city was founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and since 1665 was ruled by the Branicki family. In 1749 it obtained the status of a town and 1795 Białystok came under Prussian and in 1807 under Russian reign. After World War I it was assigned to Poland and at the beginning of World War II, as a result of the Hitler-Stalin pact, to the Soviet Union. In 1941 it was occupied by the German Wehrmacht and became part of East Prussia. In 1944/45 the Red Army re-conquered it and it now belongs to Poland.

1.2.2 In this region, the Belorussian and Polish dialects influence each other considerably. This entails a very complex dialectal situation in East Poland (Smułkowa, Elzbeieta 1997).

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Because the Polish authorities acknowledge the Belorussians as a national minority, article 35 of the Constitution as well as the respective decrees of the Ministry of Education and Sports also apply to them (see country report). The Belorussian minority is represented in local councils, especially in the Podlasie region. In addition, three members of parliament are of Belorussian nationality.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The use of Belorussian at school is based on the 2002 decree of the Minister for National Education and Sports (see country report). While the number of schools for other minorities in Poland has increased, there are fewer and fewer schools for Belorussians. In the school year 2002/2003 there were 24 primary schools, 12 grammar schools and four secondary schools where Belorussian was taught. Recently, a faculty for Belorussian was established at Białystok University.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

People who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a Belorussian-speaking interpreter (see country report).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

Since the Polish language is the only official language according to article 27 of the Constitution, the use of a language other than Polish is not allowed (see country report).

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There are no daily newspapers in Belorussian. The following periodicals are published in Belorussian on a weekly or monthly basis: *Niwa*, *Czasopis*, since 1998 *Epoch*, *Haradockija Nawiny*, since 2000 *Prawincyja*, *Termapily*, *Annus Albaruthenicus* and *Bielski Hościniec*. The public *Radio Białystok* broadcasts two weekly programmes for the Belorussian minority in Poland: *Pod znakami Pahoni* and *Pažadalnaja pieśnia*. In Białystok, the programme *About us [O nas]* is produced: it features information on the minorities of the Podlasie region with 10 minutes of information on Belorussian. This TV station also broadcasts the programme *Neighbours [Sąsiedzi]* once a month, which deals with issues of the Belorussian minority in Poland.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

In 2002 three books were officially published in Belorussian and in 2003 one book was published. Belorussian is often used in traditional music rather than rock or pop music. Since 1996 the student theatre group *Lublin-Warszawa* performs a play in Belorussian once or twice a year. There are the following cultural events: the Belorussian youth music festival *Basowischtscha* which aims at bringing together Polish and Belorussian adolescents and is organised by the Belorussian students organisation; the festival *Belorussian Song* in Białystok, the Festival of the Belorussian Culture in Białystok [*Festiwal Kultury Białoruskiej*]; the Polish and Belorussian literature workshops *Biazmieschscha*; the poetry and prose competition *Debiut* and *Kupalle* – Holiday in Białowieża.

## 2.6 The business world

According to article 27 of the Constitution, Belorussian, just as any other minority language, is of no importance in the business world as official language. The use of Russian is dominating over that of Belorussian in the Republic of Belarus. The importance of Belorussian for cross-border business is thus only slowly increasing and is especially based on the strong national feeling of the Belorussians in Poland. One of the most vigorously developing sectors of Białystok's economy is trade and services. This sector makes up about 24% of all employment in Białystok (about 30,000 people). The importance of services, in a broader sense, is increasing; they include the so-called business environments, especially financial agencies, real estate and business services, hotels and restaurants, as well as transport and communication. The local trade infrastructure comprises numerous trade chains, such as PSS *Spolem*, *Przemysł Mięśny Białystok*, *Jeronimo Martins Dystrybucja Biedronka*, *Marcpol*, or *Massa*; shopping centres such as *Auchan*, *Aneks*, *Omnidom*, *Leroy Merlin* or *Makro*; companies specialising in trade with eastern markets; *Gielda Rolno-Towarowa S.A.* and the biggest market in north-eastern Poland *Kawaleryjska*. The city's location strengthens its role as a centre of exchange between the East and West and thus has a positive influence on the development of trade.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

- 2.7.1 In the 2002 census 40,650 persons declared Belorussian as their home language, 8,000 less than those also declaring Belorussian nationality. However, Belorussian organisations and experts estimate the number of Belorussian-speakers at up to 300,000 (see 1.2.2). Most Belorussians in Poland are bilingual Belorussian-Polish or Belorussian-Russian.
- 2.7.2 The majority of Belorussians in Poland belong to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church which has approx. 550,000 members. Services are mostly held in Belorussian. A small minority belongs to the Belorussian Catholic Church which has its origins, along with the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in the Union of Brest-Litovsk from 1595/96. This religious split is one of the reasons why Belorussians in Poland identify themselves more with their nationality than the Belorussians in Belarus: the membership in the Orthodox Church distinguishes them from the Poles and is a statement of strong local roots in the region.
- 2.7.3 The oldest Belorussian organisation – the Socio-cultural Society – was founded in 1956 and from 1988 to 1993 it was the only Belorussian organisation for cultural issues of the Belorussians in Poland. In 1993 the Belorussian Union was founded: it serves as an umbrella organisation for other organisations: the Belorussian Literary Association *Bialowieza* or the Belorussian Students' Organisation [*Białoruskie Zrzeszenie Studentów*].

## 3. Conclusion

The biggest problem for the Belorussian minority is the rapid assimilation process that has happened over the past few years. It is mainly due to a lack of a national consciousness on the part of the Belorussians – also in Belarus – which impedes a lasting unification as a minority group. Moreover, the dynamic movements resulting in the 1981 students' movement lose their political impetus. The situation

of the Belorussian language is extremely precarious since even in Belarus – where it is the official language – Belorussian is about to disappear. The current situation is similar to that of Soviet times so a total dissolution of Belorussian in Russian is almost unavoidable now. It will probably subsist as a mixed dialect with low prestige. Furthermore, Belorussian is threatened by a language variety spoken in the South of Belarus – the so-called Western Polessian – which some people wish to establish as a separate standard.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

- 1.1.1 German is an Indo-Germanic language of the Germanic language family. The so-called East Germanic is a generic term for the dialects of the North Germanic tribes who left their Scandinavian home and settled in the area of today's eastern Germany and Poland. The migration took place during the 400 years known as "Common Germanic Time". One of these Vandalic tribes was the Lugii [*Lygians*] who came to Silesia in about 100BC and repelled the local Celts. The Vandalic tribe of the Silingi is said to be the origin of the name for Silesia. In 800, under Charlemagne, the word 'German' emerged as a denomination and a coherent language area was created. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century Silesia became part of the Kingdom of Bohemia and thus of the German language area. As from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after the Silesian Wars, Silesia was no longer part of this area.
- 1.1.2 Over the centuries, the language contact between German and Polish caused interference and transference. During Old High German and Middle High German times words were already borrowed from German in Polish. However, most of the borrowings in Polish derive from the Early New High German and New High German and belong to the fields of trade, craft, construction, military and seafaring. Due to the widespread bilingualism among the German settlers, Polish also influences the German vernaculars – especially in East Prussia and Silesia. In the Silesian vernacular, Polish equally influences the vocabulary, phonetics and grammar. For example, Polish influences become evident in the word order: *Hab ihm gestern gesagt* ["told him yesterday", rather than the usual "I told him yesterday"]. Another typical feature of German in Silesia is the common use of reflexive verbs: *sich spielen, sich gehen* [play oneself, go oneself]. Even before World War II, Polish speakers in Upper Silesia were often exposed to German influences through the education system and administration the Polish Silesian vernacular (e.g. the famous vernacular 'Water Polish' [*Wasserpölnisch*]) has characteristics which do not occur in the Polish standard language or other Polish vernaculars. After World War II the influence of Polish on the German language in Poland increased. For many young people German has become a foreign language and this has made way for the trilingualism of local vernacular, regional variation of the German standard language and Polish.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

- 1.2.1 Originally, Silesia was inhabited by the East Germanic tribes of the Silingi and Lugii. During the migration of nations, the East Teutons moved to the South and the Slavs settled in Silesia in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In 1138 the empire of the Piasts was divided; an independent Silesian line emerged. The Silesian Piasts linked themselves to the German West from within through marriages with daughters of German sovereigns, e.g. the marriage of Henry I (1202-38) with Hedwig von Andechs who was canonised in 1267 and is still admired as the country's patron saint.

The settlement of German peasants, craftsmen, traders and miners, most of them from the Thuringia-Upper Saxony region, was increasingly promoted by the territorial lords. Modelled on the cities of Magdeburg and Halle, German law ruled in the 120 towns until mid 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1458 the Hungarian king Corvinus succeeded in gaining the Bohemian crown and thus the divided Silesia. As his successors remained without a male heir he concluded a marriage agreement with Emperor Maximilian I for the latter's grandchild Ferdinand. In this way, from 1526 onwards, Silesia belonged to the Habsburgs for 200 years. In 1740 King Frederic II of Prussia invaded the barely protected Silesia with his army. In the Peace of Breslau (1742) Maria Theresia had to cede Silesia, and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the province was extended to parts of the Saxon Upper Lusatia [Oberlausitz] with the towns Lauban, Görlitz and Hoyerswerda. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Silesia experienced strong economic improvement. Apart from state initiatives – in Malapane the first machine factory in Prussia called *Königliche Hütte* [Royal Smelter] was built – active private entrepreneurs created the basis for a thriving coal-mining district. Many “Water Polish”-speakers from rural areas took this dialect, which was different from the advanced standard Polish, with them when moving to the rapidly growing cities. It contained many German borrowings while German peasants and miners used many Polish expressions. This coexistence only started to break up in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to national distinctions which were also enforced by the “germanisation” policy of the German Empire. A simplification was made by equating ‘Polish’ with ‘Catholic’ as well as ‘German’ or ‘Prussian’ with ‘Protestant’. With the Treaty of Versailles, the whole of Upper Silesia was ceded to Poland after World War I. As of 1939 Silesia served as a concentration area for Hitler's offensive armies. In 1945 Soviet troops conquered Silesia. At the Yalta Conference (February 1945) it was agreed that the Silesian territories up to the Oder and Neisse rivers would fall under Polish administration. On 21 June 1990 both the German parliament and the GDR People's Parliament consented – in the context of the German Unification Treaty – to maintain the border of 1945 as the western Polish border.



Silesia in Poland and in the Czech Republic



Source: <http://www.schlesisches-museum.de/hst/index.htm>

1.2.2 According to the 2002 census there were 152,897 persons of German and 173,153 persons of Silesian nationality. In the same census 204,573 persons declared German and 56,643 declared Silesian as their home language. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of 300,000 to 400,000 German speakers (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996).

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

1.3.1 Until 1990, Poland was the only Central European country which did not officially acknowledge the German minority. At this time, the German minority, with a few

exceptions, was not allowed to exercise activities in connection with its folk culture. Although article 35 of the Polish Constitution grants Polish citizens of national or ethnic minorities the freedom to preserve and develop their own language, customs, traditions and culture this regulation does not apply for the Silesians in the German language minority; they are not included in the three categories of regional and national minority groups of the Polish authorities. The Polish government and the Supreme Court refuse to acknowledge national or ethnic minority status for Silesians; e.g. they also do not acknowledge the *Verband der Bevölkerung Schlesischer Nationalität* [Union of People of Silesian Nationality] founded in 1887. The European Court of Human Rights confirmed this national decision in its judgment on 17 February 2004 (application no. 44158/98).

- 1.3.2 Despite this rather weak legal status there have also been some positive developments for the status of the German language minority, which were launched by the state visit of the German Chancellor Kohl in 1989. Apart from establishing several representations for their national group, members of the German language minority were successful in local, regional and to a lesser extent in national elections. Currently the minority is represented by two members of the Polish parliament.
- 1.3.3 It can also be noted that the Polish Council of Ministers, which, according to the draft minority act, is responsible for finding a comprehensive solution for the issue of official town names in Silesia, will not be able to do so due to inconsistent language use. Moreover, it will be utterly impossible to establish a denomination which was abolished 70 years ago and is barely known or used by the people. It seems that the only feasible way to deal with these issues is on a case by case basis with community referendums.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 In the school year 2002/2003 there were 261 primary schools as well as 63 grammar schools and one secondary school with German as language of instruction (Source: Section for national minorities of the Ministry of the Interior 2004). However it must be kept in mind that no distinction can be made between classes in German as a foreign language and classes in German as a minority language. Most schools obviously tend to teach German as a foreign language as many teachers are trained for this (e.g. by the Goethe-Institut). There are almost no efforts to introduce German or Polish dialects in schools.
- 2.1.2 Only 20% of teachers in the Opole and Silesia districts speak German fluently. Therefore, since 2002, language courses have been offered in order to strengthen the German language. At primary and secondary level the German language proficiency of the teachers is better; 80% of them are fluent in German. Teaching material is generally available for German, history and geography classes. Some secondary schools also offer bilingual classes.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

Because Polish is the only official language, people who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a German-speaking interpreter (see country report).

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

Since Polish is the official language, German does not play a significant role in public authorities or on a local level in general. The language is only of certain relevance in unofficial contacts (see language report).

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 There are no daily newspapers in German. Weekly periodicals published only in German are: *Schlesien Heute* [Silesia Today] and *Der Oberschlesier* [The Upper Silesian] with a print run of 2,500 copies each. Partly bilingual or German periodicals are: the weekly *Schlesisches Wochenblatt* [Silesian Weekly], monthly publications such as *Hoffnung* [Hope], *Masurische Storchepost* [Masurian Stork Mail] or *Mitteilungsblatt* [Bulletin]. *Das Informations- und Kulturbulletin* [The bulletin for information and culture] is published bimonthly and the *Kulturelles Bildungsnotebuch* [Cultural Education Notebook] quarterly.
- 2.4.2 *Schlesien Aktuell* [Silesia up-to-date] is a radio programme for the German minority in the Opole region which is broadcast from Monday to Thursday between 5.30pm and 5.55pm on the public station Radio Opole, frequency 103.2 FM, which is the most popular station in the Opole region. *Schlesien Aktuell* was first broadcast on 15 April 1998 and the editorial team is composed of young people. Their aim is to put together a modern information programme and to report on important activities of the German minority and German-Polish topics. The programme boasts news, reports, interviews, information on events and German music and is very popular with the audience. This is not only confirmed by numerous calls and letters but also by concrete figures; the audience rating of *Schlesien Aktuell* is as high as for the Polish programme broadcast at the same time. Further private radio stations include *Radio Plus*, *Radio Vanessa* and *Radio Park* which are broadcast exclusively in German.
- 2.4.3 The local TV station in Opole broadcasts a 10-15 minute programme for the German language minority called *Schlesien Journal* [Silesian Journal], which is produced by an independent team. The programme *Schlesische Wochenschau* [Silesian Newsreel] is broadcast by the Polish television every other week.
- 2.4.4 Currently no efforts are made to support the German minority in the field of new media. However, there is one website for the German minority provided by the *Verband der deutschen Sozial-Kulturellen Gesellschaften in Polen* [Association of the Social and Cultural Societies in Poland] in German and Polish.

## 2.5 Arts and culture

- 2.5.1 Most cultural activities in German take place in Silesia. For example, the cultural initiative for the Caritas library network in the Opole region was launched in 1992 by the representative of the Catholic Church for the German minority. Since then two library busses visit about 150 villages. 34 additional stationary libraries have now been established and with financial help from the German-Polish Foundation, the central library Joseph von Eichendorff was opened in Opole. The voivodship library, which has sought to preserve the stocks from German times for many years

now, also continues to collect German literature. In addition, it operates another branch with German books – the ‘Austrian library’ in Opole.

- 2.5.2 Annual German-Polish symposia on Silesia take place in the Kamień Śląski castle [*Schloss Groß Stein*]. Professors and persons involved in the cultural sector who come from the East and West and feel attached to Upper Silesia (mostly they have their origins there) take part as speakers. The various talks are mainly intended for priests, teachers, librarians and journalists.
- 2.5.3 The *Haus der Deutsch-Polnischen Zusammenarbeit* [House for German-Polish Cooperation] in Gliwice was set up in 1998. It is based on the first registered association and its contributors are both German and Polish.
- 2.5.4 According to experts, 12 books were published in German in 2003; according to public authorities there were none. Most publications are textbooks, poetry and religious books. However, the natives are to a great extent unaware of German literary works which would make them feel more rooted in their homeland. Only very few of these local books are translated. Examples are the bilingual work *Der goldene Schlüssel* [The Golden Key] by Hans Niekrawietz and several texts by Eichendorff. Horst Bieneks has published novels about Gliwice. Other authors mostly remain unknown: e.g. Hans Lipinsky-Gottersdorf, Heinz Piontek and especially August Scholtis.
- 2.5.5 In the cultural field a variety of traditional folk music is produced and cultural festivals are organised, e.g. *Regionales Erntedankfest der Diözese* [Regional Thanksgiving of the Diocese] on St. Anna hill, *Künstlersommer der nationalen Minderheiten* [Summer of Artists of National Minorities] in Olsztyn, *Chortreffen* [Choir Encounter] in Walce, *Treffen der Folkgruppen und Orchester* [Encounter of the Folk Groups and Orchestras] of the German minority in Leśnica, *Ausstellung Schlesischer Artistikkreationen* [Exposition of Silesian Artistic Creations] in Dobrodzień and Dobrzeń as well as *Masurische Gespräche* [Masurian Talks] in Mrągowo. Preservation of culture also includes the maintenance of material cultural goods which are no longer found very often in Silesia.

## 2.6 The business world

According to article 27 of the Constitution German is of no importance in the business world as an official language. For the German language this means that regulations on consumer protection in Silesia, for example, have to be issued not only in German but also in Polish (see country report). The low status of German however does not imply that the language has no importance for business on local and regional level. Thus German may be required for jobs in commercial enterprises or schools – however, this is only true on a private level. Silesia’s economy is characterised by coal mining which has been undergoing a crisis for several years. Thus about 60,000 jobs in mining and trade based on mining were abolished.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

- 2.7.1 In the 2002 census 196,841 Polish citizens declared using German at home within their families. In the same census 56,426 Polish citizens indicated Silesian as their family language. However, only 147,094 Poles stated German nationality whereas

172,682 persons were of Silesian nationality. Unfortunately, the census did not provide information about the homogeneity of the various groups or the reasons for these changes.

- 2.7.2 In the Opole district German is currently used by a culturally motivated minority and it can be noted that since 1990 the migration of many people to Germany has a negative influence on the reproduction of the language. Nevertheless, in many regions German speakers are considered to have a higher social status or to be more advanced.
- 2.7.3 To a great extent the German language minority is Roman-Catholic and attends church regularly. Only in Silesia near Cieszyn there is a majority of Protestant German speakers whose services are mostly held in German. However, the Catholic clergy has a rather low command of German so that many Catholic masses are not said in German (50% according to official and 80% according to minority organisations).
- 2.7.4 With democratisation setting in, the degree of organisation within the German minority has changed drastically since 1989/1990. Until the end of the 1980s the only official organisation was the *Deutsche Sozio-kulturelle Gesellschaft* [German Socio-cultural Society] in Walbrzych. With the increasing democratisation of Poland the extent of organisation of the German language minority also increased. There are currently 40 such organisations, many of which are organised within the *Verband der deutschen Sozial-Kulturellen Gesellschaften in Polen* [Association of the German Social and Cultural Society in Poland] which provides a website containing a list of links with all German-speaking organisations (last update 4/2004) which is regularly updated. The association has more than 200,000 members as well as ten organisations as permanent members and eight as associated members.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The European dimension is considered very important: since Poland has signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is widely expected that the country will also ratify the Charter, which will have a positive influence on language policy.

## **3. Conclusion**

- 3.1 The current situation of the German language minority, as is the case for the other minorities, is marked by a weak position after World War II and a revival due to the democratisation of Poland. However, along with the Ukrainian minority (see language report Ukrainian), the German minority experienced special repressions in Socialist Poland. A current problem is that after the political change of 1989/1990, many German speakers left Poland: this destabilised the demographic basis of the minority. Especially now that Poland has joined the EU, relations between Poland and Germany must be treated sensitively due to the common history of both countries.
- 3.2 The role of the German speakers during the Second World War is still very present both in the minority's perception of itself and others' perception of them. This

causes ambiguous statements on nationality and language use in the family, for example in the 2002 census.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

1.1.1 Kashubian [*kaszëbsczi (jãzek) / kaszëbizna*] is a West Slavonic language spoken in northern Poland in the Pomorskie Voivodship. In some districts [*powiaty*] of this voivodship Kashubian is used more often: Gdańsk [*Gduńsk*], Gdynia [*Gdiniô*], Wejherowo [*Wejrowò*], Puck [*Pùck*], Lębork [*Lãbòrg*], Bytów [*Bëtowò*], Kartuzi [*Kartùze*], Kościerzyna [*Kòscérzna*] and Chojnice [*Chòjnice*]. A specific (yet limited) Kashubian literature emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with *Xazeczka dlo Kaszebow* by Florian Cejnowa (1817-1881). Since Kashubian is not comprehensively standardised, except for the above-mentioned text, it is often considered as a branch of the Pomeranian dialects or Polish. Therefore it does currently not have the status of a national or ethnic minority in Poland.

1.1.2 Although language contact between Kashubian and Polish has already lasted for several centuries, spoken Kashubian clearly differs from Polish dialects and standard Polish. Major differences occur in the fields of phonetics, vocabulary and word formation. However, literary (written) Kashubian is very close to standard Polish due to borrowings and syntactic similarities. In total there are 50 dialectal varieties of Kashubian.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 Kashubians are a Slavonic tribe descended from the Pomeranians (=‘people living by the sea’) who once settled in the whole territory of Pomerania and who now live in the area between Oder and Vistula. Their eastern neighbours were the Pruzzians. To the South the Pomeranian territory reached the Noteć and Warta rivers. The independent eastern Pomerania at the lower Vistula emerged around the year 1000. Although the Polanians succeeded in gradually penetrating through the Noteć and the Christianisation and church organisation was pursued from the West, eastern Lower Pomerania (also ‘Small Pomerania’ [Pommerellen]) was able to keep its independence until the late 13<sup>th</sup> century when the dynasty of Samborids ended. In 1309 the region was sold and annexed to the state of the German Order which at that time was an independent political entity. Pomeranians were mentioned in documents until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. *Cassubia* was the name of the region around Belgrade on the Parsęta River. Since the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century this name has also been used for today’s settlement areas of the Kashubians. From 1466 onwards, eastern Lower Pomerania was ruled by the Polish king until it fell to Prussia in 1772 and became part of so-called “West Prussia”. After World War I the region became Polish again. During the Second World War it was annexed to the Reich District Gdańsk-West Prussia [*Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen*] and in 1945 became part of Poland again.

1.2.2 According to the 2002 census 5,062 persons living in the Gdańsk region were of Kashubian nationality.

Estimates from various sources indicate a number of 250,000 to 300,000 Kashubian-speakers (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook on Contact Linguistics 1996).

Kashubian language area  
Source: Wicherkiewicz o.J.



### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

- 1.3.1 Although article 35 of the Polish Constitution grants Polish citizens of national or ethnic minorities the freedom to preserve and develop their own language, customs, traditions and culture, this only applies to the Kashubians in the context of special rules which give them regional language community [*społeczność posługująca się językiem regionalnym*] status.
- 1.3.2 However, Kashubians now participate in all social fields again, e.g. as representatives (approx. 150 in the Pomorze Voivodship, seven members of parliament); or scientists, authors and persons involved in the cultural sector. Kashubia and the Kashubian culture are vital issues in politics, and votes from Kashubians in parliamentary and other elections (e.g. institutions of self-administration) often decide the fate of candidates according to their policy on the Kashubian minority.

## 2. Presence and use of the language in various fields

### 2.1 Education

- 2.1.1 The use of Kashubian at school is based on the 2002 decree of the Minister for National Education and Sports which, unlike the 1992 decree, also allows ethnic groups to maintain their language and culture through the education system (see country report). In the school year 2002/2003 there were two nurseries where about 30 children were taught in Kashubian, although without any Kashubian language material. An early immersion language programme is foreseen for 2005.
- 2.1.2 In the school year 2002/2003 there were 52 primary and seven grammar schools where Kashubian was taught. These classes are divided into the subjects “Kashubian language” (three hours per week), “Kashubian language with elements

of regional culture” (two hours per week) and “Regional education with Kashubian elements” (one hour per week). Statistically, Kashubian is represented as follows:

Primary schools with Kashubian classes in the school year 2003/2004

Subject	hours/week	Number of schools	Number of pupils
<i>Kashubian language</i>	4	1	2,951
	3	31	
	2	18	
	1	2	
<i>Kashubian language with elements of regional culture</i>	3	3	358
	2	2	
	1	1	
<i>Regional education with Kashubian elements</i>	3	4	1,358
	2	5	
	1	4	

Source: Wicherkiewicz o.J.

Grammar schools with Kashubian classes in the school year 2003/2004

Subject	hours/week	Number of schools	Number of pupils
<i>Kashubian language</i>	3	5	179
	2	1	
	1	1	
<i>Kashubian language with elements of regional culture</i>	2	3	159
<i>Regional education with Kashubian elements</i>	2	2	108
	1	2	

Source: Wicherkiewicz o.J.

### 2.1.3 The number of secondary schools with Kashubian classes is decreasing:

Subject	hours/week	Number of schools	Number of pupils
<i>Kashubian language</i>	3	1	66
<i>Kashubian language with elements of regional culture</i>	2	1	232
<i>Regional education with Kashubian elements</i>	1	1	14

Source: Wicherkiewicz o.J.

In the field of vocational training there was only one school in the school year 2002/2003 which offered two hours per week of Regional Education with Kashubian Elements for 26 students. Since 1992 Gdańsk University has offered a language course for Kashubian which serves as a specialisation for students of Polish language and literature. In December 2002 a “Course of qualification for teachers of the Kashubian language and regional culture” was organised for the second time. In total these measures produced 25 fully trained teachers, 41 graduates and 51 students for Kashubian language classes. In 2002/2003 Kashubian language and culture classes were offered in three centres (Gdańsk, Kartuzy and Władysławowo) which were attended by 46 participants.

## 2.2 Judicial authorities

People who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a Kashubian-speaking interpreter (see country report).

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

Since Polish is the official language, Kashubian does not play any significant role in public authorities. The same is true at a local level where it is only spoken in unofficial contacts (see country report).

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

There are no daily newspapers in Kashubian. However, some other print media exist: *Pomerania*, published monthly since 1956, is the official bilingual (Polish-Kashubian) publication of the Kashubian Pomeranian Association (ZK-P); *Najô ùczba* is an educational insert of *Pomerania*, *Ôdroda. Pismiono Wòlnëch Kaszëbów* is published monthly and exclusively in Kashubian, since 1999 also online; *Norda*, a weekly regional section in Kashubian and Polish published in the daily *Dziennik Bałtycki*. The Gdańsk regional radio station broadcasts two programmes once a week for 55 and ten minutes respectively: *Na bôtach ë w bôrach* [In boats and woods] and *Klëka* [News]. The Koszalin radio station broadcasts a weekly five minute Kashubian news programme. Kashubian radio stations are also available via the internet: *Wasze Radio* [Your radio] or *Domoce zwãczy* [Home bells]. There is one Kashubian language TV programme which is broadcast twice a week for ten minutes by the Gdańsk TV station: *Rodnô Zemìa* [Homeland] Regional TV stations in Gdańsk and Słupsk show Kashubian programmes twice a week for 23 and 20 minutes. Progress has also been made in the field of new media. In 2003 Kashubian could be used for the first time in Microsoft's Word for Windows. Other developments are: the international coding standard for Kashubian, Kashubian fonts and Web browsers in Kashubian.

## 2.5 Arts and culture

2.5.1 Friedrich Lorentz (1870-1937), a scientist from the German region Mecklenburg, earned great merit with the research of the Kashubian language. He wrote books on the spelling and grammar as well as a dictionary of the "Pomeranian-Kashubian language". A similar work was published by the famous Polish linguist Stefan Ramult (1859-1913) from Krakow. As is the case for many other autochthonous regional and minority languages Kashubian is marked by a broad fragmentation into dialects (often each town has its own dialect). However, two major dialects can be distinguished – North and South Kashubian. Apparently, this fragmentation is one of the reasons why the first attempts to establish a Kashubian written language were made very late (in 1850). However, a universally accepted Kashubian literary language uniting all the dialects has never been developed. This has had a negative influence on the Kashubians' cultural consciousness.

2.5.2 A specific (although very modest) Kashubian literature only emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with *Xazeczka dlo Kaszebow* by Florian Cejnowa (1817-1881). Whereas Cejnowa used the *Sławoszyno* home dialect from the Puck district the second

Kashubian author Hieronim Derdowski (1852-1902) used the *Wiele* dialect from the Chojnice district and enriched the Kashubian culture mainly by poetry. Another author is Aleksander Majkowski (1876-1938) from Kosciierzyna and his *Kosciierzyna-Lipusz* dialect.

- 2.5.3 In 1907 Ernst Seefried-Gulgowski (or *Izydor Gulgowski*) and Friedrich Lorentz founded the Association for Kashubian Folklore in Kartuzy which in 1911 published the book *Von einem unbekanntem Volke in Deutschland* [Of an unknown people in Germany]. Gulgowski (1874-1925), influenced by German local history and folklore, established an open air museum in Wdzydze Kiszewskie in the Chojnice district. It exerted influence throughout the territory of Kashubia and still has a prominent status as a cultural site for the Kashubian way of life [*Kaszubski Park Etnograficzny*]. Friedrich Lorentz carried out his research at about the same time and already started dealing with the *Słowińcy* in 1897.
- 2.5.4 Another Kashubian pioneer was Aleksander Majkowski from Kosciierzyna. His biggest merit was the establishment of *Gryf* in 1908, the *Periodical for Kashubian Issues*. He also wrote the only Kashubian novel *Żécé i przigodë Remusa* [Life and adventure of Remus] in 1938.
- 2.5.5 Between 1994 and 2002 a total of 172 books were published in Kashubian. During the last decade 10-20 new books appeared including world literature: A.A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* (translated by B. Szymańska & T. Wicherkiewicz). The major anthologies and compendia for the Kashubian language were written by Neureiter 1973, Drzeżdżon 1986 and Neureiter 1991. For 20 years now, there has been an annual Kashubian language Poetry and Literature Competition [*Rodnô mòwô*].

## 2.6 The business world

According to article 27 of the Constitution Kashubian, along with other minority languages, is of no importance in the business world as an official language. The economy of the Kashubian language area is very rural and is characterised by agriculture, cattle breeding and forestry.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

In the 2002 census 52,556 persons declared Kashubian as their home language. Apart from this it can be assumed that Kashubian is the dominant language in families and for social use. Although the Kashubian minority is only organised to a limited extent, there are organisations, like the pan-Kashubian *Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie* founded in 1956, which were already established a long time ago. Information about other organisations is provided on the Kashubian information website.

## 2.8 The European dimension

The European dimension is evident in the establishment of immersion language programmes in Wales or Lusatia, or in the organisation of European conferences on minority issues: 39<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Federal Union of European Minorities in Gdańsk (1994) and the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Minority Languages in Gdańsk (1996). The European influence is considered very important: since Poland has signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is widely

expected that the country will also ratify the Charter, which will have a positive influence on language policy.

### **3. Conclusion**

Despite discreet efforts at revitalising Kashubian language and culture, the situation of the Kashubians in Poland is still relatively weak. Reasons for this include: the lack of a standard language, a wide range of dialects and the weak economic status. Just like the Ladin language, Kashubian also lacks the connection to a national territory. The EU enlargement is thus rather ambivalent for the Kashubian minority: on the one hand it means a greater protection but on the other hand it might entail alienation and migration from the rural region. Therefore, even the last domain of language use – the family – risks losing its impact. Indications of this were found in surveys on language use conducted in the context of this project.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

- 1.1.1 Lithuanian [*lietuvių kalba / lietuvišku*] belongs to the same language family of Latvian. It features many ancient grammatical forms which can also partly be found in Sanskrit. Amongst all living languages, Lithuanian is closest to the Indian branch of the Indo-European languages. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, August Schleicher, who was professor of philology at Prague University in 1856/57, thoroughly researched the Lithuanian language : he published the first scientific *Compendium of Lithuanian Language* in two volumes.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

- 1.2.1 Following several political unions with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Kreva Union 1385, Horodło Union 1413 and Lublin Union 1569) the Ruthenian and Lithuanian population in Poland was polonised. The largest region to be affected was the historic area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Its inhabitants belonged to different ethnic and religious groups the most important being the Ruthenians (today Belarusians and Ukrainians) who were Byzantine Catholics. The Lithuanian- and Latvian-speaking inhabitants lived in the northern regions. Since the Polish influence was traditionally quite strong and Poland ruled Lithuania, the Poles were usually the landowners in those regions even though they only constituted the majority in Vilnius and Grodno. In total, there were 15% of Polish-speakers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and about as many Jews. With the divisions (1772-1795) the region was annexed by the Russian Empire.
- 1.2.2 According to the 2002 census 5,864 persons declared Lithuanian nationality. Estimates from different sources indicate a total of approx. 30,000 Lithuanians (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). Most Lithuanians (84%) live in the Podlasie region in the administrative districts of Puńsk ([Lithuanian: *Punskas*]), Sejny ([Lithuanian: *Seinai*]) (38%) and to a lower extent in the district of Szypliszki ([Lithuanian: *Šipliskia*]). Many settled in the city of Suwalki. Other Polish Lithuanians dispersed during migration or immigration all over Poland, especially to the northern and south-western part of the country (Gdynia, Olsztyn, Szezin and Wrocław). Many Lithuanians lived in the capital, Warsaw.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Article 35 of the Constitution guarantees the preservation and development of the Lithuanian language (see country report). In addition, a bilateral agreement on good neighbourliness was concluded with the Republic of Lithuania [*Traktat między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Republiką Litewską o dobrym sąsiedztwie, przyjaznych stosunkach i współpracy* (1 January 1992)].

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The use of Lithuanian at school is based on the 2002 decree of the Minister for National Education and Sports (see country report). There are five main schools in the Pusk district (in Puńsk [*Punskas*], Wojtokiemie [*Vaitakiemis*], Przystawańce [*Pristavoniai*], Nowininki [*Navininkai*] and Widugiery [*Vidugiriai*] where Lithuanian is taught. Two of those schools are in the Sejny district, in the villages of Krasnagruda and Krasnavas. In Pusk there is also the only Lithuanian grammar school in Poland – the *Kovo 11-oji* grammar school Puńsk. At several schools in the Sejny district, in the towns of Sejny and Suwałki, voluntary Lithuanian classes are offered. About 800 pupils attend Lithuanian classes (except for general and Polish history). 150 pupils learn Lithuanian in voluntary classes. In Warsaw there is a Lithuanian Saturday school. The Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań has a unit for the Lithuanian language and since 1990 there is also a unit for Baltic philology.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

People who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a Lithuanian-speaking interpreter (see country report).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

Since Polish is the official language, Lithuanian does not play any significant role in public authorities. The same is true at a local level where it is only spoken in unofficial contacts (see country report).

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There are no daily newspapers in Lithuanian. *Aušra* is a periodical in Lithuanian with a print run of 1,500 copies. Lithuanian issues are only dealt with by the Polish radio station Białystok for 30 minutes weekly. The Lithuanian minority in Poland is able to receive radio and TV programmes from Lithuania.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

Fifteen books in Lithuanian were published between 1997 and 2002, in 2002, three books were published and in 2003 only one. These are mostly textbooks, children's books and short novels. In Pusk there is a Lithuanian Cultural Centre with the mixed choir *Dzukija*, the folk dance ensemble *Klumpe*, the art dance ensemble *Jotva* and a barn theatre. At the moment, a new modern cultural centre is being built, but due to a lack of financial means the construction has already lasted for ten years. In Sejny a Lithuanian cultural centre, which was financed by the Lithuanian government, was also opened. There are several youth ensembles (in the Puńsk and Sejny districts). One of the most famous groups is the vocal quartet *Šešupe*. The ensemble *Ulbuoneles* works at the Puńsk grammar school. The Lithuanian society for ethnic culture is in charge of four ethnographic and folk art ensembles: *Salcinelis*, *Alna*, *Gimtine* and the ethnographic ensemble *Dusnycia*. In Puńsk there is also a museum of ethnology which was founded by the

ethnographer Juozas Vaina from the Puńsk region. Thanks to his efforts many unique items were collected. J. Vaina published the collection of folk art *From Puńsk to Sejny* in two volumes. Sigitas Birgelis contributed to the compiling and publishing of the album "The material culture of the Puns- Sejny region". *Sąskrydis* is the traditional annual folklore festival for Lithuanian groups from Poland and Lithuania.

## **2.6 The business world**

There is very little industry in the Lithuanian settlement area, as it is rather rural.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

2.7.1 In the 2002 census 5,838 persons declared Lithuanian as their home language. However, the number of inhabitants in Lithuanian villages is constantly decreasing due to the weak economy of the region.

2.7.2 The oldest Lithuanian organisation is the Lithuanian Society of Poland [*Lenkijos lietuvių draugija*] which was re-established on the basis of the Lithuanian Public Cultural Society in 1992. The society operates in the fields of education, culture, monument preservation and publishing. The Lithuanian periodical *Aušra* has been published since 1960. The Lithuanian St. Kasimir Society [*Šv. Kazimiero draugija*] with its headquarters in Seinai opened on 25 May 1990. The society's aim is to maintain and carry on the traditions of the St. Kasimir Society which worked in Poland before World War II, i.e. to care for and educate young people. The Society has 458 members and is divided into eleven units. The Lithuanian Community in Poland [*Lenkijos lietuvių bendruomenė, LLB*] was launched on 1 April 1993. Its development and aims were influenced by the changes taking place in Poland at that time. The LLB unites the Lithuanian organisations, institutions for education, culture and other fields. It carries out its work in Poland and seeks to better represent the minority's interests in Poland and Lithuania and to represent the Lithuanian community all over the world. The Lithuanian Youth Association in Poland [*Lenkijos lietuvių jaunimo sąjunga*] belongs to the LLB but acts independently. The Lithuanian Society for Ethnic Culture [*Lenkijos lietuvių etninės kultūros draugija*] was founded in 1997.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

The Polish Lithuanians keep close contacts with Lithuania. During Soviet times they had contacts with Lithuanians from the West and tried to send information and publications to Lithuania. During the national "Revival" the Polish Lithuanians joined the movement for an independent Lithuania.

## **3. Conclusion**

Since 1989 the Polish Lithuanians' condition has been complicated: this is due to a weak economic and structural development and an economic and political situation which is still difficult in their settlement areas. Birth rates in these rural areas are also declining and many inhabitants migrate.

# Ruthenian (Lemkish) in Poland

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

- 1.1.1 Russian/Ruthenian [*rusyn'skyj jazyk*] or Lemkish [*lemkivskyj jazyk*] (denomination used in Poland) is an East Slavonic language along with Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian. Today, it can be considered as a Ukrainian dialect; however, on an ethnic-cultural level the Lemks are particularly independent. The Polish Ruthenians lived in the Łemkowszczyzna [*Lemkowyna*] region of the Lower Beskid belonging to the Beskid Sądecki mountains. Nowadays, they live scattered over the voivodships Dolnośląskie, Małopolska, Lubuskie, Podkarpackie and Zachodniopomorskie.
- 1.1.2 The Ruthenians are a population group living mostly in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine who have preserved their own dialect – Lemkish – in the mountainous regions. Since 1989 the Polish authorities have acknowledged Ruthenians (or Lemks) as an ethnic minority.

### 1.2 History, geography and demography

- 1.2.1 Russinians (also: Sub-Carpathian Ukrainians, Rusniaks, Rusinians, historical: Ruthenians. In Rusinian: *Uhrorus'kij*; Ukrainian: *Rusyny*; Hungarian: *Magyarorosz*) are the fourth modern East Slavonic nation after the Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians. They developed their own literature and standard language in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- 1.2.2 The settlement of the north-eastern Carpathian area started in the early Middle Ages, i.e. in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. From the 10<sup>th</sup> century until 1919, today's Sub-Carpathian Ukraine was part of the historic kingdom of Hungary. The governing and settlement of the mountainous areas in this region by Hungarians, Germans and Ruthenians coming in small groups from the Kievan Rus started during the 12<sup>th</sup> century and reached its peak in the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. The Lemkish ethnogenesis reaches back to the late Middle Ages, which mark the starting point for the independent development of the Lemkish. Following the annexation of the Rus-principality Halych-Volhynia to Poland after 1340, a settlement and colonisation movement to the West Carpathian low mountain range set in. This movement was initiated by Polish aristocrats and it absorbed and channelled a migration wave of Wallachian ("Romanian") and Ruthenian herdsmen in the late 14<sup>th</sup>/early 15<sup>th</sup> century. This migration had far-reaching consequences: whereas in the valleys an assimilation of the Polish culture and language took place, the mixed Wallachian-Ruthenian culture was preserved in remote mountain regions.
- 1.2.3 With national movements emerging in Central and Eastern Europe, the Lemks were also increasingly forced to define themselves in national terms. However, this process did not result in them taking Ruthenian/Ukrainian or Polish nationality, which was refused, but instead they adopted the Russian nationality.

This was based on two reasons: on the one hand a considerable number of Lemks belonged to the Orthodox Church, on the other hand the Lemks already sympathised with Russian troops in 1848 when the latter passed Lemkish territories in order to defeat the revolution in Budapest. Since the Lemks also felt that they should not be involved in the Ukrainian national movement, they tried to break away from it.

- 1.2.4 Until 1918 there was no Russian regional authority or administrative area as there was no elite. At the beginning of the Russian national movement Adolf Dobrjans'kyj (1817–1901) and Oleksandr Duchnowitsch (1803–1865) had a massive influence and, similar to contemporary Russian circles – e.g. during the intervention of Tsar troops to defeat the 1848/49 revolution – were of a national Russian conviction. After World War II Ruthenians, as well as Ukrainians, were deported during the *Vistula Operation*. Until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century there was no sense of community between the different Russian settlement areas and communities. This sentiment continues to some extent even today (see country report).
- 1.2.5 According to the last census in 2002 there were 5,863 persons of Lemkish nationality. Estimates from different sources indicate approx. 50,000 Lemks (Association for Civic Cedia 2003; Handbook on Contact Linguistics 1996).

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Article 35 of the Polish Constitution grants Polish citizens of national or ethnic minorities the freedom to preserve and develop their own language, customs, traditions and culture (see country report). However, due to the ambiguous status of the Lemkish ethnicity no clear steps were taken to support them.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The use of Ukrainian (including Ruthenian/Lemkish) at school is based on the 2002 decree of the Minister for National Education and Sports (see country report). As it was acknowledged only lately, a Ruthenian ‘education’ has only existed for a couple of years. During the school year 2002/2003 there were 14 primary schools, six grammar schools and one secondary school where Lemkish was taught. In addition, Ruthenian philology is taught at Krakow University.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

People who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a Lemkish-speaking interpreter (see country report).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

Since Polish is the official language, Lemkish does not play any significant role in public authorities. The same is true at a local level where it is only spoken in unofficial contacts (see country report).

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There are no daily newspapers in Lemkish. However, there are several print media issued quarterly: *Besida* (Talk) with a print run of 1,000 copies, *Zahoroda* and *Watra. Lemkiwska Storinka* is an insert in the Ukrainian weekly *Nasche Slowo*. Lemkish issues are only dealt with on a weekly basis by the Polish radio in Krakow. In addition the Krakow TV station broadcasts a programme for all acknowledged minorities.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

Twenty books were published between 1997 and 2002. In 2002 three were written in Lemkish and in 2003 one was written in this language. Most of the books are textbooks, children's books and short novels. Typical cultural events of the Lemks are: *Watra* in Zdynia, *Watrana Obczyźnie* in Michałów, *Kiermesz* in Olcowiec, *Spotkanie z Lemkowszczyzną* [Meeting the land of the Lemks] and *Od Rusal do Jana* in Zyndranowa. The Lemkish Campfire [*watra*] is organised annually both by the pro-Ukrainian Lemks in Lower Beskid and the independent Ruthenian Lemks in Lower Silesia. Moreover, there are various private initiatives documenting and supporting the Lemkish culture and tradition.

### **2.6 The business world**

Lemks mostly live in rural areas. There is no precise information available since the Lemks live scattered over a large area.

### **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

In the 2002 census 5,627 persons declared using Lemkish as home language. Unlike other minorities, this is nearly exactly the same as the number of people also declaring Lemkish nationality. Lemks mainly belong to the Orthodox Church. The Polish Lemks do not have a distinct organisational structure. There are however several private initiatives operating through the internet from Anglo-Saxon countries which act as a central body for the Lemks. The most important organisation in Poland is the Association of Lemks [*Stowarzyszenie Łemków*] founded in 1989, which organises all activities of the Lemkish minority including the coordination of the corpus and status planning. There are two more organisations, one Polish and one Lemkish: Foundation for the support of Lemkish [*Fundacja Wspierania Mniejszości Łemkowskiej*] and the institution *Zjednoczenie Łemków*.

### **3. Conclusion**

The Lemks were already economically and structurally underdeveloped in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1989 the economic and political situation was still very unfavourable in Ruthenian settlement areas in Eastern Europe. Even today, this seems to cause further migration to congested areas or western countries accompanied by an increased acculturation. In the long run, the subsistence of a Russianian nation in Eastern Europe existing independently of the Ukrainian nation is not secured.

# Ukrainian in Poland

## 1. General information

### 1.1 The language

1.1.1 Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] is, along with Russian and Belarusian, an East Slavonic language. These three languages were spoken in the Kievan Rus region (9<sup>th</sup> century). Originally the Ukrainian language area in Poland comprised the eastern voivodships Podlaskie, Lubelskie, Podkarpackie and to the South the Małopolskie Voivodship. Today the Ukrainians are scattered over the voivodships of Dolnośląskie, Lubuskie, Zachodniopomorskie, Pomorskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie. The denomination for the whole East Slavonic territory often caused confusion as *Rus* was equated with Russia. That is also why Russian was also called “Great Russian” and Ukrainian “Small Russian” and Ukrainian was often classified as a Russian dialect.

1.1.2 The varieties of Ukrainian in Poland can be classified as *Podlasie* (often indicated as a Belarusian-Ukrainian transition dialect), *Volhynian-Chełm*, *Dniestr*, *San*, *Boyko* and *Lemko*. In the past, Ruthenian (in Polish: Lemkish) was considered as a Ukrainian dialect. In the Middle Ages the term ‘Ruthenian’ was used for the Russians. During the Austrian-Hungarian Empire the (West) Ukrainians living there were called ‘Russinians’ (self-denomination: *Rusini*) or ‘Ruthenians’. A revival of Ruthenian or Russinian has been pursued since 1980.

1.1.3 In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, apart from the Church Slavonic which was commonly used until then, a Ukrainian standard language and literature developed from popular speech. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ukrainian culture and thus its literary language reached its peak. The development focused on scientific rather than political topics. With the establishment of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in 1918 and later also in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukrainian became the state language for the first time. Ukrainian was not prohibited during Soviet times, but the Russian language prevailed in all scientific and literary works as well as the media as the lingua franca. Therefore today’s common language has strong Russian influences. After the independence of the Ukraine in 1991, Ukrainian became the official language of the new state.

Galicia before World War I  
(The line marks the border between Poland and the Ukraine established after World War II)



Source:  
<http://www.polishroots.org/>

## 1.2 History, geography and demography

- 1.2.1 Ukrainians are an East Slavonic nation which emerged between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century in the South-East of the former Old Russian state Kievan Rus. The ethnonym *Ukrainian* is based on words linked to the territory where the ethnic community emerged: *Krai* [margin] and *Okraina* [marginal region]. Since the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the marginal territories of Kiev and Perejaslawl were considered as the Ukraine. At the same time the term “Small Russia” was used. In the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century the members of the ethnic community were called “Small Russians” [*Čerkasians*] in official documents. The province Galicia, which has had this name since the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, is one of the historical regions of Poland, especially the western part (in the west of the San River). It was called “Small Poland“ [*Malopolska*] as opposed to “Great Poland” [*Wielkopolska*], i.e. the Poznań region. The most important city – Kraków – had been the seat of Polish kings for a long time. The eastern part of Galicia was formerly called *Ruthenia* and was originally inhabited by Ruthenians. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, more and more Poles settled in Ruthenia due to the Polish influence and many Ruthenians adopted the Polish language and culture.
- 1.2.2 For centuries the historical region of Galicia, where Ukrainians live, was characterised by the ethnic and religious heterogeneity of its inhabitants. Its unity is due to the fact that it was part of a transnational state between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century – first of the Polish kingdom and since the 18<sup>th</sup> century of the Hapsburg monarchy. After World War I Galicia became part of the re-founded independent Poland. However, as the new Poland considered itself, contrary to the Polish kingdom, as a nation state, conflicts with the non-Polish population of Galicia arose, especially with the nationally conscious Ukrainians in the East. The unity, which was able to bridge the cultural heterogeneity until then, was completely lost with the division of Galicia into separate Polish and Ukrainian parts in 1945. With the outbreak of World War II, tens of thousands of Polish civilians were victims of the policy of ethnic cleansing in East Galicia, which was initiated by the “Ukrainian Rebellion Army” (UPA) in 1943. In that time Galicia lost its Jewish population, which significantly influenced the towns and the cultural life of this region for centuries. After World War II the Soviet Ukraine, which now also incorporated East Galicia, split Galicia into two parts. A far-reaching Polish-Soviet population exchange was made in 1945-46: all Poles from eastern Galicia and all Ukrainians from western Galicia were evacuated and “repatriated” to a country where they had never lived before. Thus more than one million Galician Ukrainians, Ruthenians/Lemks and Poles were uprooted and the region was deprived of another large part of its ancestral population. In 1947 the Communist government of Poland removed Ukrainian settlements at its eastern and south-eastern borders. In the course of the *Vistula Operation* [*Wisła Akcja*] around 200,000 Ukrainians were deported to and dispersed over the new western regions along the Oder and Neisse rivers.
- 1.2.3 According to the 2002 census there were 30,952 persons of Ukrainian nationality. Estimates from different sources indicate 300,000 Ukrainian-speakers without distinguishing between Ruthenians/Lemks (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook on Contact Linguistics 1996).

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Since the Polish authorities acknowledge the Ukrainians as a regional minority, Article 35 of the Constitution as well as the respective decrees of the Ministry of Education and Sports also apply to them (see country report). The Ukrainian minority is politically represented on the local level, especially in the Warmińsko-Mazurskie province.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The use of Ukrainian at school is based on the 2002 decree of the Minister for National Education and Sports (see country report). In the school year 2002/2003 there were 80 primary schools where Ukrainian was taught. For a minority living as dispersed as the Ukrainians are it is very important to have boarding schools where the children can stay during the week. The most important schools are in Biały Bór (Pomerania), Bartoszyce (Masuria) and Przemyśl. Moreover, in the school year 2002/2003 there were 46 grammar schools and ten secondary schools where Ukrainian was taught. Boarding schools are to be found in Biały Bór (Pomerania), Górowo Iławeckie (Masuria) and Legnica (Lower Silesia). The Warsaw University has had Ukrainian language faculties for 40 years now. After 1990 Ukrainian language faculties were also established at the Jagiellon University and the Marie Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin. Since the academic year 2001/2002 there has been a section for Russian and Lemkish at the faculty for Russian philology at the Pedagogical Academy in Kraków.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

People who do not speak Polish are allowed to call a Ukrainian-speaking interpreter (see country report).

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

Since Polish is the official language Ukrainian does not play any significant role in public authorities. The same is true at a local level where it is only spoken in unofficial contacts (see country report).

### **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

There are no daily newspapers in Ukrainian. Since 1956 the Ukrainian weekly *Nasche Slowo* is published with the children's insert *Switanok*. Every other week the Ukrainian periodical *Nad Buhom i Narwoju* is issued in the Podlaskie province. The public *Radio Rzeszów* broadcasts two programmes for the Ukrainian minority in Poland for 30 minutes every week on 102.0 and 72.41 FM. The programmes include a topical programme in Ukrainian, which is designed by three journalists (one of them employed permanently) in Polish. Further public radio stations with a programme in Ukrainian are: radio Koszalin (30 minutes twice a

week from a journalist of the Ukrainian minority), Radio Olsztyn (since 1958, 30 minutes twice a week, since 2000 daily) and Radio Białystok (30 minutes once a week and 15 minutes twice a week). Since 1995 the TV programme *Telenowiny* ("TV news") broadcasts nation-wide by regional stations. The local TV station in Rzeszów shows the topical programme *Quartet* which also deals with minority issues. Most of the radio stations can also be received via the internet and the Ukrainian minority is represented through the following websites: [Harazd](#) and [Domiwka](#).

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

According to experts, 40 books were published in Ukrainian in Poland between 1997 and 2002, including text books, children's books, poetry, short stories, short novels and religious books. Two books in Ukrainian were officially published in 2002 and one book in 2003. Ukrainian is often used in traditional music but not so much in pop and rock. Since 1996, the student theatre group *Lublin-Warszawa* performs once or twice a year in Ukrainian. There are the following cultural events: Festival of Ukrainian Culture [*Festiwal Kultury Ukrainńskiej*] every other year in Sopot (near Gdańsk); *Lemkish Campfires* [*Łemkowska Watra*] and the annual Ukrainian Youth Fair [*Ukraińskie Spotkania Młodych*] in Gdańsk and Bytów. The foundation St. Wladimir the Baptist in the Kievan Rus [*Fundacja św. Włodzimierza*] in Kraków also contributes to the promotion of Ukrainian culture. However, it has to be remarked that the cultural activities of Ukrainians are very restricted due to their geographic dispersal.

## **2.6 The business world**

Due to article 27 of the Constitution, Ukrainian, along with other minority languages, is of no importance in the business world as an official language. Since the Ukrainians are dispersed their economic situation is comparable to that of Poles living in the same places.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of the language**

In the 2002 census 22,698 people declared using Ukrainian as their home language. However, Ukrainian organisations and experts estimate the number of Ukrainian-speakers at 300,000 (see 1.2.2). The language is mainly spoken in culturally motivated families. The majority of Ukrainians (80%) belong to the Uniate (Greek) Catholic Church. Services are mostly held in Ukrainian. After 1990 about a dozen organisations emerged in order to promote the Ukrainian language and culture; before 1990, there was just one organisation, founded in 1956. Since 1990 it is known as the Association of Ukrainians in Poland [*Związek Ukraińców w Polsce*], has 10,000 members and represents Ukrainian rights (address: ul. Koscieliska 7, 03 - 614 Warszawa). Within this framework there are more sub-groups which work on specific tasks. Other than the Belarusian minority the Ukrainian minority receives the highest financial support. According to a CBOS survey (CBOS, Warszawa, August 1996, The attitude of Poles towards other nations) Poles have a positive attitude towards Americans (64%), Italians (63%) and French (60%). They have a rather negative attitude towards Roma/Gypsies (71%), Romanians (66%), Ukrainians (60%) and Russians (53%). Moreover, Ukrainians stress that Poles still have negative stereotypes of their language group.

## 2.8 The European dimension

The European influence is considered very important : since Poland has signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is widely expected that the country will also ratify the Charter, which will have a positive influence on language policy. The conflict in the Belarusian/Ukrainian transition area is critical. In addition, there is the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood, Friendly Relations and Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Ukraine [*Traktat między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Ukrainą o dobrym sąsiedztwie, przyjaznych stosunkach i współpracy*], which was adopted on 18 May 1992. In the scope of this treaty Poland acknowledged its eastern border and Russia accepted the Ukraine as a strategic partner of Poland. However, after the conclusion of a military cooperation agreement in 1993 relations between the two countries stagnated.

## 3. Conclusion

- 3.1 The situation of Ukrainian can be compared to the situation of German. Both are marked by post-World War II history and strong oppression until 1990. These historical events still put a strain on relations between Poland and the Ukraine, which should be improved by recent intergovernmental treaties. The tensions become clear with memorials for German and Ukrainian soldiers in Silesia and Galicia, for example, which are regarded quite sceptically by the Polish population and government. Indeed, the Ukraine is considered to be a rather disagreeable neighbour in comparison with other countries.
- 3.2 There are two problematic issues arising for the future : firstly, the cohesion of the Ukrainian group is hampered by the geographical dispersion. Secondly, the recent distinction between the Ukrainian and Ruthenian/Russian/Lemk groups is problematic as this division means it will be harder for them to pass on their language to the next generation; even though there are clear ethnic and religious differences (Ukrainians in Poland are mostly Uniate (Greek) Catholics and Ruthenians are Orthodox). These differences are reflected in local religious disputes which may even extend to a national level if ethnicity issues are at stake.

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## Other languages

### 1. Armenian

- 1.1 Armenian [*hayerēn*] is an Indo-European language and its alphabet was developed for religious and cultural purposes. It is divided into East Armenian which is spoken in the Republic of Armenia and West Armenian which is the language of the diaspora. According to the 2002 census there were 1,082 persons of Armenian nationality in Poland. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of approx. 1,500 Armenians (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook on Contact Linguistics 1996). In the same census 872 persons declared Armenian as their home language.
- 1.2 As of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Armenians moved to Galicia, Volhynia and Podolia (called *Lehastan* in Armenian sources). Galicia became a centre for early Armenian letterpress and literature. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuits founded a seminar in Lwów in order to promote Armenian studies and literature. However, this meant that the Polish secular and ecclesiastic authorities put increasing pressure on people to assimilate (this was true for all non-Catholic religions – in 1596 the Orthodox had to agree to the Union of Brest), which caused numerous conversions. In 1689 the bishop of Lwów acknowledged the reign of the Pope whilst maintaining the Armenian rite. The ecclesiastic union was followed by the linguistic polonisation. Due to these circumstances, but also because of the decreasing economic and political status of the Polish-Lithuanian country, many Armenians chose to emigrate, e.g. to Russia, Constantinople, Persia or Wallachia. The annexing of Podolia after Russia's takeover in 1820 and the political division marked the end of the Armenian rite in the East of Lehastan. In Lwów and Galicia the Armenian-Catholic religion survived under Austrian reign. In 1880 the diocese counted about 3,000 Armenian-Catholic Christians. This group within the diaspora was mixed after the Armenian genocide in 1915/16 and the political democratisation of Poland. Therefore, assimilated Armenians in Poland often speak a West Armenian variety which is strongly influenced by a Turkish variation – the Kipchak. This small Armenian community still exists today and has its centre in its church which was built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In Liturgy the Old Armenian language *Grabar* is used. It was written during the 5<sup>th</sup> century and is still used in modern times for religious purposes. A comprehensive literature was passed on in this language dealing with theological topics, history, poetry and epic poetry. The Armenian minority culture is based on the Association for Armenian Culture.

### 2. Yiddish

- 2.1 The biggest Jewish community lives in Warsaw. Other communities exist in Kraków, Łódź, Szczecin, Gdańsk, Katowice and Wrocław. The first records of Jewish settlements in Poland date back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century they obtained their first privileges and rights with the Calisia Statutes. After World War II the formerly lively Jewish community disappeared due to the Holocaust.
- 2.2 The current statistics do not indicate to what extent Yiddish [שייט] or Hebrew [עברית] is spoken by the Jewish community. In the 2002 census 5,838 persons indicated Hebrew as their home language.
- 2.3 Neither Hebrew nor Yiddish is taught at public schools. However, there are two private schools in Warsaw (where there is also a nursery) and Wrocław offering

native language classes. The Jewish community is organised through the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland which was founded in 1950 and now has about 3,000 members. They partly finance their activities themselves and partly receive support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. There is one weekly newspaper (Polish/Yiddish) *Dos Jidisze Wort*, the quarterly *Bleter far Geschichte* (Yiddish) and the publication *Biuletyn* of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (source: <http://www.hagalil.com/>). The publication of the weekly newspaper *Folks-Sztyme* was stopped recently. In Krakow there is also the Festival of Jewish Culture [*Festiwal Kultury Żydowskiej*] which takes place annually.

### **3. Karaites (or Karaim)**

- 3.1 Karaites [*karajčá*] belongs to the Kipchak branch of the Turkish language family. It has been spoken in non-Turkish environments (Poland, Lithuania) for centuries and is thus strongly influenced by Indo-Germanic contact languages. Since the Middle Ages Karaites has been an important language in literature and it is mainly written in Hebrew letters. Its speakers belong to the Karaites; a small religious group which split off from Judaism in around the 8<sup>th</sup> century and which still has followers in the Baltics, Eastern Europe, Turkey and Israel. The most prominent “non-Turkish” peculiarities of Karaites are morphosyntactic characteristics such as indicating the gender by a suffix (e.g. in *qarayqa* 'Karaites woman' as compared to *qaray* 'Karaites man'), the use of demonstrative pronouns as definite articles and the word order: use of former postpositions as prepositions, suffixed genitive attributes, suffixed subordinate clauses with conjunctions, relatively free position of the finite verb etc. On the other hand, Karaites has kept some archaic features.
- 3.2 In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Karaites (or Karaim) moved from the Crimea to Lithuania and today's West Ukraine, the former Galicia. After the annexing of Crimea (1783) and the Polish divisions (1772 - 1795) all the Eastern European Karaites settlements and linguistic enclaves belonged to Tsarist Russia. Unlike the Jews, the Karaites were not discriminated against because of their ethnic and religious specificity. Even during the German occupation of their settlements they were considered as a “Tartarian ethnicity” and thus were not persecuted. The city of Trakai in Lithuania is a religious and historic centre for the Karaites in Eastern Europe. In cooperation with experts for Turkic languages, the Lithuanian state has also made efforts to teach the language to children again. The minority is represented through a [Website](#).
- 3.3 According to the 2002 census 45 persons declared Karaites nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of approximately 150 Karaites (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). In the 2002 census there were no indications of Karaites being used as a home language. The Karaites language is threatened with extinction and is only used by a few elderly speakers in two small minority communities.

### **4. Romani**

- 4.1 The (mostly Catholic) Roma live scattered all over Poland the highest concentrations being found in cities as Tarnów and Gorzów Wlkp. The minority is historically divided into four groups: *Polish Roma*, *Carpathian Roma* (also *Bergitka Roma*), *Kalderaszy* (*Kalderara*) and *Lowarzy* (*Lovara*). The first report of Roma in Poland dates back to 1401 in Kraków. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century many Roma

came from German-speaking regions to Poland and called themselves Polish Roma to distinguish themselves from others.

- 4.2 According to the 2002 census there are 12,855 persons of Roma nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of about 20,000 (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). In the same census 15,788 persons declared Romani [*romani čhib*] as their home language.
- 4.3 Most of the Roma children and adolescents attend public schools where there are generally no classes taught in their native language. The private Parish primary school in Suwałki teaches Roma children, 30% of whom do not go to school, for free. Since the minority is very badly institutionalised, the Polish government launched the 2001 Pilot Government Programme for the Roma Community in the Małopolskie Voivodship, which is especially designed to improve the educational situation of Roma. Despite this weak institutionalisation the minority is very lively due to its familial cohesion. However, they also have about 20 own organisations which organise, among other things, cultural events (e.g. International Reunion of Roma Music Groups in Gorzów Wielkopolski), but there seems to be no umbrella organisation. *Rrom p-o drom* is a monthly periodical in Romani published in Białystok.

## 5. Russian

- 5.1 The Russian-speakers in Poland belong to the group of the Old Believers and have settled in three or four isolated communities in the Podlaskie province near the towns of Augustów and Suwałki. All Old Believers are bilingual Polish and standard Russian [*ruskij jazik*] or their specific archaic dialect which developed in a religious context. In the Podlaskie province, standard Russian is taught as a foreign language, not as a minority or regional language.
- 5.2 According to the 2002 census there were 6,103 persons of Russian nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of approx. 20,000 Russians (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). In the same census 15,299 persons indicated Russian as their home language.
- 5.3 The only active organisations of the Russian language community are the Russian Association for Education and Culture [*Rosyjskie Towarzystwo Kulturalno-Oświatowe*] in Białystok and the Local Church of the Old Believers [*Wschodni Kościół Starobrzędowy*] in Suwałki.
- 5.4 The group of Russian speakers is quite small and homogeneous because it is isolated and has a high degree of endogamy. The future development of this group might therefore be relatively positive.

## 6. Slovak

- 6.1 The Slovak minority is mainly concentrated in the Małopolskie Voivodship. It also has settlements in the regions of Spisz and Orawa as well as Nowy Targ and Tatra. The Slovak language in Poland is influenced by the dialects of these regions. According to the 2002 census 2,001 persons declared Slovak nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of about 15,000 Slovaks (Association for Civic

Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). In the same census 1,842 persons indicated Slovak [*slovenský jazyk / slovenčina*] as their home language.

- 6.2 Article 35 of the Constitution guarantees the preservation and development of the Slovak language. In addition, a bilateral agreement on good neighbourhood was concluded with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic [*Traktat między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Czeską i Słowacką Republiką Federacyjną o dobrym sąsiedztwie, przyjaznych stosunkach i współpracy (6 October 1991)*]. The Slovak language is well supported by the local authorities but less so on regional level. Moreover, only a few culturally motivated parents speak the language to their children.
- 6.3 Standard Slovak is taught to 331 pupils at eleven schools. The Slovak minority belongs to the Catholic Church. *Život* is a monthly periodical in Slovak, which is published in Krakow with a print run of 2,200 copies. Cultural Festivals are: Days of Slovak Culture in Jabłonka Orawska and the Reunion of Folk Music Groups in Krempace. The Polish Slovaks are organised in the Slovak Union in Poland [*Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce*] and in the Socio-cultural Society of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland [*Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Czechów i Słowaków w Polsce*] which was founded in 1957. The association *Matice Slovenska* based in Bratislava supports the Polish Slovaks. Since Slovak does not have any modern fields of application its existence is threatened.

## 7. Tatar

According to the 2002 census there are 495 persons of Tartarian nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a number of about 2,000 (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). In the same census there were no declarations of Tatar as a home language. About 300 years ago the Muslim Tatars lost their language and they now speak Polish or a mixture of Polish and Belarusian.

## 8. Czech

- 8.1 Czech [*český jazyk*] is nearly only spoken in the city of Zelów in the Bełchatów district of the Łódzkie Voivodship in Central Poland. The members of this minority are descendents of the Hussites, the followers of the Czech theologian and reformer Jan Hus (\* around 1370). During the defence wars the Hussites successfully invaded Silesia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Austria, Slovakia and Prussia, nearly as far as Gdansk. Although more Czechs followed during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, the descendents lived in enclaves and thus their Czech differs from that spoken in the Czech Republic.
- 8.2 According to the 2002 census there are 831 persons of Czech nationality. Estimates from various sources indicate a total of about 3,000 Czechs (Association for Civic Media 2003; Handbook of Contact Linguistics 1996). However, in the same census 1,482 persons declared Czech as their home language. The minority has few institutions, e.g. in terms of schools except for one nursery. A second exception are the Calvinist services in the parish of Zelów. The Czechs are organised within the Czech Club [*Klub Czeski*] which closely cooperates with the Slovak association. The monthly periodical *Život* also publishes articles in Czech. Overall, the minority's vigour is weakening as children rarely learn Czech and the language has no institutions.

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## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 Slovakia [*Slovensko*] (SR) is a Central European country sharing borders with its neighbours Poland, Ukraine, Austria and the Czech Republic. The country covers an area of 49,034 sqkm, has a total population (2001) of 5,379,455, with a density of 110 inhabitants per sqkm. The capital Bratislava is situated at the Danube River in the south-western part of the country near the Slovak-Austrian border (approx. 60 km from Vienna). According to the census of 2001, the capital had 427,049 inhabitants. Since the territorial and administrative reform on 22 March 1996, Slovakia is divided into eight regions [*kraj*] and 79 districts [*okres*]. The eight regions were obtained through two horizontal and four vertical divisions of the country around the respective regional capitals: Bratislava, Trnava, Trenčín, Nitra, Žilina, Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Košice.



- 1.2 After the 1989 political change in Czechoslovakia, a Czech and Slovak federal state was founded. However, the two parts of the country developed in different directions, and on 1 January 25 November 1992 1993 the Slovak Republic [*Slovenská republika*] became an independent state. The SR is a parliamentary democracy with the legislative power attributed to the National Council [*Národná rada*]. The National Council has 150 representatives which are elected for a four year term.
- 1.3 The gross domestic product (GDP) per inhabitant in 2002 was €4,700 (47% of the EU average). The real GDP growth grew to 4.4% by 2002. The trade deficit of 8.2% of the GDP was compensated by foreign direct investments (17% of the GDP) and the overall deficit amounted to 7.2% of the GDP in 2002. The inflation rate continued to decrease until 2002 and reached an annual average of 3.3%. Concerning the gross value added of the SR (2002), services are 63.6% followed by industry with 26.4% as well as agriculture and construction with approx. 5% each. In the first quarter of 2004 unemployment reached 19.3% (as against 17.4% in 2003).

## 2. General aspects

- 2.1 During the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Slavonic tribes settled on the territory of the current SR. In 833, the town of Nitra was occupied and the Great Moravian Empire was founded. The empire included the territories of today's Slovak and Czech Republics as well as parts of today's Austria, Hungary, Poland and Germany. In 907, a Hungarian invasion led to the collapse of Great Moravia and the current SR remained part of the Hungarian multi-ethnic state under the name of "Upper Hungary" for the following 900 years. After the rise of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1867, Hungary obtained autonomy in internal politics, which caused a strong magyarisation having effects in Slovakia mainly from 1868-1918. Mostly Germans, Jews and Slovaks were subject to the pressure of assimilation.
- 2.2 After World War I new borders were also created for the SR. On 18 October 1918 a new state was founded as a result of the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1918) and Saint-Germain (1920): the Czechoslovak Republic. In this new state, the roles were exchanged. The Hungarian ethnicity, which until now had been the majority, became a minority whereas the Slovaks became the majority. In 1921 65.5% of the population were Czechs and Slovaks and 44% of the total population belonged to other ethnic groups (approx. 3 million Germans and 1 million Hungarians as well as smaller groups of Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Russians and Poles). Shortly before the beginning of World War II the Slovak Republic declared itself autonomous within the federal state of Czechoslovakia. The period of World War II was marked, as in many other European countries, by attacks on minorities (genocide, deportation and forced resettlement). One day before Hitler's invasion of the Czech and Slovak territories, the fascist leader President Jozef Tiso came into power. The Slovak Republic was founded, with a Nazi puppet government and became a German ally. The second Czechoslovakia, which was founded after the war, was supposed to become a federal state but due to the takeover by the communists in 1948, it became a state that was centrally governed from Prague. Czechoslovakia only became a federal state in 1968.
- 2.3 The political change in 1989 led to a strengthened Slovak national consciousness and requests for an autonomous Slovakia resulting in a division of the two countries in 1992-1993. The period from 1993 to 1998 was marked by a strong state control of e.g. the media and international criticism. From 1998, after suffering from economic problems, high unemployment, slow reforms and ethnic conflicts, the new government succeeded in bringing the country back on the right track on its way into the EU. At the Copenhagen European Council, the accession of the SR to the EU on 1 May 2004 was confirmed.
- 2.4 The censuses show the comparatively high number of religious people in the Slovak population. In the census of 1991 72.8% of the population were members of a religious group and the trend is increasing: in 2001 the number went up to 84.1% of the total population. The biggest church in the SR is the Roman Catholic Church, with 4,521,549 members (68.5% of the total population) followed by the Protestant Church (372,858 members = 6.9%), the Greek Catholic Church (219,831 = 4.1%) and the Reformed Church (109,735 = 2%). There are around 3,000 Jews in the SR, who can be defined as a national minority as well as a religious group. There are no major differences to the total population of the SR regarding the religious groups or the Hungarian, Czech and German minorities. The Poles in the SR, however, tend to belong to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1991, 91.1% of the Poles in Slovakia stated that they were religious. Clear differences occur between the majority population and the Ruthenians and Ukrainians who, to a large extent,

belong to the Greek Catholic Church, and for whom religion is an important part of their identity as a minority.

### 3. Demographic data

3.1 The Slovak population statistics indicate the country's multi-ethnic character. The table shows the demographic development of national minorities in the territory of the current SR:

**Table 1.** Population development by nationality/ethnicity in the territory of the current SR 1880-2001.

	1880	1910	1921	1930	1947	1961	1980	1991	2001
<b>Slovak</b>	1,471,752 59.6%	1,688,413 57.5%	1,952,866 66.0%	2,224,983 68.4%	2,888,000 85.0%	3,560,216 85.3%	4,321,139 86.6%	4,590,100 85.69%	4,614,854 85.78%
<b>Hungar.</b>	574,862 23.1%	881,320 30.2%	650,597 22.0%	585,434 17.6%	390,000 11.5%	518,782 12.4%	559,801 11.2%	568,714 10.62%	520,528 9.67%
<b>Roma</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	83,988 1.57%	89,920 1.67%
<b>Czech</b>	***	***	72,137 2.4%	120,926 3.7%	37,000 1.1%	45,721 1.1%	55,234 1.1%	51,293 0.96%	44,620 0.83%
<b>Morav.*</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	6,361 0.12%	2,348 < 0.10%
<b>Ruth.**</b>	81,055 3.3%	103,387 3.5%	88,970 3.0%	95,359 2.8%	47,000 1.4%	35,435 0.9%	39,758 0.8%	17,277 0.32%	24,201 0.45%
<b>Ukr.**</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	14,341 0.27%	10,814 0.20%
<b>German</b>	318,794 12.8%	198,405 6.8%	145,844 4.9%	154,821 4.5%	24,000 0.7%	6,259 0.1%	5,121 0.1%	5,380 0.10%	5,405 0.10%
<b>Polish</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	2,602 < 0.10%
<b>Croatian</b>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	890 < 0.10%
<b>Total</b>	2,472,437	2,914,143	2,958,557	3,254,189	3,399,000	4,174,046	4,987,853	5,356,207	5,379,455

\* Moravian / Silesian: In the census of 2001 there was only the option "Moravian".

\*\* The Ruthenians and Ukrainians were a joint group in the source from 1880-1980.

\*\*\* No data available.

(Sources: For the years from 1880 to 1980: Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi 1998; for 1991: ECMI 2000, 36; for 2001: <http://www.statistics.sk>)

According to the last census, the SR had 5,379,455 inhabitants, approx. 15% of which stated a different nationality from Slovak. This figure remained relatively stable from 1991 to 2001. However, it is likely that this number might be higher as many Roma stated Slovak or Hungarian as their nationality. There are different estimations as to the number of Roma in the SR but they usually range between 300,000 and 500,000. Taking this into consideration, the non-Slovak population increases to over 20% of the total population. Jews are not taken into account by the official statistics. Statistics for the Jewish communities show that there are approx. 3,000 Jews living in the SR today.

3.2 In the Lands of the Crown of St Stephen the Hungarian ethnicity had in 1850 a relative majority of 46%. In the following 60 years, the Hungarian population increased – mainly due to assimilation – and reached a number of 54.5% in 1910. At the same time, 30.2% of the total population on the territory of today's Slovakia were Hungarians. 57.9% of the population stated Slovak nationality. With the German (speaking) population the respective number was 6.8% and with the Ruthenians/Ukrainians 3.5%. After World War I, only a small proportion of the Hungarian population stayed on the territory today's SR. Between 1920 and 1924, approx. 88,000 Hungarians (especially administrative and military staff)

emigrated to the new state of Hungary. At the same time, approx. 72,000 Czech soldiers, civil servants and investors immigrated into the territory of the current SR. During World War II, 70,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia. After the war the situation changed again, amongst other things because of forced resettlement, expulsion and population exchange. Sudeten Germans and Hungarians were particularly affected by the expulsion and forced resettlement. In Czechoslovakia the percentage of the minority population remained relatively stable according to the available statistics. An exception is the German population which steadily decreased, above all due to its unfavourable age structure, since more than half of the minority was over 60 years old.

3.3 The table below shows the distribution of the national minorities in the eight regions of the SR:

**Table 2.** The population of the eight regions in the SR in 2001 by nationality/ethnicity.

	Bratisl.	Trnava	Trenčín	Nitra	Žilina	B. Bystr.	Prešov	Košice	Total
<b>Slov.</b>	546,685	407,246	589,344	499,761	674,766	553,865	716,441	626,746	4,614,854
<b>Hung.</b>	27,434	130,740	1,058	196,609	660	77,795	817	85,415	520,528
<b>Roma</b>	755	3,163	1,547	4,741	2,795	15,463	31,653	29,803	89,920
<b>Czech</b>	9,591	4,778	6,319	4,526	6,123	4,560	3,774	4,949	44,620
<b>Morav.</b>	745	167	370	186	297	201	171	211	2,348
<b>Ruth.</b>	526	72	87	85	129	148	21,150	2,004	24,201
<b>Ukr.</b>	542	196	214	275	223	553	6,781	2,030	10,814
<b>German</b>	1,342	173	750	200	452	435	510	1,543	5,405
<b>Polish</b>	398	145	228	295	466	252	549	269	2,602
<b>Croat.</b>	653	53	24	42	31	32	23	32	890
<b>Total</b>	599,015	551,003	605,582	713,422	692,332	662,121	789,968	766,012	5,379,455

(Source: <http://www.statistics.sk>)

The Hungarian, Czech, Ruthenian, Ukrainian and Polish minorities are border type minorities, i.e. they generally live in the border regions of their countries of origin which neighbour the SR. The majority of the Roma live in the Eastern Slovak territories. Most members of the German minority live in the Košice region as well as in the capital region where there is also the highest concentration of the Croatian, Czech and Moravian minorities. However, the Czech minority is quite evenly dispersed over the other regions as well. The Polish minority is also dispersed over the country, although a slightly higher concentration can be noted in the Prešov region. More members of national minorities live in municipalities than in the regions and districts. In 1999 for example, there were 656 municipalities with at least 20% of national minorities. In 512 of these municipalities, the Hungarian population reached 20%, Ruthenians 68, Roma 57, Ukrainians 18 and Germans 1.

## 4. Language policy

4.1 In federal Czechoslovakia only individuals were granted rights not minorities as such. In 1990, after the break-up of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia adopted the act on the official language of the Slovak Republic [*Zákon o úradnom jazyku Slovenskej republiky*], which defines Slovak as the only official language of the state. However, minorities could use their language in contact with authorities where they constituted 20% of the population. Moreover, all official documents were to be published in Slovak. The act was supposed to define the Slovak language as an

official language (instead of the Czechoslovak which officially had a Czech and a Slovak version).

- 4.2 The 1992 Constitution [*Ústava Slovenskej republiky*] confirmed the Slovak language as the official language [*štátný jazyk*] of the SR [*štátný jazyk*]. In article 12, the general fundamental rights are “granted to all citizens of the SR without distinction in race, colour of skin, language, religion, nationality or ethnic group.” Article 34 of the Constitution contains specific provisions on national minorities (right of diffusion and reception of information and education in the minority language, right to use the minority language in contacts with authorities). The 1995 act on the official language [*Zákon o štátnom jazyku Slovenskej republiky*] which was criticised on international as well as national level and by minorities in particular, confirmed the status of the Slovak language as the only official language.
- 4.3 In 1999 the Slovak parliament adopted the act on the use of minority languages [*Zákon o používaní jazykov národnostných menšín*] which was intended to satisfy the needs of minorities better than before. However, the new law abrogated only a part (article 10) of the 1995 law. Especially for the Ruthenians this implies an exclusion from the new rights as the 20% barrier of the 1920 Constitution is still valid. The practical implementation of the act proved to be difficult. It only acknowledges the *possibility* of using the minority language in contacts with regional authorities but does not require the administrative staff to know the respective minority language. Another issue is the lacking definition of the term ‘official documents’ [*verejný list*] which are an exception as they have to be written in Slovak according to article 2 (3). The act still only applies to regions with at least 20% of speakers of a minority language. The borders of these regions are drawn by the government, i.e. they depend on the political balance of power rather than on the actual situation.
- 4.4 Although the term ‘national minority’ [*národnostná menšina*] appears in Slovak law (especially in the Constitution and the act on the use of minority languages) and in numerous other official documents, the law neither gives a definition of ‘national minority’ nor is the term specified in another way. In the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, however, 11 ethnic groups in Slovakia are considered as minorities: Bulgarians, Germans, Jews, Croatians, Moravians, Poles, Roma, Ruthenians, Czechs, Ukrainians and Hungarians. These groups, except for the Bulgarians and Jews, are also taken into account by the population statistics grouping the population by nationality [*narodnosť*]. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages applies to the following languages: Bulgarian, German, Croatian, Polish, Romani, Ruthenian, Czech, Ukrainian and Hungarian.
- 4.5 Several Slovak ministries have special units for minority issues. The ministry mainly responsible for minority policies is the Ministry of Culture with a special section for minority culture. The Ministry of Education has a unit for education on nationally mixed territories as well as a unit for the vocational training of minorities. In addition, the Foreign Ministry has a unit dealing with human rights. The Slovak parliament has also set up a Committee for Human Rights and National Minorities that is led by a representative of a national minority and mainly pursues activities regarding Roma issues.
- 4.6 In 1998 the position of the Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights, National Minorities and Regional Development was created and attributed to a member of the Hungarian minority. The Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights, National

Minorities and Regional Development is also the chairman of the Council of National Minorities and Ethnic Groups. It is a consultative government body which deals with questions on the development and implementation of minority policies. Fourteen minority organisations have the right to designate Council members. The Council can suggest concrete measures, set up reports for the government, comment on legislative proposals and exercise a consultative function when public money is allocated to minorities. Since February 2001 there has been a second post for the protection of minorities – the Ombudsman – who is elected for a five-year term by the Slovak parliament. His task is to check the activities and decisions of public institutions concerning the implementation of fundamental rights and freedoms.

- 4.7 In 2001 there were 187 organisations in the SR registered with the Ministry of the Interior and active in the field of national minorities. In addition to the minority-NGOs, there were a total of 23 parties in the SR defining themselves as representatives of national minorities. Furthermore, there were 287 minority associations and 32 minority funds.
- 4.8 The Slovak Constitution acknowledges the right to education for everybody. In addition, national minorities have the right to be taught in their own language. The right to be taught in a minority language can also be derived from article 8 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The act on the use of minority languages mentions the use of minority languages in education by referring to the school act (1984) and its amended version (1994). Article 3 para. 1 states that classes in primary and secondary schools must be taught in the official language but also says that “members of Czech, Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationality have the right to be taught in their own language to an extent which is appropriate to the interest of their national development”. The Roma are excluded from this law as the Ministry of Education considers that they are not interested in being taught in their own language. As a result of the administrative reform which entered into force in 2002, the regional authorities are now responsible for nurseries and primary schools whereas the districts, which are allowed to found schools, are responsible for the secondary schools. This improves the possibilities of the national minorities in the SR to exercise direct influence in the field of education at least on municipality level where they have political representatives in the district and city authorities. Nevertheless, problems arise due to a lack of money in towns and municipalities, in the long run the regulation is however considered positively. During the school year 2002/2003 six minority languages were used as teaching languages in minority schools throughout Slovakia on different levels: Hungarian (all educational levels), Bulgarian (primary school, grammar school, university), German (primary school, university), Ruthenian and Ukrainian (some subjects in primary and secondary schools, university), and Romani (auxiliary language in nurseries and pre-schools in Roma settlement areas, teaching language at one secondary school and one university). As in all European countries, English is the most common foreign language taught at schools in the SR. In primary schools, 19% of pupils learnt English and 10% learnt German during the school year 1999/2000. In secondary schools, 56% of pupils participated in English classes and 51% in German classes, which is nearly the same level. 7% of pupils in secondary schools learned Russian and 4% learnt French.
- 4.9 The Constitution of the SR guarantees its citizens freedom of thought, conscience, belief and speech as well as the right to information. Moreover, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages obliges the country to create the

conditions necessary to provide education in minority languages (article 8). Furthermore, one television and radio station is to be appointed which has to broadcast programmes in the minority language and one newspaper has to be published in this language (article 11). In the cultural domain, the state is supposed to provide means and possibilities for cultural activities of the national minorities (article 12). According to the Slovak act on radio and television broadcasting (1993), radio and TV stations have to dedicate parts of their programmes to preserving the cultural identity of the national minority.

## **5. The European dimension**

On 14 September 1995 the SR ratified the European Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities and in June 2001 it ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. For the Hungarian minority especially, this Charter filled some gaps which the act on the use of minority languages had left open. Bilateral agreements on good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation were concluded between Slovakia and Hungary (1995), the Czech Republic (1991) and Germany (1997).

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

German [*Deutsch*] is a West Germanic language of the Indo-European family. Different varieties of German are spoken in Slovakia. The pre-war generation as well as the generation born immediately after the war still spoke German dialects of Austrian, Bavarian and Central German origins. The German standard language was directly taught to the latter only in exceptional cases, but some members of this generation acquired knowledge of the standard language at university and/or through stays in the German language area. The German dialects of the post-war generation contain much more Slovakisms than was the case for the oldest generation. The German language spoken in Slovakia contains, for example, Bohemisms which were typical of the Pressburg dialect. In the Spis, the German language was influenced by the Polish dialects spoken in that region.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century marks the beginning of the German colonisation of the territories of today's SR (at that time territories of Upper Hungary). The settlers came mostly from the German middle-eastern and southern regions as well as from Silesia. They settled in three main areas: Bratislava [*Pressburg*], the West Carpathian mining regions and the so-called Spis region with its centres of Kežmarok [*Kesmark*] and Gelnica [*Göllnitz*]. The peak of German settlement in current Slovakia was reached in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the number of German speakers being 200,000-250,000 (approx. 25% of the total population). At this point, German became the second official language of former Upper Hungary. Due to Slovakisation and Magyarisation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century however, its influence gradually decreased. Until Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918, the Germans in Slovakia were part of the 2 million Hungarian Germans. After World War II, the situation of the German speakers in Czechoslovakia changed completely. As a result of the Beneš decrees more than 3 million Germans were expelled.

1.2.2 In the 2001 census, 5,405 persons stated German as their nationality (development since 1880 ⇒ Table 1). The number of German native speakers was slightly higher (6,343). Since the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century, the number of German speakers in the territory of today's Slovakia has been gradually decreasing. In 1880 there were still 318,794 (12.8%) German speakers in Slovakia, in 1921 after the First World War 145,844 (4.9%) and after their expulsion in 1945 their numbers dropped below 1%. Since the 1960s their number, compared to the total population has remained relatively stable at 0.1%, that is approx. 5,000 persons. As to reproduction, the age structure of the German minority is however unfavourable as the over 65 years old German speakers outweigh the younger generation which is strongly 'slovakised'.

1.2.3 The German speakers in Slovakia still live in parts of their original settlements (⇒ Table 2).

The strongest concentration can be noted in the regions of Bratislava and Košice where more than 50% of the German speakers in Slovakia live. The others are dispersed all over the SR. Besides Slovakia, Carpathian Germans live in Austria and Germany as well as in North America.

- 1.2.4 Due to the heterogeneous religious (Bratislava, South-West and Central Slovakia: Roman Catholic; Spis: Protestant-Lutheran) and linguistic (vernacular) origins of the German minority, there was no strong notion of national identity within this minority in Slovakia after Czechoslovakia was founded. In addition, there were only sparse contacts because of the geographical distance. Although contacts with the more politicised Sudeten Germans strengthened in the 1920s, the development of a German educational system for example was largely borne by the Sudeten Germans.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

In post-war Czechoslovakia the remaining German speakers were politically discriminated against. Not only were they disappropriated but German speakers in Czechoslovakia were also, especially shortly after the war, socially excluded. For many this meant a loss and denial of their identity and finally led to a language change. For example, Germans did not obtain Czechoslovak citizenship until 1953 and were acknowledged as minority as late as 1968. Compared to the German speakers in the Czech part of Czechoslovakia, the German minority in the Slovak part seldom used the possibilities of cultural gatherings. Since 1989 more attention has been paid to the issue of the German minority in Slovakia as now it is also supported by the state. Since 1995 the German speakers in Slovakia have been included in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The act on the use of minority languages (1999) also applies to the German language minority which reaches the 20% barrier in the town of Krahule (German: Blaufluß) with 150 inhabitants. If the barrier were lowered, to e.g. 10%, seven other towns would fall under the act.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The right to education in German language can be derived from the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Slovak Constitution. According to the chairman of the Carpathian German Society the change in 1989 also marked a new beginning for the educational system. German and bilingual schools and nurseries were established. According to Eurydice there was one German primary school in Slovakia during the school year 2002/2003. Moreover, there are five primary schools where all subjects are taught in Slovak except for German which is taught as a native language. In spring 2004 negotiations were held between representatives of the Carpathian German Society and the Slovak Ministry of Education in order to include the above-mentioned school in the network of minority schools under joint administration. Furthermore, there are discussions on the possibility of establishing bilingual classes at two grammar schools in Bratislava. Of the approx. 600,000 pupils attending the first to the ninth year in Slovakia approx. 340,000 learn German. In total, 10% of pupils in primary

schools and 51% in secondary schools learnt German as a foreign language in the school year 1999/2000 which makes it the second foreign language in schools after English. German language and literature studies are offered by several universities in Slovakia: the Comenius University Bratislava, the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, the University of Trnava, the University of Prešov and the University of Nitra. In addition, German is taught at the Technical University of Košice and the Cyril and Methodius University in Trnava.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

The Slovak Constitution allows German to be used in legal proceedings as a minority language. However, Slovak is preferred in contacts with authorities. An exception might be municipalities with a larger number of German speakers (vernacular speakers) where German is also used in public.

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

The statements under 2.2 also apply for contacts with public authorities. Due to the 20% barrier of the language act German can only be used at local authorities in the village of Krahule [*Blaufuß*] where about a quarter of the 150 inhabitants speak German. Here, the street signs are also bilingual.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

In 2000 the Slovak public television broadcast 1.9 hours of German programmes and the Slovak radio 0.5 hours. The Committee for National Minorities founded in January 1999 in Košice is responsible for TV programmes in minority languages on Slovak television. Austrian and German TV and radio stations are also available. The German speaking Slovaks have their own monthly German periodical – the *Karpatenblatt* (16 pages) – which is published by the Carpathian German Society. It is also available on the internet. German and Austrian newspapers are also sold in the SR. In 2000 the German language periodicals in Slovakia received SKK 800,000 from the Slovak Ministry of Culture. A newspaper called *Karpatenpost* is published in Germany and basically contains information on the Carpathian German culture, different events, family and church news. The presence of the German minority on the internet is limited. The Carpathian German Society has a website which roughly informs about the Carpathian Germans and different current topics, the Carpathian German youth organisation IkeJA-KDJ and the Carpathian German Association. It also contains links to the *Karpatenblatt* and the Carpathian German Museum Bratislava.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

The *Museum der Kultur der Karpatendeutschen* was founded in 1997 in Bratislava as a part of the Slovak National Museum. It aims at preserving and collecting items of Carpathian German material and intellectual culture and publishes the series *Acta Carpatho-Germanica* of which nine volumes already exist. The German speaking minority in the SR keeps its folk culture alive. Each year there are several folk festivals, since 1996, for example, there has been a yearly festival for culture and encounters in Kežmarok. The local groups and encounter centres of the

Carpathian German Society have many singing and dancing ensembles. The editors of the Carpathian German working group annually publish the *Karpatenjahrbuch* (200-250 pages) which mainly consists of Carpathian German history as well as stories and anecdotes. In 2000 German cultural activities were financially supported with SKK 1,267,500 out of public funds of the Slovak Ministry of Culture.

## 2.6 The business world

In the beginning, the German minority in Slovakia worked in about the same professions as the total population. In the West Carpathian regions they mainly worked in mining. However, even before the Second World War a distinction became clear in comparison with the Slovak speaking population: German speakers (57.6%) worked to a larger extent than Slovaks (18.8%) in industry and trade whereas more Slovaks worked in agriculture (57.6%) than Germans (29.2%). The latest statistics date back to the 1970s when Juraj Valiska (1980, 1982) collected some social statistics while studying old vernaculars. At that time, nearly half of the German speaking population was in retirement (2,320). The active population basically consisted of employees (1,290) and workers (690). More recent data on the occupational and economic structure of the German minority unfortunately do not exist (on economic support ⇒ 2.7.3).

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

2.7.1 In 1990 the Carpathian German Society was founded. It is situated in Košice and has approx. 4,500 members in 32 local groups in five regions: Bratislava, Hauerland (Central Slovakia), Upper Spis, Lower Spis and Bodva-valley. Its aims are the promotion of the German culture, the revitalisation of the German language and the support of youth activities of the German minority in Slovakia. The society also publishes the *Karpatenblatt* and German fine literature, technical literature and periodicals. The Carpathian German Society has a youth organisation – *IkeJA-KDJ* – which was founded in February 2004 after the interest group of the youth (IkeJA: International contacts – Youth Work) and the youth of the Carpathian German Society (KDJ) united into one organisation.

2.7.2 In order to better manage support measures from Germany for the German minority in the SR the *Karpatendeutsche Stiftung* was founded in 1993 and was transformed in November 1997 into a civil association called *Karpatendeutsche Assoziation* based in Košice. The support measures mainly consist of economic aid for small and medium sized private companies in the Carpathian German region. In this context, a total of SKK 107 million was allocated to 274 companies between 1993 and 2001. There are *Karpatendeutsche Landsmannschaften* in Germany as well as in Austria. In Germany there is also the *Hilfsbund Karpatendeutscher Katholiken*, the *Hilfskomitee für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Slowakeideutschen*, *Karpatendeutsches Kulturwerk Slowakei* as well as the editorial office of the *Karpatenpost* and the *Karpatenjahrbuches*.

## 2.8 The European dimension

In the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which Slovakia ratified on 14 September 1995, the German minority is one of 11

minorities mentioned. Slovakia also ratified all three parts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages for the German language. The legal framework for cultural relations is the German-Slovak cultural cooperation agreement signed in May 1997. In this context, the German government supported cultural and community building activities of the German minority in Slovakia. The Carpathian Germans act as a link within the German-Slovak relationship.

### **3. Conclusion**

German is mostly used by the German speaking minority within the family. Although the German minority still suffers from an ageing population, the new interest especially in German speaking schools can be regarded as positive for the reproduction of the German language in Slovakia. Even if the majority of pupils at bilingual schools are not from German families they obtain a high, native-speaker-like proficiency in German by attending those schools. It remains to be seen, though, how teachers will manage to get across not only the German but also the Carpathian/Slovak-German culture. This seems to be necessary in order to preserve the particularities of the German culture in Slovakia and the sense of identity attached to it.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

1.1.1 Hungarian [*magyar nyelv*] is spoken by approx. 14.5 million people worldwide. Besides Slovakia, Hungarian is also spoken in Romania (1.6 million) and Yugoslavia (341,000). Furthermore, 447,000 Hungarian speakers live in the US and 86,800 in Canada. Genetically, the language belongs to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic languages and is closest to the languages Khanty and Mansi which are spoken in Siberia. This also indicates the geographical origin of the Hungarians/Magyars: in the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century they moved from the Volga region to the west. There are only a few dialects in today's Hungarian language and they mainly differ on a phonetic level.

1.1.2 Since Slovaks and Hungarians lived with and next to each other for a long time this influenced their languages. Before the 18<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian influenced Slovak but this changed especially after World War II. For this reason, there are slovakisms on different linguistic levels in the Hungarian in the SR which are not used in Hungary. Most interference occurs in the vocabulary. Direct borrowings are only used in the spoken language. Even more common are literal translations from Slovak creating new Hungarian words. Hungarians living in Slovakia prefer synonyms which are very similar to the corresponding Slovak word. The common elements can also contribute to a better understanding.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The Hungarian ethnicity, as most national minorities in the SR, is a border type minority and lives in the territories of today's SR since the 10<sup>th</sup> century. For centuries they were the majority population, first within the Hungarian multi-ethnic state and later within the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. As already mentioned, the balance of power between the Slovak and Hungarian population radically changed after the First World War, the Hungarians being a minority since then (1921: 22% of the total population on the territory of today's SR). The borders changed again in 1938 when Southern Slovakia was annexed by Hungary after the Vienna Arbitration. However, the territory returned to the newly established state of Czechoslovakia in 1945. Following an agreement with Hungary after the war, 65,000 Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia were exchanged for Slovaks living in Hungary. Moreover, 340,000 Hungarians were given back their Slovak citizenship, however with the status of ethnic Slovaks. In addition, 44,000 Hungarians were sent from Slovakia to the Czech part as manual workers. Since then the number of Hungarians living in today's SR remained at 10%. According to the last census in 2001 the Hungarian minority consisted of 520,528 persons, i.e. 9.67% of the total population in Slovakia. However, 572,929 stated being Hungarian speaking which is 10.65% of the total population.

1.2.2 Even today the highest concentration of the Hungarian minority in the SR is to be found in their historic settlements along the 500km Slovak-Hungarian border. Over 90% of Hungarians in Slovakia live in this area of approx. 9,000 sqkm. In 523

municipalities and towns of this area the Hungarian minority reaches 10% of the total population. Amongst these 523 places there are 425 where the Hungarians even constitute the majority. In two of the eight Slovak regions, Nitra (27.6%) and Trnava (23.7%), they reach more than 20%. The biggest part of the Hungarian population (often more than 70-80%) lives in villages and small towns whereas they are underrepresented in cities. This is due to the fact that the areas where the Hungarian ethnicity lives are traditionally rural. The migration into bigger cities, especially Bratislava, always played a major role and partly resulted in the assimilation with the majority population. The rural character was reinforced after the First World War mainly through the emigration of the Hungarian intelligentsia. At the moment however, the urban population does not increase due to a housing shortage which in turn makes Hungarian adolescents stay in their regions of origin. That is one reason for the occupational structure remaining relatively unchanged.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

- 1.3.1 The most important legal document for national minorities in Slovakia is the act on the use of minority languages [*Zákon o používaní jazykov národnostných menšín*] adopted in 1999. Contrary to many other minorities in the SR, the Hungarian minority can profit from it as it lives concentrated in the regions of south-western Slovakia and in many places reaches the legally required 20% barrier (⇒ Slovakia, 4.1).
- 1.3.2 About half of the financial governmental aids allocated to the minorities are attributed to the Hungarian minority which is the biggest minority. In 2000 this equalled SKK 9,631,000 (48.1%) for social activities. Until 2002 this sum strongly increased: a total of SKK 39,142,300 out of funds for minority activities were allocated to Hungarian organisations, SKK 14,747,300 of which were spent on cultural activities, SKK 11,650,000 on periodicals and SKK 12,749,000 on books and other irregular publications.
- 1.3.3 The Hungarians are the only minority which is represented in the Slovak government. The MKP, since 1994 a coalition of three Hungarian parties, won 20 seats in the 150 member National Council at the parliamentary elections in 2002. Three ministers belong to that party, the most important of which is probably the Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights, National Minorities and Regional Development. Since the 1998 election this position is occupied by Pál Csáky. The other two MKP representatives are the Minister for the Environment and the Minister of Construction and Regional and Rural Development. In 2002 a Hungarian federalist party [*Magyar Föderalista Párt*] was founded which aims at ensuring the legal ethnical protection of the Hungarian minority in the SR based on Christian values.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 The right to education in Hungarian can be derived from the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the act on the use of minority languages. Another important aspect for the Hungarian school system is the above mentioned

2002 administrative reform which grants more rights in education matters on district level.

- 2.1.2 According to the language group correspondent, there were 274 Hungarian speaking (i.e. Hungarian as only teaching language) and 95 Hungarian-Slovak (Slovak and Hungarian speaking groups) nurseries in the school year 2003/2004. In the same school year, there were 256 Hungarian speaking and 37 Hungarian-Slovak speaking primary schools as well as 18 Hungarian and eight Hungarian-Slovak speaking grammar schools. 80% of the Hungarian grammar school students attend Hungarian speaking schools. In general, the Hungarian language is strongly represented in primary schools whereas its influence decreases in the higher years. During the past few years, the members of the Hungarian minority got more aware of the importance of a native language education: the number of Hungarian speaking children starting at Slovak speaking primary schools sank from 27% in the 1990s to 19.7% in the school year 2001/2002. Some parents still fear that it might be too difficult for their children to attend minority classes and therefore voluntarily refuse the possibility of a multilingual education of their children.
- 2.1.3 At eight vocational schools only Hungarian was used as teaching language whereas 16 schools used both Hungarian and Slovak for teaching. 60% of Hungarian students on this level attend schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. In the school year 2003/2004 there were seven vocational schools without A-levels where only Hungarian was used and 23 schools with classes using both languages. 50% of Hungarian speaking students at vocational schools without A-levels attended schools with Hungarian as the medium of instruction. In general, the increasing number of vocational schools has a negative influence on the preservation of the Hungarian language. There is a decreasing number of schools using Hungarian as the language of instruction, and modern special subjects are rarely offered. Students wishing to learn those subjects consequently have to choose a Slovak speaking school preventing them from learning the Hungarian terminology.
- 2.1.4 Until now there are only (public) universities with Slovak as the language of instruction. At universities where teachers are trained for minority schools, parts of the classes are held in Hungarian. Those are the Comenius University in Bratislava with its faculty for Hungarian language and literature, the faculty for Hungarian studies at the Konstantin University in Nitra and some other faculties for Central European studies at the University of Nitra. The Hungarian language can also be studied at the Matej Běl University in Banská Bystrica (faculty for Hungarian studies with the training of translators and interpreters). The number of Hungarian speakers at universities is still low: In 1990 a total of 52,669 students attended public universities in Slovakia, 2,578 (4.9%) were Hungarians. By 2002 the number of university students increased to 97,932, the number of Hungarian students to 4,456, which is only 4.6% of the total number of students. In the 1990s some universities from Hungary opened branches in southern Slovak cities (Dunajská Streda, Sládkovičovo, Komárno, Kráľovský Chlmec and Košice) where the subjects economics, informatics, agriculture and education science are offered (1,216 students in 2002). However, the diplomas are not easily accepted in the SR. At the private Theological Institute János Calvin in Komárno theology can be studied in Hungarian. This institute is mainly financed through private sponsors and the diplomas are only accepted by the Reform Church. In Komárno a Hungarian university will be established in 2004. The university is supposed to consist of a pedagogical, economic and theological faculty providing classes mostly in Hungarian but also in Slovak, German and English. The adoption of the decision to establish the university on 24 October 2003 provoked criticism, e.g. the fear that Slovak students could be discriminated.

## 2.2 Judicial authorities

The language use in court is regulated by article 47 para. 4 of the Slovak Constitution giving everybody who does not know the language of the legal proceedings the right to call an interpreter. Hungarian can be used both in civil and criminal proceedings. Regarding the use of minority languages in legal proceedings the act on the use of minority languages refers to the act on courts and judges (1991). Moreover, the act on civil proceedings (1992) and the act on criminal proceedings (1992) acknowledge the right to use the native language in each of those proceeding types. However, as members of national minorities are also Slovak citizens and have to know the Slovak language, they do not have the right to request a free interpreter. Therefore, unless the judge speaks Hungarian, the language of the proceeding will be in most cases Slovak.

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

- 2.3.1 The act on the use of minority languages allows national minorities to use their language in contacts with local authorities in municipalities where they reach at least 20% of the total population. This also applies for governmental institutions. In addition, street, town and other signs can be set up in the minority language. This regulation is important for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia as they reach the 20% barrier in 512 places (1999). However, law and practical life often diverge since administrative staff is not obliged to know minority languages and/or to use them. Also the local authorities are not obliged to set up signs in Hungarian (for example) as the law only states that they *may* do it. Realisation and interpretation of the act regarding contacts with authorities and bilingual signs often cause conflicts in the Slovak-Hungarian language area. In practice, the language choice depends on the linguistic composition of the community and the language proficiency of the interlocutor. If they know Hungarian the language is spoken, but mostly this is only a coincidence. In smaller towns and villages where Hungarian speakers constitute the majority Hungarian can be used in all situations. The governmental administration offices are usually situated in district towns where the proportion of Slovak speakers is higher and the chance to meet a Hungarian speaking civil servant lower. With physicians Slovak is used in general since the proportion of Hungarian speaking physicians is low compared to the Hungarian speaking population.
- 2.3.2 The act on the use of minority languages allows bilingual signs in areas where the Hungarian speaking population reaches the 20% barrier. Whether the signs are really set up strongly depends on the municipal councils. The name of the town and the neighbouring towns on signs are thus often only indicated in Slovak whereas various municipal facilities have bilingual signs (depending on the composition and initiative of the municipal councils). Usually, the signs of small enterprises as grocery, shoe and clothes shops in southern Slovakia are bilingual.
- 2.3.3 According to the act on names and surnames (1993) as well as the act on the register (1994) it is also possible to have a name in a minority language. The act has especially a meaning in the context of female surnames since they are attached the suffix *-ová* in Slovak. However, it still happens that authorities add the suffix to the names of member of national minorities, which was even criticised by the Council of Europe.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 There is a big choice of Hungarian speaking print media. The daily newspaper *Új Szó* [New Word] – <http://www.ujszo.com> – which reached a print run of 43,000 is read by approx. 170,000 people. *Vasárnap*, the weekly annex to *Új Szó*, has a print run of 86,000 copies and approx. 300,000 readers. *Új Szó* is economically independent and does not benefit from financial aid from the Slovak government. Costs are mainly covered through the sale (64%) and advertisements (30%). Since 2002 there is also a Slovak version of the tabloid *Blikk* with one page of news from Slovakia in Hungarian. Weekly publications are for example *Szabad Újság* (print run: 21,000) dealing with politics, culture, economy, sports, humour etc. and providing a TV magazine as well as the family papers *Tücsök* and *Tábortűz*. Additionally, there are several other Hungarian speaking literary, pedagogical and religious newspapers and magazines as well as publications for teenagers, children, women etc. Newspapers and magazines from Hungary are also available in the Hungarian speaking regions of Slovakia. In linguistically mixed areas there are even various bilingual local periodicals. Most of these publications receive governmental subsidies; e.g. in 2000 Hungarian periodicals received SKK 6,545,000 (40.1% of all financial means for this purpose) and non-periodicals SKK 6,840,000 (71.4%) from funds of the Slovak Ministry of Culture.
- 2.4.2 In 1999 the Slovak television created a Hungarian section and in 2000 it broadcasted 60 hours of Hungarian programme weekly, e.g. from Monday to Friday the Hungarian speaking news show *Hírek*. There are numerous local TV stations which also produce Hungarian programmes. In the regions where most Hungarians in Slovakia live also programmes of the Hungarian television [*MTV*] can be received. A 1997 study shows that 92% of Hungarians in Slovakia inform themselves through *MTV*. The Slovak radio has a Hungarian section as well, the *Patria Radio*, which weekly produces 54 hours of programme and is also available on the internet at [www.slovakradio.sk/patria/](http://www.slovakradio.sk/patria/). The core of the programme is the music, information and entertainment broadcast *Pavilon* aired from Monday to Friday from 2.30pm to 6.30pm. On Sundays there is also a religious programme, for example. Radio broadcasts from Hungary are also available in Slovakia. The Hungarian programmes are even preferred, amongst young people especially the private stations *Radio Danubius* and *Sláger Rádió*.
- 2.4.3 Hungarian speaking media (TV, radio, periodicals) are actively perceived by the minority as the SGE has shown; over 80% of the participants stated to “often” use the Hungarian language in connection with these media. Horváth’s study (2003) confirmed as well that the Hungarian minority in Slovakia mainly obtains information through the Hungarian speaking media in the SR. On the other hand, the use of Slovak with “international” media as cinema and internet increases as in this field Hungarian makes up for only about one third and Slovak for nearly a half.

## 2.5 Arts and culture

- 2.5.1 The number of publications in Hungarian in the SR strongly increased over the last years: from 163 books in 1997 to 270 in 2003. In the (scientific) technical literature the Slovak language prevails whereas there are also Hungarian publications in the fields of fiction, literature, linguistics, history, political sciences etc. The major labels publishing literature in Hungarian are *Kalligram* ([www.kalligram.sk](http://www.kalligram.sk), fiction, social sciences, also translations; also publishes Slovak and Czech books), *Madách-Posonium* ([www.home.nextra.sk/madszu/](http://www.home.nextra.sk/madszu/), fiction, children’s books and literature for young people, popular scientific books), *AB-ART* ([www.ab-art.host.sk/](http://www.ab-art.host.sk/), fiction,

literature for young people), *Lilium Aurum* ([www.liliumaurum.sk](http://www.liliumaurum.sk), children's books, pedagogical books, fiction etc.), *Méry Ratio* (art books, fiction) and *Nap Kiadó* (fiction, popular scientific books). Textbooks are mostly published by the Slovak pedagogical publishing house *Mladé letá-SPN*. Since books from Hungary are also available in the SR, Hungarian labels in Slovakia do not publish encyclopaedias or hobby books.

2.5.2 Music and theatre are very important for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia: In 2003 there were 150 folk choirs, 65 folk dance groups, 35 zither groups and 14 folk music bands. There is also one semi-professional group called *Iffjú Szívek*. The folk music band *Ghymes* plays so called world music. Classical music is played by various chamber orchestras. There are two professional theatre groups: the Jókai theatre [*Jókai Színház*] in Komárno with 5–6 premiers and up to 200 performances per year and the Thália theatre [*Thália Színház*] in Košice with 4–5 premiers and 150–160 performances per year. According to *Csemadok* there were also 38 amateur theatre groups in 2003. The theatre and music groups organise several festivals each year. Furthermore, there are numerous other Hungarian speaking regional and local festivals with different themes. *Csemadok* organises annually about ten trans-regional and 100 local events.

2.5.3 There are no Hungarian museums or libraries in Slovakia. However, there are Slovak-Hungarian organisations, e.g. the Hungarian unit of the Museum at the Danube in Komárno as well as regional museums (e.g. the Csallóköz museum in Dunajská Streda, the Barsi museum in Levice, the Gömör museum in Rimavská Sobota and the mining museum in Rožňava). Slovak-Hungarian libraries and archives can be found in Dunajská Streda, Komárno, Levice, Lučenec and Rožňava.

## 2.6 The business world

Compared with the total population, a higher percentage of Hungarians are blue collar workers or members of agricultural cooperations whereas they are underrepresented amongst employees and university graduates. However, after the political system changed, the number of Hungarian speakers working in agriculture sank to 10% of all Hungarian speakers in Slovakia. Hungarians working in their own town or village (where the Hungarian language mostly prevails) can also use their language at work. Many of them commute to Bratislava and other bigger cities where they cannot use Hungarian or only to a certain extent. The Hungarian speaking population mostly has a lower living standard than the total population. The main reasons for this are amongst others the unfavourable educational structure and the high number of people living in rural areas (on signs of companies ⇒ 2.3.2).

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

2.7.1 Since the private use of minority language is not regulated by any law, Hungarian speakers in the SR can use their language within their families for example without restrictions and it is estimated that approx. 70% make use of it. In Slovak-Hungarian exogamous marriages mostly both languages or only Slovak are used as the non-Hungarian spouses tend not to learn or use Hungarian. The relatively low prestige of Hungarian, mainly due to the low socio-economic status and educational level of Hungarians in Slovakia (as compared to the total population), sometimes also causes interpersonal conflicts. In Horváth's study 2/3 of the

participants were confronted with resentments on the part of the majority population at work or in other environments because of their native language. Moreover, Slovak is considered more important than Hungarian, e.g. for the job.

- 2.7.2 The use of Hungarian in churches is restricted due to the lack of Hungarian speaking priests. More than half of the Catholic and Protestant parishes in the settlement area of the Hungarian minority are not occupied. This situation is intended to be improved by the establishment of the theological faculty at the new university in Komárno (see above).
- 2.7.3 The Hungarian minority in the SR is highly organised. Besides the parties, there are 90 associations, 26 foundations, 14 funds and one general welfare organisation which all represent the interests of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The database of the Forum Institute contained even 651 Hungarian organisations for the period from 1999-2001. On the cultural field the most important organisation is CSEMADOK (<http://www.csemadok-dsz.sk/index.php>), the Hungarian Social and Cultural Alliance in Slovakia. There are also several youth organisations, e.g. the Association of Hungarian Boy Scouts which has 49 local groups ([www.szmcs.sk](http://www.szmcs.sk)). The Federation of Hungarian Teachers in Slovakia ([www.szmps.sk](http://www.szmps.sk)) organises seminars, advanced training courses, study trips etc. for teachers. The *Katedra* foundation and the *Katedra* society ([www.katedrafund.sk](http://www.katedrafund.sk)) organise meetings, conferences, seminars on current pedagogical issues and the educational system as well as Hungarian language competitions for pupils and students and publish the pedagogical magazine *Katedra*. The *Forum Institute* ([www.foruminst.sk](http://www.foruminst.sk)) and several of its units (documentation, library, sociolinguistic research etc.), the social sciences research group *Mercurius* (demography, sociology, historiography, history, sociolinguistics), the *Center for Legal Analysis* of the *Kalligram* foundation ([www.cla.sk](http://www.cla.sk); legal analyses) and the *Gramma* association ([www.gramma.sk](http://www.gramma.sk)) carry out research projects on the Hungarian language community in Slovakia. The publications are mostly in Hungarian, which contributes to the status of Hungarian as a scientific language.

## 2.8 The European dimension

- 2.8.1 The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified by Slovakia on 14 September 1995, lists the Hungarian minority as one of 11 national minorities. For Hungarian, the SR adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in all three parts.
- 2.8.2 On 19 March 1995 Slovakia and Hungary concluded the Agreement on Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Cooperation which makes provisions on the fields of cooperation (economy, trade, agriculture, science etc.), for example. Furthermore, it provides for the inviolability of the borders. Article 15 contains provisions on the protection and rights of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and the Slovak minority in Hungary.
- 2.8.3 In June 2001 the Hungarian parliament adopted the so called status act which guarantees certain rights to Hungarians living abroad, e.g. a fast and unbureaucratic entry to Hungary, the right to work for three month in Hungary each year as well as various privileges in the field of culture, health and education. The act was severely criticised both in Slovakia which felt offended in its sovereignty and in Europe, and even threatened the accession of Hungary to the EU. On 23 December 2003 Slovakia and Hungary adopted a substitute agreeing

upon mutual support of the national minorities in both countries, e.g. via financial aid for cultural and educational activities through the respective foundations in each country.

### **3. Conclusion**

- 3.1 The status of the Hungarian language as compared to other minorities in Slovakia is relatively good. This is mainly due to the high proportion of Hungarians living in municipalities of south-western Slovakia where they sometimes even constitute the majority. This might give them greater influence in school matters, for example. On national level Hungarians are also strongly represented through 20 members of parliament and three ministers. However, the constantly lower status compared to the Slovak is a disadvantage. Another problem is the socio-economic situation of the Hungarian speaking population, e.g. their relatively low educational level and urbanisation. The establishment of the university in Komárno could contribute to an improvement by providing university education to the Hungarian speaking population in their native language and in their own country. This could finally lead to an increase of the status of the Hungarian language.
- 3.2 Although population statistics indicate a decline of the Hungarian population since the Second World War this development is not overly dramatic. Even under communism or the nationalist government in the beginning of the 1990s the number of members of the Hungarian minority in the SR did not drop. A slight strengthening of the ethnical consciousness can be already noticed, e.g. more and more Hungarian speaking parents send their children to Hungarian schools. In mixed Slovak-Hungarian areas the ethnicities mostly live peacefully together. A source of conflict however is the implementation of the language act which in practice often is not observed.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

- 1.1.1 Romani [*romani čhib*] belongs to the Indo-Iranian group of the Indo-European family. Besides Indian characteristics the language contains many later influences, especially in the vocabulary and phonetic system, due to contacts with other languages. South East European languages, on the other hand, influenced the syntax. There is also a strong Greek influence which is also to be found outside the Balkan region. Elements of the contact languages are deeply rooted in the lexicon, i.e. the basic vocabulary, of Romani. Since the arrival of the Roma in Europe, 60 variations and dialects of Romani have emerged. In Europe the language is divided into three to five main groups: e.g. northern Romani (“Russian Romani”), central Romani (“Hungarian and Slovak Romani”), Vlax Romani (e.g. Kalderaš Romani) and Balkan Romani.
- 1.1.2 For a long time Romani was nearly exclusively a spoken language. Longer written texts have only existed in Romani since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The standardisation of the language was initiated by the international Romani Union in the 1980s. Vlax Romani was chosen to build the basis of the standard written language. This variation however is not accepted on an international level although it is used in the correspondence of the National Roma Council and the Romani Union. Although Romani was codified in Czechoslovakia in 1971, discussions on the codification are still going on in the SR.
- 1.1.3 The majority of the Roma in Slovakia speak central Romani which can be divided into two subgroups: north-central (western, north-central and eastern Slovakia) and south-central (south-western and south-central Slovakia, Slovak-Hungarian border regions) Romani. As the majority language group often acts as a part of the Roma ethnonym the above mentioned varieties are also called Slovak Carpathian Romani (80% of the Roma speakers in the SR) and Hungarian Romani. The third group are speakers of Vlax Romani who mostly live in the south and east of Slovakia.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

- 1.2.1 Nowadays, Roma can be found in most European countries. Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century they left their homeland India where internal migration took place even before that date. They moved in groups through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor, and reached the Byzantine Empire in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. From there they spread over the whole continent as of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of Roma moved through the Balkans and the Danube plain, which explains today’s high concentration in that region. At first, the Roma were tolerated in the countries they lived in, amongst other things because of a letter of safe-conduct from the Pope and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. However, they stood out due to their way of life which was influenced by their nomadic nature: they were fortune tellers, horse traders, peddlers etc.

Since then the state has always tried to make the Roma settle. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Roma who came to Slovakia had to settle down within three weeks in order not to be punished. The first major attempts to assimilate them were undertaken by Maria Theresa in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by prohibiting Roma endogamy and the use of Romani. Many Roma settled in the outskirts of villages and worked as farmhands, blacksmiths or musicians, and the women worked mostly as housemaids. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Roma settlements grew due to the high birth rate. In Czechoslovakia the Roma were granted minority status in 1921. During the Nazi period the persecution of the Roma also culminated in Slovakia. Unlike the Roma in the Czech Republic, most of the Roma in Slovakia survived.

- 1.2.2 In different countries and at different times several denominations for the Roma were invented, both by the Roma themselves and by others. The Roma prefer the denomination *Roma* which is derived from the ancient Indian *domba* and similar to the Hindi *dom*, which was used to refer to the members of the caste of musicians. The most common foreign denomination, which is nowadays rejected by most Roma, is *gypsy* (Slav. *cigan*, Ital. *gitano*, Germ. *Zigeuner*), which indicates an Egyptian origin. However, it is more likely that this name dates back to a Phrygian religious sect called *athinganoi* which exercised its own cult. The name was probably used for the Roma partly because they also came from the East/South-East and partly because their cult was also foreign to the sedentary population. The word *gypsy* has the negative connotation of 'vagabond' and 'proowler' due to their vagrant life. This should make clear why the Roma wish to stick to the denomination of *Roma*.
- 1.2.3 On the territory of today's SR the Roma were first mentioned in 1322 in Spišská Nová Ves and in 1381 in Zemplínska Župa. Today, about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Roma in Slovakia live around the regions of Prešov, Košice and Banská Bystrica (see annex 3). In contrast with the Roma in the Czech Republic who are urbanised to a large extent, the Slovak Roma mostly live in rural regions and small towns. After World War II many Roma moved from Slovakia to the Czech Republic into places from which Germans had been expelled and were employed as manual workers. Later some of them went back to the territories of today's SR since they considered this to be their home.
- 1.2.4 Statistical data on the number of Roma in Slovakia and its predecessor states vary widely, as they seem to do in all their settlements in Europe. Often, Roma are not considered to be an ethnic group. Another reason that Roma may not wish to indicate their nationality in censuses might be for fear of repression. In Czechoslovakia there were 219,554 Roma according to the official statistics in 1970. Ten years later this number increased to 288,440, i.e. nearly 2% of the total population. In the last two censuses from 1991 and 2001 there were 83,988 and 89,920 persons respectively stating Roma nationality. The number of persons stating Romani as their native language (99,448) was much higher, though, which might indicate that many do not publicly admit to be Roma for fear of discrimination. However, most estimates of the actual number of Roma are much higher and assume up to 500,000.
- 1.2.5 At 80% (in some places even 100%), the unemployment rate of the Roma is far higher than that of the total population (2002: 18.6%). The general socio-economic situation of the Roma varies widely but is basically much worse than the situation of the total population. The Roma mainly live in isolated settlements in the east of Slovakia, but for some groups, living standards are comparable to those of the total population.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

- 1.3.1 In 1991 the Roma in Slovakia were granted national minority status (nationality), the basis for this being the Slovak Constitution. The Roma are also included in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995) and the act on the use of minority languages (1999) also applies to the Roma who reach the 20% barrier in 57 municipalities.
- 1.3.2 In 1999 the position of the governmental representative for Roma issues was created. Besides the mobilisation of Roma initiatives and NGOs, this representative's main tasks include the coordination and supervision of the two-phase governmental strategy for Roma, which was adopted by the government in September 1999. This programme aims at improving the situation of the Roma in the areas of education, culture, language, employment, health and accommodation (see 2.6). The office of the government representative for Roma issues also evaluates potential projects aimed at improving the situation of the Roma. Generally, the representative for Roma issues acts as a link between the Roma and the government.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 In general, the educational level of the Roma is much lower than average, as most Roma settlements only have one primary school and are highly underrepresented in secondary schools and universities. However, Roma children are overrepresented in special schools which were initially created for children with learning as well as psychological and social problems. In some areas, up to 80% of Roma children attend special schools. Since the school year 1996/97 preparatory classes have been offered to Roma children, and in some of those classes Romani is used as an "auxiliary language" besides Slovak. In many of those classes Romani-speaking assistants are employed who belong to the Roma minority themselves. Only 11% of Roma want to make use of their right to be taught in their native language, i.e. that their children in primary school are taught all subjects in Romani, whereas 45% do not wish Romani to be the language of instruction in any subject. Usually, Roma children attend Slovak or Hungarian schools. As regards education in Romani, problems arise through the lack of teachers and books as well as the fact that the language is not yet completely codified. It is also unclear to what extent Roma families are aware of their right to receive education in Romani.
- 2.2.2 So far there are no schools in the SR with Romani as the language of instruction. There is only one secondary school, in Košice, where Romani is a compulsory subject whereas in a few other schools, the language is taught only as an optional subject. As of September 2004 Romani is to be taught at two primary, two secondary and two grammar schools. Future Romani teachers study at the department for Roma culture at the University of Nitra. Here, several research projects were carried out in 2001, parts of which are still not finished. These projects deal with, amongst other things, Roma migration, the evaluation of the training of assistant teachers for Roma children, cultural integration of the Roma

children at school etc. There is also a Romani department at the institute for ethnical studies and foreign languages at the University of Prešov.

## **2.2 Judicial authorities**

The right to use Romani during judicial proceedings can be derived from the Slovak Constitution (free interpreter if one does not know the procedural language) and from article 9 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. In practice, however, the procedural language is Slovak since most Roma in Slovakia speak Slovak anyway, and many are Slovak citizens and thus obliged to speak the language.

## **2.3 Public authorities and services**

2.3.1 The Act on the use of minority languages allows the use of Romani in contacts with local authorities and national authorities in municipalities where there are more than 20% Roma. This is the case for 57 municipalities in the SR. Since the administrative staff generally do not speak Romani and are not obliged to do so and the Roma do not invoke the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages (article 10) – as they are probably not even aware of the existence and contents of the Charter – contacts with authorities are maintained in Slovak.

2.3.2 In the last census in 2001, bilingual Slovak-Romani forms were used for the first time in order to encourage the Roma to state their ethnical identity and thus making the results more precise. However, only 2% of the population stated a Roma ethnicity whereas the actual proportion of Roma in the total population is estimated at 6% to 9%. The reason that the Roma do not state their nationality or claim their language rights with authorities is also the fear of discrimination and disadvantages.

2.3.3 The possibility to use bilingual street, town and other signs in places with more than 20% Roma is not used in practice. On the other hand, the opportunity of using Romani forms of names and surnames is often taken.

## **2.4 Mass media and information technology**

2.4.1 The right to receive information in a minority language is mainly based on the Slovak Constitution and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. There are several print media which are at least partly published in Romani. There are no daily newspapers but weekly and monthly periodicals. These are mostly bi- or trilingual. The Ministry of Culture supports Romani print media, especially since 1999. The number of publications increased during the 1990s to eight. Due to the lack of financial means the publication of some periodicals had to be stopped or continued on a less frequent basis. In 2000 Romani periodicals were supported by government aid which according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs amounted to SKK 2,843,000 (17.4% of all financial means for this purpose) while non-periodicals received 483,000 (5.0%). The major periodicals are the monthly *Romano nevo l'il* (1992-2000 7.9% in Romani, SKK 950,000 national subsidy in 1998) which is available on the internet in Slovak and English ([www.rnl.sk](http://www.rnl.sk)) and *Romane vasta* (in Romani and Slovak) as well as the fortnightly *Híd-Most-Phurt* (in Romani, Slovak and Hungarian). Another Romani-Slovak-English newspaper is available on the internet at [www.rps.sk](http://www.rps.sk).

- 2.4.2 Statistics on the total air time of radio programmes vary, but on average it is 1/2-1 hour per week. The emissions are mostly produced by local radio stations and are often bilingual Romani-Slovak(-Hungarian). One weekly 20 min news and culture programme is broadcast by the public radio station in Prešov. 15 hours of Romani TV programmes are shown on a weekly basis (in 2000 16.9 hours, 38 programmes) including the weekly Roma programme *Romale*. Besides the Slovak programmes, broadcasts from neighbouring countries are also available, although the offer in the Czech Republic is also restricted (see report on the Czech Republic). One problem with Romani radio and TV programmes is that the language is not yet completely codified in the SR, making it hard for speakers of the different dialects to understand each other. Moreover, approx. 30% of Roma in the SR do not speak Romani.
- 2.4.3 The Slovak Roma are only weakly represented on the internet. A central forum is the Inforoma in Bratislava ([www.inforoma.sk](http://www.inforoma.sk)) with a library which collects valuable literary Romani texts and an information centre with reports on different Roma projects. More reports on different aid projects can be found at [www.roma.sk](http://www.roma.sk).

## 2.5 Arts and culture

- 2.5.1 The Ministry of Culture allocates subsidies for cultural activities of national minorities in Slovakia. In 2000 Roma cultural activities were supported with SKK 2.728.000, which is 13.6% of all means attributed to cultural activities of national minorities in the SR. On 1 January 2002 a documentation centre on Roma culture was founded as a part of the Ethnographic Museum in the city of Martin, where the public can learn more about Roma culture and which carries out studies in this field.
- 2.5.2 In the 1990s the number of books in Romani published remained stable at 1-2 books per year. Most of the books are school and children's books, poems, short stories and religious books. In 1999 the Prague publishing house Fortuna published the first complete textbook on Slovak Romani: *Romaňi čhib. Učebnice slovenské romštiny* (by Šebková, H. & Žlaynová, E.). In 2002 Vašečka, M. et al. published *Rómské hlasy. Romovia a ich politická participácia v transformačnom období* and in 2003 *A Global Report on the Roma in Slovakia* (both by IVO, Bratislava). The latter precisely analyses the Roma history since their migration from India, their political situation in different eras, their ethnical identity, language, media, protection of minorities etc. The IVO (*Inštitút pre verejné otázky* = Institute for Public Affairs, [www.ivo.sk](http://www.ivo.sk)) is an independent non-profit organisation which brings together experts of different scientific fields in order to carry out studies on various social, political, economic, cultural and legal topics and thus promoting the values of an open society. The studies on minorities in the SR focus on the Roma.
- 2.5.3 Folk music and theatre are very important elements of Roma culture. There are several amateur theatre groups performing occasionally but there is also one professional Romani theatre – *Romathan* – which receives government funding. Since 1992 Romathan has had 29 premiers and 1,720 shows in the SR and abroad. The most popular folk music orchestras are *Diabolské husle* under Ján Berky-Mrenica, *Grand Slovakia* with E. Vizváry and the violin orchestra led by Rinaldo Oláh. CDs of the most famous orchestras are also available. In addition, there are religious children's choirs, e.g. *Devleskere čhave*.

## 2.6 The business world

- 2.6.1 Romani plays no role in the Slovak economy and knowledge of the language is not considered favourable on the labour market. In practice, the Roma ethnicity is rather a disadvantage. For example, it was only in 1999 when the employment centres, after interventions from outside, stopped marking applications from Roma with an “R”. Even though complaints regarding discrimination against the Roma in professional life are frequent, they seldom lead to legal proceedings.
- 2.6.2 In the case of the Roma, many problems in the field of language and language rights are closely linked to social problems. For many Roma language problems are secondary to more pressing social problems such as unemployment, insufficient accommodation and education etc.

## 2.7 Family and the social use of the language

- 2.7.1 Romani has mainly the status of a family language in Slovakia. Nearly all Romani-speaking parents living outside the big cities speak Romani to their children. Some representatives of the intelligentsia stopped teaching Romani to their children 20-30 years ago since speaking Romani and belonging to the Roma ethnicity were considered as disadvantageous. This led to a decrease of the knowledge of Romani in that generation. In recent years, due to a stronger ethnical consciousness the Romani language, which is regarded as a major element of Roma identity, is spoken a lot more often. In total, approx 70% of Roma speak a variety of Romani. The use of the language is also made difficult because of the low prestige of Romani; speakers of Romani are generally considered backward and on a lower social level, since the prejudices against Roma are also projected onto their language.
- 2.7.2 Inter-group contact between speakers of different varieties of Romani occurs when they live in the same geographical territory. However, there are contact barriers which are based on attitudes and social distance between different Roma groups. One reason for the distance might be the so called tribal particularism caused by the dispersal of the Roma into different parts of Europe. In Slovakia endogamy within the own group is still practiced and exogamy with non-Roma is even more common than with Roma of other groups. The major obstacles for Roma inter-group contact are: a stereotyped status of their own clan, the “purity” of the own rituals and the prestige of their own occupational group. A differentiation is also made on the basis of the socio-linguistic prestige, i.e. of the attitude that their own dialect is the “most correct” and the best. However, contacts between the dialect groups gradually increase, especially at the institutional level amongst the elites. Furthermore, the gradual weakening of the confining norms contributes to more contacts.
- 2.7.3 In 2001 there were 166 Roma NGOs, four foundations and one fund for the promotion of Roma culture. The associations mainly work on a local level and in different fields, e.g. youth (*Združenie mladých Rómov na Slovensku* and *Združenie rómskych detí a mládeže*), women (*Klub rómskych žien na Slovensku so sídlom vo Zvolene*) and religion (*Združenie rómskych veriacich*). Other associations with general tasks are for example: *Občianske združenie Rómov žijúcich na Slovensku*, *Rómska samospráva* and *Rómske občianske združenie –*

*Šťastie pre Rómov – Bach le romenge.* There is also a central forum, Inforoma, which unlike the smaller associations, also has a website ([www.inforoma.sk](http://www.inforoma.sk)).

## **2.8 The European dimension**

- 2.8.1 Besides Slovakia, Sweden, Slovenia and Poland are the only EU countries which included Romani in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified by Slovakia in 1995, also applies to the Roma. PHARE funds were used to finance various accommodation projects (e.g. in the Spiš region), projects on the mobilisation and education of Roma (traditional Roma craft, women, youth, entrepreneurship etc.) as well as a project aimed at increasing tolerance.
- 2.8.2 The European Roma Rights Center ([www.errc.org](http://www.errc.org)) is an international non-profit organisation which monitors the implementation of human rights for Roma in Europe and offers legal help in case of violations of human rights.

## **3. Conclusion**

Slovak research institutes and aid organisations have underlined the urgency of solving the Roma issue in Slovakia. The Roma do not merely have language problems, they also experience social problems. However, both are linked. As long as the unemployment, housing standards and health situation etc. of the Roma in Slovakia do not change, the status of the group and thus of the language will not improve either. The attitudes of the Roma themselves as well as the rest of the population are projected onto the language. For example, Roma do not request to be taught in Romani although they would have the right to do so. On the other hand, illiteracy in Slovak is very common amongst Roma. Romani is mainly used within the family and knowledge of the language is not required on the labour market. Therefore, learning the language seems unnecessary. However, a positive start can be made with, for example, the governmental strategy for Roma, the training of Romani speaking teaching assistants and the PHARE projects. Nevertheless, more actions must be taken in the future in order to positively influence the attitude towards the Roma population.

## Other languages

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### 1. Bulgarian

- 1.1 Bulgarian [*bǎlgarski ezik*] is a South Slavonic language written in Cyrillic script and is similar to Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovenian. According to the 2001 census the Bulgarian minority in Slovakia consisted of 1,176 persons.
- 1.2 There are no schools with Bulgarian as the language of instruction receiving public funds in Slovakia. However, in the school year 1998/1999 there was a private primary school with eight classes as well as a private secondary school with four classes. On matters of language use with authorities and in court or for bilingual signs, the Bulgarian minority is not able to benefit from the act on the use of minority languages as it does not reach the required 20% barrier in any municipality. In 2000, Slovak television broadcast about one hour of programmes in Bulgarian per week and the Ministry of Culture supported cultural activities of the Bulgarian minority with SKK 500,000 and periodicals, e.g. *Roden Glas*, with SKK 400,000. The major cultural organisation of the Bulgarian minority in Slovakia is the Cultural Union of Bulgarians which publishes the above-mentioned newspaper. Generally the information on the Bulgarian minority in Slovakia is scarce and no presence could be found on the internet.

### 2. Croatian

- 2.1 Croatian [*hrvatski jezik*] is a South Slavonic language with close ties to Bosnian, Serbian, Slovenian, Bulgarian and Macedonian. It employs the Latin script. Since 1991 Croatian has been the official language of Croatia where 4.8 million persons speak it as a native language. About one million native speakers live abroad. The largest groups can be found in Bosnia-Herzegovina (605,000) and other neighbouring countries of Croatia. There are also Croatian migrant labourers in several Western European countries. The first Croats came to the territories of today's Slovakia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century where they settled in 80 towns. They assimilated with the local population relatively fast. According to the 2001 census the Croatian minority in Slovakia had 890 members, with a decreasing trend: in 1991 there were still 1,280 persons. Reasons for the decrease are migration to the cities, especially Bratislava, and assimilation. The number of Croatian native speakers in the SR is estimated at approx. 3,000. Today, the Croatian minority is concentrated mainly in four villages near Bratislava: Čuňovo, Devínska Nová Ves, Chorvátsky Grob and Jarovce. There is no standardised form of the Croatian spoken in Slovakia. The dialects from the regions where the immigrants came from were also spoken in Slovakia.
- 2.2 Due to the small number and thus the small proportion of Croats in the total population, the minority cannot benefit from the rights stated in the act on the use of minority languages and the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages. The number of Croats does not reach the 20% barrier in any of the towns; therefore communication with authorities and in court is carried out in Slovak. In Slovakia, there are no nurseries or schools with Croatian as the language of instruction. The language can only be learnt as an optional subject in some secondary schools. For ten years now there has been a Slavonic grammar school in

Bratislava where it would be possible to establish Croatian the language. of instruction. However, only a few members of the minority used this possibility and at the moment the Croatian minority does not intend to establish any such schools.

- 2.3 Newspapers or magazines in Croatian are not published in Slovakia. However, 20 copies of the weekly *Hrvatske novine* published in Eisenstadt/Austria are sent to and sold in the four above-mentioned villages. Since 2002 the free quarterly periodical *Hrvatska rosa* is published with a print run of 1,000 copies and is financially supported by the Slovak Ministry of Culture. Slovak television and radio do not broadcast any programmes in Croatian. However, some members of the Croatian minority in Slovakia are able to receive the Croatian-speaking programme *Dobar dan Hrvati* from Austrian television (ORF Burgenland).
- 2.4 Books in Croatian, mostly poetry and short stories, are only published sporadically in the SR. However, the language is often used in traditional folk music and sometimes in religious ceremonies. Since 1988 a festival of Croatian culture is organised on a yearly basis. Although the language is of no importance for business in Slovakia and is not required on the labour market, an increasing interest for the language can be noticed. This is mainly due to the development of contacts in trade and tourism.
- 2.5 Within families and mostly in rural areas, the language is passed on orally since in most cases in these areas there are no Croatian written texts available. However, since the political change in Slovakia the language is passed on to children to a larger extent. Endogamy, on the other hand, is extremely rare (estimated at 5%). In 1990 the *Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku* [Croatian Cultural Union in Slovakia] was founded to act as an umbrella organisation for various local Croatian organisations. The Union mainly aims at preserving and developing Croatian language and culture, e.g. by organising Croatian language workshops for children. As a result of the workshops some of the village schools mentioned above started offering additional Croatian classes.
- 2.6 As there are only a few Croats in Slovakia, the future of Croatian largely depends on the initiative and efforts of the members of the Croatian minority. The further development of the situation will also depend on how the mediators of the minority cope with the newly arisen interest in the language and the stronger ethnical consciousness. Since 1990 the Croats in Slovakia have intensified their contacts with Croats in the neighbouring countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary and Italy). For example they tried, together with the Croats in Austria, to obtain support for language classes. With the accession of Slovakia to the EU they hope for even better conditions to maintain and extend contacts to Croats and other minorities in other EU countries.

### **3. Polish**

- 3.1 Polish [*język polski*], as Slovak, is a West Slavonic language which is also similar to Czech. Besides the approx. 37 million Polish native speakers in Poland, there are more than two million Poles living in the neighbouring countries. According to the 2001 census there were 2,602 Poles in Slovakia (1991: 2,969). The members of the Polish minority in Slovakia are dispersed in different regions of eastern, central and western Slovakia and mainly live in bigger cities (Bratislava, Košice, Dolný Kubín and Spišská Nová Ves). Poles also live on the Slovak side of the Slovak-Polish border. Several ethnical groups settled in this region between the 13<sup>th</sup> and

18<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians and Germans. Therefore it is only natural that the Polish language spoken in that region is also influenced by the other languages and dialects. The Goralian dialects are called Slovak-Polish border dialects. These dialects have a comparatively low prestige and are only spoken in a few families. The members of the Polish minority, who all are bi- or even trilingual, speak Slovak to the majority population. As Polish and Slovak are very similar and even semi-communication would be possible between both groups, it is relatively easy for the Polish minority to learn Slovak. Mainly in urban areas, Slovak is also spoken within families. An important aspect of identification for Poles in Slovakia is often the Catholic Church where they are more strongly represented than the total population.

- 3.2 Since the members of the Polish minority are dispersed in different regions, there is no area in which their concentration is high enough for them to benefit from the act on the use of minority languages. In addition, there are no schools in Slovakia with Polish as the language of instruction. On Slovak television there are 1.9 hours and on Slovak radio 0.5 hours of Polish programmes weekly. Besides programmes in Slovak, the members of the minority inform themselves through Polish media which can mostly be received in the Slovak-Polish border regions. The Polish minority in Slovakia does not have its own daily newspapers or magazines but the people inform themselves through the Polish press either from Poland or the Czech Republic. In Bratislava there is an association for Polish culture which boasts a library and organises various events and exhibitions on Polish culture as well as language courses.
- 3.3 The strong similarity between both languages probably contributes to assimilation. Since the cultural differences between the Polish and Slovak population are smaller than with many other minorities in Slovakia a clear distinction is perhaps considered unnecessary. Polish has mainly the status of a family language in Slovakia, but this trend is declining. The actual knowledge of Polish, e.g. writing skills, mainly depends on the speakers' contacts with Poles. Since the language is not taught as a native language at schools, the Polish and Polish-Slovak families in Slovakia have to fulfil this task.

#### **4. Ruthenian**

- 4.1 Ruthenian [*rusyn'skyj jazyk*] is an East Slavonic language employing the Cyrillic alphabet. However, opinions on its relation to other East Slavonic languages differ. Some linguists consider Ruthenian as a branch of Ukrainian; others attribute it to a general Russian language area including modern Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian. However, it is agreed that Ruthenian dialects are different from other East Slavonic languages due to borrowings from their respective neighbouring dialects and languages (e.g. Slovak, Polish and Hungarian). The issue of the linguistic classification of Ruthenian is closely linked to the issue of nationality: are Ruthenians originally Russians, Ukrainians or Ruthenians/Carpathian Ruthenians (i.e. an independent nationality)? These three influences are still represented in Slovakia. The Ruthenian used in Slovakia includes characteristics of Ukrainian vernaculars, Church Slavonic, Russian and Slovak. The language was codified in 1995. The first Ruthenian texts date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Following the Reformation, ideas on the vernacular even led some Greek Catholic bishops to conclude that important religious books should be written in the language of the people rather than Church Slavonic. Traditionally, membership in the Greek Catholic Church is a feature which identifies many Ruthenians.

- 4.2 Slovak Ruthenians mainly live in the Prešov region, in a part of the former joint Carpathian Ruthenian region and outside the SR in parts of today's Poland (Lemko region) and Romania (Maramures region) as well as in the Ukraine. Moreover, there are speakers of Ruthenian variations in the former Yugoslavia (Vojvodina), Canada and the US. According to the 2001 census, there were 24,201 Ruthenians in Slovakia. In the 1991 census, where a distinction between Ukrainians and Ruthenians was made for the first time after the Second World War, there were 17,277. The increase in Ruthenians (and decrease of Ukrainians) is at least partly due to a stronger Ruthenian ethnical consciousness; i.e. some persons who stated being Ukrainian or Slovak in the past, in the last census stated the Ruthenian nationality.
- 4.3 The SR also ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages for Ruthenian. The act on the use of minority languages also applies to the Ruthenian minority. The Ruthenian population reaches the 20% barrier in 68 towns. In practice, the language is used relatively frequently in contacts with regional and local authorities and in legal proceedings. Town signs and even some business signs are also often bilingual in these places. The Ruthenian or Ukrainian minority in the SR is not politically represented on national level. The Ruthenian-Ukrainian party Duklia is primarily active on local level.
- 4.4 Today, there are no nurseries or schools with Ruthenian as the sole language of instruction. In nurseries, the language is only used sparingly as there are no nurseries in Slovakia where Ruthenian has the status of an official teaching language. As of the school year 1997/1998 Ruthenian was introduced as a language of instruction in some primary schools, and in the school year 1998/1999 there were four primary schools in Slovakia where Ruthenian was a language of instruction. Interest in primary schools with Ruthenian as a language of instruction has strongly increased during the last ten years and so has probably the number of such schools. Unfortunately, there are no recent statistics available. Interest in the Ruthenian language also increased in the field of secondary schools and it is used in some subjects as a medium of instruction along with Slovak. Ruthenian teachers are trained at the University of Prešov which at the same time is the only university in Slovakia offering university education in this language. The reaction of decision-makers and mediators of the minority on the increasing interest in using Ruthenian at schools will be decisive concerning the future preservation and teaching of the language.
- 4.5 The joint organisation of Ruthenians and Ukrainians is the *SRUS* (Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians). Those who regard themselves as being an independent Ruthenian ethnical group are organised within the *Rusynska obroda* [Ruthenian Revival] which organises folk festivals and publishes the fortnightly newspaper *Narodny novynky* (print run approx. 2,000) which is also available on the internet (<http://narodny-novynky.presov.sk>) and the twice monthly periodical *Rusyn* (print run approx. 2,000). The organisation also publishes books. The amount of books in Ruthenian has increased over the past few years. Whereas only one or two books per year were published in the 1990s, six books came out in 2001 and eight in 2002.
- 4.6 Slovak public radio broadcasts 13.5 hours of programmes in Ruthenian- or Ukrainian, Ruthenian prevailing with 70% of the air time. In Košice there is also a local Ruthenian radio programme. On public television the air time in Ruthenian is 30 minutes every second month. Several Ruthenian organisations present themselves through electronic media, e.g. *The Carpatho-Rusyn Knowledge Base* (<http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org>) with a lot of information on Ruthenian history,

culture, tradition, language and links to online media, e.g. the *Rusyn International Media Centre* (<http://www.rusynmedia.org/>) with news, articles, book reviews etc. and *The Carpatho-Rusyn Society* (<http://www.carpathorusynsociety.org/>). All these websites are in English with only a few articles and documents in the Ruthenian variations.

- 4.7 There are several amateur groups promoting Ruthenian folk culture. The Alexander Duchnovič theatre in Prešov is a professional ensemble performing in Ruthenian but not in the officially codified variation.
- 4.8 Since the political change in Slovakia it appears that Ruthenian language and culture are undergoing a renaissance. The general opinion about the language is positive in the region and knowledge of the language is even required for certain positions in the public administration of the region. It is also often used within the minority, e.g. at work. About half of Ruthenian-speaking parents teach their children the language at home. The future development of the Ruthenian (and Ukrainian) language mainly depends on how strictly the split Ruthenian-Ukrainian groups stick to their position, i.e. whether they continue going separate ways or gradually try to approach each other and combine forces.

## 5. Czech

- 5.1 Czech [*český jazyk*] is a West Slavonic language which shares many similarities with Slovak (also see chapter Czech Republic – Slovak). The similarity is due to the common Slavonic origin, the long parallel development (until the 12<sup>th</sup> century) and the numerous contacts between the speakers of both languages. For example, most Slavonic native words have correlations in both languages. Since the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Czech has been widely used as a written language and during the following 200 years it was consolidated, taking Old Church Slavonic, which was already used in Bohemia and Moravia since the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as an example. The first attempts at codifying Slovak, however, were only made in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Prague, as the cultural capital, also influenced the early development of Czech as a written language. The Slovak language did not have a corresponding centre.
- 5.2 In 1918 Czechs and Slovaks established a common state – Czechoslovakia. This was a land-mark both for the linguistic and the socio-economic relations between both nations. In the context of national language policy, Czech and Slovak were considered as a “Czechoslovak” language and the Czechs and Slovaks as two branches of one nation. However, Czech was the language of the national administration. This ideology was abolished after the establishment of the second Czechoslovak state after World War II (until 1992). With the federalisation of the country in 1968, texts in both languages were used, mainly by the media, so that people could gain at least passive knowledge of the respective other language. However, mutual understanding strongly depends on the language skills and motivation of the interlocutors as well as the topic of the discussion and frequency of contacts. When there are frequent contacts, speakers tend to develop special contact varieties with elements from both languages.
- 5.3 Even in the period of the “first” Czechoslovakia (1918-38) many Czechs came to parts of Slovakia which were considered backward in order to work as teachers, civil servants and soldiers. However, the economic migration, especially of the Slovak workforce, to the Czech part of the country was much greater. Czechs in today’s Slovakia are relatively dispersed all over the country, but are mainly concentrated in Bratislava and Košice as well as the garrison towns Prešov and

Trenčín. According to the 2001 census there were 44,620 persons of Czech nationality living in Slovakia (1991: 51,293). The Moravian minority, with 2,348 members in 2001, is a distinct group in the population statistics.

- 5.4 Although the act on the use of minority languages and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages also apply to the Czech minority in Slovakia, the possibilities arising from them are often not used. According to Berger (2003, 25) there have been no Czech-speaking schools since 1945. However, the act on the official language (1995) specifies that physicians, for example, have to speak Slovak to their patients and that foreign-language radio and TV programmes have to be translated into Slovak or dubbed, unless they fulfil the fundamental conditions of comprehensibility. This addition is only applicable for Czech.
- 5.5 Texts written in Czech have played a major role in Slovakia since the Middle Ages. In Czechoslovakia both languages were used, amongst other reasons because the mass media published texts with Slovak and Czech passages. However, more Czech-speaking books and periodicals were published and read in Slovakia than vice versa. Even today there is a high percentage of literature written in Czech in Slovak book shops. Mixed texts are becoming less frequent since 1992. But a new kind of mixed text has emerged: on products sold both in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, product descriptions are given in both languages. Since the Czech film industry was more advanced than the Slovak one, many Czech films were and still are shown in Slovakia. In 1999/2000, 20% of all programmes shown by the Slovak TV station Markíza were Czech. Furthermore, Czech TV and radio commentators report in Slovak media and vice versa.
- 5.6 In oral Czech-Slovak semi-communication there are three major communication types in Slovakia: Czech speakers either speak Czech (do not master Slovak actively), Czech and Slovak in turns (relatively high proficiency in Slovak) or Slovak (very good proficiency of Slovak) to Slovak speakers. In a Czech-Slovak mixed marriage, for example, often both languages are used. The Czech minority in Slovakia is organised within the *Český spolok na Slovensku* [Czech Union in Slovakia]. Otherwise, the degree of organisation is quite low. Due to the low geographical distance and the possibility to use Czech in everyday life (semi-communication, media) a clear distinction is perhaps unnecessary.

## 6. Ukrainian

- 6.1 Ukrainian [*ukrajins'ka mova*] belongs to the East Slavonic languages of the Indo-European language family and is the closest to Russian in this group. It has been an independent language since the 14<sup>th</sup> century when it developed from East Slavonic dialects. Like Russian, it employs the Cyrillic script. A written language, however, has only existed since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Ukrainian language spoken in East Slovakia is strongly influenced by dialects, especially dialects of neighbouring languages such as (eastern) Slovak, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian.
- 6.2 The Ukrainian minority in Slovakia lives in the north-eastern Slovak regions along the Slovak-Polish and Slovak-Ukrainian borders. In the 2001 census 10,814 persons indicated Ukrainian nationality, while the total in 1991 was still 14,341. The drop is due to an increasing identification of the Ukrainians in Slovakia as Slovaks.

- 6.3 The Ukrainians living in Slovakia originally belonged to the language community which, besides Slovakia, also moved to the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Romania and former Yugoslavia. The regions of today's East Slovakia were populated from the East in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. In the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century the Ukrainian language community emerged as the south-western part of the former Kiev Rus. During the period of the Habsburg Empire and the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy Ukrainians formed a geographical and ethnical union. The first split took place with the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918 and the territory Carpathian Ruthenia (today: Transcarpathian region of the Ukraine). As a result of the establishment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in January 1946 a border was set up within the formerly united ethno-linguistic group of Ukrainians. In the Ukraine they became one of the nationalities constituting the state, whereas they were attributed the status of a national minority in Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia three branches of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian minority emerged (see also Ruthenian in chapter 4): a Ukrainian-, a Ruthenian- and a Russian-oriented group. During the 1950s, the government actively intervened in the situation by combining all three groups into one "Ukrainian" group with the result that Ukrainian became the only teaching language in all "Russian" schools and the cultural institutions followed a Ukrainian-speaking direction. After the political change in 1989 the Ukrainian minority split into two groups, the first claiming that the Ruthenian language and nationality are to be considered as a branch of the Ukrainian one, the second considering Ruthenian as an independent language/nationality. This division is still made today despite attempts to reconcile the groups.
- 6.4 The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the act on the use of minority languages also apply to the Ukrainian minority. In 1999 there were 18 towns in Slovakia where the Ukrainian minority reached the 20% barrier. The language can be used with authorities and in court, which in practice does not happen very often, since all members of the Ukrainian minority in Slovakia also speak Slovak. Bilingual signs only occur in some rural towns. In 1997 the Ruthenian-Ukrainian party Duklia was registered, but it only acts on a local level.
- 6.5 Today there are no longer any schools in Slovakia where Ukrainian is the only language of instruction. In the school year 1998/1999 individual subjects were taught in Ukrainian in 17 nurseries, 32 primary schools and one secondary school. The number of pupils in schools with Ukrainian as the medium of instruction decreases from year to year. This is partly due to the low status of Ukrainian and the increasing slovakisation. The department for Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Prešov offers native language training in the education and humanities faculty. The Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica mainly trains translators and interpreters. Most of the students of Ukrainian are Slovak native speakers.
- 6.6 The Ukrainians and Ruthenians in the SR are organised within the *SRUS* (Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians). The Union organises folk festivals and publishes the weekly newspaper *Nove žyt't'a* (print run approx. 500). Due to the lack of financial means, several periodicals are no longer published, e.g. the scientific and popular scientific publications *Naukovi zapysky* and *Naukovo-popul'arna biblioteka*. The series *Slovoľub* where texts of local Ukrainian poets were published was also only printed between 1997 and 2000. The children's publication *Veselka* is published irregularly. Besides the *SRUS*, the scientific societies *Shevchenko* and *Spilka ukrajinistiv* (association for Ukrainian studies) aim at preserving the Ukrainian language in Slovakia. *Spilka pysjmenykyv* (Union of Ukrainian authors in Slovakia) is also active in this domain: it publishes books and the literary periodical *Dukl'a* (print run approx. 500) and organises different readings. Publication of

Ukrainian-speaking literature in Slovakia has decreased in recent years as the Ukrainian section of the national Slovak publishing house was closed in 1999. Since 2000 eight to nine books in Ukrainian are published in Slovakia annually. These are mostly textbooks but also include poetry, short stories and novels.

- 6.7 The public Slovak radio broadcasts 13.5 hours of Ukrainian- and Ruthenian-speaking programmes per week. Ukrainian is used in about 30% of the programmes. On Slovak television, a Ukrainian programme is shown twice a month for half an hour.
- 6.8 Ukrainian culture in Slovakia is presented in the Museum for Ukrainian-Ruthenian Culture in Svidnik. Although both nationalities appear in the name of the museum the representation of Ukrainian culture is particularly outstanding. The museum publishes the periodical *Naukovyj zbirnyk*. The Ukrainian folk culture in Slovakia is quite animated, with about 150 different amateur and semi-professional groups, e.g. the amateur theatre group *Dumka*, the ensemble *PULS* (part of the Ukrainian national theatre which today plays in Ruthenian) and the choir *Karpaty* which organises so-called Sunday classes for children in the Ukrainian language. There is also a Ukrainian boy scouts' organisation – *Plast* – which also tries to contribute to the preservation of the Ukrainian language.
- 6.9 Especially in rural areas in the SR, Ukrainian is used daily and is taught to the next generation. Because of migration to the cities, the population which uses the language is gradually decreasing. Other professional groups using the language on a daily basis are teachers, actors, editors and other representatives of the intelligentsia. Generally, speakers of Ukrainian are regarded as socially inferior and backward and knowledge of the language is not considered favourable in terms of employment. The future of Ukrainian in Slovakia is considered insecure by its speakers. On an international level, contacts between Slovakia and the EU on the one hand and with the Ukraine on the other (as a non-Schengen country) will be important.

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## 1. Introduction

The territory of Slovenia (SI) covers 20,273km<sup>2</sup>. The country has nearly 2 million inhabitants and is divided into 193 municipalities, of which 11 are urban. The largest municipality is that of Slovenia's capital, Ljubljana, that has slightly more than 250,000 inhabitants. Other major cities are Maribor and Koper/Capodistria. The Republic of Slovenia [*Republika Slovenija*] is a parliamentary democracy. The president (head of State) is elected for a five-year term on a popular vote. The parliament consists of a State Assembly (with 90 members that are elected every four years) and a State Council (with 40 members that are elected every four years). The State Assembly makes the republic's laws, the State Council can propose laws or can request reconsideration of a vote in the assembly. The State Assembly elects the prime minister for a four-year term. Slovenia's economy has adapted smoothly to a market economy. Over the past eight years the average economic growth was 4.3%. Apart from manufacturing, tourism is one of the most important industries.



## 2. General aspects

The ancestors of the present-day Slovenians settled in the area in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AC. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Western Slavic tribes formed an alliance with the Slavic Duchy of Carantania (the centre of today's Austrian Carinthia), which fell under the rule of the Frankish Empire in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century most of Slovenia came under the power of the Hapsburg dynasty and later became part of the Austro-Hungarian-Empire. In 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovenia joined the Serbs and Croats in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. After World War II Slovenia became part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from which it became independent on 25 1991. Slovenia joined NATO on 29 March 2004 and the European Union on 1 May 2004.

### 3. Demographic data

3.1 According to the 2002 census Slovenia has 1,964,036 inhabitants. 1,631,363 (i.e. 83.1%) of them are Slovenes. The Hungarians (6,243) and the Italians (2,258) are considered autochthonous minorities in the Slovenian Constitution and have special rights ( $\Rightarrow$  4.1). Also the Roma (3,246), who are not considered to be an indigenous minority, enjoy special rights ( $\Rightarrow$  Romany in Slovenia for details on the Roma community). Other ethnic groups include Albanians (6,186), Bosniacs (21,542), Montenegrins (2,667), Croats (35,642), Macedonians (3,972), Muslims (10,467), Germans (499), Serbs (38,964), Yugoslavs (527) and Bosnians (8,062) ( $\Rightarrow$  Table 1). The majority of the current members of these ethnic groups (with the exception of the Germans) arrived in Slovenia as economic immigrants after World War II and after the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

**Table 1: Population by Ethnic Affiliation, 2002 census**

<b>Ethnic Affiliation</b>	<b>Number</b>
Slovenes	1,631,363
Italians	2,258
Hungarians	6,243
Roma	3,246
Albanians	6,186
Bosniacs	21,542
Montenegrins	2,667
Croats	35,642
Macedonians	3,972
Muslims*	10,467
Germans	499
Serbs	38,964
Others declared	3,933
Yugoslavs**	527
Bosnians	8,062
Regionally declared**	1,467
Ethnically undeclared	12,085
Did not want to reply	48,588
Unknown	126,325
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,964,036</b>

Source: Census 2002

\* The ethnic category 'Muslim', which was introduced in the post-war censuses of the Yugoslav population, mostly incorporated people from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who today mostly declare themselves 'Bošnjaks'. (Novak-Lukanovič 1999, 6)

\*\* From 1971 onwards, population censuses envisaged the possibility of regional determination of the identity of an individual, which is not necessarily defined ethnically, but is linked to the narrower region of residence, such as Istria, Primorska, Dolenjska, etc. (ibid.)

- 3.2 Table 2 lists the population by mother tongue. Most people (1,723,434) have declared Slovenian to be their mother tongue: 54,079 people have indicated Croatian, 36,265 Serbo-Croatian, 31,499 Bosnian and 31,329 Serbian. 7,713 have stated Hungarian and 3,762 Italian as their mother tongue.

**Table 2: Population by Mother tongue, 2002 census**

<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>Number</b>
Slovenian	1,723,434
Italian	3,762
Hungarian	7,713
Romany	3,834
Albanian	7,177
Bosnian	31,499
Montenegrin	462
Croatian	54,079
Croatian-Serbian	126
Macedonian	4,760
German	1,628
Serbian	31,329
Serbo-Croatian	36,265

Out of 1,631,363 ethnic Slovenians 1,601,156 have Slovenian as their mother tongue. Out of 2,258 ethnic Italians 1,832 indicate Italian to be their mother tongue and out of 6,243 Hungarians 5,963 indicate Hungarian to be their mother tongue (⇒ Italian in Slovenia and Hungarian in Slovenia). A full comparison of figures on ethnic affiliation and mother tongue as well as a full list of mother tongues used in Slovenia can be found on the website of the Slovenian Statistical Service.

### **3. Language policy**

- 3.1 Art. 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia [*ustava republike slovenije*] (1991) specifies that Slovene is the official language of Slovenia. However, in the areas where Italian or ethnic Hungarian communities reside, the official language is also Italian or Hungarian. These areas are the so-called ethnically mixed areas. They are determined by the statutes of the municipalities according to the regulations of the Law on the Formation of Municipalities and on the Determination of Their Territories [*zakon o ustanovitvi občin ter o določitvi njihovih območij*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 60/94 and no. 56/98 (⇒ Italian in Slovenia and Hungarian in Slovenia). Art. 61 and 62 of the Slovenian Constitution guarantee all citizens of the Republic of Slovenia the right to freely express affiliation with their nation or national community, to foster and give expression to their culture and to use their language and script. Art. 64 of the Slovenian Constitution specifically deals with special rights for the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian communities in Slovenia. It guarantees the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian communities the right to freely use their national symbols, the right to establish their own organisations, education and schooling in their own

languages, the right to foster economic, cultural, scientific, and research activities, as well as activities associated with the mass media and publishing. It also gives them the right to foster contacts with the Italian and Hungarian communities living outside Slovenia and it ensures financial support and encouragement to the implementation of these rights.

- 3.2 For the implementation of special rights, the promotion of their needs and interests, and for organised participation in public matters, members of the Italian and Hungarian minorities establish self-governing ethnic communities in the regions of their autochthonous settlement. That is stated in Art. 1 of the Law on Self-Governing Ethnic Communities [*zakon o samoupravnih narodnih skupnostih*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 65/94). According to Art. 12 of this law, self-governing ethnic communities submit to self-governing local communities proposals, initiatives and opinions on matters regarding the status of ethnic communities and the preservation of characteristics of ethnically mixed territories. It is the obligation of self-governing local communities to deal with these matters and to take a stand towards them. The interaction between the self-governing ethnic communities and the self-governing local communities is also mentioned in the Law on Local Self-Government [*zakon o lokalni samoupravi*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 72/93). Art. 5 of this law points out that in territories inhabited by members of the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities, municipalities shall be formed that give effect to the special rights of ethnic communities. Art 39. states that in ethnically mixed areas the two national communities must have at least one representative in the municipal council. The Statutes of the municipalities in which the Italian and Hungarian national minorities reside give a detailed account of the rights that are granted to the minorities.
- 3.3 At the national level, the Italian and Hungarian national communities are represented by the Coastal Italian Self-governing National Community and the Hungarian National self-governing Community of Pomurje. These national communities act as partners in deliberations with the government and other state bodies and coordinate the attitude of both ethnic communities towards all issues concerning their status on the regional and national level. On the national level one deputy each represents the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities in the National Assembly. They have the right to use their language and they also have the right to exercise the veto on acts and regulations of the National Assembly that deal with minority issues. So far, the veto has not been exercised. The Slovenian government has a Government Office for Nationalities that primarily deals with matters concerning the national communities and the Roma.
- 3.4 Education in Slovenia is regulated among others by the Preschool Institutions Act [*zakon o vrtcih*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/96), the Elementary School Act [*zakon o osnovi šoli*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/96), and the Gymnasium Act [*zakon o gimnazijah*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/96). These acts show that two models of bilingual education are practiced in the ethnically mixed areas. In the Hungarian Prekmurje region a Slovene-Hungarian bilingual educational system has been operative since 1959 (⇒ *Italian in Slovenia* and *Hungarian in Slovenia*). In the Italian region Italian minority children attend pre-school institutions and primary and secondary schools with Italian as the language of instruction and Slovene as an obligatory subject. In educational institutions with Slovene as the language of instruction Italian is an obligatory subject (⇒ language report on Italian for more details). Furthermore there is a Law on the Implementation of Special Rights for Members of the Italian and Hungarian National Minorities in the Field of

Education [*Zakon o posebnih pravicah italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/82). This law stresses that the education of members of the Italian and Hungarian national minorities is a composite part of a unified education system (Art. 2), pre-school education must be adapted in such a way that children, apart from the development of their mother tongue, are allowed to learn the basics of Slovene or the language of the national minority (Art. 7), special historical, geographical and other achievements of the Italian and Hungarian nation must be considered in education and that the national sentiment of the students has to be respected (Art. 8). The law goes on to point out that educational institutions shall cooperate with corresponding institutions in their nation of origin in compliance with their annual work plan (Art. 15). And it also contains directives on the language fluency of school personnel (e.g., Art. 17 – 19). So far the schools of the national communities are all public schools. Both the Italian and the Hungarian minority are entitled to participate in the planning of the curricula, in educational policies and in the management of the educational institutions. The highest expert body in the field of education is the Expert Council of the Republic of Slovenia for General Education that has a Commission for Minority Education. Higher education and teacher training are discussed in the language reports (⇒ *Hungarian in Slovenia* and *Italian in Slovenia*).

- 3.5 The use of languages in court is regulated by the Law on Courts [*zakon o sodiščih*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 19/94). Art. 5 of this law states that the business of court is conducted in Slovene. It is, however, possible to use Italian or Hungarian in the court in the territories in which the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities live. The details of the operation of the courts in areas where the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities reside are explained in chapter five (Art. 60-69) of the *Court Rules* (Official Gazette RS, no. 17/95, last amendment in 2003). Art. 69 of the Court Rules mentions that the bonus for the qualification of judges and court personnel for conducting bilingual proceedings shall be determined by the judicial council.
- 3.6 The official language used in public administration is Slovene. Art. 4 of the Public Administration Act [*zakon o upravi*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 67/94), however, states that Italian or Hungarian is the second official language in areas where original Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities reside. The Slovenian government has worked out measures of positive discrimination to encourage the use of Italian and Hungarian in public administration on the territory of local communities where the Italian and Hungarian communities reside. The Ordinance on Quotients for the Basic Remuneration of Officials Appointed by the Republic of Slovenia and Other Employees in Slovene Government Services, Administrative Bodies and Administrative Units (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 82/94) provides for an increase of the basic salary by 6% for those persons who have active knowledge of the language of the national community and an increase by 3% for those persons who have passive knowledge of the language of the national community. Further details on the use of the language in public life or documents can be found in the Law on Personal Identity Cards [*zakon o osebni izkaznici*] (Official Gazette no. 75/97), the Law on Passports of the Citizens of the Republic of Slovenia [*zakon o potnih listinah državljanov republike slovenije*] (Official Gazette, no. 1/91), the Law on the Naming and Registering of Settlements, Streets and Buildings (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 5/80), and the Central Register of Population Act [*zakon o matičnem registru*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 37/03).

- 3.7 In practice, the right to use one's mother tongue is fulfilled to varying degrees in individual institutions. As a rule, bilingual communication is better provided for in the courts of law and at the level of communal administration, political assemblies, and public signs. In public and private enterprises and factories it is less satisfactory. Employees in administrative agencies and schools who according to the job requirement should be proficient in Italian or Hungarian in addition to Slovene are awarded a supplement to their salary. This often is a source of dispute.
- 3.8 The Slovenian media landscape is regulated primarily by the Law on Mass Media [*zakon o javnih glasilih*] (Official Gazette RS, no. 36/94). Art. 3 of this law among others states that the Slovenian state supports the development of mass media meant to inform the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities. Following Art. 3 of the Law on Radio Television Slovenia [*zakon o radioteleviziji slovenija*] (Official Gazette RS, no. 36/94) the Slovenian public radio and television (RTV – *radioteleviziji slovenija*) comprises the creation of one radio programme (at least two hours daily) and one television programme (at least 30 minutes daily) for the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities. Radio and television programmes in the Italian and Hungarian languages are part of the national programme broadcast by the national radio and television. Within that programme, full autonomy is guaranteed to editorial boards responsible for programmes in the Italian and Hungarian languages. Both the Italian and the Hungarian national community have one representative in the Council of RTV Slovenia, which is the supreme managing body of the national radio and television.
- 3.9 The Slovenian legal framework offers both the Italian and the Hungarian national communities high protection in the so-called ethnically mixed areas and also contains provisions for the Roma community ( $\Rightarrow$  *Romani in Slovenia*). The legal standard that goes back to the time when Slovenia was part of Yugoslavia fails, however, to recognize other groups like the Germans, Croats, Serbians and Bosnians that have been present on Slovenian territory for a considerable period of time. In this respect the Committee of Ministers on the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by Slovenia recommends the authorities of Slovenia to reconsider its position on the Croatian language from the point of view from the Charter, to clarify the issue of the traditional presence of the Serbian, has encouraged the Slovenian government to reconsider the position of the Serbian language and of the Bosnian language in Slovenia, and to apply part II of the Charter to German as a regional or minority language in Slovenia within the meaning of the Charter ( $\Rightarrow$  Other languages in Slovenia).
- 3.10 The Institute for Ethnic Studies, the Scientific Research Center of SASA (Slovenian Academy of Arts and Science) and the European Center for Regional Studies study different dimensions of inter-ethnic relations within Slovenia.

#### **4. The European dimension**

Slovenia signed the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML) on 3 July 1997, which was ratified on 4 October 2000 and came into force on 1 January 2001. Slovenia has also signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) on 1 February 1995, which was ratified on 25 March 1998 and has been in force since 1 July 1998. Slovenia has signed bilateral agreements with Italy and Hungary. With the Act of Notification of Succession of Agreements between Former Yugoslavia and Italy (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 40/92), the Treaty of Osimo regulating the status of

the Slovene minority in Italy and the Italian minority in Slovenia remained in force. With the Republic of Hungary there is an Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 6/93). On 30 April 2001 Slovenia signed an Agreement on Cooperation in Culture, Education and Science with the Republic of Austria.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Hungarian [*magyar nyelv*] is spoken by approximately 14.5 million people worldwide of which 10.3 million live in Hungary. It is spoken in all countries neighbouring Hungary as well as by considerable groups in the USA (447,000) and Canada (86,800). Genetically Hungarian belongs to the finno-ugric branch of the uralic languages. It is very closely related to Chantic and Mansic as spoken in Siberia. Hungarian displays a low dialectal variety. Differences between varieties of Hungarian are mainly phonetical. Slovenian-Hungarian language contact dates back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century and mainly took place in the north-eastern parts of Slovenia. The Slovenian influence on Hungarian can especially be noticed in political, religious and agricultural terminology.

### **1.2 History, Geography and Demography**

1.2.1 In the Middle Ages today's Hungarian part of Slovenia formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary. From 1335 until WWI the area was under Hapsburg rule and remained primarily Hungarian-speaking. It was only towards in the 19th century that the influence of Slovenian grew. Due to border adjustments after World War I the area was divided: 15,000 ethnic Hungarians became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia whereas 5,000 ethnic Slovenes became part of Hungary. During World War II Hungary regained control of the whole region. Yet at the end of World War II that situation was undone. After World War II some Hungarians living in the Slovene part of Yugoslavia were deported and non-Hungarian people were encouraged to settle there, thus adding to the presently ethnically mixed character of the region.

1.2.2. The autochthonous Hungarian population mainly resides in five municipalities in the Prekmurje region (Lendva/Lendava, Dobronak/Dobrovnik, Moravske Toplice, Šalovci and Hodos/Hodoš) where the following towns and villages have the status of ethnically mixed territories:

- Municipality of Hodos/Hodoš: Kapornak/Krplivnik and Hodos/Hodoš
- Municipality of Moravske Toplice: Csekefa/Čikečka vas, Szent-lászló/Motvarjevci, Kisfalu/Pordašinci, Pártosfalva/Prosenjakovci, Szerdahely/Središče
- Municipality of Šalovci: Domonkosfa/Domanjševci
- Municipality of Lendva/Lendava: Bánuta/Banuta, Csente/Čentiba, Hosszúfalu/Dolga vas, Hosszúfaluhegy/Dolgovšgorice, Völgyifalu/Dolina, Alsólakos/Dolnji Lakoš, Gyertyános/Gaberje, Göntérháza/Genterovci, Felsőla-kos/Gornji Lakoš, Kámaháza/Kamovci, Kapca/Kapca, Kót/Kot, Lend-va/Len-dava, Lendvahegy/Lendavske gorice/, Hidvég/Mostje, Petesháza/Petišovci, Pince/Pince, Pincemajor/Pince marof, Radamos/Radmožanci, and Hármas-malom/Trimlini
- Municipality of Dobronak/Dobrovnik: Dobronak/Dobrovnik, Zsitkóc/Žitkovci.

- 1.2.3 In the 2002 census 6,243 inhabitants of Slovenia (approx. 0.31% of the total population) declared themselves to belong to the Hungarian national community. Out of these 6,243 persons 5,212 (approx. 83.5%) live in the municipalities of Lendva (3,917 persons), Dobronak (616 persons), Moravske Toplice (351 persons), Šalovci (169 persons) and Hodos (159 persons). The Hungarian minority in the northern part of the ethnically mixed area represents two thirds of the total population, in the southern part slightly less than half of the total population. According to the 2002 census 7,713 persons have Hungarian as mother tongue. Table 1 shows that both the number of persons with Hungarian as mother tongue and the number of persons who declare themselves as ethnic Hungarians has decreased in recent years.

**Table 1. Hungarian Ethnicity and Hungarian as a mother tongue in Slovenia from 1953-2002.**

Year	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Ethnic Hungarians	11,019	10,498	8,943	8,777	8,000	6,243
Hungarian mother tongue	---	---	---	---	8,720	7,713

(Source: Q1, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia)

Several minority representatives, government organisations and the Slovenian Statistical Office have analysed and commented on the decrease of ethnic Hungarians and Hungarian as a mother tongue. Reasons given by them for the decrease are, among others, mixed marriages, difference in mortality and birth rates, use of a different methodology in censuses, “non-reply”, change in ethnic affiliation, a trend of giving up ethnical identity.

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

Art. 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia [*ustava republike slovenije*] (1991) specifies that Slovene is the official language of Slovenia. In the so-called ethnically mixed areas where ethnic Hungarian communities reside, however, the official language is also Hungarian. Art. 64 of the Slovenian Constitution specifically deals with special rights for the autochthonous Hungarian community in Slovenia. It guarantees the autochthonous Hungarian community the right to freely use national symbols, the right to establish its own organisations, education and schooling in its own language, the right to foster economic, cultural, scientific, and research activities, as well as activities associated with the mass media and publishing. It also gives autochthonous Hungarians the right to foster contacts with the Hungarian communities living outside Slovenia and it ensures financial support and encouragement to the implementation of these rights. For the implementation of special rights, the promotion of their needs and interests, and for organised participation in public matters, members of the Hungarian minority establish self-governing ethnic communities in the regions of their autochthonous settlement ( $\Rightarrow$  3.2 of the country profile on Slovenia for more details). At the national level, the Hungarian national community is represented by the Hungarian National self-governing Community of Pomurje that acts as a partner in deliberations with the government and other state bodies and coordinates the attitude of the Hungarian ethnic community towards all issues concerning their status on the regional and national level. On the national level one deputy represents the Hungarian ethnic community in the National Assembly. He has the

right to exercise the veto on acts and regulations of the National Assembly that deal with minority issues. So far, the veto has not been exercised.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

2.1.1 Since the mid-1950s mandatory bilingual Hungarian-Slovene education was introduced in the Prekmurje region for all pupils (including ethnic Slovenes). This measure was taken because a high proportion of Hungarian-speaking pupils no longer enrolled in Hungarian-speaking schools, possibly due to negative sentiments present in the population after WWII. The legal framework on education is explained in 3.4 of the country profile on Slovenia (⇒ Slovenia).

2.1.2 In the school year 2002/2003, 273 children attended bilingual pre-school institutions in the Pomurje region. In these institutions children are guided by one Hungarian-speaking nursery teacher and one Slovenian-speaking nursery teacher according to the principle one person/one language. In the same school year 4 schools offered bilingual elementary education for a total of 1,022 pupils: one school in Dobronak, one in Pártosfalva, and 2 schools in Lendva (one offering a modified programme). Also in Lendva a secondary school offered bilingual education to 284 pupils in the school year 2002/2003. As explained in full detail in the ECRML report on Slovenia (2004) for three topics in bilingual secondary school (i.e. History, Geography and History of Art) the basic course is taught in Slovenian whereas a part of the course is also taught in Hungarian for those pupils who choose this option. For all other subjects Hungarian and Slovenian are used in an alternating way to explain basic notions and concepts. Textbooks in Hungarian are generally available.

2.1.3 At university level Hungarian can be studied at the Department for the Hungarian Language of the University of Maribor. The University of Ljubljana offers a lectureship in Hungarian. Because of a bilateral agreement between Hungary and Slovenia about 50 Slovenian Hungarians each year take the opportunity to study in Hungary. In Ljubljana as well as in Lendva and Murska Sobota institutions offer courses for adults wanting to improve their Hungarian.

2.1.4 Kindergarten teachers and primary school teachers aiming to be active in Hungarian bilingual education may be trained in particular at Maribor University. But although teachers in bilingual schools receive a 20% wage increase, there is a shortage of bilingual teachers.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on the legal status of Hungarian in judicial matters is provided in section 3.5 and 3.7 of the country profile on Slovenia (⇒ Slovenia). The most recent report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of the ECRML shows that 765 court decisions were issued in Hungarian and 651 hearings conducted in Hungarian between 1991 and 1998 and 308 decisions and 294 hearings between 1999 and 2002. It remains, however, unclear to what extent these proceedings concerned people of the Hungarian-speaking community living in the Prekmurje region. After on-the-spot visits the Committee of Experts had to

conclude that at present Hungarian is not used in courts. This seems to be related to the shortage of judges and lawyers with knowledge of Hungarian.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

General information on the legal status of Hungarian in public services is provided in section 3.6 and 3.7 of the country profile on Slovenia (⇒ Slovenia). The Committee of Experts on the Application of the ECRML noticed that the legal provisions are effectively implemented at the level of local administration. Some difficulties, however, arise in the local branches of the state administration where it seems more difficult to obtain the necessary documents and forms in Hungarian.

### **2.4 Mass media and information technologies**

2.4.1 Since 1958 the weekly newspaper *Népújság* [People's paper] is published in Hungarian by the Institute for the Information Activity of the Hungarian National Community in Lendva. Each week 2,000 copies are distributed. The number of subscribers is 1,600. *Népújság* is available on the internet (<http://www.hhrf.org/nepujzag>). *Népújság* is co-financed by the Slovenian government as are the literary periodical *Muratáj* and the almanac *Naptár*.

2.4.2 The Slovenian public radio and television [*Radiotelevizija Slovenija*] offers programmes in Hungarian. They are produced in the Hungarian Programmes Studio Lendva at the Regional Radio and Television Centre in Maribor. The daily broadcasting time of Hungarian radio programmes is 13 hours and 15 minutes. The presence of Hungarian on Slovene public television is mainly limited to the TV series *Mostovi-Hidak* [Bridges], that – reruns not included - is broadcast for half an hour four times a week during most of the year and three times a week in summertime on national television as well as on the regional channel in Maribor. Currently a radio and television studio is being constructed in Lendva. It is financed by the *Radiotelevizija Slovenija* and by the Office for Nationalities.

### **2.5 Arts and culture**

Hungarian readers' needs are met by the library in Murska Sobota, the library in Lendva (with 12 affiliated local libraries) and a mobile library system. The libraries aim to preserve material on Hungarian culture. The Hungarian minority in Slovenia has several cultural organisations, such as amateur theatre groups, literary circles, choirs and folk ensembles. Numerous cultural activities are financed from the funds of the Ministry of Culture that, among others, finances the construction of the Lendva Cultural Centre.

### **2.6 Economy**

Despite the fact that the use of bilingual signs is compulsory, some private enterprises do not always act according to the legal provisions. In an unstable economic climate local authorities do not always dare to reprimand such

enterprises for fear of discouraging local investments. It seems to be extremely difficult to pursue a policy of bilingualism in the private sector.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of language**

No specific information is available on the use of Hungarian in families and in the social life of the Hungarians in Slovenia. Despite the efforts that are put into education it can, however, be expected that forms of Hungarian-Slovenian language shift will occur among the Hungarians in Slovenia, whereby the older generation is more likely to be Hungarian dominant bilingual and the younger generation Slovenian dominant bilingual.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

In 1992 an Agreement on Co-operation in the Fields of Culture, Education and Science was signed between Hungary and Slovenia. In November 1992 the Interstate Agreement on Guaranteeing Special Rights of the Slovenian Minority Living in the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian National Community in the Republic of Slovenia [*sporazum o zagotavljanju posebnih pravic slovenske narodne manjšine v Republiki Madžarski in madžarske narodne skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji*] was signed. It was ratified in April 1993 by the Republic of Slovenia. Following this agreement a Slovenian-Hungarian committee was established with the specific task of monitoring the practical outcomes of the agreement. Furthermore there is an Agreement on Friendship and Co-operation (1993) between Slovenia and Hungary as well as an Agreement on Mutual recognition of Certificates and Diplomas (1999).

## **3. Conclusion**

In the 2002 census 6,243 people declared themselves to be ethnic Hungarians. 83.5% of these persons live in the ethnically mixed areas and are granted special rights according to Art. 64 of the Slovenian Constitution. The Hungarians in Slovenia make use of their special rights. Hungarian children attend bilingual Hungarian-Slovenian schools that are also attended by Slovenian children who thus become familiar with the Hungarian language. Hungarian is represented in the media and in cultural life and people also tend to use it in dealing with the local administration. This broader societal use of Hungarian prevents a radical Hungarian-Slovenian language shift. But still it has to be noted that despite the legal framework and the spread of Hungarian also among Slovenian children the younger generation of Hungarians in Slovenia is gradually becoming Slovenian dominant bilingual.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1 The language**

Italian [*italiano*] is part of the eastern group of the Romanic languages. Approx. 63 million people worldwide speak it as a first or second language. Most of them (approx. 59 million) live in Italy. The Italian used in Slovenia is influenced by Slovenian due to a situation of extensive language contact.

### **1.2 History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 The history of Italians on today's Slovenian territory dates back to ancient times and is closely related to that of the Western coast of the Istrian peninsula. Due to a growing influence of Venice starting in the early Middle Ages the coastal cities acquired a typical Venetian identity, language (the Venetian dialect) and culture. Even after the fall of Venice in 1797 (following Napoleon's intervention) and a period of Hapsburg rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the situation did not alter much. The Hapsburgs allowed the use of Slovenian in education but the urban settlements along the coast remained largely Italian-speaking. In the wake of World War II the Italian fascist regime carried out a harsh assimilation policy. Italian was imposed on the Slovene population in the Trieste and Littoral regions during World War II. After World War II the Yugoslav Federation acquired control of the whole Istrian peninsula. The Italians who represented a local majority in the towns and rural settlements of the Istrian part of Slovenia before World War II moved away which contributed largely to the present ethnically mixed structure of the population.

1.2.2 The autochthonous Italian population mainly lives in three coastal municipalities (Capodistria/Koper, Isola/Izola and Pirano/Piran) where the following towns and villages have the status of ethnically mixed territories:

- Municipality of Capodistria/Koper: Ancarano/Ankaran, Barisoni/Barizoni, Bertocchi/Bertoki, Bosamerino/Bošamarin, Cerei/Cerej, Crevattini/ Hrvatini, Campel/Kampel, Colombano/Kolomban, Capo-distria/Koper, Prade/Prade, Premančan, Salara/Šalara, S. Can-ziano/Škocjan and a part of the settlement Val-marin/Spodnje Škofije.
- Municipality of Isola/Izola: Isola/Izola, Dobrava pri Izoli, Jagodje, Livada and Polje pre Izoli
- Municipality of Pirano/Piran: Pirano/Piran, Portorose/Portorož, Lucia/Lucija, Strugnano/Strunjan, Sezza/Seča, Sicciole/Sečovlje, Parezza-go/Parecag and Dragonja.

1.2.3 In the 2002 census 2,258 inhabitants of Slovenia (approx. 0.11% of the total population) declared themselves members of the Italian national community. Out of these 2,258 persons 1,840 (approx. 81.5%) live in the municipalities of Capodistria (712 persons), Pirano (698 persons) and Isola (430 persons). The number of Italians in the ethnically mixed regions rarely exceeds 10% of the total population (with the exception of Strugnano where Italians represent approx. 20% of the total population). It is typical for the Italian minority in Slovenia that most

of its members – some 75% - live in urban centres. In the 2002 census, 3,762 people declared Italian to be their mother tongue. Table 1 shows that both the number of persons with Italian as mother tongue and the number of persons who declare themselves as ethnic Italians has decreased in recent years.

**Table 1: Italian Ethnicity and Italian as a mother tongue in Slovenia from 1953-2002.**

Year	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Ethnic Italians	854	3,072	2,987	2,138	2,959	2,258
Italian mother tongue	---	---	---	---	3,882	3,762

(Source: Q1, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia)

Several minority representatives, government organisations and the Slovenian Statistical Office have analysed and commented on the decrease of ethnic Italians and Italian as a mother tongue. Reasons given by them for the decrease are, among others, mixed marriages, difference in mortality and birth rates, use of a different methodology in censuses, non-reply, change in ethnic affiliation and a general trend of giving up ethnical identity.

### 1.3 Legal status and official policies

Art. 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia [*ustava republike slovenije*] (1991) specifies that Slovene is the official language of Slovenia. In the so-called ethnically mixed areas where Italian communities reside, however, the official language is also Italian. Art. 64 of the Slovenian Constitution specifically deals with special rights for the autochthonous Italian community in Slovenia. It guarantees the autochthonous Italian communities the right to freely use the national symbols, the right to establish own organisations, education and schooling in the Italian language, the right to foster economic, cultural, scientific, and research activities, as well as activities associated with the mass media and publishing. It also gives autochthonous Italians the right to foster contacts with the Italian communities living outside Slovenia and it ensures financial support and encouragement to the implementation of these rights. For the implementation of special rights, the promotion of their needs and interests, and for organised participation in public matters, members of the Italian minority establish self-governing ethnic communities in the regions of their autochthonous settlement ( $\Rightarrow$  3.2 of *Slovenia* for more details). At the national level, the Italian national community is represented by the Coastal Italian Self-governing National Community that acts as a partner in deliberations with the government and other state bodies and coordinates the attitude of the Italian ethnic community towards all issues concerning their status on the regional and national level. On the national level one deputy represents the Italian ethnic community in the National Assembly. He or she has the right to exercise the veto on acts and regulations of the National Assembly that deal with issues concerning the Italian minority. So far, the veto has not been exercised.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

- 2.1.1 In accordance with the Special Statute (Annex to the London Memorandum) regulations, Italian minority children attend pre-school institutions and primary and secondary schools with Italian as the language of instruction. Slovene is an obligatory subject and is taught three hours per week. Italian is the language of oral and written communication in school as well as with parents. In the ethnically-mixed area, Italian is an obligatory subject in educational institutions with Slovene as the language of instruction from kindergarten onwards. In many instances, Slovene children enrol in secondary schools with Italian as the language of instruction (⇒ 3.4. of Slovenia for general information on education).
- 2.1.2 In the school year 2002/2003, there were three pre-school institutions using Italian as the language of instruction in the ethnically mixed areas of the three coastal municipalities: *Delfino Blue* in Capodistria, *Dante Alighieri* in Isola and *La Coccinella* in Portorose. A total of 280 children attended these pre-school institutions. In the same school year 416 pupils enrolled three primary schools with Italian as the language of instruction: *Dante Alighieri* in Isola, *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio* in Capodistria (with affiliated schools in Semadela, Bertoki and Hrvatini), and *Vicenzo de Castro* in Pirano (with affiliated schools in Lucija, Sečovlje and Strunjan). Also in 2002/2003 287 students attended three secondary schools with Italian as the language of instruction: Antonio Sema High School in Pirano, Gian Rinaldo Carli Secondary School in Capodistria, and Pietro Coppo Secondary Vocational School in Isola).
- 2.1.3 At University level Italian can be studied at the department for Italian language and literature at the Pedagogical Faculty in Capodistria as well as at the Chair of Italian Language and Literature at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. The Decree on the Establishment of the University of Primorska [*Università della Primorska*] of January 2003 made it possible to study Italian at this university. The University, which the Italian national community would prefer to be named *Università del Litorale*, is located in Capodistria. These university institutions educate kindergarten as well as primary school teachers. The Slovenian State organises courses on further teacher training and offers the possibility for teacher exchange with Italy. Courses for adults wanting to improve their Italian are organised in 16 places spread over Slovenia.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

General information on the legal status of Italian in judicial matters is provided in section 3.5 and 3.7 of the country profile on Slovenia (⇒ *Slovenia*). The most recent report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of the ECRML, however, shows that there is a clear discrepancy between the provisions of the law and daily practice. Between 1991 (Slovenia's independence) and February 2003 Italian has only been used in 7 proceedings involving members of the Italian-speaking minority, even though interpretation is provided for free of charge. There seems to be a clear reluctance to use Italian in proceedings. Whether this has to do with the lack of knowledge on behalf of the accused or on behalf of the lawyers and judges is not clear.

## 2.3 Public authorities and services

General information on the legal status of Italian in public authorities and services is provided in section 3.6 and 3.7 of the country profile on Slovenia ( $\Rightarrow$  *Slovenia*). The most recent report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of the ECRML, however, shows that there is a clear discrepancy between the provisions of the law and daily practice. Despite its co-official character in ethnically mixed areas and the financial bonus for public employees with active or passive knowledge of Italian ( $\Rightarrow$  3.6 of *Slovenia*) it seems that Italian can almost never be used in dealings with the administration. In most of the cases people are obliged to recur to Slovene. Most of the written communications are only issued in Slovenian. Sometimes the use of Italian is even refused by officials. A possible explanation here might be the Slovenian recruitment policy in the local offices of the state administration. Often people coming from the inland with no knowledge of Italian and no awareness of the bilingual character of the coastal region are installed in public administration.

## 2.4 Mass media and information technology

- 2.4.1 The Italian minority in Slovenia publishes printed media in the Italian language together with the Italians living in Croatia. Both the EDIT publishing house in Rijeka (co-financed by Slovenia) and the A.I.A. agency in Capodistria (fully financed by Slovenia) are engaged in publishing the weekly newspaper *Voce del Popolo* (published since 1944 and printed in some 3,750 copies). EDIT also publishes the weekly *Panorama* (about 2,200 copies of which 600 are distributed in Slovenia), the quarterly *La Battana* (1000 copies of which 50 are distributed in Slovenia) and the children's newsletter *Acrobale* (2,500 copies of which 350 are distributed in Slovenia). For 40 years now EDIT has been publishing belletristics and professional literature, textbooks and manuals in Italian. The publishing of cultural newsletters and yearbooks such as *La Città*, *Il Mandracchio*, *Lassa pur dir*, *Il trillo* is supported by the Slovenian Ministry of Culture.
- 2.4.2 On Radio-Capodistria (regional branch of Slovenian national public radio) Italian language programs (since 1949) are available for 18 hours per day while TV programming in Italian is broadcast on Tele-Capodistria (regional branch of national public television) for 9 hours on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday and for 7.5 hours on Monday and Thursday. Since Radio Capodistria is currently only allowed to use medium-wave frequencies with low power it cannot longer cover the whole Istrian peninsula like it used to. As a consequence it has lost some of its Italian audience (with the exception of the immediate border areas) and practically the whole of its Croatian audience. Identical problems are faced by Tele-Capodistria. In the time of former Yugoslavia Tele-Capodistria was accessible to an Italian audience due to relays it was allowed to use. Since Tele-Capodistria has been deprived of its relays it can no longer reach its Italian audience. Nowadays there is co-operation between Tele-Capodistria and the Trieste branch of the Italian public television. They broadcast each other's news once a day, and once a month they broadcast a joint documentary on Italian minority in Slovenia and the Slovenian minority in Italy.

## **2.5 Arts and culture**

An important share of cultural activities in Italian are organised by local cultural associations (amateur theatre, literary clubs, choirs and folklore dance clubs, etc.), as well as by visiting professional and amateur theatre groups from Italy. Within the network of public libraries special departments are devoted to Italian culture, magazines and publications. Currently the Italian national community is establishing an institute for the culture of the Italian national community (with a start-up capital of 4,500,000 SIT provided by the Office for Nationalities). The Republic of Slovenia co-finances joint organisations with the Italian minority in Croatia, e.g. the EDIT publishing house in Rijeka, the Italian Theatre in Rijeka, the Historic Research Centre in Rovinj and the Italian Union. Numerous cultural activities are financed from the funds of the Ministry of Culture.

## **2.6 The business world**

There is considerable economic interaction between the Italian coastal municipalities in Slovenia and those in neighbouring Italy. Although no specific information could be obtained about the impact this has on the use of Italian in the local business world of the ethnically mixed areas in which the Italian national minority of Slovenia resides it is clear that the minority members have an economic advantage because of their Italian/Slovenian bilingual profile.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of language**

The number of people declaring Italian to be their mother tongue in the 2002 census (3,762 as opposed to 2,258 ethnic Italians) seems to suggest that the majority of the people belonging to the Italian national community in Slovenia have Italian as their mother tongue. A survey conducted by the Euromosaic-team in the ethnically mixed areas where the Italians reside has shown that it is more likely that about 85% of the Italians there have Italian as their mother tongue. Approx. 75% of these persons indicate to have a very good knowledge of Italian. Italian is mainly used in the family, in private everyday life, in the leisure time and in connection with diverse media. As is often the case with minority languages all generations are Italian/Slovene bilinguals. It is mainly the older generation that makes most frequent use of Italian as the sole means of communication. They can be described as Italian dominant bilingual. The younger generations show a tendency to use both Italian and Slovene whereby the use of Slovene is on the increase. The younger generation could best be described as Slovene dominant bilingual.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

With the Act of Notification of Succession of Agreements between Former Yugoslavia and Italy (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 40/92), the Treaty of Osimo regulating the status of the Slovene minority in Italy and the Italian minority in Slovenia remained in force. Slovenia and Croatia co-operate in co-financing joint institutions located in Croatia but also striving to meet the needs of Italians in Slovenia ( $\Rightarrow$  2.5. above). Members of the Italian minority living in the Slovene and Croatian parts of Istria are entitled to unrestricted education in both Croatian and Slovene and in schools with Italian as the language of instruction. In this respect there is an Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Diplomas (1995).

### **3. Conclusion**

In the 2002 census 2,258 people declared themselves to be ethnic Italians. 81.5% of these persons live in the ethnically mixed areas and are granted special rights according to Art. 64 of the Slovenian Constitution. Italian is represented in the media. It is used as a language of instruction at schools (ranging from kindergarten to secondary schools). People are also allowed to use Italian in courts and in public administration. In these two domains, however, there seems to be a large discrepancy between the legal provisions on the one hand and daily practice on the other hand. The actual use of Italian in court and public administration is rare. This is regrettable since it is precisely the public use of Italian which could encourage the use of Italian among the younger generation and could help to prevent Italian from retreating entirely to the cultural sphere and the use within the family nucleus in the future.

## **1. General information**

### **1.1. The language**

Like Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali, Romani [*Romanes*] is an Indic (or Indo-Aryan) language that belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The language retains much of the Indic morphology, phonology and lexicon, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by contact with other languages. The dispersal and differentiation of the Roma since their arrival in Europe (8th century) brought about a fragmentation of the language in distinct groups. Nowadays five main groups (each with different 'subvarieties') are distinguished that result from the contact of Romani with regional languages: northern Romani (best represented by the *chaladytka roma*, the Russian Roma), central Romani (best represented by the group of the Hungarian and Slovakian Roma, the *ungrieki roma*), *vlach* Roma (best represented by the *Kalderaš-Romani*), balkan Romani (best represented by the dialects in Macedonia). Most Roma in Europe use *Kalderaš*. In Slovenia different varieties of Romani are spoken due to different historical backgrounds of the Roma groups residing in the country.

### **1.2. History, geography and demography**

1.2.1 One part of the Roma community has been living in Slovenia for a considerable time. They started settling in Slovenia from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Apparently they came from three directions: from Hungary (those Roma living in the Prekmurje region), from Croatia (those Roma living in Dolenjska), and from today's Austria (those Roma – or, more precisely: Sinti - living in the Gorenjska region). Another part of the Roma community moved to Slovenia in relatively recent times. This group comes from areas of the former Yugoslavia such as Kosovo and Macedonia and have mainly settled in urban areas. The Institute of Ethnic Studies is currently conducting research on the definition of areas originally and/or traditionally settled by Roma.

1.2.2 3,246 persons declared to be Roma in the 2002 census and 3,834 declared Romani to be their mother tongue. It is, however, estimated that the actual number of Roma living in Slovenia ranges from 7,000 to 10,000.

### **1.3 Legal status and official policies**

Unlike the Italian and Hungarian communities the Roma community does not have the status of a national minority. It is considered to be a special ethnic community or a minority with special ethnic characteristics. Art. 65 of the Constitution (1991) provides a legal basis for the protection of the Roma community. It states that the status and special rights of the Romani community living in Slovenia shall be regulated by law. So far this has not resulted in a special Law on Roma. Roma rights are regulated by sector specific legislation. Sector-specific Acts include, among others, the Voting Rights Register Act [*zakon o evidenci volilne pravice*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 52/02),

the Act Amending the Law on Local Elections [zakon o spremembah in dopolnitvah Zakona o lokalnih volitvah] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 51/02) and Art. 101(a) of the Act Amending the Law on Local Self-Government (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 51/02) which states that the municipalities of Beltinci, Cankova, Črenšovi, Črnomelj, Dobrovnik, Grosuplje, Kočevje, Kuzma, Lendava, Metlika, Murska Sobota, Novo mesto, Puconci, Rogašovci, Semič, Šentjernej, Tišina, Trebnje and Turnišče shall be obliged to entrust the protection of the rights of the Romani community living in their respective municipalities to one representative in the municipal council before the ordinary elections in 2002. Currently 19 municipalities have a Roma councillor.

## **2. Presence and use of the language in various fields**

### **2.1 Education**

The Organisation and Financing of Education and Training Act [zakon o organizaciji in financiranju vzgoje in izobraževanja] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 14/03), the Pre-School Institutions Act [zakon o vrtcih] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/96 and 44/00) and Elementary School Act [zakon o osnovni šoli] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 12/96 and 59/01) include some special regulations for the Roma community. Legal actions taken in the field of education do, however, not aim specifically at the use of the Romani language, but more at increasing participation of Romani children in education in order to stimulate societal integration and to ensure their future living conditions. It is known that in Novo Mesto children are allowed to use Romani in school surroundings. In other areas they are generally reprimanded and discriminated against because those without Romani knowledge perceive the use of Romani as a threat. In general there are few initiatives aiming at Romani education. In 2002 an optional course in Romani started in co-operation with an elementary school in Murska Sobota and with the Roma association for pre-school and elementary school teachers. One elementary school in the Dolenjska region organises a beginner's course in Romani.

### **2.2 Judicial authorities**

No specific regulations exist for the Roma minority.

### **2.3 Public authorities and services**

No specific regulations exist for the Roma minority.

### **2.4 Media**

2.4.1 Sector-specific legislation for Roma is included in the Media Act [zakon o medijih] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no.35/01)

2.4.2 For eight years now, two local radio stations, Murski val in Murska Sobota and Studio D in Novo Mesto, have been broadcasting weekly programmes for Roma in both Slovenian and Romani. These programmes deal with the life and work of the Roma, their culture, sport, music and literature. The Office for Nationalities

provides funding for the radio programmes as well as for the television programmes that are broadcast by the TV AS Studio of Murska Sobota since 2002. Once in two months an episode is produced on the daily life and problems of the Roma in Slovenia. It is broadcast on cable TV in areas with a large number of Roma (e.g. Prekmurje, Dolenjska, and Maribor). The Office for Nationalities also finances the ROMIC documentation centre in Murska Sobota that was established by the Union of Roma of Slovenia in October 2003. This centre, which received equipment from the Soros foundation, develops library activities and is involved in audio production.

- 2.4.3 Four times a year the Union of Roma in Slovenia publishes a newspaper 'Romano Them – Romski Svet' (Romani world), using both Slovenian and Romani. In the last decade the Union has also issued a number of publications (mainly collections of poems and plays).

## **2.5 Arts and Culture**

The Roma are granted some sector specific rights through the Librarianship Act [*zakon o knjižničarstvu*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 87/01) and the Representation of the Public Interest in Culture Act [*zakon o uresničevanju javnega interesa za kulturo*] (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 96/02).

## **2.6 The business world**

Only 13% of the Roma are estimated to have regular employment, some 25% engage in casual or seasonal work and some 41% are involved in non-organised employment (like collecting raw materials and herbs). It is not known to what extent Romani varieties are used in the economic activities of the Roma.

## **2.7 Family and the social use of language**

No specific up-to-date information is available on the use of Romani varieties in the family and the social sphere of the Slovenian Roma.

## **2.8 The European dimension**

A joint Slovenian-Austrian conference on the status of the Roma in Slovenia and Austria was held in 1997.

## **3. Conclusion**

By giving the Roma special rights the Slovenian government is trying hard to integrate them into the Slovenian society. These efforts are related to social welfare. Language plays a subordinate role.

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## Other languages

### 1. Bosnian

- 1.1 Nowadays Bosnian [*bosanski jezik*] is considered to be one of the standard written versions of the Central South Slavic diasystem that was formerly known as Serbo-Croatian. From a linguistic point of view it can be considered as an Ausbau-variant of Serbo-Croatian that acquired its status as a national standard language after the collapse of Yugoslavia. It is one of the three official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the other two being Croatian and Serbian). In the Republic of Serbia Bosnian has official status and is referred to as Bosniak [*bošnjacki jezik*].
- 1.2 The Bosnians settled in Slovenia in 1878 when Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1953 there were 1,617 ethnic Bosnians living in Slovenia (defined as 'Muslims' in the census). In 1961 there were 465 of them and in 1981 13,000 (due to economic migration). In 1991 their number had increased to 26,800 due to the war. There is some confusion as to the present number of Bosnians in Slovenia. It remains unclear whether only the ethnic Bosnians (8,062 according to the 2002 census) or also the Muslims (10,467) and the Bosniaacs (21,542) should be taken into account.

### 2. Croatian

- 2.1 Together with Serbian, Slovenian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, Croatian [*Hrvatski*] builds the South Slavic branch of the Slavic languages. Croatian is closely related to Serbian and is spoken by approximately 5.8 million people, most of whom live in Croatia (4.8 million). The Croatian used in Slovenia is strongly influenced by the Slovenian language. Both the ethnic Croats and the ethnic Slovenes who live in the Bela Krajina speak some sort of Croatian-Slovenian mixture.
- 2.2 The presence of the Croatian language on present Slovene territory goes back to the settlement of the Croats in the area known as Bela Krajina. From 1094 until the 15th century the region was part of the bishopric of Zagreb. German feudal owners took possession of it in the late 15th century. In 1526 it became part of the Hapsburg Empire. In the course of the 16th century Croatian-speaking people moved to Bela Krajina. Since then Croatian language and culture have been very present there. Between 1931 and 1953 the number of Croats in Slovenia was estimated at 18,000. That number rose to 31,000 in 1961 due to economic migration and to 54,000 in 1991 due to the war in Croatia. The current number of ethnic Croats is 35,642 according to the 2002 census. It is not clear to what extent this number reflects reality since the number of people indicating Croatian to be their mother tongue is 54,079 and those indicating Serbo-Croats to be their mother tongue is 36,264.

### 3. German

- 3.1 German is an Indo-European language that belongs to the West-Germanic subgroup of Germanic languages. As such, German is closely related to Dutch, English, Frisian and Yiddish. German is spoken by about 101 million people worldwide as a first or second language. Most of them live in Germany (around

81.5 million), Austria (approximately 7.6 million) and Switzerland (around 4.2 million). German is a typical example of a pluricentric language characterised by an extensive geographical variation.

- 3.2 German is spoken in three areas in Slovenia. A first area covers the region of Marburg/Maribor near the border with Austria. This region that used to be part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and passed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after World War I presently counts some 150 German-speaking families that mainly are of Austrian descent. Some of these families are members of the association *Freiheitsbrücke* (Most Svoboda) located in Marburg. The origin of the Germans in the second region, the region of Kočevje, dates back to the 14th century when peasants from eastern Tyrol and western Carinthia were settled there by local princes to maintain the forests. Since they lived in isolation from other German-speakers they preserved their medieval variety of German that is commonly known as Gottscheer German. From the 19th century until the end of World War II, the estimated number of Germans in the Gottschee area varied between 12,000 and 20,000, and this number has shrunk drastically to about 400 today. Some of the Germans in the Gottschee area are members of the Kočevje German Association located in Občice. The third group of Germans lives in and around the Slovenian capital Laibach/Ljubljana. It is difficult to determine the size and origin of this group of Germans. They have an organisation called the Peter Kozler Association of Kočevje Germans which is located in Laibach.
- 3.3 It is generally acknowledged that the figures of the census in which 499 persons are listed as ethnic Germans are an underestimation of the actual number of Germans. The actual number might be close to the number of people listing German as their mother tongue (1,628 in the 2002 census). But that figure is also probably far from accurate since it is not clear to what extent it also comprises the German-speaking persons of Austrian descent who dislike the term 'German' and prefer 'Austrian' or a term referring to their local situation such as Gottscheer German.

#### **4. Serbian**

- 4.1 Serbian [*Srpski*] is a South Slavic language closely related to Croatian. It is spoken worldwide by about 12 million people most of whom (around 6.7 million) live in Serbia. Together with Croatian, Serbian has retained more common Slavic elements in its vocabulary than other Slavic languages.
- 4.2 The presence of the Serbians on Slovenian present territory dates back to the 16th century. At that time, the Serbians who resided in 'Vojna Krajina' (now Croatia), a military frontier region, resettled in Bela Krajina. A second broader wave of Serbian migration followed from the end of 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century (mainly settling in bigger cities). In 1953, there were 11,000 Serbians. This number increased in the sixties due to economical migration. In 1961 there were 13,000 Serbians living in Slovenia. In 1981 there were already 42,000 Serbians living on Slovenian territory and in 1991 their number had risen to 47,000. The 2002 census counted 38,964 ethnic Serbians but 31,329 indicating Serbian to be their mother tongue and 36,265 people indicating Serbo-Croatian to be their mother tongue. The emotion-laden relation between Serbians and Croatians makes it hard to estimate the current number of Serbians in Slovenia.

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- <http://www.minelres.lv> [minority electronic resources - directory of resources on minority human rights and related problems of the transition period in Eastern and Central Europe]
- [Http://www.stat.si/eng](http://www.stat.si/eng) [Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia]
- <http://www.uvi.si/eng> [Urad vlade za informiranje - Republic of Slovenia, Public relations and Media Office]
- [www.verfassungen.de](http://www.verfassungen.de) [Verfassungen: Verfassung der Republik Slowenien]