

TOWARDS A LANGUAGE RICH EUROPE

**MULTILINGUAL ESSAYS
ON LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES**



TOWARDS A LANGUAGE RICH EUROPE

**MULTILINGUAL ESSAYS ON LANGUAGE
POLICIES AND PRACTICES**

Published in Berlin by the British Council. July 2011.

© Language Rich Europe. British Council.

You can copy, download or print content of Towards a Language Rich Europe for your own use and you can include excerpts from the Towards a Language Rich Europe publication in your own documents, presentation, blogs, website and teaching materials, provided that suitable acknowledgements of the Towards a Language Rich Europe publication as source and copyright owner British Council are given. All requests for public or commercial use and translation rights should be submitted to info@language-rich.eu.

Website for information on Language Rich Europe:
www.language-rich.eu.
Contact: info@language-rich.eu

The responsibility of ideas or opinions expressed in this publication lies with the authors. The European Commission is not responsible for those ideas or opinions nor for any use that may be made of them.

Thanks to Michael Croasdale and Eilidh MacDonald for copy editing and proof reading.

Thanks to Cubus, Berlin for the design.
www.cubusberlin.com

CONTENTS

Martin Hope	English	Introduction	4
Lone Leth Larsen	Danish	Flersprogethed i Danmark	10
	English	The Multi-language situation in Denmark	14
Paweł Poszytek	Polish	Polityka językowa w polskim systemie edukacyjnym	18
	English	Language policy in the educational system in Poland	23
Sara Hannam & Evagelia Papathanasiou	Greek	Σύγχρονα Θέματα και Τάσεις της Γλωσσολογίας	28
	English	Current Issues and Trends in Language Education in Greece: A Brief Overview	36
Csilla Bartha	Hungarian	Nyelvpolitika magyarországon – középpontban	42
	English	Language Policy in Hungary – focussing on linguistic minorities	49
Teresa Tinsley	English	The importance of languages for business	56
Cezar Vrinceanu	Romanian	Cunoașterea limbilor străine și competențe de comuni- care interculturală în mediul de afaceri din România: diferența dintre nevoi, ofertă și nivelul existent	60
	English	Foreign language skills and intercultural	66
		communication in Romanian businesses: the gap between needs, provision and competences	
Ineta Dabašinskienė	Lithuanian	“We are looking for a sales manager in Lithuania”	71
	English	“We are looking for a sales manager in Lithuania”	78
Irina Nedeva	Bulgarian	Езиците в медиите и в публичната сфера	86
	English	Language in the media and in public spaces	93
		- A Bulgarian Case	
Maria Stoicheva	Bulgarian	За лингвистическото влияние на Европейския съюз	100
	English	The Linguistic Influence of the European Union	107
Michael Wimmer	German	Bildung, Sprachen und ein Redewettbewerb - Junge	113
	English	Education, Languages and a Rhetoric Competition -	120
Various	English	Biographies of authors contributing to this publication	126

INTRODUCTION

This collection of essays is the first of a number of initiatives under the British Council Language Rich Europe project, a two and a half year initiative to explore language policy and practice, facilitate knowledge sharing, and promote multilingualism across Europe in partnership with the European Commission, EUNIC (European National Institutes of Culture), and around 30 further partner institutions.

The thorny issue of how to deal with languages – national, regional, minority, immigrant and foreign - is one which governments, business and civil society in countries across Europe have been facing for a number of years. Globalisation on the one hand, and the need to retain national and regional identity on the other, both have an impact on language policy and practice. Increased mobility and migration force us to re-think the language requirements of our societies, and many countries have responded by prioritising social inclusion and intercultural dialogue.

However, the evidence shows that this has not always been supported by language policies and practices which promote linguistic diversity and language learning. European multilingualism policy has provided guidance, but take-up has been uneven, policy cooperation has proved challenging, and knowledge has not been shared systematically. Moreover, connections have not yet been made between the way that languages are approached in the education system and how this affects other elements in society – the media, business, as well as public services and spaces.

Language Rich Europe will address these challenges by creating a sustainable interdisciplinary network of over 1200 decision makers from 20 countries across Europe and by facilitating knowledge sharing and interaction among them through national and international conferences and online discussions. The project will share good practice in language teaching and learning and multilingual services offered, both to enhance social inclusion and to support European companies to stay competitive.

To inform the thinking of our network we will conduct a comparative analysis of countries' performance against European multilingualism policy. The results will be presented in the attractive format of the Language Rich Europe Index, available in over 20 languages and published in print form and on an interactive website.

The Index comprises over 200 indicators and reflects use of official national, immigrant, regional/minority, and foreign languages in language diversity databases and documents, and the fields of education, public services and spaces, business and the media.

The knowledge sharing process will enable the network to develop action plans at national, regional and local level to improve language policies and practices.

These action plans will be synthesized into a report for the European Commission to support the review of its multilingualism policy planned for 2012.

Through the project we will achieve the following objectives:

- Better understanding of good practices in language teaching and learning for social inclusion and competitiveness
- Enhanced cooperation and commitment to improving language policies and practices
- Increased awareness of EU and CoE recommendations and how countries perform against them
- A sustainable European benchmarking tool to evaluate policies and practices

The essays collected here provide an overview of the language environment in a selection of European countries ahead of the Language Rich Europe research, setting out some of the national contexts against which language policies and practices are working and highlighting many of the key challenges. They have been written by colleagues from our network of partner organisations, and the insights they share with us are relevant not only for their own context, but for stakeholders across the continent.

In the first section of the collection, we learn from experts in the field about the response to European Commission and Council of Europe multilingualism initiatives in Poland, Greece, Denmark and Hungary.

Lone Leth Larsen (Danish Cultural Institute in Brussels) is alarmed by the decline in the learning of foreign languages other than English at higher levels in school and university in Denmark, and describes the current debates around the possible disappearance of the Danish language. She also raises the issue of mother tongue teaching for migrants, which has become highly politicised, not only in Denmark but more widely.

Paweł Poszytek (Institute for Quality in Education in Warsaw) describes Poland's enlightened but unwritten languages policy, under which the steady formation of pre-service teacher training colleges since the 90s has resulted in a good supply of language teachers, and through which a national curriculum framework for languages has been introduced, supporting a more communicative methodology and evaluating learning against the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

Sara Hannam and **Evagelia Papathanasiou** (South East European Research Centre in Thessaloniki) describe the New School Initiative in Greece, which will make the learning of foreign languages more systematic, and will provide increased and better quality teacher training for language graduates, including classroom observation. They conclude that Greece is a country which invests substantial effort and income in language learning and testing, with notable success in terms of the populace's willingness to speak other languages, and use them in pragmatic contexts. However, they call for more research to ascertain if declarations regarding multilingualism and equality of access are being implemented in practice.

Csilla Bartha (Centre for Multilingualism at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest) describes foreign language initiatives in Hungary, concluding that while 'foreign languages are widely taught in public education and private language schools catering for the needs of adults abound, the majority of the Hungarian population does not speak any foreign languages at all'. There is often a significant gap, she says, between declared linguistic minority policies and their implementation. Her conclusion that the language context is markedly different in Western and Eastern parts of the EU will be a fertile topic for exploration in Language Rich Europe.

In the second section of our collection, the focus is on the business environment, with our essayists sharing insights about how companies in Europe are responding to the challenges of globalisation and increased international trade.

Teresa Tinsley (UK's National Centre for Languages, CILT, in London) builds on the insights of the ELAN survey, which found that 11% of European SMEs had actually lost contracts through lack of language skills, with the value on average being rated at €325,000 per business.

Teresa concludes that the main barrier to mobility in Europe is a lack of language skills, and that if we really want growth and jobs, languages must be an important part of our strategy, not just for exports, but for tourism and inward investment too.

Cezar Vrinceanu (EuroEd Foundation, Centre for European Integration in Iasi) provides an interesting perspective from the Romanian business sector, lamenting the lack of awareness of the importance of knowing one's business partner's language, and emphasising the need for companies to implement appropriate staff development programmes. He calls for governments to raise awareness of this and run nationwide campaigns, and calls for more flexible teaching solutions, with an online component, as most business people are unable to commit themselves to the traditional face to face model.

In an interesting piece of research analysing job advertisements in Lithuania, **Ineta Dabašinskienė**, (Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas) draws the surprising conclusion that most Lithuanian companies now require Russian language skills, and that state school French and German teachers are re-training as Russian teachers 'as history begins to repeat itself.' The business sector is actually influencing the education sector. Overall 93% of the advertisements in her sample study had language requirements, clearly demonstrating the importance attached to languages by Lithuanian businesses.

Three very different essays form the third part of our collection.

Irina Nedeva (BNR state radio in Sofia) investigates languages in the media and public spaces, an area which will be covered in depth in the Language Rich Europe research, as we seek to spot links between languages in the media and levels of multilingualism in society. Irina describes Bulgaria's slow 20-year journey from being a relatively closed and isolated country before 1989, to the current linguistic crossroads where the need to restore national identity after past experiences meets the communication pressures of a globalized world. In some areas there has been significant progress in opening up and supporting linguistic diversity; for example, it is now much more common on Bulgarian television to see interviews with foreigners with

simultaneous translation live on air in contrast to the recorded and dubbed interviews from communist times. And Bulgaria's appetite for expressing itself multilingually to overseas audiences remains undiminished, broadcasting as it does over 60 hours daily to listeners worldwide.

Interestingly, public TV is by law obliged to give space for news in the regional and minority languages, but there is still debate about this, particularly about the "Turkish news".

Maria Stoicheva (Department of European Studies at Sofia University) begins her essay with a simple but powerful example of how keenly felt language issues are, and how closely tied they are to national identity. Her story about the row between Bulgaria and EU lawyers over whether or not Bulgaria should be allowed to retain its own version of the word euro ("evro") clearly demonstrates how language underpins everything. She goes on to show that while the EU institutions in theory have no right to determine individual member states' language policy, they have exerted considerable influence in shaping the rather complex sociolinguistic reality in Europe, favouring some languages of wider communication, preventing the decline of languages and, more significantly, assisting in language revival.

The final essay in this first collection by **Michael Wimmer** from EDUCULT (an institution in Austria that seeks to highlight the benefits of nurturing migrant languages alongside German) in Vienna is inspired by the thinking and personal example of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the great philosopher, linguist and diplomat, and architect of the Prussian education system, who also learnt over 20 languages. Drawing on his work, Michael makes the case for language learning not for any future occupational purpose, but as a value in itself, as a way of striving towards the two Enlightenment ideals of becoming both an autonomous individual and a cosmopolitan. Unfortunately the spirit of Humboldt's teachings has been lost along the way, and in modern-day Vienna, rather than value the diversity brought by new waves of migrants and their languages, public discussion is currently focussed on the poor performance in German of children with a migrant background.

We hope you enjoy this our first collection of essays, and that they encourage you to reflect on language policy and practice in your countries and areas of work. Please do express your views through our Language Rich Blog (<http://languagerichblog.eu>), which has been set up for members of our network and the wider public to engage and explore these issues further.

Through this and other initiatives, we hope to alert Europe's leaders to our language needs and to foster a much more strategic approach to language education and policy in order to enhance intercultural dialogue and build a more competitive knowledge based economy.

By 2013 we will have provided a comprehensive overview of the role languages currently play in Europe, identified our emerging language needs, and highlighted good policy and practice. At the end of the project we are confident more institutions and individuals will be aware of the social, cultural and economic value of languages.

Martin Hope

Project Director, Language Rich Europe

FLERSPROGETHED I DANMARK

VI HAR BRUG FOR FLERE SPROG! ALARMERENDE AFSTAND MELLEM
POLITISK VISION OG UDDANNELSESMÆSSIG VIRKELIGHED

LONE LETH LARSEN

Indledning

Danmark ligger mellem de nordiske lande og Europa. Med omkring 5,5 millioner mennesker, hvoraf ca. 6 % er udlændinge, flertallet fra de øvrige europæiske lande, resten fra Tyrkiet, Mellemøsten og andre tredjelande.

Dansk i Danmark

Det danske sprog er en af de skandinaviske variationer af det germanske sprog. Det minder meget om svensk og mest om norsk.

Hvor det er rimeligt let for danskere at forstå både svensk og norsk, er det danske sprog mindre tilgængeligt for andre skandinaver. Der er stor forskel mellem det talte og skrevne sprog, og det får det danske sprog til at lyde mere "slidt" end de øvrige skandinaviske sprog, og dermed er det sværere at forstå.

Det danske sprog stammer som de øvrige skandinaviske sprog fra vikingesproget (Norrøn).

Gennem historien har dansk haft perioder, hvor det ikke var det gældende sprog for landets overklasse, som i stedet talte tysk eller fransk. Dansk forblev dog befolkningens sprog. I disse perioder, f.eks. var tysk dominerende i 1700-tallet, har der været en stor afsmitning fra disse sprog på dansk.

Fremmede Sprog i Danmark.

Behovet for fremmedsprog for virksomheder og økonomisk vækst

For nylig udkom rapporten *Hvad skal vi gøre med sprog*¹, som konkluderer at både mindre, mellem og store virksomheder ikke mener at have problemer med mangel på sprog. Men hvis de bliver udspurgt om specifikke ting, viser det sig, at manglen på kontrakter eller kontakter i visse lande (f.eks. Kina eller Frankrig) kommer, fordi modparten ikke forstår engelsk, eller sagt på en

¹ Hvad skal vi gøre med sprog, 2010 Lisbeth Vertraete-Hansen for the Danish Industry association.

anden måde, fordi den danske virksomhed ikke har de relevante sprog i hus. Konklusionen på rapporten er derfor, at dansk erhvervsliv som helhed mister international og global handel pga. mangel på sprogkundskaber.

Engelsk i Danmark

I dag er diskussionen om påvirkningen fra engelsk højaktuel.

Nogle – særligt politikere – er bange for, at det danske sprog vil forsvinde, fordi engelsk er så dominerende. Engelsk bliver ofte talt og brugt som et uddannelses sprog højere læreranstalter, som f.eks. CBS (Copenhagen Business School).

Andres fremmedsprog i Danmark

Som i mange andre lande er der to diskussioner i Danmark: Én handler om nydanskere og deres sprogkundskaber, særligt de danske kundskaber. Den anden handler om behovet for at lære andre og flere fremmedsprog i skolen.

Nydanskere og modersmåls undervisning

En af de vedvarende og ophedede politiske diskussioner handler om modersmålsundervisning for nydanskere. Debatten finder særligt sted på lokalt niveau, fordi det er op til kommunerne, om de vil tilbyde modersmålsundervisning. Mange højreorienterede politikere er imod modersmålsundervisning.

Dette synes som en bizar situation, da al forskning viser, at der er mange fordele ved modersmålsundervisning. Eksperter anbefaler det, fordi det er vejen til bedre indlæring – både af det danske sprog og i al almindelighed, og dermed vejen til bedre integration.

Fremmedsprog i skolen

En anden, men langt mindre ophidset diskussion, er debatten om at få mere sprogundervisning i skolen for at få flere flersprogede danskere.

Interessen for andre fremmedsprog end engelsk er i frit fald i danske skoler, f.eks. er interessen for et tredje sprog i løbet af de sidste år faldet fra 41% til 6%.² Både professionelle og politikere er bekymrede for denne tendens, særligt da fordi det er regeringens erklærede mål at styrke befolkningens sprogkundskaber, også i andre sprog end engelsk.³

² p. 41 Modersmåls - og tosproget undervisning myter, realiteter og konsensus? Konferencerapport 28.-29. November 2007.

³ Hvad skal vi gøre med sprog, 2010 Lisbeth Vertraete-Hansen for the Danish Industry association.

Fakta

Lige nu er situationen i Danmark således, at engelsk er forpligtet i folkeskolen fra 3. Klasse, børn skal have omkring 570 klokketimer i engelsk i løbet af deres skoletid, og at man starter i 3. klasse med 2 timer á 45 minutter om ugen.⁴

I engelsk undervisningen sigter man på at opnå kommunikations færdigheder, at lære sproget og forstå kulturen og samfundet i engelsksprogede lande. Med hensyn til andre sprog er det forpligtet at tilbyde tysk fra 7. klasse. Fransk kan tilbydes fra samme klassetrin. Målene for disse to sprog er de samme med 330 klokketimer. Hvis en skole vælger at tilbyde fransk følger det samme krav som tysk. Fra skoleåret 2004/5 kan skoler tilbyde tysk og fransk allerede fra 6. klasse, og der er en stigende tendens til at gøre dette.

Disse sprog er eksamenssprog, og eleverne skal forberede sig på eksamen i 9. klasse. Sprogene er ikke obligatoriske på 10. klassetrin, men mange skoler tilbyder muligheden. Desuden ligger det skoler frit for at tilbyde flere sprog, der dog ikke er eksamenspligtige.

Ungdomsuddannelse og tekniske uddannelser

De fleste tekniske- og handelsskoler tilbyder fremmedsprogsundervisning, mest engelsk, men til tider også tysk, fransk eller spansk. Tendensen hos tekniske skoler er at der udbydes et mindre antal sprogfag, mens ved handelsskoler tilbydes næsten altid sprogundervisning.

Undervisningen begynder på 10. klasse niveau og der er for det meste god mulighed for eleverne at lære mere end hvad skemaet foreskriver.

Gymnasium

For nogle år siden blev loven om gymnasier lavet om, og det har været katastrofalt for sprogfagene. Nu er der kun to forpligtede sprog mod 3 tidligere (tysk, fransk, spansk eller russisk) mens det 3. sprog er frivilligt. Det har betydet et drastisk fald (fra 41-6%) i interessen for at tage det tredje sprog.⁵

Universiteterne

Situationen for sprogfagene på universiteterne er alarmerende. På Københavns Universitet har man f.eks. lige lukket nederlandsk, og portugisisk er på vej ud. Fransk og tysk ligger i farezonen, fordi der kun tilmelder sig 30-40 studerende på fagene om året. På CBS har man været nødt til at splitte fagene op mellem afdelingerne. Således kan man i København nu kun bliver

⁴ Report from the Globalisation committee 2005 Faktabilag_undervisning_i_fremmedsprog 2005.

⁵ Report from the Globalisation committee 2005 Faktabilag_undervisning_i_fremmedsprog 2005.

tolk i engelsk. Hvis man vil studere fransk, tysk eller spansk skal man til Århus eller Aalborg School of Business.⁶

Voksenuddannelserne

Danmark har haft voksenuddannelse siden 1844. I dag går ca. 750.000 på aftenskole eller efteruddannelse.

Der findes næsten ingen statistikker for hvor mange mennesker der tager sprogkurser på aftenskole niveau, men hvis man ser lidt på Studieskolen, som er Københavns største sprog skole kan man måske finde en tendens. På Studieskolen er der registreret omkring 10.000 vokselever, som følger sprogkurser. Da de også tilbyder dansk for udlændinge, skal antallet tages med et gran salt. På Studieskolen mærker de I år en tendens til, at antallet af engelsk eksaminer er faldene, mens antallet af fransk, tysk og italiensk er i drastisk vækst, ligesom andre sprog som russisk og kinesisk også klarer sig godt.⁷

Dette er ikke et videnskabeligt korrekt billede af det nationale sprog indlæringsniveau for voksne, men det kan være en indikation for en landsdækkende tendens.

Hele denne korte oversigt præsenteret her, viser, at der er behov for mere research for at få kortlagt behov og virkelighed. Vi ved ikke nok om, hvorvidt der er en forbindelse mellem manglen på sprogundervisningen i skolesystemet, og den stigende interesse for sprogundervisning for voksne i aftenskolesystemet. Vi ved ikke, om voksne finder ud af, at de har for få sprogkundskaber, og at de dermed gør noget ved det. Vi ved ikke, hvor de går hen for at få bedre sprogkompetencer, og hvor der skal sættes ind.

Og så – på trods af den danske regerings ønske og intentioner om at skabe bedre sprogkundskaber hos befolkningen, synes virkeligheden at pege i den stik modsatte retning.

Noget skal gøres nu!

⁶ <http://cbs.dk/content/view/full/28966>

⁷ Årsberetning Studieskolen 2009, p 5 and personal interview with spokeswoman from the school.

THE MULTI-LANGUAGE SITUATION IN DENMARK

MORE LANGUAGES ARE NEEDED IN DENMARK. THE ALARMING GAP BETWEEN POLITICAL VISION AND EDUCATIONAL REALITY!

LONE LETH LARSEN

Preface

Denmark is situated between the Nordic countries and the rest of Europe. Some 5.5 million people live in Denmark, of those approximately 6% are foreigners, mostly coming from other Nordic countries or mainland Europe, and others from Turkey and the Middle East or other third countries.

Danish in Denmark

The Danish language is a Scandinavian variation of what is actually a Germanic language. It is very similar to Norwegian and also close to Swedish.

While it is quite easy for Danes to understand both Swedish and Norwegian, the Danish language is less comprehensible to other Scandinavians. There is a great difference between written and spoken Danish, and this makes it seem as if the Danish Language is more “worn” than the other Scandinavian languages.

Looking at the development of the language, Danish originates from a Scandinavian Viking language called *Norrøn*.

Throughout history, the Danish language had periods where it was not popular amongst the ruling classes where languages such as German or French were prominent. However, Danish remained the language of the population. At this point in history (in the 18th century), the German language had a major influence on the Danish language.

The need for foreign languages for enterprises and economical growth

A recent report *Hvad skal vi gøre med sprog*¹ states that both smaller and medium sized enterprises, together with big ones, do not really see any problem with the lack of language skills. But when we look at the lack of contracts or contacts in certain countries (like France or China), this is

¹ *Hvad skal vi gøre med sprog*, 2010 Lisbeth Vertraete-Hansen for the Danish Industry association.

mostly due to the lack of language proficiency. The conclusion of the report is therefore that Denmark as a whole loses business on an international and global basis due to its lack of foreign language skills.

Foreign languages in Denmark

The English Language in Denmark

Recently the discussion about the influence of the English language has become heated again. Some people - and especially politicians - are afraid that the Danish language will disappear because English is becoming so predominant. English is often spoken and used as an educational language in some institutions of higher education such as at the CBS (Copenhagen Business School).

Other foreign languages in Denmark

As in many other countries, there are currently two recurring discussions in Denmark: One is about migrant communities and their language skills. The other is about learning more foreign languages at school.

Migrants and mother tongue education

There remains a long running debate about mother tongue education for migrants. It is up to the local authorities whether or not to provide mother tongue education for their migrant population, and on a local level this is a heated political issue. Many right-wing nationalistic politicians argue against mother tongue education. Thus it is a political decision on a local level whether a municipality provides mother tongue education.

This is a bizarre situation given all research shows the benefits. Experts recommend promoting mother tongue education as a way of enhancing learning (both of the Danish language and in general) at school for migrants.²

Foreign language learning at school

Another discussion is about learning more languages at school or in other systems in order to become more multilingual and to master more languages. The interest in foreign languages other than English is decreasing drastically, e.g. over the last years the interest in a third language at higher secondary level has dropped from 41% to 6%.³ Both professionals and politicians are much concerned about this tendency, especially because the government has set a clear target of strengthening the language proficiency for the population.⁴

² p.115 Modersmåls- og tosproget undervisning myter, realiteter og konsensus? Konferencerapport 28.-29. November 2007.

³ p.41 Modersmåls- og tosproget undervisning myter, realiteter og konsensus? Konferencerapport 28.-29. November 2007

⁴ Hvad skal vi gøre med sproget, 2010 Lisbeth Vertraete-Hansen for the Danish Industry association.

Some facts

The current situation in Denmark is that in primary school (from 6-16 years – 10 classes) English is only compulsory from 3rd grade (approx. 9 year old children). In the course of school (from 3rd to 9th grade) children must have around 570 real hours of English starting with 2 lessons of each 45 minutes a week.⁵

During English classes, they aim to create proficiency in communication skills, language and the use of language, the learning of the language and the understanding of culture and society of English speaking countries. When it comes to other languages it is obligatory for a school to offer German from 7th grade, and French may also be offered starting from the same grade. The aim of proficiency is the same as for English, and German is taught from 7th to 9th grade with 330 real hours. If a school chooses to offer French the rules are the same as for the German language. From 2004/5 schools were able to start teaching German and French from the 6th grade, and the tendency is increasing.

These languages are curriculum languages, which means that the children prepare for an exam in 9th grade. They are not obligatory for the 10th grade, but many schools offer the possibility. In addition, other languages may be offered from 8th grade, but without an exam.

Vocational Training

Most vocational schools offer foreign languages, mostly English but also German, French or Spanish. Not all schools (such as the group of technical schools) offer languages, but business schools do. Language tuition starts from the 10th grade, and there are often ample possibilities for the student to achieve a lot more than the curriculum of the school.

Gymnasium

In Denmark the school system preparing for University is called *Gymnasium*, which is equivalent to higher secondary.

Apart from English, which is compulsory, the student has the ability to choose the language of the second compulsory language, whether it be French, German, Spanish or Russian.⁶

⁵ Report from the Globalisation committee 2005 Faktabilag_undervisning_i_fremmedsprog 2005.

⁶ Report from the Globalisation committee 2005 Faktabilag_undervisning_i_fremmedsprog 2005.

University level

The choices set for language learning at university are alarming. At the University of Copenhagen the Dutch language is now not available, and Portuguese is on its way out. French and German are in danger, because only some 30-40 students a year choose these languages.

At the CBS one can see that they have to divide the languages between two branches. For instance, in Copenhagen one can only study to become an interpreter in English. If you want to study French, German or Spanish you can do so but only in Århus or Aalborg School of Business.⁷

Adult education

Denmark has a longstanding tradition dating back to 1844 for lifelong learning. Some 750 000 people are engaged in both formal and informal lifelong learning for adults. There are barely any statistics for the number of people taking language courses, however if one looks at the largest school within the Copenhagen area offering language courses, they have around 10 000 people registered following language courses. They also provide Danish for foreigners. There is a clear tendency that their English courses and exams are diminishing, whereas the number of courses like French, German, Italian and other languages (such as Russian and Chinese) is actually growing.⁸

This does not give us a scientifically correct picture of the national level of language learning, but it could be an indication for a national tendency. The whole short survey presented here reveals that there is need for more research. We do not know well enough if the lack of language learning in the school system has an influence on how adults behave language-wise, when or if they find the need for learning more languages. Do they do something about it, as demonstrated by the Studieskole, where there is an increasing interest in languages other than English? If so, how? What kind of channels do people use to get the proficiency?

At the same time, in spite of the government's wish and intentions to upgrade language proficiency in Denmark, the reality seems to point in the opposite direction.

Something must be done now!

⁷ <http://cbs.dk/content/view/full/28966>.

⁸ Årsberetning Studieskolene 2009, p 5 and personal interview with spokeswoman from the school.

POLITYKA JĘZYKOWA W POLSKIM SYSTEMIE EDUKACYJNYM

PAWEŁ POSZYTEK

1. Kontekst

Polska nie ma oficjalnej polityki językowej opisanej w jednym spójnym dokumencie, czy też w formie narodowej strategii. Chociaż Komisja Europejska zobowiązała kraje członkowskie w terminie do 2008 roku do stworzenia narodowych strategii uczenia się przez całe życie, których częścią mogły być strategie językowe, to jednak w Polsce proces tworzenia tej strategii nie jest jeszcze ukończony. Komisja Europejska wystąpiła również z pomysłem tworzenia narodowych planów wielojęzyczności, aczkolwiek ten pomysł również nie znalazł w Polsce zwolenników wśród decydentów. Warto tu również dodać, że w wielu innych krajach europejskich proces ten również jest dość powolny. Ten stan rzeczy nie dziwi, jeśli weźmie się pod uwagę fakt, że sama Komisja Europejska nie ma jednej spójnej polityki językowej. To, co powszechnie uznajemy za europejską politykę językową jest raczej zbiorem luźno ze sobą powiązanych raportów, komunikatów, rekomendacji, rezolucji oraz innych dokumentów, które w większości przypadków przez ostatnią dekadę dotyczyły podobnych kwestii modyfikując lub dodając nowe pomysły.

W tym samym okresie, czyli w pierwszej dekadzie XXI wieku, Rada Europy promowała i wspierała inicjatywę tworzenia 'Profilu Krajowych', których celem było opisanie strategii i podejść do nauki języków w poszczególnych krajach. W rezultacie działań podejmowanych zarówno przez Komisję Europejską jak i Radę Europy, niektóre kraje europejskie jednak poddały refleksji swoje własne podejścia do języków i rozpoczęły proces tworzenia narodowych strategii językowych. Niektóre kraje poszły nawet dalej i stworzyły krajowe instytucje do koordynowania wdrażania tych strategii. Przykłady pochodzą z Norwegii, Luksemburga, Austrii i innych. Celem wypełnienia luki Polska również wpisuje się w ten trend z inicjatywą stworzenia krajowego instytutu językowego funkcjonującego w ramach Fundacji Instytut Jakości w Edukacji.

Chociaż do tej pory Polska nie miała oficjalnej strategii, czy też polityki językowej, ani dedykowanej instytucji do wdrażania inicjatyw językowych, to jednak podjęto i wdrożono kilka ważnych i systemowych działań dotyczących rozwoju edukacji językowej w ramach polskiego systemu edukacyjnego. Zbiór tych działań możemy nazwać ‘niepisaną polityką’, czy też polityką w działaniu.

2. Polityka w działaniu.

Wspomniany wyżej zbiór zawiera następujące działania:

- Stworzenie nauczycielskich kolegiów językowych, szczególnie dla nauczycieli języka angielskiego na początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych XX wieku, co pomogło dostarczyć na rynek edukacyjny wykwalifikowanych nauczycieli w relatywnie krótkim czasie. Wśród wielu korzyści płynących z tej inicjatywy, dwie zasługują na szczególną uwagę: (a) Polska zasadniczo nie ma już problemu związanego z brakiem wykwalifikowanej kadry; (b) powszechność nauczania angielskiego w polskich szkołach wzrosła z kilkunastu procent od początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych do ponad siedemdziesięciu procent obecnie. W tym samym czasie można było zaobserwować odwrotny trend w powszechności nauczania języka rosyjskiego (Poszytek, 2005).
- Wprowadzenie podstawy programowej do nauki języków obcych w 1999 roku z późniejszymi zmianami w roku 2005. Ta reforma dała początek odejścia od budowania programów szkolnych opartych o struktury gramatyczne i leksykę na rzecz programów opartych o rozwijanie kompetencji językowych zgodnie z nowoczesną linią metodyki nauczania języków obcych.
- Wprowadzenie zewnętrznego egzaminu maturalnego dającego przepustkę na wyższe uczelnie. Chociaż system egzaminów był opracowany dużo wcześniej, wprowadzono go dopiero w roku 2005. Następnie wprowadzono analogiczny egzamin językowy po gimnazjum. Administrator obu testów twierdzi, że są one odniesione do Europejskiego Systemu Opisu Kształcenia Językowego Rady Europy.
- Obniżenie wieku obowiązkowej edukacji językowej w szkołach z klasy IV szkoły podstawowej do klasy I. Innymi słowy, od 2007 roku obowiązkowa edukacja językowa w Polsce realizowana jest od 7 roku życia, co w praktyce wpisuje się w ogólnoeuropejski standard, chociaż w niektórych krajach, jak na przykład w Norwegii, edukacja ta zaczyna się od 5 roku życia.
- Inicjatywom tym towarzyszyła spora kampania promująca Europejskie Portfolio Językowe, która do tej pory nie przyniosła znaczących rezultatów.

Cały ten obraz dopełnia kilka mniejszych inicjatyw podejmowanych przez wyższe uczelnie, które również dokonują refleksji nad swoimi strategiami nauczania języków. Jednak trudno jest śledzić ten proces ze względu na sporą autonomię wyższych uczelni w Polsce, co skutkuje tym, że każda uczelnia wypracowuje swoje własne rozwiązania, mniej lub bardziej skorelowane z duchem ESOKJ.

Większość wspomnianych działań zmienia znacząco rzeczywistość nauczania języków obcych w Polsce. Natomiast wpływ niektórych z nich dopiero będzie można odczuć. Jednak, jeśli nałożymy te działania na całą mapę rekomendacji Komisji Europejskiej, to zauważymy, że Polska zreformowała tylko fragment tego, co składa się na cały obszar edukacji językowej. Lista kwestii, które definiują ten obszar zgodnie z założeniami Komisji Europejskiej wygląda następująco:

- Standard 2+1 – wymóg opanowania dwóch języków obcych i języka ojczystego w ramach edukacji formalnej.
- Promowanie różnorodności językowej i wielojęzyczności.
- Umożliwianie nauki języków regionalnych, etnicznych i języków migrantów.
- Precyzyjne opisywanie celów edukacji językowej na każdym szczeblu.
- Zagwarantowanie gładkiego przejścia w nauce języków w trakcie przechodzenia na kolejne etapy edukacyjne.
- Promowanie idei zintegrowanego nauczania językowo-przedmiotowego (CLIL).
- Ustanowienie czytelnego systemu certyfikacji kompetencji językowych zgodnie z ESOKJ.
- Wprowadzenie systemu mentoring'u, aby wspierać młodych nauczycieli.
- Uznawanie kwalifikacji nauczycielskich w Europie.
- (Komisja Europejska, 2004)
- Języki w mediach.
- Języki w biznesie.
- (Komisja Europejska, 2007)
- Języki w kontekście uczenia się przez całe życie i rynku pracy.

- (Komisja Europejska, 18 wrzesień 2008)
- Wkład wielojęzyczności w kreatywność poprzez zwiększanie dostępu do innych sposobów myślenia i interpretowania.
- Języki i nowoczesne technologie.
- Promowanie języków europejskich poza Europą.
- (Rada Europejska, 21 listopad 2008)

Poza dokumentami cytowanymi powyżej, warto jeszcze dodać, że podobne kwestie zostały również poruszone w Komunikacie Komisji z dnia 22 listopada 2005 zatytułowanym Nowa strategia ramowa w sprawie wielojęzyczności oraz w propozycji grupy intelektualistów pt. Zbawienne wyzwanie: w jaki sposób wielość języków mogłaby skonsolidować Europę (Maalouf, 2008). Ten drugi dokument przedstawia bardzo ciekawy koncept własnego języka przybranego. Jest to modyfikacja pomysłu związanego ze standardem 2+1, czyli opanowanie języka ojczystego i dwóch języków obcych.

3. Wyzwania na przyszłość.

Chociaż wprowadzenie Europejskiego Systemu Opisu Kształcenia Językowego i Europejskiego Portfolio Językowego wniosło wiele świeżości i dało impet do wielu zmian w Polsce, obecnie można zaobserwować pewnego rodzaju próżnię bez silniejszych bodźców, czy też kierunków, które byłyby nadawane przez decydentów. Powodem, który może tłumaczyć tego rodzaju stagnację jest brak krajowej strategii dla rozwoju wielojęzyczności, która między innymi mogłaby poruszać następujące kwestie:

- Dalsze obniżanie wieku obowiązkowej edukacji językowej.
- Spójność nauczania języków obcych na wszystkich etapach edukacyjnych.
- Szeroki dostęp do nauki języków.
- Systemowe monitorowanie, tego co dzieje się na polu edukacji językowej.
- Stworzenie systemu certyfikacji językowej celem poszerzenia dostępu do egzaminów językowych.
- Ogólnokrajowe kampanie promujące języki i wielojęzyczność.

Bibliografia

Komisja Europejska (2004) Action Plan for 2004 – 2006: Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Komisja Europejska (22 Nov. 2005) Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism. Brussels

Komisja Europejska (2007) Final Report of High Level Group on Multilingualism. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Komisja Europejska (18 Sept. 2008) Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment. Brussels

Rada Europejska (21 Nov. 2008) Resolution on a European strategy for multilingualism, 2008/C 320/01

Maalouf, A. (ed.) (2008) Proposal from the group of intellectuals: A Rewarding Challenge: How the Multiplicity of Languages Could Strengthen Europe. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Poszytek, P. (2005) Country Report: Poland. Warszawa: Ministry of National Education

LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN POLAND

PAWEŁ POSZYTEK

1. The context

Poland does not have an official language policy in the form of one coherent document or in the form of any national strategy. Although the European Commission set the year 2008 as a deadline for all the member states to develop national strategies for lifelong learning (of which language strategy could be a part), the work on this issue is still in progress in Poland. Since then the European Commission has also come up with the idea of creating national plans for multilingualism and encouraged the member states to follow. However, this initiative has not found many supporters in Poland among policy and decision makers in the field. Yet in Europe as a whole, the process still seems rather slow. It is not very surprising if one realizes that even the European Commission has not developed a coherent European language policy. What is commonly treated as a European language policy is a set of loosely connected reports of different working groups and high level groups, communications, recommendations, resolutions and other documents of the European Commission or Council of Europe which in most cases have tackled the same issues for the last decade, slightly adding and exploring new ideas.

At the same time, in the first decade of the 21st century, the Council of Europe was promoting and supporting an initiative to create the so-called 'Country Profiles', whose aim was to describe strategies and approaches to languages in individual countries. As a result of both the Council of Europe's and the European Commission's initiatives, some countries have taken a profound interest in reflecting on their approaches to languages and started creating national language strategies or plans for multilingualism. Some of

them have even gone further and supported the creation of national bodies or institutes to coordinate the realization of these strategies. Examples of this can be found in Norway, Luxembourg, Austria and others. In order to fill in the gap, Poland has also recently joined this latest trend by establishing a national institute for languages, the Institute for Quality in Education, which has the institutional form of an NGO.

Although Poland has so far suffered from the lack of any official language strategy and institutional expertise supporting this strategy, some initiatives concerning the development of language education within the educational system in Poland have been undertaken and implemented. The set of these initiatives form a sort of 'unwritten policy'.

2. Policy in action

The set of initiatives mentioned above is as follows:

- The creation of pre-service teacher training colleges, especially for teachers of English, at the beginning of the 1990s which helped to produce qualified teachers within very short of time and enabled the bridging of a huge gap between the demand and supply of teachers on the educational market. Among various results coming out of this initiative, there are two that are worth mentioning: (a) Poland does not suffer from a lack of qualified teachers anymore; (b) the commonness of learning English at school level has risen from several percent at the beginning of the 1990s to over 70 percent at present. At the same time, the learning of Russian has suffered from the reverse process (Poszytek, 2005).
- The implementation of the national curriculum framework for language education at schools in 1999, later slightly revised in 2005. This reform marked the shift from a structure- and vocabulary-based approach to a competence-based approach along the lines of modern methodology for language teaching.
- The introduction of external language matriculation exam at the end of upper secondary schools with selective function for entering universities. Although developed much earlier, the first exam of this sort took place in 2005. Then quite recently it was followed by the introduction of an analogous exam at the end of lower secondary school. Both exams boast being related to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages developed by the Council of Europe.

- Lowering the age of compulsory language education at school from grade IV in primary school to grade I. In other words, the compulsory language education was lowered from the age of ten to the age of seven in 2007, which basically matches the general European trend, although in a few countries like in Norway compulsory language education actually starts at the age of 5.
- These recent initiatives were accompanied by a huge campaign promoting the European Language Portfolio, which so far has shown very meagre results.

The whole picture is completed by various initiatives of minor importance together with initiatives undertaken by universities, which have started recently to reflect more on their language policies. However, the process is difficult to follow as universities in Poland are highly autonomous and they decide on their own solutions in this area.

Most of these initiatives are changing the realm of language teaching and learning in Poland to a high degree, and the impact of some of them is already being felt. Yet, if one maps these initiatives onto the whole matrix of the European Commission's recommendations for teaching and learning languages, it can be observed that the changes in Poland have touched upon only a small fragment of the issues surrounding language learning. The list of issues within the Commission's interest is as follows:

- The standard 2+1 – meaning the requirement to master two foreign languages and a mother tongue during the period of formal education.
- Promoting language diversity and the idea of multilingualism.
- Provisions for teaching and learning regional, ethnic and migrant languages.
- Establishing clear aims of language education at all stages.
- Providing smooth transition in learning languages between the end of one learning stage and the beginning of another.
- Promoting the idea of CLIL - Content and Language Integrated Learning through defining the standards of teacher training and creation of didactic materials.
- Establishing transparent system of language certification on the basis of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages developed by the Council of Europe.

- Introduction of mentoring system to support young teachers.
- Recognition of teacher qualifications across Europe.
- (European Commission, 2004)
- Languages in media.
- Languages in business.
- (European Commission, 2007)
- Languages in the context of lifelong learning and the labour market.
- (European Commission, 18 Sept. 2008)
- Contribution of multilingualism to creativity through enhancing access to other ways of thinking and interpreting.
- Languages and new technologies.
- Promoting European languages outside Europe.

(European Council, 21 Nov. 2008)

Apart from the Commission's documents cited above, it is worth adding that similar issues have also been raised in the Commission's Communication dated 22 November 2005 titled *A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism* and in the proposal from the group of intellectuals titled *A Rewarding Challenge: How the Multiplicity of Languages Could Strengthen Europe* (Maalouf, 2008). The latter introduces a very interesting concept of personal adopted language with which it sustains the idea of the standard 2+1, namely: mastering mother tongue and two foreign languages, in a modified way.

3. Challenges for the future

Although the introduction of the Common European Framework of Reference and the European Language Portfolio has brought some fresh air and impetus for change in Poland, a sort of vacuum has resulted in the field of language teaching and learning without any strong incentives or directions given by the policy and decision makers. The reason for this sort of stagnation could be the lack of a national language or multilingualism strategy which could tackle among other things issues such as:

- further lowering the age of compulsory language education
- coherence of language teaching at all educational stages

- broad access to language learning
- the creation of monitoring system for what is happening in the field of language teaching and learning
- the creation of a national language certification system which could broaden the access to language exams
- nation-wide campaigns for languages and the promotion of multilingualism

References:

European Commission (2004) Action Plan for 2004 – 2006: Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

European Commission (22 Nov. 2005) Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism. Brussels

European Commission (2007) Final Report of High Level Group on Multilingualism. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

European Commission (18 Sept. 2008) Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment. Brussels

European Council (21 Nov. 2008) Resolution on a European strategy for multilingualism, 2008/C 320/01.

Maalouf, A. (ed.) (2008) Proposal from the group of intellectuals: A Rewarding Challenge: How the Multiplicity of Languages Could Strengthen Europe. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Poszytek, P. (2005) Country Report: Poland. Warszawa: Ministry of National Education

ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΟΜΑΘΕΙΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

ΣΥΝΟΠΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣΗ

SARA HANNAM & EVAGELIA PAPATHANASIOU

1. Εισαγωγή

Αυτό το άρθρο παρέχει μια επισκόπηση του τρέχοντος γλωσσικού περιβάλλοντος στην Ελλάδα στο πλαίσιο μιας νέας ερευνητικής πρωτοβουλίας από το Βρετανικό Συμβούλιο με τίτλο 'Πολυγλωσσική Ευρώπη' ('Language Rich Europe', LRE). Ο στόχος της συγκεκριμένης πρωτοβουλίας είναι να παράσχει μία σε βάθος οπτική της γλωσσομάθειας και της παρούσας κατάστασης της μητρικής γλώσσας, των ξένων γλωσσών, των μειονοτικών και των τοπικών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών στην Ελλάδα και άλλες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες. Λόγω του πολυγλωσσικού παρελθόντος και παρόντος της, η Ελλάδα είναι μια συναρπαστική περίπτωση μελέτης και παραδείγματος. Συμβουλευόμενοι τη διαθέσιμη βιβλιογραφία και χρησιμοποιώντας τη θεωρητική μας εμπειρία δημιουργήσαμε μια περίληψη η οποία μπορεί να διερευνηθεί περαιτέρω και πιο εντατικά κατά τη διάρκεια του προγράμματος LRE. Δεν καταφέραμε να καλύψουμε τα σημαντικά σημεία των τοπικών γλωσσικών ιδιωμάτων της Ελληνικής γλώσσας όπως και της διδασκαλίας της στους μετανάστες, αλλά και σημεία που αφορούν στην εκμάθηση γλωσσών στον τομέα της τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης.

2. Επισκόπηση των Γλωσσών που Ομιλούνται στην Ελλάδα

Μετά την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα, η σύγχρονη Ελλάδα περιγράφεται συχνά ως εθνικά ομοιογενής - μια πιο προσεκτική εξέταση όμως του σύγχρονου λαού καταδεικνύει σημαντική ποικιλομορφία. Η σύγχρονη Ελληνική γλώσσα (δημοτική) ομιλείται από την πλειοψηφία των ανθρώπων παρόλο που υπάρχουν πλούσιες παραλλαγές της σε κάθε περιοχή της χώρας. Οι πιο καθιερωμένες άλλες γλώσσες που υπάρχουν είναι η Τουρκική, η Πομακική, η Ρομανές, η Σλαβική, η

Αρμάνικη (Βλάχικα), η Αρβανίτικη, η Βουλγαρική, η Αρμενική, η Αλβανική και η Εβραϊκή. Εξ' αιτίας των σχετικά πιο πρόσφατων μεταναστευτικών κυμάτων εκτός Ευρώπης, ίσως θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί και η ανάπτυξη κοινοτήτων από την Κίνα, το Πακιστάν, την Αίγυπτο, τις Φιλιππίνες, τη Σρι Λάνκα, διάφορες χώρες της Αφρικής και το Αφγανιστάν. Επιπροσθέτως υπάρχουν κοινότητες μεταναστών από τις περισσότερες 'παλαιές' χώρες της ΕΕ όπως η Γερμανία, η Γαλλία και η Ισπανία. Η μόνη επίσημα αναγνωρισμένη κοινότητα είναι η μουσουλμανική κοινότητα της Θράκης, αν και θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι υπάρχουν αρκετές διαφορετικές ομάδες εντός αυτής της κοινότητας.

3. Πολιτική της Γλωσσομάθειας στην Ελλάδα

Σύμφωνα με το Ελληνικό Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο (ΠΙ), ο ρόλος της σχολικής εκπαίδευσης είναι να συμβάλλει στη διατήρηση της εθνικής ταυτότητας και της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς της χώρας, αναπτύσσοντας παράλληλα μία συνείδηση Ευρωπαϊού πολίτη. Ο σκοπός της διδασκαλίας της σύγχρονης Ελληνικής γλώσσας, όπως διακηρύσσεται, είναι η αποτελεσματική προφορική και γραπτή επικοινωνία, η οποία συμβάλλει στην αποφασιστική συμμετοχή του ατόμου στο σχολείο και τη δημόσια ζωή. Άρρηκτα δεμένη με την παραπάνω αντίληψη είναι η διδασκαλία των Αρχαίων Ελληνικών η οποία θεωρείται ύψιστης σημασίας σε ότι αφορά την ενσωμάτωση των αναδυόμενων νοημάτων της αρχαιότητας στη σύγχρονη ταυτότητα. Τα Αρχαία Ελληνικά διδάσκονται στην παρούσα φάση σε όλες τις τάξεις της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Υπάρχει η άποψη ότι η προτεραιότητα που δίνεται στην Ελληνική γλώσσα, αποτελεί την επιβεβαίωση μιάς μονογλωσσικής και μονοπολιτισμικής άποψης που κυριαρχεί στην Ελλάδα και αποτελεί επίσης μέρος μιας διαδικασίας μετασχηματισμού έναντι της αναγνωριζόμενης αυξημένης μετανάστευσης (Killari, 2009).

Χάριν του θεσμού του Ευρωπαϊού πολίτη, διδάσκονται ξένες γλώσσες ώστε να συνεισφέρουν στην πιο αποτελεσματική επικοινωνία με τις διαφορετικές κουλτούρες και γλώσσες. Η νέα Υπουργός Παιδείας (που διορίστηκε τον Οκτώβριο του 2009) έχει αρχίσει τη μεταρρύθμιση του Ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος με τίτλο 'Το νέο σχολείο', η οποία αρχικά στοχεύει στην εκμάθηση τουλάχιστον μίας ξένης γλώσσας και δύο ξένων γλωσσών σε δεύτερη φάση. Αυτό εναρμονίζεται με τη σχετική Ευρωπαϊκή οδηγία (Βαρκελώνη 2002) η οποία υποδεικνύει ότι όλα τα παιδιά της ΕΕ πρέπει να μάθουν 2 ξένες γλώσσες από νεαρή ηλικία, ώστε να μπορέσουν να ενταχθούν ως πολίτες της Ευρώπης. Η συγκεκριμένη

οδηγία αποτελεί πρόκληση για την μονογλωσσική άποψη όπως αναφέρεται παραπάνω.

4. Η Διδασκαλία των Γλωσσών στο Δημόσιο Τομέα

4.1 Πρωτοβάθμια και Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση

Σύμφωνα με το ΠΙ, η διδασκαλία της Αγγλικής ως πρώτης ξένης γλώσσας καθιερώθηκε στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση από το 1993, με τη Γαλλική ή τη Γερμανική ως δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Στην τελευταία δεκαετία, τα αγγλικά έχουν αρχίσει να διδάσκονται από την τρίτη τάξη του Δημοτικού σχολείου και τα Γαλλικά ή τα Γερμανικά ως δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα, διδάσκονται στην πέμπτη και έκτη τάξη για 2 ώρες εβδομαδιαίως. Η επιλογή της δεύτερης ξένης γλώσσας γίνεται από τους μαθητές. Πρόσφατες πιλοτικές έρευνες μελετούν τη διδασκαλία των Ιταλικών και Ισπανικών σε επιλεγμένο αριθμό σχολείων σε ολόκληρη την Ελλάδα και ο αριθμός των σχολείων που αναλαμβάνουν να τις διδάξουν αναμένεται να αυξηθεί. Δεν υπάρχει κανένα επίσημο στατιστικό στοιχείο που να καταγράφει το ποσοστό των σχολείων που προσφέρουν Αγγλικά (ή οποιαδήποτε άλλη ξένη γλώσσα) ή τα κριτήρια που χρησιμοποιούνται για την επιλογή της γλώσσας που θα διδαχθεί σε ένα σχολείο αλλά στα Αγγλικά δίνεται μεγάλη προτεραιότητα όπως καταδεικνύεται από τις ώρες διδασκαλίας (3 ώρες εβδομαδιαία στο Δημοτικό και στην πρώτη τάξη Γυμνασίου/Λυκείου και 2 ώρες στην δεύτερα και τρίτη τάξη Γυμνασίου/Λυκείου). Αυτό είναι ένα κρίσιμο σημείο που χρήζει μελλοντικών ερευνών προκειμένου να διαπιστωθούν οι λόγοι για τους οποίους συγκεκριμένες γλώσσες περιλαμβάνονται στο πρόγραμμα διδασκαλίας, καθώς αυτά τα κριτήρια παραμένουν ασαφή και επίσης να διερευνηθεί κατά πόσο η έμφαση στην προτεραιότητα των Αγγλικών αποτελεί ανησυχία για το ήθος και την αξία της πολυγλωσσικότητας στη Ευρώπη.

Οι καθηγητές γλωσσών στα δημόσια σχολεία επιλέγονται μέσω ενός συστήματος εξέτασης (Ανώτατο Συμβούλιο Επιλογής Προσωπικού ΑΣΕΠ) στο οποίο συμμετέχουν οι απόφοιτοι των σχολών ξενόγλωσσας φιλολογίας των Ελληνικών δημόσιων πανεπιστημίων (πτυχιούχοι). Η Ελλάδα δεν έχει θεσπίσει κάποιο υποχρεωτικό σύστημα πρακτικής κατάρτισης τόσο σε προπτυχιακό όσο και σε μεταπτυχιακό επίπεδο και κατά συνέπεια η πρακτική εξάσκηση γίνεται με διορισμένους εκπαιδευτικούς συμβούλους οι οποίοι είναι αναγκασμένοι να εργάζονται με πολύ περιορισμένους

πόρους. Η νομοθετική πρωτοβουλία του Υπουργείου Παιδείας (ΥΠΕΠΘ) 'νέο σχολείο' περιλαμβάνει την ανάπτυξη της συχνότερης συνεχούς επιμόρφωσης ώστε να καταρτιστούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί σε σημαντικά θέματα που αφορούν στην άσκηση της διδασκαλίας μέσα στην τάξη αλλά και στη χρήση των νέων τεχνολογιών. Αυτή η διαδικασία πρόκειται να αρχίσει το Σεπτέμβριο του 2011. Προς το παρόν δεν υπάρχει σχετική επιθεώρηση της διδασκαλίας σε ότι αφορά τους πρωτοδιοριζόμενους εκπαιδευτικούς ξένων γλωσσών.

5. Η Διδασκαλία των Γλωσσών στον Ιδιωτικό Τομέα

Η διδασκαλία των γλωσσών στον ιδιωτικό τομέα αποτελεί ένα πολύ σημαντικό ποσοστό της εκμάθησης τους στην Ελλάδα. Αυτή περιλαμβάνει τα διεθνή ιδιωτικά σχολεία τόσο της πρωτοβάθμιας όσο και της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και τα Ελληνικά ιδιωτικά σχολεία των δύο πρώτων βαθμίδων τα οποία εποπτεύονται από το Υπουργείο Παιδείας. Ο Ελληνικός νόμος παρέχει κάποιο βαθμό ευελιξίας στην εκμάθηση των ξένων γλωσσών στα ιδιωτικά σχολεία. Η πλειοψηφία των Ελληνικών ιδιωτικών σχολείων περιέχει τη διδασκαλία της ξένης γλώσσας (συνήθως Αγγλικά) από την πρώτη τάξη του δημοτικού (από 1 έως 5 ώρες εβδομαδιαία). Τα περισσότερα από αυτά τα σχολεία προσφέρουν μια δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα (Γαλλικά ή Γερμανικά) από τη δεύτερη ή τρίτη τάξη της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Είναι ευρέως αποδεκτό ότι τα ιδιωτικά σχολεία αφιερώνουν περισσότερο χρόνο διδασκαλίας στις ξένες γλώσσες.

Επιπλέον, υπάρχει ένας μεγάλος αριθμός φροντιστηρίων ξένων γλωσσών, τα οποία η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών παρακολουθεί μετά το τέλος του σχολικού ωραρίου επειδή θεωρείται γενικά αποδεκτό ότι είναι αδύνατο να επιτευχθεί το απαραίτητο επίπεδο γνώσης των ξένων γλωσσών χωρίς τη διδασκαλία των συγκεκριμένων ιδρυμάτων, εκτός αν κάποιος είναι πολύ χαρισματικός μαθητής. Ο βασικός στόχος είναι να αποκτηθεί ένα διεθνώς αναγνωρισμένο πιστοποιητικό επάρκειας της ξένης γλώσσας, κάτι που δεν μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μέσω της διδασκαλίας στα δημόσια σχολεία.

6. «Μειονοτική» Εκπαίδευση

Ένα παράδειγμα «μειονοτικών»¹ σχολείων που εποπτεύονται από το ΥΠΕΠΘ είναι εκείνα που βρίσκονται στη Θράκη στα οποία φοιτούν μαθητές, οι γονείς των οποίων είναι μουσουλμάνοι και μόνιμοι κάτοικοι της περιοχής. Η διδασκαλία πραγματοποιείται στα Ελληνικά και στα Τούρκικα. Σύμφωνα με τις στατιστικές του ΥΠΕΠΘ από το 2000-1, υπάρχουν 225 μειονοτικά

σχολεία πρωτοβάθμιας και 2 δευτεροβάθμιας. Δεν είναι σαφές εάν αυτή η πολιτική θα επεκταθεί σε άλλες μειονότητες, ή πότε μια μειονότητα αποκτά τον απαραίτητο πληθυσμό ώστε να δικαιούται δικά της σχολεία. Δυστυχώς δεν μπορούσαμε να εντοπίσουμε άλλα στοιχεία για το θέμα.

7. Αξιολόγηση της Γλωσσομάθειας και Εξετάσεις

7.1 Κρατικό Πιστοποιητικό Γλωσσομάθειας (ΚΠΓ)

Ένας τομέας της εκμάθησης ξένων γλωσσών στην Ελλάδα που παραμένει κάπως προβληματικός, είναι αυτός των εξετάσεων. Το δημόσιο σχολείο στερείται μιας τυποποιημένης εξέτασης του επιπέδου γνώσης της γλώσσας που θα μπορούσε να αναγνωριστεί για την εργασία ή για περαιτέρω σπουδές με αποτέλεσμα το Ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα να εξαρτάται από εισαγόμενα συστήματα εξετάσεων που παρέχουν τα αναγκαία πιστοποιητικά. Εντούτοις, το ΥΠΕΠΘ σχεδιάζει να εισαγάγει επίσημα ένα τέτοιο εξεταστικό σύστημα στα δημόσια σχολεία στο άμεσο μέλλον πράγμα που σημαίνει ότι ίσως βρίσκεται στο στάδιο απόκτησης ενός τέτοιου συστήματος. Το 2003 το ΥΠΕΠΘ ανέπτυξε ένα κρατικό πιστοποιητικό γλωσσομάθειας με στόχο διάφορα επίπεδα γνώσης κάποιων Ευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών και διαθέσιμο σε πολύ χαμηλότερη οικονομική συνδρομή για τις εξετάσεις του απ' ότι τα υπόλοιπα εισαγόμενα εξεταστικά συστήματα. Το κρατικό πιστοποιητικό γλωσσομάθειας καλύπτει τα Αγγλικά, Γαλλικά, Γερμανικά, Ιταλικά, Ισπανικά και τα Τούρκικα σε διάφορα επίπεδα, από A1-C1 όπως αυτά καθορίζονται στο κοινό ευρωπαϊκό πλαίσιο αναφοράς για τις γλώσσες. Στο άμεσο μέλλον, αναμένεται να ενταχθούν και τα Ρώσικα.

7.2 Διεθνείς Εξεταστικοί Οργανισμοί

Οι αναγνωρισμένοι από το Ελληνικό κράτος διεθνείς οργανισμοί εξετάσεων είναι το Cambridge ESOL (συμπεριλαμβανομένου και του IELTS), το Michigan, το City & Guilds και το EDEXCEL. Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος αυτών των εξετάσεων αφορά την Αγγλική γλώσσα. Αυτοί οι οργανισμοί προσφέρουν πιστοποιητικά γλωσσομάθειας (B2 επιπέδου) και επάρκειας (C1, C2 επιπέδων) τα οποία αποκτώνται ύστερα από εξετάσεις που γίνονται καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια του ακαδημαϊκού έτους, στο οποίο εντάσσονται και εξετάσεις (ESOL) για νεαρότερους σε ηλικία μαθητές. Η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των Ελλήνων μαθητών που διδάσκονται Αγγλικά, επιλέγει τις διεθνείς εξετάσεις - κάτι που πιθανώς να αλλάξει αν το ΥΠΕΠΘ προχωρήσει με την ένταξη του κρατικού πιστοποιητικού γλωσσομάθειας στα δημόσια σχολεία.

¹ Χρησιμοποιούμε τον όρο «μειονοτικών» σε εισαγωγικά δεδομένου ότι γνωρίζουμε ότι είναι ένας αμφισβητήσιμος όρος στις κοινωνικές επιστήμες

8. Επίπεδο Γλωσσομάθειας της Αγγλικής Γλώσσας

Σύμφωνα με την προσωπική μας πείρα η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών της Αγγλικής γλώσσας φτάνουν έως το B2 επίπεδο με ένα αρκετά σημαντικό αριθμό να αποκτά και πιστοποιητικό επιπέδου C1, C2. Παρόλη τη λεπτομερή μας έρευνα σε σχετική βιβλιογραφία και την αναζήτηση πληροφοριών απο αναγνωρισμένους ειδικούς πάνω στο θέμα, δεν κατέστη δυνατό να βρούμε στατιστικά δεδομένα για τα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας που είτε να στοχεύουν στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία είτε να την περιγράφουν. Ίσως αυτό να συνδέεται με την έλλειψη ενός τυποποιημένου συστήματος εξετάσεων κατά την αποφοίτηση των μαθητών από τα δημόσια σχολεία. Ο Δρ. Σηφάκης (2010) πραγματοποιώντας μια πολύ ευρύτερη αναζήτηση στοιχείων κατα τη διάρκεια της έρευνας του, διαπίστωσε ότι υπάρχει ανάγκη περαιτέρω έρευνας γι' αυτό το θέμα. Οι δημοσιευμένες στατιστικές από το Cambridge ESOL καταδεικνύουν ότι οι Έλληνες μαθητές σημειώνουν χαμηλότερες βαθμολογίες από τους αντίστοιχους Ευρωπαίους αλλά αυτό μπορεί να οφείλεται εν μέρει στο μεγάλο αριθμό των μαθητών που δίνουν εξετάσεις στην Ελλάδα - το ESOL δεν προσφέρει στοιχεία για το μέγεθος των εξεταζόμενων ομάδων. Οι στατιστικές του Michigan (2009) από δύο διαφορετικά επίπεδα εξέτασης, παρουσιάζουν τους Έλληνες μαθητές να βαθμολογούνται χαμηλότερα σε κάποια σημεία των εξετάσεων σε σχέση με τους Ισπανούς αλλά και σε άλλα σημεία να πετυχαίνουν υψηλότερες βαθμολογίες. Δυστυχώς αυτές οι στατιστικές δεν επέτρεψαν να διαμορφωθεί μια ξεκάθαρη άποψη γύρω απο το θέμα και συνεπώς απαιτείται ακριβέστερη συστηματική έρευνα τόσο εντός της Ελλάδας όσο και συγκριτικά με την υπόλοιπη Ευρώπη.

9. Ζητήματα που προκύπτουν για περαιτέρω έρευνα

Θεωρούμε ότι η Ελλάδα είναι χώρα που καταβάλλει ουσιαστική προσπάθεια και επενδύει σημαντικό μέρος του εισοδήματος της σε ότι αφορά την εκμάθηση και τις εξετάσεις ξένων γλωσσών με ξεχωριστή επιτυχία λόγω της προθυμίας του λαού να μιλήσει άλλες γλώσσες και να τις χρησιμοποιήσει σε πραγματολογικά πλαίσια. Ωστόσο, υπάρχουν ιδιαίτερα κενά και αντιφάσεις στα διαθέσιμα στοιχεία αυτή τη στιγμή. Πιο ακριβείς πληροφορίες απαιτούνται αναφορικά με την εφαρμογή των Ευρωπαϊκών οδηγιών για την γλωσσομάθεια ώστε να εξακριβωθεί εάν οι διακηρύξεις σχετικά με την πολυγλωσσικότητα και την ισότητα της πρόσβασης στη εκπαίδευση εκπληρώνεται. Θα συστήναμε επίσης μια προσεκτική εξέταση των «κρυφών πολιτικών» οι οποίες ακολουθούνται αυτήν την περίοδο

στις περισσότερες χώρες (δείτε Spolsky το 2004). Μια ακριβέστερη εικόνα των νέων γλωσσικών κοινοτήτων που διαμορφώνονται ως αποτέλεσμα των πρόσφατων κυμάτων μετανάστευσης είναι απαραίτητη και πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη στο μέλλοντικό σχεδιασμό και τις αποφάσεις που αφορούν την πολιτική γλωσσομάθειας (δείτε Extra 2008). Χαιρετίζουμε τη περαιτέρω έρευνα στην εκπαίδευση δασκάλων και την εμφάνιση των σύγχρονων προσεγγίσεων στη διδασκαλία ξένων γλωσσών τόσο μέσα στο πρόγραμμα σπουδών όσο και στην γενικότερη παιδαγωγική αντίληψη. Μια πολύ σαφέστερη εικόνα σε επίπεδο στόχευσης αλλά και απόκτησης των γλωσσικών επιπέδων μέσω του περιεχομένου διδασκαλίας και εξετάσεων, θα ήταν εξαιρετικά χρήσιμη.

References

Please note all websites were visited in April 2010

Centre for the Greek Language located at: www.greeklanguage.gr

City & Guilds located at: www.cityandguilds.com/int-home.html

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages located at:

www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/CADRE_EN.asp

EDEXCEL located at: www.edexcel.com/Pages/home.aspx

www.pearsonpte.com/Pages/home.aspx (information on the Pearson Language Tests)

Education Research Centre - Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, *The Greek Education System. Facts and Figures* (Supervision: Prof. V. Koulaidis. Compiled by C. Papakyriakopoulos, A. Patouna, A. Katsis & S. Georgiadou), Athens, 2003, located at: www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_page969.htm (information on the Greek educational system and minority schools)

European Summaries of EU Legislation located at: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11068_en.htm

Extra, G. (Ed). 2008. *Multilingual Europe: Facts and Policies*. Mouton de Gryter.

Killari, A. 2009. 'Language Practice in Greece: The Effects of European Policy on Multilingualism'. In *European Journal of Language Policy*. 1/1. pp. 21-28.

Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs located at:

www.ypepth.gr/www.ypepth.gr/docs/neo_sxoleio_brochure_100305.pdf (information on the 'The New School')

www.ypepth.gr/en_ec_category1539.htm/ (information on international private schools)

www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_category295.htm (information on Greek private schools)

www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_category206.htm (information on minority schools)

www.kpg.ypepth.gr/ (information on the KPG)

Pedagogical Institute located at:

www.pi-schools.gr/

www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/ (information on Modern, Ancient Greek and foreign languages teaching)

Sifakis, N. 2010. *Aggliki glossa ke pangosmiopiisi: opsi tis synchronis pragmatikotitas stin Ellada, tin Evropi ke ton ipolipo kosmo* (The English language and globalization: facets of current reality in Greece, Europe and the rest of the world). Athens: Herodotus.

Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge University Press.

University of Cambridge, ESOL Examinations located at:

www.cambridgeesol.org/exams/

www.cambridgeesol.org/what-we-do/research/grade-stats.html (information on exam statistics)

University of Michigan, English Language Institute located at:

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing/ecpe/officials (information on ecpe test administration reports)

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing/ecce/officials (information on ecce test administration reports)

We would like to thank Dr Nicos Sifakis for his invaluable comments and feedback on the first draft of this article.

Sara Hannam, Senior Lecturer, Assistant Academic Director of Doctoral Studies, Researcher
Dr Evagelia Papathanasiou, Lecturer, Researcher

South East European Research Centre, Thessaloniki, Greece

All correspondence to shannam@seerc.org

CURRENT ISSUES AND TRENDS IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN GREECE

A BRIEF OVERVIEW

SARA HANNAM & EVAGELIA PAPATHANASIOU

1. Introduction

This article provides an overview of the current language environment in Greece ahead of a new research initiative by the British Council entitled ‘Language Rich Europe’ (LRE), the aim of which is to provide an in-depth profile of language policy and the current status of mother tongue, foreign languages, minority and regional languages in Greece and other European countries. Due to Greece’s multilingual past and present, it provides a fascinating case study in this respect. We consulted available literature and called upon our own speculative experience to build up a summary which can be further and more rigorously explored during the course of the LRE project. We were unable to cover the important areas of regional varieties of Greek, Greek language provision for migrants, or language learning provision in the higher education sector.

2. Overview of languages spoken in Greece

Following the population exchanges at the beginning of the 20th century, contemporary Greece is often described as ethnically homogeneous - closer examination of the modern populace demonstrates significant diversity. Modern Greek (dimotiki) is spoken by the majority of people although it is rich in variation from region to region. The most established other languages represented include Turkish, Pomak, Roma, Slavic, Aromanian (Vlachika), Arvanitika, Bulgarian, Armenian, Albanian and Hebrew. Due to newer waves of immigration beyond European borders, it is also possible to note the development of communities from China, Pakistan, Egypt, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, various African countries and Afghanistan. Additionally there are communities of immigrants from most ‘old’ EU countries such as Germany, France and Spain. The only officially recognized group is the Muslim com-

munity in Thrace, though it should be noted that there are several distinctly different clusters within this community.

3. Language Policy in Greece

According to the Greek Pedagogical Institute (GPI), the role of school-level education is to assist in the preservation of national identity/cultural heritage alongside the development of an awareness of European citizenship. The purpose of instruction in Modern Greek is stated as promoting effective communication in speech and writing, which in turn enables confident participation in school and public life. Attached to this is the teaching of Ancient Greek, which is considered of paramount importance in embedding understandings emergent from antiquity into modern identity. Ancient Greek is currently taught at all grades of secondary school. It is argued that the prioritising of the Greek language represents the affirmation of a monolingual/cultural view of Greece and is a reaction to the process of transformation towards recognition of increased migration (Killari, 2009).

In relation to European citizenship, foreign languages are taught to enable students to communicate effectively in different linguistic and cultural contexts. The new Minister of Education (appointed 2009) has begun reforming the Greek education system in an initiative called 'The New School' which aims for knowledge of at least one foreign language initially, leading to two foreign languages in the second phase. This is in line with the EU directive (Barcelona 2002), decreeing all European children should learn 2 foreign languages from an early age if they are to be integrated EU citizens. This model presents a challenge to the monolingual paradigm outlined above.

4. State Language Learning Provision

4.1 Primary and Secondary Education

According to the GPI, English teaching as the first foreign language was established in primary education from 1993, with French or German as a second foreign language in secondary education. In the last decade, English has been introduced into the third grade of primary school, and French or German, as a second foreign language, are taught at primary level in the fifth and sixth grade for 2 hours a week. The choice of second foreign language is based on student preference. Recent pilot studies have been exploring the teaching of Italian and Spanish in a selection of schools across Greece and the number of schools taking them up is expected to rise. There are no official statistical data outlining the percentage of schools offering English (or

any other foreign language) or concerning the criteria used when choosing which language is to be taught at a school, but English is prioritised in terms of greater provision (3 hrs weekly from primary school onwards, and 2 hrs from the second grade of lower secondary school onwards). This is a crucial area of research in the future as the reasons for including specific languages remain unclear and the prioritisation of English could be a concern for the ethos of multilingualism.

Language teachers in public schools are selected via an examination system (Anotato Symvoulio Epilogis Prosopikou ASEP) which is taken after successful graduation in the relevant language from a Greek public University (Bachelor level). Greece has no systematic classroom training as a compulsory in or post-graduate requirement and at present the responsibility for in-service training lies with state appointed education advisors who work with very limited resources. The Ministry of Education's (MOE) 'New School' initiative includes the development of more frequent in-service training to bring teachers up to day on key issues related to classroom practice and the use of technology. This initiative is due to commence in September 2011. At present there is no routine classroom observation of language teachers pre-service.

5. Private Language Learning Provision

Private language education represents a significant percentage of the learning experience in Greece. This incorporates International Private Primary or Secondary Schools and Greek private schools supervised by the MOE. The Greek law provides for some degree of flexibility in the learning of foreign languages in private schools. The majority of Greek private schools provide teaching of foreign language(s) (usually English) from the first grade of primary school (from 1 to 5 hours weekly). Most of these schools offer a second foreign language (French or German) from the second or third grade of primary education. It is widely accepted that private schools dedicate more time to foreign languages.

Additionally, there are a large number of "frontistiria" (private language institutes), which the majority of school children attend after school hours because it is generally considered impossible for all but the most gifted students to achieve the necessary level in foreign languages without them. The aim is to acquire an internationally recognised certificate of language

proficiency which it is felt cannot be achieved with the coverage in (public) schools.

6. 'Minority' Education

An example of 'minority'¹ schools supervised by the MOE are those situated in Thrace which target students whose parents are Muslim and permanent residents of the region. Teaching is carried out in both Greek and Turkish. According to MOE statistics from 2000-1, there were 225 minority primary schools and 2 minority lower and upper secondary schools in operation. It is not clear whether this provision will be extended to other identifiable minorities, or when a minority becomes sizeable enough to be eligible for special provision. We could not locate any more recent data.

7. Language Testing and Assessment

7.1 Kratiko Pistopointiko Glwssomatheias (KPG)

One area of language learning provision in Greece that remains somewhat problematic is that of language testing. The State School lacks a standardised school exit level examination which could be recognised for work or further study and the Greek education system is highly dependent on imported language testing services. However, the MOE has plans to formally introduce such a testing mechanism into State Schools in the near future so this may be in the process of changing. In 2003 the MOE developed a State Certificate of Language Proficiency aimed at measuring level in a number of European languages and available at a much lower fee than other imported examinations. KPG is offered in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Turkish at various levels from A1-C1 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. In the immediate future, a Russian option will be offered.

7.2 International Testing Bodies

Those international exam bodies recognised by the Greek state are Cambridge ESOL (including IELTS), Michigan, City & Guilds and EDEXCEL. The largest amount of testing is of the English language at the present time. These bodies offer certificates of competency (B2 level certification) and proficiency (C1, C2 level certification) obtainable from examination sessions held throughout the academic year, as well as ESOL offering examinations for younger learners. The vast majority of Greek learners of English opt for

¹ We use the term 'minority' in speech marks as we are aware that it is a contested term in the social sciences

international examinations – this will very likely shift if the MOE goes ahead with the integration of KPG examinations into State Schools in Greece.

8. Language Level: English

It is our experience that the majority of Greek students reach a B2 level of English with a sizeable percentage reaching C1 and C2. Despite a detailed literature search and consultation with notable experts in the field of language teaching/learning in Greece, we were unable to locate any statistics produced on language levels either aimed for or achieved during the educational process. We assume this is linked to the lack of an embedded exit level examination. Sifakis (2010) found that there was a need for further research in this area having carried out a much wider data search in his own research. Published statistics from Cambridge ESOL demonstrate that Greek students score lower than some European counterparts, but this may be partly due to the large amount of students taking the exam in Greece - ESOL does not offer data on the size of the examined cohorts. Michigan 2009 statistics show Greek students scoring lower than Spanish counterparts in some sessions and higher in others across two distinct levels. These statistics did not enable us to gain a clear insight and more systematic research both within Greece and comparatively is required.

9. Issues arising and in need of further research

We feel that Greece is a country which invests substantial effort and income in language learning and testing, with notable success in terms of the populace's willingness to speak other languages, and use them in pragmatic contexts. However, there are considerable gaps and contradictions in data available at present. More accurate data are required on application of language policy directives to ascertain if declarations regarding multilingualism and equality of access are being implemented. As in most countries, we would also recommend a careful consideration of hidden policies currently in circulation (see Spolsky 2004). A more accurate picture of new language communities which take into account recent waves of immigration are essential, and should be taken on board in future language planning and policy decisions (see Extra 2008). We welcome further investigation into teacher education and the emergence of contemporary approaches to language teaching within curriculum and pedagogy. A much clearer picture of language levels both aimed for and acquired, across both testing and teaching contexts, would be extremely helpful.

References

Please note all websites were visited in April 2010

Centre for the Greek Language located at: www.greeklanguage.gr

City & Guilds located at: www.cityandguilds.com/int-home.html

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages located at:

www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/CADRE_EN.asp

EDEXCEL located at: www.edexcel.com/Pages/home.aspx

www.pearsonpte.com/Pages/home.aspx (information on the Pearson Language Tests)

Education Research Centre - Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, *The Greek Education System. Facts and Figures* (Supervision: Prof. V. Koulaidis. Compiled by C. Papakyriakopoulos, A. Patouna, A. Katsis & S. Georgiadou), Athens, 2003, located at: www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_page969.htm (information on the Greek educational system and minority schools)

European Summaries of EU Legislation located at: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11068_en.htm

Extra, G. (Ed). 2008. *Multilingual Europe: Facts and Policies*. Mouton de Gryter.

Killari, A. 2009. 'Language Practice in Greece: The Effects of European Policy on Multilingualism'. In *European Journal of Language Policy*. 1/1. pp. 21-28.

Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs located at:

www.ypepth.gr/

www.ypepth.gr/docs/neo_sxoleio_brochure_100305.pdf (information on the 'The New School')

www.ypepth.gr/en_ec_category1539.htm/ (information on international private schools)

www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_category295.htm (information on Greek private schools)

www.ypepth.gr/el_ec_category206.htm (information on minority schools)

www.kpg.ypepth.gr/ (information on the KPG)

Pedagogical Institute located at: www.pi-schools.gr/

www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/ (information on Modern, Ancient Greek and foreign languages teaching)

Sifakis, N. 2010. *Agglikí glossa ke pangosmiopiisi: opsis tis sinchronis pragmatikotitas stin Ellada, tin Evropi ke ton ipolipo kosmo* (The English language and globalization: facets of current reality in Greece, Europe and the rest of the world). Athens: Herodotus.

Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge University Press.

University of Cambridge, ESOL Examinations located at:

www.cambridgeesol.org/exams/

www.cambridgeesol.org/what-we-do/research/grade-stats.html (information on exam statistics)

University of Michigan, English Language Institute located at:

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing/ecpe/officials (information on ecpe test administration reports)

www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/testing/ecce/officials (information on ecce test administration reports)

We would like to thank Dr Nicos Sifakis for his invaluable comments and feedback on the first draft of this article.

Sara Hannam, Senior Lecturer, Assistant Academic Director of Doctoral Studies, Researcher
Dr Evagelia Papathanasiou, Lecturer, Researcher

South East European Research Centre, Thessaloniki, Greece

All correspondence to shannam@seerc.org

NYELVPOLITIKA MAGYARORSZÁGON

KÖZÉPPONTBAN A NYELVI KISEBBSÉGEK¹

BARTHA CSILLA

1. Bevezetés

A Magyar Köztársaság 2004. május 1-jén csatlakozott az Európai Unióhoz további kilenc új tagállammal együtt. A kommunista rezsim bukása utána az egymást követő kormányok alapjaiban próbálták megváltoztatni a politikai, gazdasági és oktatási rendszereket, azonban a nyelvpolitika fő kérdései (kisebbségi oktatás, idegen nyelvek oktatása és tanulása, stb.) a mai napig számos ellentmondást rejtenek magukban.

Az explicit nyelvpolitika törvényekben, rendeletekben és határozatokban ölt testet, melyek többségét hazánk uniós csatlakozása előtt hozták (pl. az 1989-es alkotmánykiegészítés, az 1993-ban hozott Köznevelési Törvény, az 1995-ös kormányrendelet a Nemzeti Alaptantervről és az 1997-es érettségít szabályozó kormányrendeletek), melyek az 1993-as Kisebbségi Törvénnyel és nemzetközi jogszabályokkal együtt alkotják a kisebbségi oktatás jogi keretrendszerét.

Bár Magyarország nyelvi és kulturális szempontból sokszínű ország volt évszázadokon keresztül, és az állam fennmaradt etnikai és kulturális sokszínűségének megőrzése akár alkotmányos kötelességnek is tűnhet (Majtényi, 2005), a Magyar Köztársaságot egynyelvű országgént tartják számon (OECD PISA 2006²). Idegennyelveket széles körben tanítanak a köznevelésben és magán nyelvviskolákban felnőttek részére, azonban a lakosság többsége nem beszél egyetlen idegen nyelvet sem³.

A "koncentrált figyelem és törekvések" változásokat idéztek elő: az orosz nyelv teljesen eltűnt a tantervből, az oktatási rendszert decentralizálták, új típusú iskolákat alapítottak, bevezetésre került a szabad idegen nyelv választása, új értékelési technikákat alkalmaznak, általánossá váltak az im-

¹ A kutatást az Európai Bizottság (szerződés száma: 029124 (CIT6) SSA), EACEA 30/07 (2008-0615/001-001) és a Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj támogatta, BO/00259/07. Hálával tartozom Kontra Editnek, akivel közösen készített, a magyarországi idegennyelv-oktatás rendszerváltás utáni helyzetével foglalkozó tanulmányunk eredményeit itt felhasználtam.

² Az OECD PISA 2006 adatbázis adatai szerint (EACEA, 2008) 99,2% azon 15 éves diákok aránya, aki bevállása szerint az oktatás nyelve (a magyar) megegyezik az otthon használt nyelvvél.

³ A Special Eurobarometer 243 statisztikái szerint 2006-ban a lakosság mindösszesen 42%-a állítja, hogy társalgási szinten beszél legalább egy idegen nyelven, szemben az Európai Unió 56%-os átlagával (European Commission, 2006a).

portált tankönyvek, s nem utolsó sorban megnyíltak a határok. Mindazonáltal ezek a változások felülről, egy tollvonással meghozhatók (Kontra and Bartha forthcoming). Az elmúlt években számtalan politikai és civil kezdeményezés foglalkozott az idegen nyelvek és kisebbségi nyelvek oktatásának jogi szabályozásával, aminek hosszabb távon lehetnek hatásai az ország de facto nyelvi sokszínűségére. Azonban a jog által biztosított védelem és programok per se nem elegendők ahhoz, hogy hatékonyan címezzék meg az idegen és kisebbségi nyelvek oktatásában felmerülő problémákat: önmagukban nem képesek garantálni a többnyelvűség gyakorlati megvalósulását, az 1+2 megtanult vagy megőrzött nyelv kívánalmának betartását (Vizi, 2003).

2. Nyelvi másság: magyarországi kisebbségek

2.1. Néhány adat

A Magyar Köztársaság jelenlegi területén élő kisebbségek aránya a népszámlálás adatai szerint közel 3%-ot tesz ki, míg a becslések szerint ez kb. 8-10%-ot jelent (l. 1. sz. táblázat).

Népszámlálás szerinti és becsült adatok a kisebbségekről

Kisebbségek	1990-es népszámlálás (Nemzetiség)	2001-es népszámlálás (Nemzetiség)	1990-es népszámlálás (Anyanyelv)	2001-es népszámlálás (Anyanyelv)	Becsült szám
Cigány/roma	142 683	189 984	48 072	48 685	400 000-600 000
Német	30 824	62 233	37 511	33 792	200 000-220 000
Horvát	13 570	15 620	17 577	14 345	80 000-90 000
Szlovák	10 459	17 693	12 745	11 817	100 000-110 000
Román	10 740	7 995	8 730	8 482	25 000
Szerb	2 905	3 816	2 953	3 388	5 000-10 000
Örmény	--	620	37	294	3 500-10 000
Lengyel	--	2 962	3 788	2 580	10 000
Szlovén	1 930	3 040	2 627	3 187	5 000
Rutén	--	1 098	674	1 113	6 000
Görög	--	2 509	1 640	1 921	4 000-4 500
Bolgát	--	1 358	1 370	1 299	3 000-3 500
Ukrán	--	5 070	--	4 885	2 000
Összesen	213 111	314 060	137 724	135 788 (-1.41%)	835 000-1 083 955

Forrás: KSH 1990-es és 2001-es népszámlálás⁴

⁴ A 2001-es népszámlálás szerint 314, 060 személy vallotta magát valamelyik nemzeti kisebbség tagjának a 10,198,315 főből, míg 135,788 személy tartotta az egyik kisebbségi nyelvet anyanyelvének. 300,627 személy vállalt kapcsolódást a nemzeti kisebbségi kulturális értékekkel, míg 166,366 személy használja a kisebbségi nyelvet családi és baráti körben. (Népszámlálás 2001, 2002).

A kisebbségi csoportok változatos képet mutatnak társadalmi, kulturális, gazdasági és nyelvi szempontból, ugyanakkor közös jellemzőjük, hogy tagjaik régóta egyenlőtlen hatalmi elrendezésben élnek, s e csoportok által beszélt nyelvek nem részesültek ugyanolyan elbánásban, mint a többségi nyelv, a magyar. A legtöbb kisebbségi közösség a nyelvcsere előrehaladott fázisát éli át (Borbély, 2001; Bartha and Borbély 2006).

2.2. Oktatás és nyelvmegtartás

A közoktatási rendszeren belül a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek számára fenntartott oktatási intézmények öt típusa létezik: anyanyelvi, kétnyelvű, kisebbségi nyelvi oktatás, roma felzárkóztató, illetve kiegészítő kisebbségi oktatás. Mivel a lengyel, görög, örmény, ruszin és ukrán nemzetiség nem rendelkezik saját kisebbségi oktatási rendszerrel, az anyanyelv oktatását ún. vasárnapi iskolákban vagy az állam által támogatott kiegészítő kisebbségi oktatás keretein belül valósítják meg. A kisebbségi programokat választók döntő többsége a kisebbségi nyelv oktatását biztosító (nyelvoktató) iskolákba iratkozik be, melyek a szóban forgó kisebbségi nyelvet második nyelvként tanítják a Nemzeti Alaptanterv szerint. A kétnyelvű iskolákban a humán tudományokat (történelem, irodalom, földrajz) a kisebbségi nyelven oktatják, míg a természettudományokat magyarul. Sajnálatos módon a kisebbségi anyanyelvű oktatás kevésbé népszerű (csak a magyar nyelv és irodalom tanítása zajlik magyar nyelven). Bár az általános iskolás korú gyermekek kb. 8%-a roma/cigány, mindeddig sem a romanit, sem a beást beszélő közösségek nem tanulhatták a közoktatásban saját nyelvüket, ill. vehettek részt anyanyelvükön zajló oktatásban (Bartha 2007).

A közoktatás adatai a kisebbségi nyelvek iránti növekvő érdeklődést jeleznek, azonban, ahogyan azt Imre (2007) is hangsúlyozta az egyik legújabb tanulmányában, a beiratkozási tendenciák ugyan kedvezőek, ám kevésbé kedvező folyamatokról is árulkodnak: például a diákok számának csökkenéséről és a stagnáló vagy hanyatló érdeklődésről az összes kisebbségi nyelvet illetően a német kivételével.

A közkedvelt, széles körben használt uniós nyelv(ek) negatív hatása az anyanyelvekre az egyik legfontosabb faktor (Imre, 2007). A Nemzeti Alaptanterv szerint a diákok elvből megválaszthatják, milyen idegen nyelvet kívánnak tanulni: a Magyarországon legnépszerűbb nyelvek egyikét, egy kevésbé használt nyelvet, egy kisebbségi nyelvet vagy második nyelvként egy már nem használt nyelvet, pl. a latint. A leggyakrabban azonban a választás attól függ, mely nyelvekből áll rendelkezésre tanár (Kontra and Bartha forthcoming).

A német nemzetiség alap- és középfokú oktatási részvétele és felülreprezentáltsága meghatározó; a többi nyelvi csoportnál a diákok száma ugyanakkor csökken vagy stagnál. A látszólag kedvező statisztikai változások tehát a német (ezen a sztenderd német értendő) nyelv növekvő presztízsének eredményei. A német kisebbségi oktatás igényének egyik oka, hogy a német nyelv ismerete magas piaci értékkel bír az élet számos területén (Erb 2006).

A 2009-es kormányjelentés alapján megállapítható, hogy a középfokú oktatásban részt vevő diákok száma csökken, ami a kisebbségi jogok és implementációjuk közötti ellentmondások nyilvánvaló jele. További okok között említendők a kisebbségi osztályokkal vagy programokkal rendelkező középiskolák hiánya bizonyos régiókban, a tökéletlen infrastruktúra, az oktatáshoz szükséges személyi feltételek hiánya. A kisebbségekhez tartozó diákok és szüleik nem motiváltak eléggé, hogy kisebbségi középiskolát válasszanak. Ennek okai többek között a középiskolai oktatás szerkezeti átalakításában, a 6 és 8 osztályos középiskolák bevezetésében, az idegennyelv-tanítás reformjaiban és gyakorlatában is keresendők. A német nyelv kivételével a kisebbségi nyelven zajló középfokú oktatás korlátozza a diákok lehetőségeit a felfelé történő mobilitásban és csökkenti esélyeiket a felsőoktatásba való bekerülést illetően is. A diákok mindösszesen nyelvtanári MA diplomát szerezhetnek, és ezt sem minden kisebbségi nyelvből.

3. Összegző megjegyzések

A magyarországi nyelvpolitika elméletben az állampolgárok közötti egyenlőségre, az identitás megválasztásának szabadságára stb. épül. Ezek az elvek a nyelvek tekintetében is értelmezendők, hiszen azok gyakran az etnikai identitás kifejezői. Ezek a jogok azonban nem mindenkor érvényesülhetnek a gyakorlatban. Sokszor jelentősen eltérnek a nyelvvel kapcsolatos, kinyilvánított kisebbségi elvek (beleértve a ratifikált nemzetközi jogszabályokat) *de facto* alkalmazásuktól.

Az oktatásnak – ideális esetben – biztosítania kell az esélyt mindenki számára azokkal a hegemon, asszimiláló törekvésekkel szemben, melyek rejtett célja, hogy megakadályozza a kevésbé használt nyelvek és változatok beépülését a társadalom intézményrendszerébe. A valóságban azonban a jogegyenlőség továbbra is csupán kívánalom marad jó néhány iskola esetében, melyek hozzáállása elutasító a kulturális és nyelvi sokszínűséggel szemben. Az elit kétnyelvűség – különösen az angol és a német – magasra értékelt és egyre

inkább mindennapos gyakorlattá válik a kisebbségek fiatalabb generációja körében, miközben a kisebbségi nyelvek fennmaradása egyre inkább veszélyeztetett. Hazánkban a két- és többnyelvűség és a nyelvi sokszínűség fogalmához számtalan jelző és jelentés kapcsolódik: ideális/valódi/elit, ill. hiányos/népi stb. A tudományos diskurzusban továbbra is markánsan jelen vannak azok az egynyelvű ideológiák és téves koncepciók, melyek hatással vannak az oktatási rendszerre, a nyelvoktatási elvekre és cselekvési tervekre, továbbá befolyásolják az egyéni és családi nyelv- és iskolaválasztási döntéseket. A két- és többnyelvűség téves értelmezése szerint a két vagy több nyelvvél való kapcsolat azon formái, melyek a valóságban nem jelentik e nyelvek “tökéletes” tudását, a szociális, kognitív és érzelmi fejlődésre nézve károsnak minősülnek, így a szülők és tanárok rendelkezésre álló, ilyen típusú információi vagy az információ hiánya mind negatív következménnyel bír. Erre az ideológiai környezetre jellemző a standardizált nyelvi sokszínűség és a nyelvek hierarchikus heterogenitása (Gal, 2006), valamint az idegen/második/kisebbségi nyelvoktatás “régi modellje” (cf. Tinsley, 2003: 48)

A nyelv átadása a családon belül (c.f. Fishman 1991) az egyik legfontosabb kérdés az anyanyelv fennmaradása és a tartós többnyelvűség tekintetében. Azonban napjainkban, amikor a gyerekek otthon szerzett nyelvi képességei egy-egy kisebbségi nyelv tekintetében korlátozottak, e nyelvek fennmaradása, a két- és többnyelvűség kedvező befolyásolása érdekében a tanárképzés, a módszerek, a koordináció és monitoring rendszer tekintetében is elengedhetetlenül szükséges új, differenciált nyelvoktatási megközelítést alkalmazni. Bár a társadalmi és ideológiai környezet jelentősen megváltozott a kommunista rezsim 1989-es bukása óta, a nyelvi sokszínűséget, az elvárt 2+1 nyelv ismeretét, különösen pedig az ún. európai többnyelvűséget csak kelet-európai nyelvi kontextusban lehet árnyaltan értelmezni. A nyelvi sokszínűség sok belső és külső jellemvonása ugyanis, melyeket korábban a kibővített Európa nyugati felére vonatkozóan azonosítottak, csak korlátozottan érvényes az EU keleti régióira (Euromosaic III).

Bibliográfia

- Bartha, Csilla. 2007. Summary. In: Bartha, Csilla ed., *Cigány nyelvek és közösségek a Kárpát-medencében*. [Gypsy (Romani/Boyash) Communities and their Languages in the Carpathian Basin] Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó. 334–342.
- Bartha, Csilla and Borbély, Anna. 2006. Dimensions of linguistic otherness: prospects of minority language maintenance in Hungary. *Language Policy* 5.3: 337–365(29)
- Bartha, Csilla. 2008. Myth and reality of linguistic others. The situation of linguistic minorities in Hungary. In: *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 14:101-122, 2007/2008.
- Bevándorlók Magyarországon. [Migrants in Hungary] 2009. Az MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbség-kutató Intézet és az ICCR Budapest Alapítvány által végzett kutatás zárótanulmányai. Budapest, 2009. December. www.mtaki.hu/kutatasi.../bevandorlok_magyarorszagon/MTAKI_ICCR_Bevandorlok_Magyarorszagon.pdf
- Borbély, Anna (2001) *Nyelvcseré* [Language shift]. Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet Élőnyelvi Osztály.
- Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe/Ministry of Education (2002-2003) *Language education policy profile. Hungary*. Strasbourg/Budapest: Language Policy Division/Ministry of Education Department of International Relations. Available online at: www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistics/Source/Profile_Hungary_EN.pdf
- Council of Europe (2009) *Third report submitted by Hungary pursuant to Article 25, Paragraph 1 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe*. (ACFC/SR/III(2009)007) Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available on-line at: www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_3rd_SR_Hungary_enpfd
- Erb, Maria (2006) "...wail's lem es so procht hot .../... mert így hozta az élet..." – A nyelvcseré és a nyelvmegegyezés dimenziói a magyarországi németeknél a tarjáni németek példáján [Dimensions of language shift and language maintenance in the case of Tarjan Germans]. In: Tóth, Ágnes / Vékás, János (eds.) *Egység a különbözőségben. Az Európai Unió és a nemzeti kisebbségek* [Unity in diversity. European Union and the national minorities] (pp. 103–136.). Budapest: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- EACEA (2008) *Key data on teaching languages at school in Europe*. Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. Available on-line at: www.eurydice.org Accessed: December 28, 2009.
- European Commission (2005) *Euromosaic III. Regional and minority languages in the new Member States*. Available on-line at: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/lang-min/euromosaic/> Accessed: October 10, 2006.
- European Commission (2006a) *Europeans and their languages 2005*. On-line document available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf Accessed: August 30, 2009.
- European Commission (2006b) Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC). *Official Journal of the European Union*, L394, 10-12. Available online: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L> Accessed: October 31, 2009.
- European Union (2000) *The history of the European Union*. Available on-line at: http://europa.eu/abc/history/2000_today/index_en.htm Accessed: August 29, 2009.
- Eurostat (2009) European day of languages. Eurostat Newsrelease, Stat 09/137. Available online at: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> Accessed: December 28, 2009.
- Eurydice (2008) *National summary sheets on education systems in Europe and ongoing reforms. Hungary, November 2008*. Brussels: European Commission.

Fischer, Márta / Öveges, Enikő (2008) A Világ-Nyelv pályázati csomag háttere és megvalósítása (2003-2006). Áttekintő tanulmány [Background to and implementation of the World-Language grant package (2003-2006). An overview.]. Available on-line at: www.okm.gov.hu/letolt/vilagnyelv/vny_fischer_oveges_090115.pdf Accessed: December 28, 2009.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991) *Reversing language shift. Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gal, Susan (1996) Language shift. In: Goebel, Hans / Nelde, Peter Hans / Starý, Zdenek / Wölck, Wolfgang (eds.) *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact linguistics/ Linguistique de contact*. (1. Halbband/ Volume 1/ Tome 1) (pp. 586–94.) Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Gal, Susan (2006) Contradictions of standard language in Europe: Implications for the study of practices and publics. *Social Anthropology*, 14(2):163–181.

Imre, Anna (2007) Nyelvtanítás, nyelvtanulás, nyelvtudás a középfokú oktatásban [Language teaching, language learning and language proficiency in secondary education.]. In: Vágó, Irén (ed.) *Fókuszban a nyelvtanulás*. (pp. 43-72). Budapest: Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet. Available on-line at: <http://ofi.hu/tudastar/fokuszban-nyelvtanulas/imre-anna-nyelvtanulas> Accessed: August 29, 2009.

Kontra, Edit H and Bartha, Csilla (forthcoming). Foreign language education in Hungary: Concerns and controversies. *Sociolinguistica* 24.

Majtényi, Balázs (2005) Special Minority Rights and Interpretations of the Nation in the Hungarian Constitution. *Regio Minorities, Politics, Society* (English Edition) 2005(1): 4–20.

Matras, Yaron. (2005) The classification of Romani dialects: A geographic-historical perspective. In: Halwachs, Dieter / Schrammel, Barbara (eds.) *General and applied Romani linguistics*. (pp. 7–26.) Munich: Lincom Europa.

May, Stephen (2001) *Language and minority rights: ethnicity, nationalism, and the politics of language*. London / New York: Longman.

Tinsley, Teresa (2003) Language education in a multi-ethnic society. In: Dupuis, Véronique/Heyworth, Frank/Leban, Ksenija/Szesztay, Margit/Tinsley, Teresa (eds.) *Facing the future: Language educators across Europe*. (pp.39–49). Strasbourg: Council of Europe/ European Centre for Modern Languages.

Vizi, Balázs (2003) Az Európai Unió és a kisebbségi nyelvek [European Union and minority languages.]. In: Nádor, Orsolya / Szarka, László (eds.) *Nyelvi jogok, kisebbségek, nyelvpolitika Közép-Kelet-Európában*. [Linguistic rights, language policy in CEE] (pp. 37–56). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Wright, Sue (1997) Language as a contributing factor in conflicts between states and within states. In: *Current Issues in Language & Society* (4.3): 215–237.

Felhasznált jogi dokumentumok:

Act no. 77/1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (*Törvény a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségekről*) Amendment 114/2005 on the Election of the Members of Minority Self-Governments

Act no. 79/1993 The Public Education Act (*Közoktatási Törvény*); Amendments 85/1995; 62/1996; 68/1999

Act no. 139/2005 The Higher Education Act (*Törvény a felsoktatásról*)

Act no. 43/2008 to include Gypsy languages (Romani and Beash) under the scope of the commitments of the Republic of Hungary under Article 2(2) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (*Törvény a Magyar Köztársaságnak a Regionális vagy Kisebbségi Nyelvek Európai Kartája 2. Cikk 2. bekezdése szerinti kötelezettségvállalásai cigány (romani és beás) nyelvekre történő kiterjesztéséről*) Available on-line at: www.complex.hu/kzldat/t0800043.htm/t0800043.htm

Decree no. 130/1995 (X.26.) on the National Core Curriculum, last revision by Government Decree No. 2002/2007 (VII.31).

LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

FOCUSSING ON LINGUISTIC MINORITIES¹

CSILLA BARTHA

1. Introduction

The Republic of Hungary formally joined the EU with nine other new member states on 1 May 2004. After the fall of the communist regime subsequent governments worked on implementing fundamental changes in the political, economic and educational system. However, the main themes of language policy (e.g. minority education, the teaching and learning of foreign languages etc) in today's Hungary are issues rich in controversies.

Explicit language policy is manifested in laws, decrees and orders, most of which had come into effect before accession to the EU actually took place (e.g. the 1989 amendment of the Constitution, the 1993 Public Education Act, the Government Decrees on the National Core Curriculum in 1995 and the school-leaving ('Matura') exams in 1997). These instruments together with the Minority Act of 1993 and international legal instruments provide the legal framework for minority education. Although Hungary used to be marked by rich linguistic and cultural diversity for centuries, and the preservation of the country's remaining ethnic and cultural diversity may even appear as a constitutional duty (Majtényi, 2005), Hungary is known as a monolingual country (OECD PISA 2006²). While foreign languages are widely taught in public education and private language schools catering for the needs of adults abound, the majority of the Hungarian population does not speak any foreign languages at all³.

Concentrated attention and efforts have brought about changes on the surface: Russian was completely eradicated from the curriculum, the education system was decentralized, new types of schools were founded, freedom of choice of foreign languages was introduced, new assessment techniques have been designed, novel course books have been imported, and borders

¹ Research was supported by the European Commission (Contract No 029124 (CIT6) SSA), EACEA 30/07 (2008-0615/001-001) and by Bolyai János Research Fellowship, BO/00259/07. I am indebted to Edit Kontra, whose results for our co-authored study on foreign language education policy of Hungary have been made use of here

² According to figures from the OECD PISA 2006 database (EACEA, 2008) the ratio of 15-year-old students who say that the language of instruction (Hungarian) is the same as the language they speak at home is 9

³ Statistics provided by the Special Eurobarometer 243 in 2006 reveal that only 42% of the population claim they can actually carry out a conversation in at least one foreign language as opposed to the EU average of 56% (European Commission, 2006a)

have been opened. Nonetheless, these changes can be ordered from above and with a single stroke of the pen (Kontra and Bartha forthcoming). For many years, various political and civic actions have centered upon the legal regulations applying to foreign as well as minority language education in Hungary which can have long-term effects on the de facto linguistic diversity of the country. However, legal protection and new programs per se are not sufficient in dealing effectively with the problems confronting foreign and minority language education: they alone cannot guarantee functional multilingualism where 2+1 languages will be learnt or preserved (Vizi, 2003).

2. Linguistic otherness: minorities in Hungary

2.1. Some data

The proportion of minorities living in the present territory of the Republic of Hungary is nearly 3% by census data and about 8-10% by estimates (See Table 1).

Minorities according to censuses and estimates

Minorities	Census 1990 (Nationality)	Census 2001 (Nationality)	Census 1990 (Mother Tongue)	Census 2001 (Mother Tongue)	Estimated Number
Gypsy/Roma	142 683	189 984	48 072	48 685	400 000-600 000
German	30 824	62 233	37 511	33 792	200 000-220 000
Croatian	13 570	15 620	17 577	14 345	80 000-90 000
Slovak	10 459	17 693	12 745	11 817	100 000-110 000
Romanian	10 740	7 995	8 730	8 482	25 000
Serbian	2 905	3 816	2 953	3 388	5 000-10 000
Armenian	--	620	37	294	3 500-10 000
Polish	--	2 962	3 788	2 580	10 000
Slovenian	1 930	3 040	2 627	3 187	5 000
Ruthenian	--	1 098	674	1 113	6 000
Greek	--	2 509	1 640	1 921	4 000-4 500
Bulgarian	--	1 358	1 370	1 299	3 000-3 500
Ukrainian	--	5 070	--	4 885	2 000
Total	213 111	314 060	137 724	135 788 (-1.41%)	835 000-1 083 955

Source: Central Statistical Office 1990 and 2001 Censuses, Nationality Affiliation⁴

Minority groups vary greatly regarding their social, cultural, economic and linguistic characteristics. However, what they all share is that their members

⁴ On the contrary in 2001 Census 314,060 persons of 10,198,315 assumed affiliation to a national minority, while 135,788 persons indicated one of the minority languages as their mother tongue. 300,627 persons assumed affiliation to national minority cultural values, while 166,366 persons use the minority language in their family and among friends. (Népszámlálás 2001, 2002)

have been living under an unequal division of power for a long time, and the languages spoken by these groups have not undergone the same treatment as the majority language of the state, Hungarian. Most of the groups are at an advanced stage of language shift (Borbély, 2001; Bartha and Borbély 2006).

2.2. Education and language maintenance

There are five main types of educational institutions for national and ethnic minorities as parts of the public education system: mother-tongue, bilingual, language education for minorities, Roma catch-up, and supplementary minority education. Polish, Greek, Armenian, Ruthen and Ukrainian nationalities do not have their own educational system, hence they enforce native language education within the so-called “Sunday schools” system, or the relatively new type of supplementary minority education supported by the state. A vast majority of those choosing minority programs selects language teaching minority education where schools teach the respective minority language as a foreign (!) language based on the National Core Curriculum. In bilingual schools the humanities (history, literature, geography) are taught in the minority language while natural science subjects are taught in Hungarian. Unfortunately mother tongue minority education (in principle only Hungarian language and literature is taught in Hungarian) is less common among the educational options. Though Roma children comprise about 8 per cent of the population in elementary schools until recently neither Romani- nor Boyash-speaking groups had the opportunity to learn (in) their mother tongue at school environment (Bartha 2007).

Data on public education indicate an increasing interest in minority-language education. However, as Imre (2007) emphasised in one of her recent surveys, enrolment trends are favourable as a whole, but they mask some less favourable tendencies: for example, the loss of pupils, and static or declining interest in all the minority languages apart from German. The negative impact of prestigious EU languages/language of wider communication upon the retention of the native language is one of the most important factors (Imre, 2007). According to the National Core Curriculum students are free in principle to choose which foreign language they wish to study: one of the most popular languages in Hungary (English or German), a less frequently learnt language, one of the minority languages, or (and only as a second foreign language) an ancient language like Latin. Regarding FLs, however, the actual choice in most cases depends on teacher availability (Kontra and Bartha forthcoming).

The participation and overrepresentation of Germans in elementary and secondary education is seen to greatly exceed all the other language groups masking the stagnation or decreasing number of pupils and students of other minority groups. Seemingly favourable changes in different statistical data are due to the ever increasing prestige of the German language. The demand for German minority education is motivated by the fact that German has a high market value in many spheres of life (Erb 2006).

On the basis of the Government Report of 2009 we can see a diminishing number of students at secondary level, which is an obvious sign of existing discrepancies between minority rights and their implementation along with the lack of secondary schools with minority sections or programmes in certain regions, imperfect (infra-structural, personal etc) conditions of education compared to majority schools (teachers, textbooks etc.). Among additional external factors, structural changes in secondary education, the introduction of 6- and 8-year secondary schools as well as the reformation of foreign language teaching policy and practice are also responsible for the weak motivation of minority pupils and their parents in the selection of minority secondary schools. With the exception of German, secondary education in any of the minority languages greatly restricts the students' opportunities for upward social mobility and their chances in higher education within the country. All that students can basically obtain is a language teacher's MA and not even in all minority languages.

3. Concluding remarks

Language policy in Hungary is theoretically based on the notions of equality between citizens and of freedom of choice of identity etc (and hence between languages too) as essential signs of ethnic identities. Nevertheless, these rights are not always respected in practice. There is often a significant gap between declared linguistic minority policies (including ratified international legal instruments) on the one hand, and their de facto implementation on the other.

Education should ideally provide a chance for everyone to defy hegemonistic, assimilative ambitions with the hidden objective of hindering the "infiltration" of less preferred language variants (i.e. dialects) into the institutional system of the society. In reality, however, the equality of rights is still a wish in the majority of Hungarian schools, standing in opposition to the attitude

rejecting cultural and linguistic diversity. It seems that elite bilingualism – especially with English and German – is highly valued by and becomes everyday practice among the younger generations of minorities, whereas minority languages in Hungary are seriously endangered. In Hungary one can experience different meanings of bi-/multilingualism and linguistic diversity: ideal/real/elite versus incomplete/folk etc. (See Language Education Profile 2002-2003). Monolingual ideologies and misconceptions are still existent in scientific discourse, influencing the education system, language learning policies and actions, as well as individual and family decisions regarding language choice and school preference. Misconceptions concerning bi- or multilingualism, the widespread concept of deficit (which says that various forms of contact with two or more languages that are different to the perfect knowledge of these languages are detrimental to the person's social, cognitive, emotional development) and the lack of information available for parents and teachers have negative consequences. This ideological climate can be characterised by standardised linguistic diversity, hierarchical heterogeneity of languages (Gal, 2006) as well as the “old model” of (foreign/second/minority) language education (cf. Tinsley, 2003: 48)

Language transmission within the family (c.f. Fishman 1991) is one of the most important questions concerning first language maintenance and stable multilingualism. However, today when linguistic skills in a minority language learned by children at home are limited, a different approach to language education is needed in order to influence language maintenance as well as bi-/multilingualism positively in terms of teacher-training, methodology, coordination and a monitoring system. Although social and ideological climate have changed considerably since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, linguistic diversity, the expected 1+2 languages and so-called European multilingualism can only be interpreted in an eastern European language context. Many internal as well as external characteristics of linguistic diversity previously identified for the western part of the enlarged EU cannot be taken for granted in its eastern regions (Euromosaic III).

References

- Bartha, Csilla. 2007. Summary. In: Bartha, Csilla ed., *Cigány nyelvek és közösségek a Kárpát-medencében*. [Gypsy (Romani/Boyash) Communities and their Languages in the Carpathian Basin] Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó. 334–342.
- Bartha, Csilla and Borbély, Anna. 2006. Dimensions of linguistic otherness: prospects of minority language maintenance in Hungary. *Language Policy* 5.3: 337–365(29)
- Bartha, Csilla. 2008. Myth and reality of linguistic others. The situation of linguistic minorities in Hungary. In: *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 14:101-122, 2007/2008.
- Bevándorlók Magyarországon. [Migrants in Hungary] 2009. Az MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbség-kutató Intézet és az ICCR Budapest Alapítvány által végzett kutatás zárótanulmányai. Budapest, 2009. December. www.mtaki.hu/kutatasi.../bevandorlok_magyarorszagon/MTAKI_ICCR_Bevandorlok_Magyarorszagon.pdf
- Borbély, Anna (2001) *Nyelvcseré* [Language shift]. Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet Élnyelvi Osztály.
- Council of Europe (2001) *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe/Ministry of Education (2002-2003) *Language education policy profile. Hungary*. Strasbourg/Budapest: Language Policy Division/Ministry of Education Department of International Relations. Available on-line at: www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistics/Source/Profile_Hungary_EN.pdf
- Council of Europe (2009) *Third report submitted by Hungary pursuant to Article 25, Paragraph 1 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe*. (ACFC/SR/III(2009)007) Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available on-line at: www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_3rd_SR_Hungary_enpdf
- Erb, Maria (2006) „...wall's lem es so procht hot .../... mert így hozta az élet...” – A nyelvcseré és a nyelvmegtartás dimenziói a magyarországi németeknél a tarjáni németek példáján [Dimensions of language shift and language maintenance in the case of Tarjan Germans]. In: Tóth, Ágnes / Vékás, János (eds.) *Egység a különbözőségben. Az Európai Unió és a nemzeti kisebbségek* [Unity in diversity. European Union and the national minorities] (pp. 103–136.). Budapest: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- EACEA (2008) *Key data on teaching languages at school in Europe*. Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. Available on-line at: www.eurydice.org Accessed: December 28, 2009.
- European Commission (2005) *Euromosaic III. Regional and minority languages in the new Member States*. Available on-line at: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/lang-min/euromosaic/> Accessed: October 10, 2006.
- European Commission (2006a) *Europeans and their languages 2005*. On-line document available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf Accessed: August 30, 2009.
- European Commission (2006b) Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC). *Official Journal of the European Union*, L394, 10-12. Available online: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L> Accessed: October 31, 2009.
- European Union (2000) *The history of the European Union*. Available on-line at: http://europa.eu/abc/history/2000_today/index_en.htm Accessed: August 29, 2009.
- Eurostat (2009) *European day of languages*. Eurostat *Newsrelease*, Stat 09/137. Available online at: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> Accessed: December 28, 2009.
- Eurydice (2008) *National summary sheets on education systems in Europe and ongoing reforms. Hungary, November 2008*. Brussels: European Commission.

Fischer, Márta / Öveges, Enikő (2008) A Világ-Nyelv pályázati csomag háttere és megvalósítása (2003-2006). Áttekintő tanulmány [Background to and implementation of the World-Language grant package (2003-2006). An overview.]. Available on-line at: www.okm.gov.hu/letolt/vilagnyelv/vny_fischer_oveges_090115.pdf Accessed: December 28, 2009.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991) *Reversing language shift. Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gal, Susan (1996) Language shift. In: Goebel, Hans / Nelde, Peter Hans / Starý, Zdenek / Wölck, Wolfgang (eds.) *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact linguistics/Linguistics de contact*. (1. Halbband/ Volume 1/ Tome 1) (pp. 586–94.) Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Gal, Susan (2006) Contradictions of standard language in Europe: Implications for the study of practices and publics. *Social Anthropology*, 14(2):163–181.

Imre, Anna (2007) Nyelvtanítás, nyelvtanulás, nyelvtudás a középfokú oktatásban [Language teaching, language learning and language proficiency in secondary education.]. In: Vágó, Irén (ed.) *Fókuszban a nyelvtanulás*. (pp. 43-72). Budapest: Oktatókutatás és Fejlesztő Intézet. Available on-line at: <http://ofi.hu/tudastar/fokuszban-nyelvtanulas/imre-anna-nyelvtanulas> Accessed: August 29, 2009.

Kontra, Edit H and Bartha, Csilla (forthcoming). Foreign language education in Hungary: Concerns and controversies. *Sociolinguistica* 24.

Majtényi, Balázs (2005) Special Minority Rights and Interpretations of the Nation in the Hungarian Constitution. *Regio Minorities, Politics, Society* (English Edition) 2005(1): 4–20.

Matras, Yaron. (2005) The classification of Romani dialects: A geographic-historical perspective. In: Halwachs, Dieter / Schrammel, Barbara (eds.) *General and applied Romani linguistics*. (pp. 7–26.) Munich: Lincom Europa.

May, Stephen (2001) *Language and minority rights: ethnicity, nationalism, and the politics of language*. London / New York: Longman.

Tinsley, Teresa (2003) Language education in a multi-ethnic society. In: Dupuis, Véronique/Heyworth, Frank/Leban, Ksenija/Szesztay, Margit/Tinsley, Teresa (eds.) *Facing the future: Language educators across Europe*. (pp.39–49). Strasbourg: Council of Europe/ European Centre for Modern Languages.

Vizi, Balázs (2003) Az Európai Unió és a kisebbségi nyelvek [European Union and minority languages]. In: Nádor, Orsolya / Szarka, László (eds.) *Nyelvi jogok, kisebbségek, nyelvpolitika Közép-Kelet-Európában*. [Linguistic rights, language policy in CEE] (pp. 37–56). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Wright, Sue (1997) Language as a contributing factor in conflicts between states and within states. In: *Current Issues in Language & Society* (4.3): 215–237.

Legal documents cited:

Act no. 77/1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (*Törvény a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségekről*) Amendment 114/2005 on the Election of the Members of Minority Self-Governments

Act no. 79/1993 The Public Education Act (*Közoktatási Törvény*); Amendments 85/1995; 62/1996; 68/1999

Act no. 139/2005 The Higher Education Act (*Törvény a felsoktatásról*)

Act no. 43/2008 to include Gipsy languages (Romani and Beash) under the scope of the commitments of the Republic of Hungary under Article 2(2) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (*Törvény a Magyar Köztársaságnak a Regionális vagy Kisebbségi Nyelvek Európai Kartája 2. Cikk 2. bekezdése szerinti kötelezettségvállalásai cigány (romani és beás) nyelvekre történő kiterjesztéséről*) Available on-line at: www.complex.hu/kzldat/t0800043.htm/t0800043.htm

Decree no. 130/1995 (X.26.) on the National Core Curriculum, last revision by Government Decree No. 2002/2007 (VII.31).

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGES FOR BUSINESS

TERESA TINSLEY

A key principle of the European project is the free movement of goods, capital and labour to create a bigger, more efficient market. Businesses and investors have come a long way with the first two, but mobility of labour is still largely undeveloped. The European Commission's Business Forum for Multilingualism notes in its report 'Languages mean business' that only 2% of working age citizens live and work in a member state which is not their own and that it is the lack of language skills which is the major barrier to greater mobility in Europe. It wants to see a workforce which sees the whole of Europe as its home base:

The challenge is to integrate multilingualism firmly in all strategies aimed at developing human capital for the future¹

In EU15 worker mobility within the wider Europe is often seen as a threat to jobs but as a leading article in The Times noted, this is an indication of how much lack of language skills hampers our - in this case Britons' - own mobility².

Willi Brandt, the former Chancellor of Germany, famously said:

If I'm selling to you, I speak your language. If I'm buying, dann müssen Sie Deutsch sprechen

Research from e-marketing certainly seems to bear this out³. Customers are not only more likely to buy from websites in languages which they speak well, but they are willing to pay more too. Case studies illustrating this line of argument have shown how language builds trust and how speaking the same language builds competitive advantage by being building rapport with the customer and understanding their needs.

¹ European Commission, Languages mean business: companies work better with languages. Recommendations from the Business Forum for Multilingualism 2008.

² The Languages of Others, Times editorial 16 Feb 2009

³ Can't read, won't buy: why language matters on global websites, Sept 2006, Common Sense Advisory

In 2006 the 'ELAN' research project awarded to CILT by the European Commission as part of its 2003 Action Plan for Languages⁴ made a first attempt to put a monetary value on lost business. It involved a survey of exporting businesses in 29 countries carried out by Interact International under the direction of Professor Stephen Hagen.

The research asked:

- Do businesses have access to the language skills they need?
- What is the impact on their competitiveness?
- What is the macro-economic impact on the EU economy?

It found that 11% of European SMEs had actually lost contracts through lack of language skills, with the value on average being rated at €325,000 per business. Our experts calculated that, if repeated across whole sector, 945,000 businesses may be losing out, at a cost of €10 billion per annum to the EU economy. The research also found that businesses which employed four key language management factors experienced a 45% improvement in export sales.

From this research, a model was developed which is now being used in Spain and elsewhere to look more closely at the value of lost business in different sectors of industry and in different regions. Some commentators asked whether, within the wider Europe, this meant that business was genuinely being lost, or merely displaced. If Czech businesses improve their language skills, they may take business from Hungary but the aggregate benefit to the EU economy will be nil. This highlighted an important point: that languages improve trade not only between European countries, but between Europe and the rest of the world. This is an important step forward in recognising the need not just for the 23 official languages of the EU, but for non European languages. EU multilingualism policy has now recognised this is starting to see the language skills of immigrants from outside the EU as an important resource.

The research also made another point: that exporting itself improves productivity - businesses which sell a higher proportion of their goods abroad have higher turnovers. Trade is good for growth and languages are good for trade.

⁴ ELAN: Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise, European Commission 2007.

A specialist in econometrics from Cardiff University, Professor James Foreman Peck, who had worked on the ELAN project, was commissioned to do some further work for CILT on world trade figures and the role of a common language in determining patterns of economic activity. Various research has shown that lack of a common language depresses the volume of trade between countries, and Anderson and van Wincoop have calculated that this acts as in effect a trade tariff equivalent to a 7% 'tax'⁵. These researchers use a model known as the 'gravity model' to explain the propensity of countries to trade with each other. In this model the 'mass' which attracts countries towards one another is their GDP (the bigger the economy of a country, the more likely we are to trade with it) and other factors which also have influence include geographical proximity, and having a shared language. It is therefore possible to isolate the impact of linguistic skills on international trade, controlling for other influences. Using this model, Foreman-Peck found that having a common language boosts trade by 57%.

Foreman Peck concludes that:

Not only does a common language cause trade, but trade causes economic growth, therefore so does lack of a language barrier

Foreman-Peck's research provided clear evidence for the first time of a market failure in languages – that laissez faire market mechanisms are not producing the optimal outcome. Markets cannot function properly if there is insufficient information available to enable 'customers' to make choices. Businesses don't know, generally, to what extent language skills, as distinct from other skills they need, can impact on their bottom line. Without language skills, they cannot access the information they need to know that languages would be useful because this information itself is in a foreign language – so this becomes a circular problem. Foreman Peck quotes research by Williams and Chasten which surveyed export managers and found that 'linguistic ability was a major stimulus for the positive use of export information'. Another practical example of this comes from the EU's public procurement portal, SIMAP, which contains notices of new business opportunities from across Europe, consistent with European legislation on tendering for public service contracts. However, if businesses are unable to understand tender documents in different languages, they will not know what opportunities they might be able to bid for. Therefore, they tend to undervalue languages.

⁵ Anderson and Van Wincoop, Trade Costs, Journal of Economic Literature 43,3, 2004

There are other factors too which 'spoil' the market for languages. The education system, and the choices individuals make within it, are mainly determined nationally. But the labour market functions internationally. Companies are operating in a wider market, they can recruit from across the EU and beyond and there is an almost unlimited supply of talented multilingual EU graduates eager for international experience. This does of course demonstrate that European economic policy - based on the premise that labour mobility is the key to correcting skills shortages in the workforce - is working! But there are winners and losers and the losers in this case are monolingual. If we want growth and jobs, languages must be an important part of our strategy, not just for exports, but for tourism and for inward investment too.

CUNOAȘTEREA LIMBILOR STRĂINE ȘI COMPETENȚE DE COMUNICARE INTERCULTURALĂ ÎN MEDIUL DE AFACERI DIN ROMÂNIA

DIFERENȚA DINTRE NEVOI, OFERTĂ ȘI NIVELUL EXISTENT

CEZAR VRINCEANU

Rezumat

Acest articol își propune să prezinte maniera în care produsele și resursele educaționale elaborate în cadrul unor proiecte europene pot fi utilizate cu succes de către întreprinderile mici și mijlocii (IMM-uri) și, în general, de către piața muncii, în special în relație cu învățarea limbilor străine și a comunicării interculturale în contextul dinamicii prezente a mediului de afaceri la nivel european și mondial. Creșterea competitivității IMM-urilor care au activitate de import – export se poate realiza prin sprijinirea acestora în identificarea barierelor lingvistice și culturale cu care se confruntă în derularea schimburilor economice internaționale, prin dezvoltarea competențelor de comunicare în limbi străine a forței de muncă și, în ultimă instanță, prin identificarea și oferirea unor soluții care să amelioreze aceste aspecte.

Context

Studii realizate la inițiativa Uniunii Europene arată că, în contextul actual, cunoașterea limbilor străine și competențele de comunicare interculturală la locul de muncă au un rol din ce în ce mai important nu doar la nivelul companiilor multinaționale, ci și la nivelul IMM-urilor, ca urmare a procesului de globalizare a mediului de afaceri. Fundația EuroEd a părticipat direct la elaborarea unui astfel de studiu pan-european, intitulat ELAN¹, prin chestionarea și colectarea de date de la peste 100 de IMM-uri din România. Concluziile studiului arată în mod direct faptul că 11% din instituțiile participante

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/key/studies_en.html

la studiu recunosc că au pierdut cel puțin un contract important ca urmare a lipsei de competențe lingvistice adecvate. În ceea ce privește importanța competențelor de comunicare interculturală, peste 10% dintre instituții au răspuns că și în acest domeniu întâmpină probleme în derularea activității economice. Competențele lingvistice sunt importante pentru angajați în aceeași pondere în care sunt importante pentru instituțiile în care aceștia își desfășoară activitatea. Potrivit studiului ELAN, dezvoltarea competențelor de comunicare în limbi străine contribuie la dezvoltarea profilului profesional al angajaților: 73% din IMM-urile participante au o politică specifică de recrutare a personalului în acest domeniu, iar 57% urmăresc parcursul angajaților în ceea ce privește dezvoltarea competențelor lingvistice. Acest aspect este cu atât mai vizibil în companiile multinaționale, unde 94% folosesc recrutarea selectivă a personalului în funcție de cunoașterea sau necunoașterea unor limbi străine.

Mediul de afaceri și nevoia reală de competențe lingvistice

Economia României a cunoscut o serie de schimbări majore în ultimii 20 de ani, odată cu prăbușirea regimului comunist. Anul 1989 a marcat începerea deschiderii reală a economiei către piața externă și acest moment în istoria țării a marcat începutul restructurării și reorganizării economiei pe baza unor principii economice valide și reale (cel puțin la nivel declarativ). Ponderea inițiativei private a crescut gradual, iar această tendință a avut ca rezultat dinamizarea relațiilor economice și creșterea competitivității economice. Deschiderea României către exterior și din punct de vedere politic a constituit premisele creșterii continue a relațiilor și schimburilor economice internaționale (import și export).

Admiterea României în Uniunea Europeană în anul 2007 a marcat un nou punct de cotitură în schimburile economice internaționale, ca urmare a creșterii semnificative a ponderii și volumului pe care acestea îl ocupa în economia țării: termenii economici de import și export nu mai sunt folosiți în cadrul schimburilor economice între țările membre UE, fiind înlocuiți cu sintagma 'relații economice', iar acest lucru arată cât au devenit de importante aceste relații economice la nivelul economiei europene comune.

Această schimbare majoră a reprezentat o mare provocare pentru agenții economici din România, și în particular pentru IMM-uri, aceștia fiind nevoiți să ajusteze și să adapteze permanent politicile și strategiile instituționale

În domeniul competențelor lingvistice și al comunicării internaționale astfel încât acestea să răspundă importanței crescute pe care comunicarea internațională o reprezintă în activitatea lor de zi cu zi. Această provocare a fost cu atât mai mare cu cât economia României este într-o continuă transformare și se găsește la un nivel incipient de dezvoltare în comparație cu economiile altor state dezvoltate din Europa. Din perspectiva prezentei lucrări, această stare de fapt are influențe negative în două direcții: un grad scăzut de conștientizare asupra importanței pe care comunicarea internațională și interculturală o reprezintă în relațiile economice cu partenerii străini (și că, dincolo de calitatea produsului sau a serviciului oferit și acest aspect joacă un rol foarte important), precum și lipsa unor resurse materiale adecvate (în principal financiare) pentru derularea unor programe de dezvoltare profesională în domeniul a angajaților. În acest context nu este o surpriză faptul că IMM-urile apelează la soluția cea mai comodă și la îndemână, și anume de a recruta personal care are deja competențe lingvistice adecvate; numai că această practică răspunde doar parțial nevoilor IMM-urilor, economia și nevoile de comunicare fiind într-un permanent proces de transformare care la rândul său solicită instruirea periodică a angajaților. Această realitate a fost observată de către experții EuroEd (o instituție care dezvoltă și oferă produse și servicii educaționale în domeniul învățării limbilor străine de peste 15 ani): cu toate că în perioada 2004 – 2008 situația părea să evolueze într-o direcție corectă (odată cu creșterea economică pe care România o înregistra în acea perioadă), efectele crizei globale care au ajuns și în România în urmă cu doi ani au generat un recul negativ semnificativ și asupra acestei componente a mediului de afaceri

Oferta de servicii de învățare a limbilor străine

În cazul României, oferta de cursuri și produse de învățare a limbilor străine, precum și de alte servicii asociate (de exemplu testări, audituri lingvistice etc) acoperă din punct de vedere calitativ și cantitativ nevoile tradiționale ale pieței la un nivel satisfăcător. Gama de furnizori de servicii recunoscute este bogată, atât în ceea ce privește limbile străine (deși limba engleză are cea mai mare pondere), cât și dispersia lor geografică.

Cu toate acestea, există două aspecte importante care limitează impactul pe care învățarea limbilor străine l-ar putea avea asupra mediului de afaceri. Primul dintre acestea constă în faptul că marea majoritate a resurselor

și serviciilor sunt elaborate și livrate într-un format standard (manuale, cursuri față-în-față etc) și nu răspund neapărat nevoilor specifice ale sectorului de afaceri în ceea ce privește comunicarea internațională și interculturală în relațiile economice internaționale. Al doilea aspect este acela că o mare parte dintre aceste servicii și produse sunt elaborate pentru livrarea în format tradițional, față-în-față, ceea ce limitează motivarea și accesul IMM-urilor: angajații au resurse de timp limitate în care pot urma aceste cursuri (după program, de regulă), iar pentru angajatori este foarte dificil să accepte ca angajații să urmeze aceste cursuri în timpul programului de lucru și să fie, deci, scoși din producție în acest interval.

Diminuarea clivajelor dintre nevoi, ofertă și competențe: cum se poate răspunde eficient nevoilor reale ale mediului de afaceri

Așa cum am menționat anterior, nici contextual economic, nici gradul de conștientizare în rândul IMM-urilor sau caracteristicilor celor mai multe resurse sau servicii de învățare a limbilor străine nu sunt premise optimiste pentru dezvoltarea adecvată a competențelor de comunicare internațională și interculturală în domeniul afacerilor. Există o soluție? Desigur că există, este chiar complexă și, mai mult, aceasta este la îndemână. Sunt două abordări distincte prin care IMM-urile pot avea un acces crescut la resurse relevante de învățare a limbilor străine, iar întreg procesul este delimitat de cei doi poli ai problematicii: furnizorii și recipienții.

Furnizorii își reactualizează permanent produsele și serviciile pe care le oferă publicului interesat astfel încât acestea să răspundă nevoilor în continuă schimbare ale pieței. Din această perspectivă sunt două aspecte care trebuie avute în vedere.

Primul aspect se referă la ultimele tendințe în domeniul învățării limbilor străine: ponderea cursurilor elaborate spre a fi livrate în format 'blended' sau 'online' a crescut considerabil în ultimii zece ani, în paralel cu creșterea importanței pe care o cunoaște domeniul tehnologiei informației și comunicării. Specificitatea acestor cursuri livrate în format 'blended' sau 'online' le face mai accesibile pentru grupurile țintă vizate prin faptul că pot fi parcurse de către angajați: orarul este mai flexibil (și deci aceștia pot participa la curs atât în timpul cât și după program, fără a părăsi fizic locul de muncă), costurile sunt de regulă mai mici (deoarece activitatea profesorului nu are aceeași pondere ca în cazul cursurilor furnizate în format tradițional, conți-

naturile sunt disponibile electronic și deci ușor reciclabile, nu sunt costuri legate de deplasare și utilități etc). Însă poate cel mai important atribut al acestor cursuri și resurse de învățare a limbilor străine este acela că ele sunt mai atractive pentru angajații care au responsabilități în comunicarea internațională, deoarece aceștia sunt foarte familiarizați cu mediul online.

Multe dintre materialele create în domeniul învățării limbilor străine în ultimii zece ani au fost elaborate în cadrul unor proiecte co-finanțate de Uniunea Europeană. Această caracteristică le oferă, cel puțin în principiu, garanția calității: mecanismele și instrumentele de asigurare a calității au un rol crucial și sunt prioritare în implementarea proiectelor co-finanțate de Uniunea Europeană. Un alt punct forte al acestei categorii de resurse îl reprezintă faptul că este o cerință expresă a Uniunii Europene de a elabora conținuturi cu un important caracter inovator, ceea ce le crește gradul de atractivitate, actualitate și pretabilitate la nevoile specifice ale grupurilor țintă vizate. De asemenea, aceste produse și servicii au, de regulă, costuri mai mici decât alte produse similare și, în plus, pe durata derulării proiectelor în cadrul cărora au fost elaborate sunt furnizate fără a se percepe taxe. În plus, unul dintre dezideratele Uniunii Europene este acela de a promova diversitatea lingvistică și, în consecință, multe dintre proiectele care își propun să dezvolte resurse de învățare a limbilor străine se orientează către limbile mai puțin vorbite din Europa (LWULT), rezultând astfel o mai mare diversitate a limbilor străine pentru care sunt disponibile materiale de învățare.

Al doilea aspect important îl constituie faptul că, pentru a răspunde cât mai bine nevoilor medului de afaceri în ceea ce privește învățarea limbilor străine, ofertanții și-au diversificat paleta de servicii lingvistice, elaborând servicii conexe sau adiacente celor deja tradiționale. Această plajă de noi servicii variază de la programe de evaluare a competențelor lingvistice ale candidaților pentru un post în cadrul firmelor, până la programe complexe de evaluare a competențelor lingvistice ale angajaților unei firme sau servicii de auditare în domeniul lingvistic și al competențelor de comunicare interculturală, finalizate printr-un diagnostic și consiliere pentru ameliorarea eventualelor incongruențe. Această diversitate crește gradul de accesibilitate, vizibilitate și atractivitate a resurselor de învățare a limbilor străine în domeniul afacerilor.

Al doilea pol al relației este reprezentat de IMM-uri; acestea trebuie să conștientizeze importanța majoră pe care o reprezintă în prezent competențele în domeniul limbilor străine și al comunicării interculturale în relațiile economice internaționale și, de asemenea, trebuie să știe că resursele și serviciile de care au nevoie sunt pe piață și sunt accesibile.

Această creștere a gradului de conștientizare poate fi obținută intrinsec sau extrinsec. Intrinsec, IMM-urile trebuie să știe că nu există altă soluție decât aceea de a avea competențe în domeniul limbilor străine și al comunicării interculturale, deoarece unul dintre atributele de bază al relațiilor economice internaționale este tocmai acela că acestea sunt... internaționale, și nu există altă alternativă decât aceea de a comunica eficient cu partenerii de afaceri. Limbile engleză, franceză, germană nu mai sunt suficiente, ca urmare a creșterii semnificative a volumului activității de import – export și a dispersiei geografice a afacerilor. Extrinsec, este rolul specialiștilor în domeniul limbilor străine și al organismelor cu competențe în domeniul afacerilor (ministere, organisme guvernamentale și neguvernamentale, camere de comerț etc) să motiveze IMM-urile să dezvolte competențele lingvistice ale angajaților prin campanii și acțiuni de informare și promovare.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN ROMANIAN BUSINESSES

THE GAP BETWEEN NEEDS, PROVISION AND COMPETENCES

CEZAR VRINCEANU

Abstract

This article aims to present how educational resources and products elaborated by European projects can be efficiently employed to support the development of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and the labour market, especially in connection with language learning and intercultural communication in the context of the currently shifting European economic background. The enhancement of the competitiveness of international SMEs within partner countries can be achieved by assisting them to identify language and culture barriers which arise from cross-border trade, and/or the development of a multilingual workforce, and to find specific solutions to address potential communication difficulties.

Background and rationale

Research commissioned by the European Union shows that in today's Europe, languages in the workplace and international and intercultural communication play an increasingly important role due to the globalisation of businesses not only at the level of multinational corporations but also at the level of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). EuroEd Foundation was directly involved in one such study, called ELAN - Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise¹, and collected information from about 100 Romanian SMEs working in exporting goods or services. The data specifically points to the fact that 11% of the respondents admitted to having lost at least one contract due to the lack of appropriate linguistic competences. As far as the importance of intercultural

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/key/studies_en.html

skills is concerned, more than 10% of the respondents were aware of having encountered intercultural difficulties. The level of linguistic skills is important for individual employees as well, not only for the company. According to the ELAN study, language competences raise the professional profile of the staff - 73% of the participating SMEs have a policy for recruiting language-skilled staff and 57% keep track of their employees' language skills. This fact seems even more evident in large multinational companies, 94% of which practice "selective recruitment" (staff with linguistic skills).

Business context and language needs

A dramatic development and transformation of the Romanian business context has taken place within the last 20 years following the fall of the Communist regime in 1989 when the true opening of Romania's economy to the international market occurred. It was at that point in time when Romania's economy started to restructure and organise according to 'healthy' economic principles. The proportion of the private sector gradually increased, and this trend resulted in a more dynamic and competitive economic environment. Romania's political opening to the international context paved the way towards a continuously growing pace in international (both export and import) economic relations and trade with foreign markets.

The admission of Romania as one of the European Union member states in January 2007 represented yet another turning point in the field of international trade, as the volume of international business exchanges significantly increased: the terms of import and export in the business activity amongst EU SMEs is no longer called international trade as such, but this in itself shows how important these exchanges have become in the common European market.

This change has been very challenging for most Romanian businesses, and in particular for SMEs, as they need to re-consider and permanently adapt their institutional policies in the area of their staff's foreign language competences and intercultural communication so as to keep up with the increasing importance these aspects play in their daily business activity. It has been even more challenging as the Romanian economy is in a continuous process of transformation and its maturity is at an early stage when compared to traditional European economies of more developed countries. From the perspective of this thinkpiece, this negatively influences two areas: there

is a low level of awareness of how important knowing one's business partners' language and (especially) culture is, and a lack of appropriate material resources to put in place institutional staff development programmes and strategies in the field. The most common solution adopted by companies is to recruit people with language competences from the very beginning, but this alone is not enough, as the business world and communication needs are in a process of ongoing transformation. This reality has been documented by EuroEd (an institution that provides and develops foreign language learning materials and services) language professionals throughout the last fifteen years and, despite the fact that between 2004 – 2008 the situation seemed to have improved (along with the economic development of the country), the global economic crisis that reached Romania two years ago has resulted in a significant downturn.

Foreign language services provision

The provision of foreign language courses and associated services (e.g. testing, language audits in companies etc) in Romania covers the traditional needs of the market, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The range of recognized services providers is very wide in terms of languages targeted (although English language has by far the highest proportion) and well dispersed geographically.

However, there are two important aspects that limit the impact language learning could have upon businesses. One of them is that most of the resources are standard, and they do not necessarily address the very specific needs of SMEs (business sector) in terms of international and intercultural communication in the field of international trade. The second characteristic deals with the fact that a high proportion of these resources are developed for traditional delivery, i.e. face-to-face exclusively, which limits their usability by the business sector: employees normally have limited time gaps when they could attend classes and employers find it difficult to release them from their work duties in order to attend language learning programmes.

Filling in the gap between needs, provision and competences: how to best meet the profile of businesses

As previously explained, neither the economic context nor the level of awareness of Romanian businesses and the suitability of most language learning resources are optimistic prerequisites for the development of for-

own language skills and intercultural communication competences of SMEs employees. What is the solution then? The solution exists, it has a multifold dimension, and more importantly it is close at hand. There are two different approaches that can be followed so that SMEs have access to language learning resources that are suitable for their specific needs and this route is delineated by the two poles in focus: providers and recipients.

The providers are continuously revising their products and services so that they are either developed or adjusted according to the market needs. In this respect, there are two important aspects that need to be considered.

The first one refers to the latest 'trends' in the field of language learning: online and blended language learning courses have significantly increased their proportion during the last decade, following the same pattern of the IT sector, which has come to play a very important role in the contemporary world. The specificity of online and blended language courses makes them more accessible to the target users (businesses), as they can be more easily attended by employees: the schedule is flexible (and thus learners can work online either at or after work), the costs are smaller (as the proportion of teachers' involvement is lower, the course materials are available online and thus recyclable, there are no costs related to travel, utilities etc), and probably most importantly, their online format makes them more attractive as learners working in the business sector are familiar with online environments.

Many of the materials created in the field of language learning during the last ten years are created within EU-funded programmes. This represents an important asset in terms of quality, as quality assurance systems and instruments are amongst the top priorities of the European Union projects. Another important aspect is that the newly created resources must be innovative and appropriate in terms of attractiveness, suitability and of topical interest. These products and services are also more accessible as their cost is relatively low compared to similar projects (and during the project implementation period they are usually free of charge). Last but not least, the EU of course promotes linguistic diversity and, as a result, there are numerous language learning resources developed which are less widely used and less widely taught (LWULWT), which in turn diversify the range of languages for which learning resources are available.

The second aspect in focus is that in order to best meet the current needs of businesses, providers have diversified the range of language services and built in adjacent services related to the traditional ones. The range of services vary from programmes assessing language skills of individuals before hiring to ones assessing the language skills of existing staff or language audit services (that not only assess the linguistic competences of staff, but also provide solutions for improvement). This diversity increases the accessibility, visibility and attractiveness of language learning services and resources for the business sectors.

The second pole of the relationship is represented by SMEs; they need to become aware that language skills and intercultural communication competences are of paramount importance in the current global society and they need to know that the language resources and services they need are out there in the market.

This increased awareness can be achieved either intrinsically or extrinsically. Intrinsically, businesses have no other option but acknowledge that they need these competences, as one of the major aspects of international trade is international communication and there is no alternative but to be able to speak the language and understand the culture of their foreign business partners. English, German, French or other widely spoken languages are no longer enough as a result of the dramatic increase in the volume and geographic spread of international business relationships. On the other hand, it is the role and mission of language providers and authorities in the field of businesses (ministries, governmental or non-governmental bodies, associations etc) to extrinsically motivate SMEs to develop their staff's foreign language skills and intercultural communication competences through transparent promotion, campaigns and actions.

“WE ARE LOOKING FOR SALES MANAGER IN LITHUANIA”

INETA DABAŠINSKIENĖ

‘Qualifications required: university degree in economics or business administration; 3-5 years in a sale management position; excellent spoken and written command of Lithuanian and English, Russian or another language is an advantage....’

Reikalingi vadybininkai, ekonomistai, programuotojai, buhalteriai, projektų vadovai, tolimųjų reisų vairuotojai, biurų administratorės ir t.t. Turbūt retas kuris neskaitė darbo skelbimų, o šiuo – ekonominės krizės laikotarpiu – šio žanro skaitiniai daugeliui tapo kasdienine veikla. Atidžiau paanalizavus darbo skelbimus, susidarė įspūdis, kad šio žanro tekstai dažnai yra labai vienodi, jų kalba ir struktūra šabloniška. Tekstas, jeigu šiek tiek ilgesnis, sukomponuotas dažniausiai iš trijų pagrindinių dalių: kompanijos (darbdavio) prisistatymo, t.y. paslėptos reklamos apie įmonę, darbo apibūdinimo ir reikalavimų kandidatui. Įdomu, kad, nepaisant įmonės tipo, užimamos pozicijos ar darbo specifikos, labai dažnai reikalaujama panašių bendrųjų gebėjimų: puikių komunikacinių įgūdžių, panašios darbo patirties, darbo komandoje gebėjimų, sprendimų priėmimo, darbo su kompiuteriu ir užsienio kalbų.

Šiame straipsnyje kalbėsiu ne apie išsilavinimą, patirtį ar kitus svarbius reikalavimus darbo skelbimuose, bet apie kalbas. Ar dažnai darbdaviams Lietuvoje prireikia darbuotojų, kalbančių užsienio kalbomis? Kokių kalbų šiandien reikia? Ar pakanka mokėti vieną užsienio kalbą? Ar darbdaviai reikalauja gerų lietuvių kalbos žinių?

Savo mintis ir teiginius argumentuosiu, pasirėmusi ne tik asmeniniu stebėjimu ar akademinėmis žiniomis apie kalbų vartojimą Europoje ir Lietuvoje, daugiakalbystės politiką ES, bet konkrečiu pilotiniu tyrimu, kurį atlikome drauge su magistrantėmis, patyrinėdamos kelis šimtus darbo skelbimų, skelbtų on-line ir didžiuosiuose Lietuvos dienraščiuose¹.

¹ Six master students in *Applied Linguistics* from Vytautas Magnus University, Faculty of Humanities carried out research in the domain of *Languages for Jobs*. Part of the results was used in this study.

Rezultatai nebuvo labai netikėti, nes jie atspindi bendras Europos ar Baltijos šalių kalbų vartojimo tendencijas. Jokia naujiena šiandien, kad anglų kalba tapo tarptautine bendravimo kalba, savotiška lingua franca Europos institucijose, akademiniam ir verslo sektoriuose. Sunku įsivaizduoti tarptautinius sandorius, derybas, eksportą ir visą kitą verslo komunikaciją be anglų kalbos. Todėl kompanijos, ypač tarptautinės arba ketinančios tokiomis tapti, dažnai darbo skelbimuose įvardina priežastis, kodėl jiems reikia darbuotojų, mokančių užsienio kalbas. Darbo skelbimuose gali atsirasti a) tiesioginis (darbo aprašyme) arba b) netiesioginis (skelbimo pavadinime) teiginys, atskleidžiantis motyvaciją:

- a) 'to work closely with multinational clients', 'continuously improving baking technologies, practices and product development process in Fazer Bakeries Baltic Countries', 'to maintain business relationships with laboratory professionals in Lithuania and other Baltic states', 'Harmonization of all regulatory process among Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia', 'preparation of presentation and translation of documents', 'Your responsibilities will include the management of CRA teams in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania...', 'Supervise professional Procurement and Purchasing Organization (PPO) function in JTI Baltic States'
- b) 'Legal Advisor for Baltics', 'Controller for Baltics'.

Šie pavyzdžiai akivaizdžiai rodo, jog reikės bendrauti su kitų šalių atstovais, todėl suprantama, kodėl užimamai pozicijai keliami užsienio kalbų reikalavimai. Dažniausiai reikalaujama mokėti anglų kalbą, o po to rusų k. Tokia tendencija nėra pastebėta tik tarptautinių kompanijų atveju, bet visuose tirtuose darbo skelbimuose reikalaujama užsienio kalba yra anglų, ir tai sudaro daugiau nei 90 procentų, o antroji yra rusų kalba. Kaip jau minėjau, tokia situacija yra panaši Rytų Europos, Baltijos ir Lietuvos kalbų vartojimo, mokymosi ir kalbinių nuostatų požiūriu, -- visur lyderio pozicijas užtikrintai yra užėmusi anglų kalba, o antroji – rusų. Prieš dvidešimt metų Baltijos valstybėms paskelbus nepriklausomybę, rusų kalbos statusas buvo stipriai pasikeitęs. Dėl ideologinių/ politinių priežasčių ji ilgam pasitraukė iš mokyklų, universitetuose taip pat sumažėjo jos besimokančiųjų, o dėstytojai turėjo persikvalifikuoti į kitų kalbų specialistus. Tuomet visi ėmėsi mokytis anglų kalbos. Taip buvo apie 1990-2000. Įstojus į ES, atsivėrus sienoms, padidėjus įvairaus pobūdžio mobilumui – turistiniam, akademiniam, profesiniam, kultūriniam – tikėtina būtų, kad lietuviai ir kiti baltiečiai panorės mokytis

ne tik anglų, bet ir kitų europietišų tradicinių kalbų, pirmiausiai prancūzų ir vokiečių. Bet, taip neatsitiko...

Todėl šiandien jau vokiečių ir prancūzų kalbų specialistai bando persikvalifikuoti ir tapti rusų kalbos ekspertais. Istorija kartojasi. O rinkta geriausias barometras, parodantis, ko šiandien reikia. Jeigu darbo skelbimuose dažnai darbdaviai ieško darbuotojų, kurie be anglų, mokėtų ir rusų kalbą, visuomenė reaguoja. Tėvai, mokytojai, mokyklų administracija, švietimo ministerija mato rusų kalbos poreikį. Jau keleri metai iš eilės stebime užsienio kalbų pasirinkimo dinamiką vidurinėse mokyklose. Daugiau kaip 95 procentai mokinių renkasi anglų kaip pirmąją užsienio kalbą, o didžioji daugumą moksleivių kaip antrąją kalbą renkasi rusų. Įdomu tai, kad tėvai nulemia tokį antrosios kalbos pasirinkimą, motyvuodami, kad reikia mokėti didelės kaimynės kalbą, nes Rusija yra viena didžiausių Lietuvos prekybos partnerių. Taigi, motyvas ekonominis. Pasigilinkime toliau, kokių kalbų įvairovė dominuoja Lietuvos daro skelbimuose ir kaip reikia mokėti tas kalbas.

English only?

Įvairūs tyrimai atskleidė, kad nepaisant anglų kalbos dominavimo verslo pasaulyje, jos vienos neužtenka. Žinoma gera patarlė: „jeigu nori ką nors nupirkti, jokios kalbos nereikia, bet jeigu nori parduoti, turi mokėti pirkėjo kalbą“. Taigi augant konkurencijai rinkoje, didėja ir paieška darbuotojų, mokančių ne tik anglų, bet ir kitas kalbas. Ne tiek daug įmonių šiandien skiria lėšų savo darbuotojų kalbinių įgūdžių tobulinimui, todėl priimtinausia ieškoti žmogaus gebančio laisvai bendrauti keliomis kalbomis.

Didžiojoje darbo skelbimų dalyje reikalaujama mokėti vieną ar daugiau užsienio kalbų. Nustatyta, kad: a) 44 % reikalaujama mokėti tik anglų k., b) 39 % reikalaujama mokėti dvi kalbas: b1) 52 % rusų ir anglų k., b2) 32 % lietuvių k. ir anglų k., b3) 1 % vokiečių ir anglų k., b4) 5 % anglų ir vieną iš Baltijos šalių k., c) 17 % reikalaujama mokėti tris kalbas: anglų k., rusų k. ir lietuvių k. Taigi vyrauja anglų k., po to seka rusų k., o trečioji kalba yra lietuvių k. Kodėl būtent šios kalbos aišku: anglų k. – tarptautinė verslo kalba, o rusų k. reikalinga verslui Rusijoje ir kitose posovietinėse šalyse. Įdomi tendencija, kad be užsienio kalbų į skelbimus patenka ir lietuvių kalba. Patyrinėjus, galima daryti prielaidas, kad darbdaviai reikalauja lietuvių kalbos, nes:

- šios įmonės įdarbintų ne tik lietuvius, bet ir kitų tautybių žmones, todėl svarbu, kad būsimi darbuotojai, be kitų reikalavimų, mokėtų ir lietuvių k. Dažniausiai lietuvių k. minima pirmoje vietoje, pavyzdžiui: „Excellent

knowledge of Lithuanian and English (spoken and written)”, „Good knowledge of Lithuanian, Russian and English languages”, todėl galima spėti, jog ji turėtų būti svarbiausia iš reikalaujamų kalbų;

- taip pat galima daryti dar vieną prielaidą: darbdaviams svarbu, kad jų darbuotojai mokėtų taisyklingai lietuviškai kalbėti ir rašyti, nes dažnai darbo apibūdinime minima, kad teks bendrauti su klientais, kitų įmonių atstovais ir pan. Ypač dažnai gerų lietuvių k. žinių reikalaujama iš vadybininkų.

Tačiau tik lietuvių k. mokėti nepakanka, dažniausia reikalaujama dar vienos ar dviejų užsienio kalbų. Dažniausiai reikalaujama kalba – anglų (beveik visuose skelbimuose, kuriuose nurodomas kalbų mokėjimas). Viename skelbime informuojama, kad įmonė ieško naujo personalo, pirmiausia parašoma, kad visiems bendras reikalavimas: „fluency English (oral, written)”, ir tada vardijami reikalavimai atskiroms pareigoms. Rusų kalbos reikalaujama apie taip pat dažnai (27%). Dar kituose skelbimuose pridėjama, kad rusų k. mokėjimas būtų privalumas: „good English communication skills, preferably also Russian”, „fluency English, Lithuanian, Russian – advantage”. Vokiečių k. reikalaujama labai retai (4 %) ir tik pavieniauose skelbimuose prašoma mokėti rečiau vartojamų kalbų: ispanų, italų, latvių, prancūzų, danų, estų.

Pasaulyje anglų kalba yra labai svarbi, ypač pradėjus bendradarbiauti arba užmezgant kontaktus. Vėliau, norint išlaikyti verslą, reikia numatyti ir kitų kalbų (verslo partnerių) vartojimą, nes tai dažnai lemia sėkmingą partnerystę ir ilgalaikius ryšius.

What does it mean fluent?

Europos Sąjungoje yra priimta užsienio kalbų mokėjimo lygio bendra vertinimo sistema (lygis vertinamas pagal penkias kategorijas: kalbos supratimą klausant ir skaitant, gebėjimą bendrauti bei pateikti informaciją ir rašymo įgūdžius; pagal Europos A – pradedantieji, B – pažengusieji, C – puikiai, CEFR²). Tačiau analizuotuose skelbimuose užsienio kalbos mokėjimo lygio reikalavimai pateikiami ne pagal Europoje žinomus (deja, dažniausiai tik kalbos specialistų, bet būtų pravartu apie juos žinoti ir personalo HR padaliniams) standartus, o įvardijami gana abstrakčiai: fluent / fluency – 63 %, good communication skills – 19 %, excellent knowledge of – 6 %, knowledge of – 2 %, very good knowledge of – 2 %, very good command skills – 2 %, proficient – 2 %, very good language skills – 2 %, high level language skills – 2 %, knowledge of .. advantage 2 %.

² CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for Language: Learning, teaching, assessment, Council of Europe. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Kaip matyti, žodžiai, kuriais nurodomas kalbos mokėjimo lygis, semantiškai panašūs ir gana abstraktūs: sklandžiai, geri bendravimo įgūdžiai, puikios, geros, aukšto lygio kalbos žinios. Dažniausiai kalbos mokėjimo lygis nurodomas „fluent / fluency“ (sklandžiai), šiek tiek rečiau reikalaujama „good communication skills“.

Informacija, žodžiu ar raštu kalbą reikia mokėti, nurodoma tik pusėje skelbimų. Panašiu dažnumu reikalaujama mokėti: žodžiu ir raštu (55 %), tik žodžiu (45 %). Tik keliuose skelbimuose nurodomi kalboms skirtingi kriterijai: „fluency in written and spoken English, spoken Russian“, visuose kituose skelbimuose dažniausiai reikalaujama kalbas mokėti vienodai gerai tiek žodžiu, tiek raštu: „Fluent English, Lithuanian and Russian both oral and written“.

Skelbimų analizė parodė, kad kalbos mokėjimo lygis, nusakomas įvairiais abstrakčiais junginiais, dažnai potencialių darbuotojų yra suprantas skirtingai, todėl mes pabandėme kreiptis į darbdavius, paklausdami, kad išsiaiškintume: „kokie minėtos kalbos mokėjimo lygio Jūs reikalaujate? Kiek ir kaip ją reikia mokėti?“, „kiek ir kaip anglų kalbą reikia mokėti, kad žinios būtų įvertintos „gerai“?“, „Kaip nustatyti, kad mano anglų kalbos žinios yra geros?“. Gauti atsakymai dažniausiai patikslino reikalavimą.

Darbo skelbime reikalauta labai gerų anglų kalbos įgūdžių. Paklausus, kokį kalbos mokėjimo lygį atitinka darbo skelbime pateiktas anglų kalbos mokėjimo reikalavimas, buvo gautas išsamus atsakymas. Jame sakoma, kad anglų kalbos lygis būtų bent jau upper-intermediate. Taip pat nurodoma, kam bus reikalinga kalba: anglų kalba reikės pristatyti siūlomus mokymus, suderinti mokymų programą, trukmę, datą ir kainą; gebėti raštu bendrauti su klientu; klientui pageidaujant raštu pateikti pasiūlymus).

Keliuose darbo skelbimuose reikalauta (anglų, rusų kalbų) žinių. Vienas atsakymas į užklausą, koks kalbos mokėjimo lygis apibrėžiamas žodžiu žinios, tikslina, kad darbdavys tikisi, jog pretendentas į siūlomą poziciją gebės (anglų, rusų kalba) pasisveikinti, atsisveikinti, paprašyti dokumento, informuoti lankytojus apie pagrindinius dalykus. Kad atliktų šias funkcijas, žmogui reikia mokėti tik bendriausius kalbos dalykus.

Kitame darbo skelbime teigiama, kad anglų kalbos mokėjimas yra (didelis privalumas). Paklausus, kaip darbą paskelbusi įmonė vertina, supranta žodį privalumas, gautas toks atsakymas: kalbos mokėjimas nėra lemiamas veiksnys, kalbos mokėjimas neapsprendžia kandidato tinkamumo.

Tačiau pasitaikė ir skelbimų, kuriuose nurodoma mokėti užsienio kalbų, nedetalizuojant, kokių ir kaip. Dėl vieno tokio, kuriame reikalauta mokėti užsienio kalbą ir kreipėmės. Buvo paklausta, kurių konkrečiai kalbų reikia, kaip gerai reikia ją ar jas mokėti. Gautas atsakymas, kuriame nepatiksinama, nei kurią kalbą reikia mokėti, nei kam bus reikalinga kalba, kaip gerai ją reikia mokėti. Atsakymas leidžia suprasti, kad, jei pretendentas moka tik kelis (anglų, rusų) kalbos sakinius, negali manyti, kad jis jau moka užsienio kalbą.

Multilingual Managers?

Analizuotuose darbo skelbimuose buvo siūlomos įvairios pareigos: vadovų (įmonių, padalinių), specialistų (ekonomistai, inžinieriai, buhalteriai), analitikų (pramonės, finansų, žemės įvertintojai), vadybininkų (pardavimo, personalo, supirkimo, reklamos), asistentų, biuro administratorių ir kt.

Didžiausi reikalavimai kalbų mokėjimo atžvilgiu keliami vadybininkams. Jie turi mokėti daugiausiai kalbų (lietuvių, anglų, rusų, vokiečių, vieną iš Baltijos šalių kalbų); vadybininkams skirti skelbimai kalbų reikalavimo atžvilgiu informatyvesni: dažniau nurodoma, kad kalbas reikalinga mokėti raštu ir žodžiu, taip pat nurodoma, kad viena ar kita kalba reikalingi puikūs bendravimo įgūdžiai, taip pat iš vadybininkų dažniausiai reikalaujama gerų lietuvių k. žinių. Darbo skelbimuose, kuriuose ieškomi vadybininkai, kalbos reikalavimai dažniau nurodomi pirmoje bendrųjų reikalavimų dalyje, užsienio kalbos reikalavimai dažniau motyvuoti (darbo apibūdinime parašoma, kad teks bendrauti su užsieniečiais). Taigi vadybininko darbas – pristatyti, reklamuoti įmonę, jos produkciją, bendrauti su klientais ir pan. todėl šiai specialybei keliami didesni kalbos reikalavimai.

Is there any future for monolinguals?

Skelbimų, kuriuose neįvardijami užsienio kalbos reikalavimai, buvo nedaug, t.y. 7%. Kai kurie iš jų buvo parašyti angliškai ir rusiškai, ir darbas buvo siūlomas ne Lietuvoje (Skandinavijos šalyse, Latvijoje, Baltarusijoje). Galima manyti, kad darbdaviai tikisi, kad potencialus darbuotojas mokės tą kalbą, nes sugebės perskaityti skelbimą. Kita vertus, ne visais atvejais skelbimuose yra nurodomi reikalavimai, keliami darbuotojui, dažnai stebima tendencija, kai nurodoma ieškoti daugiau informacijos internetiniame įmonės puslapyje. O gal yra darbų, kuriems nereikia jokių užsienio kalbų? Ko gero, kad taip...

Lietuvos „Darbo ir karjeros centras“ darbdaviams yra paruošęs patarimų, kaip sudaryti darbo skelbimus. Vienas iš patarimų – apie užsienio kalboms keliamus reikalavimus, kuriame teigiama: „Neverta kelti reikalavimo kalbos

įgūdžiams, jei darbuotojui niekada šios kalbos darbo metu panaudoti nereikės. Pavyzdžiui, kai kurios įmonės kelia reikalavimus anglų kalbos žinioms, nors jos nėra būtinos darbe. Paskelbę tokią informaciją darbuotojų paieškos skelbime galite negauti CV tų kandidatų, kurie yra geri savo srities specialistai, tačiau moka kitą užsienio kalbą, pavyzdžiui vokiečių“.

Kai darbų pasiūla mažėja, konkurencija tarp įvairių specialistų didėja. Niekada nežinai, kokie specialistai bus paklausūs rytoj – vadybininkai, inžinieriai ar informatikai. Sunku prognozuoti rinką. O nuolat besikeičiančioje visuomenėje lankstumą ir pranašumą gali suteikti kalbų mokėjimas. Juk visada bus pranašesnis tas, kuris mokės ne tik anglų kalbą, bet dar ir rusų, ir prancūzų, o gal dar japonų, ir visas jas fluent, spoken and written.

Effective communication is essential in any job; if someone is searching for a job, it becomes even more important. Language skills are very important, and can make the difference between success and failure in a job search. Languages are so critically important, especially in this unstable world where market requires different skill every day, and languages the only stable skill everyone can rely on.

“WE ARE LOOKING FOR SALES MANAGER IN LITHUANIA”

INETA DABAŠINSKIENĖ

‘Qualifications required: university degree in economics or business administration; 3-5 years in a sale management position; excellent spoken and written command of Lithuanian and English, Russian or another language is an advantage....’

Managers, economists, IT specialists, accountants, project managers, long-distance truck drivers, office administrators etc. are required. Most people have probably read job advertisements during this period of economic crisis and readings of this genre have become an everyday activity for many. A closer analysis of job advertisements gives an impression that texts of this kind are often very much alike, their language and structure clichéd. A text, if slightly longer, is usually composed of three main parts: self-presentation of the company or employer (i.e. hidden advertising of the company), the job description and the requirements for job applicants. It is interesting that, regardless of the type of the company, position occupied or specific qualities of a job, very often similar general abilities are required: excellent communication skills, similar working experience, teamwork skills, decision-making, computer literacy and foreign languages.

In this paper, I am going to speak not about education, work experience or other important requirements in job advertisements, but rather about languages. Do employers in Lithuania often need employees who speak foreign languages? What languages are required today? Is it enough to have a command of one foreign language? Do employers require a good knowledge of the Lithuanian language?

I am going to present arguments to support my ideas and statements, based not only on personal observation or academic knowledge of the use of languages in Europe and Lithuania, or the EU multilingualism policy, but also

on specific pilot research that was carried out together with a few Masters degree students. We studied several hundred job advertisements published on-line and in large Lithuanian daily newspapers¹.

The results were not very unexpected, since they reflected common tendencies in the use of languages of European and Baltic countries. It is no news today that the English language has become an international language of communication, a particular lingua franca in European institutions, academic and business sectors. It is hard to imagine international transactions, negotiations, export and all other business communication without the English language. Therefore, companies, in particular international or those which intend to become such, frequently state reasons in job advertisements why they need employees who know foreign languages. Job advertisements may contain a) a direct statement (in a job description) or b) an indirect statement (in an advertisement title) revealing motivation:

- a) 'to work closely with multinational clients', 'continuously improving baking technologies, practices and product development process in Fazer Bakeries Baltic Countries', 'to maintain business relationships with laboratory professionals in Lithuania and other Baltic states', 'Harmonization of all regulatory process among Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia', 'preparation of presentation and translation of documents', 'Your responsibilities will include the management of CRA teams in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania...', 'Supervise professional Procurement and Purchasing Organization (PPO) function in JTI Baltic States'
- b) 'Legal Advisor for Baltics', 'Controller for Baltics'.

These examples clearly show that it will be necessary to communicate with representatives of other countries; consequently, it is understandable why requirements for the position include knowledge of foreign languages. The command of the English language, followed by Russian, is usually required. This tendency is noticed not only in the case of international companies. Almost all job advertisements studied require English as a foreign language, making up more than 90 per cent, with Russian being the second. As I have already mentioned, this situation is similar in terms of the use and learning of languages, and linguistic attitudes of eastern Europe and Baltic countries, including Lithuania - the English language safely occupies a leading position everywhere, while Russian is the second. After the Baltic States declared

¹ Six master students in *Applied Linguistics* from Vytautas Magnus University, Faculty of Humanities carried out research in the domain of *Languages for Jobs*. Part of the results was used in this study.

their independence 20 years ago, the status of the Russian language significantly changed. For ideological/political reasons, it was withdrawn from schools for a long time, the number of university students learning Russian also dropped and lecturers had to retrain as specialists in other languages. Everyone started to learn English. This situation lasted approximately from 1990 to 2000. After joining the EU, the opening of borders and an increase in different kinds of mobility, such as tourist, academic, professional and cultural mobility, it was likely that Lithuanians and people from other Baltic countries would wish to learn not only English, but also other traditional European languages, in particular French and German. However, this did not happen.

Consequently, specialists in the German and French languages are today trying to retrain as experts in the Russian language. History is repeating itself. And the market is the best barometer showing what is required today. If in job advertisements employers often look for employees who (in addition to English) know Russian, society reacts. Parents, teachers, administration of schools and the Ministry of Education see the demand for the Russian language. We have been watching the dynamics of the choice of foreign languages at secondary schools for several consecutive years. Over 95 per cent of pupils choose English as their first foreign language and the vast majority of school children choose Russian as their second foreign language. It is interesting that parents determine this choice of the second language, explaining that it is necessary to know the language of the largest neighbour, since Russia is one of Lithuania's key trading partners. Thus, the motive is of an economic character. Let us go deeper into detail about a variety of languages which dominate job advertisements in Lithuania and the level of the command of those languages.

English only?

Various studies revealed that despite the domination of the English language in the business world, the command of English alone is not enough. A well known proverb says: 'If you want to buy something, no language is necessary, but if you want to sell, you have to know the language of the buyer.' Consequently, as competition in the market is growing, the search for employees who have the command of not only English but also other languages is increasing. Not so many companies today allocate funds for improving

language skills of their employees; the most acceptable solution is therefore to look for a person who is fluent in several languages.

The majority of job advertisements require the command of one or more foreign languages. The following was identified: a) 44% of job advertisements require only English, b) 39% require two languages, b1) 52% need Russian and English, b2) 32% need Lithuanian and English, 11% require German and English, 5% need English and one of the languages of the Baltic countries, 17% require three languages: English, Russian and Lithuanian. Thus, English is the dominating language. It is followed by Russian with Lithuanian third. It is clear why precisely these languages are the most popular: English is a language for international business and Russian is necessary for business in Russia and other post-Soviet countries. The research leads to assumptions that employers require the Lithuanian language, since:

- These companies would employ not only Lithuanians, but also people of other nationalities; therefore, it is important that future employees, in addition to other requirements, have a command of Lithuanian. The Lithuanian language is usually mentioned first, for example: 'Excellent knowledge of Lithuanian and English (spoken and written)', 'Good knowledge of Lithuanian, Russian and English languages'; consequently, the presumption can be made that it must be the most important of the languages required;
- Another assumption can also be made: it is important for employers that their employees speak and write correct Lithuanian, since a job description often mentions that employees will have to communicate with clients, representatives of other companies etc. In particular, a good knowledge of Lithuanian is frequently required in managers.

However, the command of the Lithuanian language only is not enough and one or two more foreign languages are usually required. English is the most required language (in almost all job advertisements which refer to the command of languages). One advertisement provides information that a company is looking for new personnel. The advert, first of all, sets out a general requirement for all applicants: 'fluency in English (oral, written)', then mentions requirements for separate positions. The Russian language is also frequently required (27%). Other advertisements add that the command of Russian would be an advantage: 'good English communication skills, prefer-

ably also Russian', 'fluency in English, Lithuanian, Russian – advantage'. The German language is required very rarely (4%) and only individual adverts request the command of languages that are used more rarely: Spanish, Italian, Latvian, French, Danish and Estonian.

The English language is of particular importance around the world, especially, when starting cooperation or establishing contacts. Later, in order to sustain business, it is necessary to envisage the use of other languages (of business partners) as well, since this often determines successful partnership and long-term relations.

What does fluent mean?

The European Union has an accepted common assessment framework of the level of the knowledge of foreign languages (the level is assessed under five categories: understanding of the language through listening and reading, an ability to communicate and present information, and writing skills; according to this framework, A means 'basic users', B stands for 'independent users' and C refers to 'proficient users', CEFR²). However, the advertisements analysed set out requirements for the level of the command of a foreign language not by standards that are known in Europe (unfortunately, usually to language specialists only, yet HR divisions should also know about them), but rather in quite abstract terms: fluent/fluency – 63%, good communication skills – 19%; excellent knowledge of – 6%; knowledge of – 2%; very good knowledge of – 2%; very good command skills – 2%; proficient – 2%; very good language skills – 2%; high level language skills – 2%, knowledge of ... advantage 2%.

It can be seen that words referring to the level of the command of a language are semantically similar and quite abstract: fluent/fluency, good communication skills, excellent, good, high level knowledge of the language. The indicated level of the command of a language is usually 'fluent / fluency', while 'good communication skills' are only rarely required.

Only half of the advertisements provide information on whether spoken or written language is required. Requirements are similar for spoken and written (55%), and spoken (45%) language. Just a few adverts specify different criteria for languages: 'fluency in written and spoken English, spoken Russian', while all other advertisements usually require an equally good spoken

² CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for Language: Learning, teaching, assessment, Council of Europe. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

and written command of languages: 'Fluent English, Lithuanian and Russian both oral and written'.

The analysis of the advertisements showed that the level of the command of a language described by different abstract collocations is often understood differently by potential employees. Therefore, we tried to apply to employers to clarify the following: 'What level of command of the said language do you require? To what extent and how well should it be known?', 'To what extent and how well should the English language be known so that the knowledge of it would be assessed as 'good'?', 'How can I determine that my knowledge of English is good?' The answers received usually specified the requirement.

One job advertisement required very good skills in the English language. The question 'what level of the command of the language does the requirement for the command of English set out in the job advertisement correspond to?' was answered thoroughly. The answer given was that 'the level of the English language should be at least upper-intermediate'. It was also indicated what the language would be necessary for 'presenting offered training, agreeing on the programme, duration, date and price of training; communicating with clients in writing; submitting proposals in writing at the client's request'.

Several job adverts required knowledge (of English and Russian). One answer to the question 'what level of the command of the language is defined by the word "knowledge"?' specified that the employer expects an applicant for the position offered will be able (in English and Russian) 'to greet and say goodbye to people, to ask for a document, inform visitors of the basic things'. In order to perform these functions, a person just needs to have a basic knowledge of the language.

Another job advertisement stated that the knowledge of English is a great advantage. The question 'how does the company advertising the job understand the word "advantage"?' was answered in the following way: 'the knowledge of the language is not the deciding factor; the knowledge of the language does not determine the aptitude of the applicant'.

However, a number of advertisements required the knowledge of foreign languages without specifying languages and the level of their knowledge. We replied to one of these adverts, which required the knowledge of a foreign language. We asked what specific languages were necessary, what level of knowledge was required. The answer received specified neither what

language was required, nor what a language would be necessary for and what level of its knowledge was required. The answer implies if an applicant knows only a few sentences in the foreign language (English or Russian), it does not mean that he/she already has a knowledge of the foreign language.

Multilingual managers?

The analysed job advertisements offered different positions: executives (of companies, units), specialists (economists, engineers, accountants), analysts (industry and financial analysts, land assessment specialists), managers (sales, personnel, procurement, advertising), assistants, office administrators etc.

The highest requirements for the command of languages are set for managers. They have to know the largest number of languages (Lithuanian, English, Russian, German and one of the languages of the Baltic countries). Job advertisements for managers are more informative in terms of language requirements: they indicate more often that a written and spoken command of languages is required; they also specify that excellent communication skills in one or another language are necessary; they also usually require that managers have a good knowledge of Lithuanian. Job adverts looking for managers more often set out language requirements in the first part of general requirements, and requirements for a foreign language are reasoned more frequently (the job description specifies that a manager will have to communicate with foreigners). Thus, the job of a manager includes presentation and promotion of the company and its products, and also communication with clients etc. Therefore, higher language requirements are set for this position.

Is there any future for monolinguals?

Few advertisements did not specify foreign language requirements (7%). Some of the adverts were in English and Russian, and the job was offered outside Lithuania (in Scandinavian countries, Latvia or Belarus). Employers probably expect that a potential employee will know that language, since he/she will be able to read the advert. On the other hand, not all advertisements state requirements for an employee and the tendency is often noticed to direct applicants to the company's website for more information. Are there perhaps any jobs available that do not require any foreign languages? Probably there are...

The Job and Career Centre of Lithuania offers advice for employers on how to compose job advertisements. One of the tips on requirements for foreign languages says: 'It is not worth setting out requirements for language skills if an employee will never need to use this language at work. For example, some companies impose requirements for the knowledge of English although it is not necessary at work. If you publish this information in an advertisement searching for employees, you may not receive CVs from applicants who are good specialists in their field, yet have knowledge of a different foreign language, for example German'.

When job offers are decreasing, the competition among different specialists is increasing. You never know what specialists will be in demand tomorrow: managers or engineers, or computer scientists. It is hard to forecast the market. However, the knowledge of languages can give you flexibility and an advantage in a constantly changing society. After all, a person who knows not only English, but also Russian, French and maybe Japanese, and all of them fluently, spoken and written, will always have a greater advantage.

Effective communication is essential in any job; if someone is searching for a job, this becomes even more important. Language skills are very important, and can make the difference between success and failure in a job search, especially in this unstable world where the market requires different skills every day and languages are the only stable skill everyone can rely on.

ЕЗИЦИТЕ В МЕДИИТЕ И В ПУБЛИЧНАТА СФЕРА БЪЛГАРСКИЯТ СЛУЧАЙ

ИРИНА НЕДЕВА

Някога страна, затворена и подозрителна към чуждите езици, днешна България е все още на езиков кръстопът – между отварянето и това да не забележи, че глобалният свят изисква преводимост. Ако дойдете като чужденец в България, първо ще се спънете в азбуката - кирилица. Рядко табелите с имената на улиците имат транскрипция на латински. Не е лесно веднага да откриете карти на градовете или на пътищата в България с латински букви освен в чисто туристически места.

Изгубени в превода?

Ако сте чужденец в България, можете да живеете в един свой свят, напълно независим от доминиращата езиковата реалност. Няма да разбирате новините, които телевизиите тиражират, няма да има всекидневник, в който да ги прочетете. В най-добрия случай ще се информирате веднъж седмично от единственото издание на английски – седмичния вестник на английски “Sofia-Echo”, или ще се зачетете в българското двумесечното англоезично списание “Vagabond”. Като чужденец в България имате една парадоксална възможност – вие, чужденецът, можете да си живеете в Париж, Лондон, Джакарта или Буенос Айрес... докато сте физически в България. Защото в интернет пространството няма да усещате къде сте и информационният ви глад ще се удовлетворява по познатия ви от други географски ширини начин. Няма да усещате разликата и ако се движите в глобализираното пространство на shopping malls, които изникват като гъби. Има и още една възможност – да ходите на кино. Също лесно постижимо в моловете и мултиплексите. Проекциите в киносалоните са със субтитри и може да гледате всички холивудски продукти в оригинал. Когато има европейска продукция, също имате шанс да я гледате в оригинал и да не обръщате внимание на българските субтитри, защото по традиция в големите кинотеатри дублаж има само на детските филми.

Това обаче, което ще убегне на вашето разбиране, ще са всички български филми. Учудващо е, но е факт, че например филми като “Източни пиеси”, който получи специална награда в Кан, 2009 или като “Светът е голям спасение дебне от всякъде”(първият български филм с номинация за Оскар през 2010 година) със сигурност имат субтитри на чужди езици, но вие няма да можете

да ги гледате в български кинозалони със субтитри на поне един европейски език. Българският контекст на новини, драми, политически скандали, случки от всекидневието, може да остане напълно невидим за вас. Чуждоезиковата “пропускливост” може да усетите само в менютата на ресторантите и кръчмите и то понякога, ако сте доста настойчиви. Докато сте чужденци в България, вие може изобщо да забравите къде сте, освен ако нямате придружител или преводач, разбира се, с малки изключения... “бели лястовици” – една частна новинарска агенция, която се списва само на английски, софийския седмичен вестник, чийто главен редактор е англоговорящ чужденец, две три списания списвани на английски с туристическо съдържание и няколко английски страници в интернет изданията на два български икономически вестника – Пари и Дневник.

Кратките справки за България я описват като доминиращо славяноезична страна, чиято православна култура е дълбоко свързана с културата на Византия, а по-късно с Османската империя в продължение на почти пет века, до придобиването на независимост през 19 век. След Втората световна война, като част от социалистическия блок, страната е тясно обвързана със Съветския съюз до падането на Берлинската стена, а днес е страна-член на НАТО от 2004 и на ЕС от 2007 г.

Няколко езикови феномени следва да бъдат анализирани: доминиращият официален език на държавата в неговите отношения с местните езици на малцинствата и в отношенията му с езиците, традиционно определяни като чужди езици.

Факти и числа:

Езици: Официалният език в България е българският, той е първият език на 85.5 процента от населението според последното преброяване от 2001 г. Другите езици са турски - 9.6%, ромски 4.1%, други 1.8%. Както и по отношение на броя, в етническите групи се смята, че говорещите цигански/ромски са повече от обявилите. **Религии:** православни българи са 82.6%, изповядващи ислям 12.2%, други християни са 1.2%, религии, различни от християнството - 4% (според преброяването от 2001). Римокатолическата църква има около 80,000 последователи, Арменската апостолическа църква има около 20,000. От 12.2 процента мюсюлмани повечето са етнически турци, но изповядващите ислям също така включват една група от населението, така наречените “помаци”, които живеят предимно в Родопите, чийто майчин език е български, въпреки че изповядват исляма. След многобройната емиграция на евреи към Израел след основаването на държавата през 1948 и мобилността след падането на Берлинската стена броят на евреите в момента се предполага, че е между 3,000 и 6,000 души.

Основното предположение на този текст е, че българската публичност и медийната сцена все още са твърде непроницаеми и мултилингвистично непрозрачни.

Печатни медии, телевизия, радио

Основните медии са предимно на български език и въпросът за чуждите езици в тях все още се вижда като част от продължителния дебат за националната идентичност и единството. Въпреки че конституцията гарантира свободата на словото и съответно на медиите и въпреки че правителствата като цяло декларират уважение към тези права, на практика списанията и вестниците, които използват друг език освен българския, се броят на пръсти – един единствен седмичен вестник се списва на английски (“Sofia Echo”, собственост на Ecomedia Group), и две-три списания. Парадоксално, двата вестника с най-голям тираж, “24 часа” и “Труд”, собственост на германската медия група Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, не поддържат даже кратки уеб версии на език, различен от българския.

Даже уебсайтовете на големите телевизии рядко предлагат преведени на чужд език новини. За телевизиите с национален обхват е достатъчно да имат уебсайт само на български, с една единствена страница на английски, озаглавена “За нас”, и с няколко думи за правилата за реклама и банковите сметки. Така е дори в случаите, когато тези телевизии са собственост на чужди медийни групи, като Мърдок Нюз корпорейшън и Central European Media Enterprise.

Чуждите сериали се дублират, но чуждите филми вървят по българските телевизионни програми със субтитри, което е една от позитивните практики за разширяване на чуваемостта на чуждите езици в медийната среда.

Интересен пример е общественото радио: Българско национално радио и програмата му Радио-България, с традиционните чуждоезикови секции. От повече от 70 години световната служба на българското обществено радио излъчва 60 часа дневно новинарска програма за страната и чужбина на къси и средни вълни на 11 езика, със съответните уебстраници на тези езици: английски, френски, немски, испански, руски, сръбски, албански, арабски и турски. Турско-езичните предавания са насочени и към етническите турски и турски-говорещите групи от населението. Информационната програма на БНР също се променя в последните 20 години. Макар и излъчвани на български и за българска аудитория, все по-често в предаванията и програмите се появяват чужденци, чийто гласове се дублират с консекутивен превод в жив ефир, за разлика от предишните времена, когато появата на чужденец от Западна Европа на живо в ефир беше почти изключена, а интервютата се покриваха почти изцяло с гласа на преводача или на диктор, който прочита превода. Днес гласовете на чужденци и европейски експерти звучат по-често и по-спокойно в радио-полето.

Законодателство и обществени нагласи към чуждите езици

Въпросът за мултилингвизма е все още част от един двойствен комплекс и смес от наранени национални чувства, доколкото в официалните формулировки не се говори за национални или лингвистични малцинства. Например ратификацията на Рамковата конвенция за националните малцинства на

Съвета на Европа от 1995, която предизвика бурен дебат през 1999 г., все още е част от споровете върху разликата между “национални” и “етнически” малцинства. Конституцията на България /чл.3/ определя като официален език българския. В същото време има отделен член, който дава правото на хората, чийто майчин език не е български, да го изучават /чл. 36/, независимо че конституцията не признава наличието на национални малцинства, и това дава аргументи за употребата на фразата “етнически малцинства”*.

Друг ключов пример по темата е политическото решение на България да бъде първата национална държава изобщо, а и първата държава-съсед, която призна независимостта на Бившата Югославска република Македония, като същевременно не признава македонския език. Тази двойственост проличава, например, в електронните медии, където често изказвания или интервюта на македонски политици не се превеждат на български. Няма точно предписание това да се прави, но в обществените медии (радио и телевизия) обикновено не се превежда от македонски или се избира трети език, например, английски, във формата интервю.

Азбуката също се оказва част от въпроса за мултилингвизма. Кирилицата се възприема също като инструмент за национално единство, което трябва да бъде специално защитавано и опитът да се използват надписи на латински паралелно с тези на кирилица, например, в наименованията на улиците породи тежки противоречия и несъгласия в края на 90-те години. Според опонентите транслитерацията в полето на публичността е заплаха за националната идентичност. Днес вече могат да бъдат видени табелки с латински букви, предимно на туристически места, а първият закон за транслитерацията беше приет от Народното събрание едва през февруари 2009 г.

Регионални малцинствени езици

След падането на Берлинската стена през 1989 г., България бавно започва да се отваря към Западна Европа. С началото на прехода към либерална демокрация се подновява издаването на вестници на турското малцинство, съответно излизачи на турски.

Първият пробив на език, различен от българския в електронните медии е през 1999 г., когато първи канал на Българската национална телевизия започва да излъчва една дневна емисия новини на турски. И до днес (2010) така наречените “турски новини” продължават да се възприемат от десните национал-популистки партии като провлакативни за националната идентичност и се правят опити да се инициират законодателни промени, с които новините на турски да бъдат свалени от екран.

Член 49 от Закона за радиото и телевизията казва, че обществената телевизия трябва да дава място за новини на майчин език. Противоречията и споровете около турските новини се засилват особено в периоди на икономическа криза или нестабилност. Етническите медии в България имат локален характер и малки тиражи. Има три арменски вестника, един еврейски вестник, който излиза на български, един влашки вестник, списван на румънски, един

ромски вестник, до скоро и едно ромско списание, както и уеб сайт на Ромския инфо-център, които са и на двата езика, но обемът на българските текстове е по-голям от тези на ромски.

Като цяло повечето от етническите вестници излизат на български, което е интересен факт за анализ.

Традиционно чуждите езици и медиите

Историческият поглед назад към студената война показва относителните степени на изолация на България, която е поддържала тесни връзки предимно със Съветския съюз и страните от социалистическия лагер. Изучаването на руски език по времето на комунистическия режим е задължително за всички училища, докато западни езици се изучаваха малко, а пълноценно - само в отделни, т. нар. езикови гимназии. В този 45-годишен период от българската история имаше вестници на руски, а българските новинарски агенции поддържаха новинарски рубрики на руски език. Днес на руски език излиза един вестник, който се издава от руската емигрантска общност. Това е съпоставимо с единствения англоезичен вестник, който излиза като седмичник и който оцеля, за разлика от опита да се издава вестник на немски отпреди 8-9 години.

Българската телеграфна агенция (БТА) има английска секция, има и частни новинарски агенции и сайтове, които имат специални емисии в интернет с новини от и за България на английски.

От началото на прехода един от символните знаци на отварянето на България към света беше излъчването на т. нар. западни радиостанции, които навремето са систематично заглушавани от бившия режим. Това съответно са Радио “Свободна Европа” (на български, но с излъчване от чужбина, а по-късно и от българска секция, която вече беше базирана в България), “Гласът на Америка” (на английски и на български език), Радио Франс Ентернационал (в началото само на френски език, в средата на 90-те то започва да излъчва 12 часа на български и 12 часа на френски), Би Би Си (на български и на английски), Радио “Дойче веле” (на немски и на български). Тези чужди гласове бяха доста символични и знакови, доколкото преди падането на Берлинската стена слушането на чужди радиостанции е било рискована дейност заради строгите забрани.

Радио “Гласът на Америка” изчезна първо от радио спектъра. По-късно “Свободна Европа” преустанови емисиите си на български, а по-късно беше последвано от “Световната служба на Би Би Си”, която закри българската си секция в Лондон. През декември 2009 РФИ-София продаде българското си издание, което се подготвяше от редакционен екип в България и загуби честотите си, защото едно от условията да излъчваш на чужд език беше да имаш определено количество българоезична програма. По този начин английският и френският изчезнаха от радиоефира. Последният език, който все още е представен пълноценно в радиоефирното пространство в УКВ

сектора, е немският език, съответно и с езикови уроци на честотата на радио “Дойче веле”, което успя да запази българската си секция, и то в Берлин. Спирането на РФИ и БиБиСи имат доста негативен ефект върху мултилингвизма.

Специфичен културен контекст и неизмерими данни

Българското законодателство различава чужд, роден и майчин език. Тази разлика трябва да се има предвид, когато се дефинира определението за чужди и национални езици в българския контекст. Според една част от общественото мнение турците и ромите в България нямат твърд статут на национални малцинства и съответно техните езици не могат да се смятат за езици на малцинствата от легална гледна точка. Политиците също предпочитат да употребяват думата “етнически” вместо “национални” малцинства.

Малцинствените езици не бива да бъдат подценявани или надценявани. Ромските студенти често не могат да говорят един и същ ромски език помежду си, когато използват майчините си езици, а това поражда въпроси за езиковата норма – какво трябва да бъде зачитано например като ромски език и дали третирането на ромския език няма да доведе до привилегии на един ромски език над останалите.

Няма специфични закони, които да регулират употребата на езика в публичната сфера, медията и образованието, въпреки че законови предписания в този дух могат да бъдат открити в отделни текстове и членове като примерите, дадени със Закона за електронните медии и пакета закони, свързани с образованието. Същевременно обаче е важно да се знае, че няма единен закон за езика, въпреки че темата за нуждата от закон за езика или за езиковата политика съществува в публичния дебат.

Изводи

Английският език доминира като основен чужд език, използван в бизнеса и в медийната сфера, въпреки че България например официално е член на франкофонската общност. Преводите на новини от българския контекст на чужд език се правят предимно на английски. Ако някога преди падането на Берлинската стена определението “чужди” за езици съществуваше със сложни смислови натоварености, днес като че ли е доста по-добре да се използва определението “други езици”, вместо “чужди”.

Темата за езиците на новите мигрантски общности е все още нова за България.

По естествен път младите поколения са склонни да виждат света през мултилингвистична перспектива. Днес чуждите езици са важна част от учебните програми на всички обществени, държавни и на частните училища.

Неконвенционалните типове медии, като базираните в интернет, или пък печатните списания, които излизат като седмични градски гидове, са нещо

съвсем различно по отношение на мултилингвизма. Например седмичното списание “Една седмица в София” е комбинация между реклама на туристически места и публикации с журналистическо съдържание като анализи на събития, коментари върху книги или арт събития. Езици, различни от български, намират място в подобни издания по естествен път, понякога само с някои непреводими думи или фрази, или пък с директно цитиране от съответния език. Географските карти, които съпровождат тези издания тип гидове, са също с латинска транскрипция. Освен интернационалният бизнес и туризма, професионалните полета на изкуствата, на дизайна и рекламата също могат да бъдат видени през призмата на мултилингвизма, защото естественият ресурс на разпознаването в тези сфери идва през интернационалната сцена. В пространствата на арт галериите например един чужденец със сигурност няма да бъде лингвистично загубен в бездната на липсващия превод.

Силната реакция в групите в социалните мрежи като “Facebook” и в интернет форумите срещу затварянето на последните две чуждоезикови радиопрограми на РФИ и на БиБиСи показват, че българското общество започва да възприема насладата от това да се чувства лингвистично свързано с другите култури и през медията, като фон на всекидневието.

Медиите могат да окурат мултилингвизма, доколкото забавлението и информацията се възприемат като желани инструменти на глобализацията, а не като външен натиск за унификация. Медийните формати сами по себе си (видеоклипове, музика, интервюта със звук, мощно въздействащ монтаж, графики) могат да помогнат за видимостта и чуваемостта на другите езици. Въпреки това все още има празноти в събирането на данни за нагласите към другите езици и със сигурност един по-задълбочен анализ на скритите езикови политики може да бъде направен, за да покаже кои креативни идеи могат да преосмислят съществуващите езикови йерархии и да помогнат на автентичната радост от съществуването на езиковото многообразие.

* Конституция на Република България - Чл. 36.

- (1) Изучаването и ползването на българския език е право и задължение на българските граждани.
- (2) Гражданите, за които българският език не е майчин, имат право наред със задължителното изучаване на българския език да изучават и ползват своя език.
- (3) Случаите, в които се използва само официалният език, се посочват в закона.

LANGUAGES IN THE MEDIA AND IN PUBLIC SPACES

A BULGARIAN CASE

IRINA NEDEVA

Bulgaria was a relatively closed and isolated country till 1989, and 20 years after the change of regime the country still finds itself at a linguistic cross-roads engendered by the contradictory weight of past experiences and the current communication pressures of a globalized world. The first obstacle for a foreigner in Bulgaria will be the Cyrillic script. Rarely will you find signage in English. In addition, it is still not easy to find English-language maps in most newsagents.

“Lost in translation”

If you happen to be a foreigner in Bulgaria, most probably you will be destined to live a life that is completely independent from the local realities. You will not be able to understand TV news, nor is there any local daily paper in English to keep you up to date. In the best-case scenario, you will have to resort to reading the weekly ‘Sofia-echo’ newspaper, which is the only Bulgarian paper written in English, or to read a bi-monthly magazine, published in Bulgaria but actually written in English, like “Vagabond”. Paradoxically, you will be able to continue living in Paris, London, Jakarta or Buenos Aires while physically still in Bulgaria since the Internet will be the only way for you to keep updated on global news in a place where local news will be almost completely inaccessible.

Also, you should feel quite ‘at home’ when walking in the space of famous global brands inside the mushrooming shopping malls, where you can enjoy a Hollywood film as well. Unlike in most European countries, Bulgaria’s film distribution industry rarely dubs foreign language films. Usually, only children’s movies are dubbed, the rest are subtitled. Unfortunately, this tends to backfire with regards to Bulgarian-language films too: most of them are screened without subtitles (even last year’s Bulgarian Oscar-nominee ‘The

world is big and salvation lurks around the corner' was screened in Bulgarian without subtitles, so a foreigner would not enjoy a trip to the cinema in Bulgaria).

However, the Bulgarian context of news, drama, political scandals and everyday occurrences can remain completely hidden from you. One of the few spaces where English is used is in restaurants and bars, but you have to insist on that.

As a brief narrative, Bulgaria is a predominantly Bulgarian-speaking, Orthodox country long influenced by Byzantine culture in its Medieval period, and was then part of the Ottoman Empire for 500 years, before gaining its independence in the late 19th century. After World War II, the country was a quasi-satellite of the Soviet Union until 1990 and is now a member-state of the EU and NATO. Bulgaria joined NATO in 2004 and the EU in 2007.

Several language types should be analysed: the predominant official state language in its connection with regional minority languages and languages traditionally known as "foreign" languages.

Facts and Figures:

Languages: Bulgaria's official language is Bulgarian, which is the first language of 84.5 percent of the population according to the 2001 census. Other languages spoken are Turkish 9.6%, Roma 4.1%, other and unspecified 1.8% (2001 census). As in the case of ethnic groups, the proportion of Roma speakers in the population is believed to be substantially higher than the census figure. **Religions:** Bulgarian Orthodox 82.6%, Muslim 12.2%, other Christian 1.2%, other 4% (2001 census). The Roman Catholic Church has about 80,000 adherents, and the Armenian Apostolic Church has about 20,000. Of the 12.2 percent of the population that is Muslim, most are Turks, but the Muslim population also includes the so called "Pomaks", a group of Bulgarian Muslims who speak Bulgarian. The Jewish population is estimated to be between 3,000 and 6,000.

The main assumption of this think piece is that the Bulgarian media scene is still quite non-transparent in terms of multilingualism.

Print media, TV Broadcasting, Radio

The mainstream media is predominantly in Bulgarian and the question of foreign languages is still viewed as a part of the ongoing debate on national

identity and unity. Although the constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and the government generally respects these rights, in practice we do not see many foreign language newspapers – to be precise there is just one, which is in English (“Sofia Echo”, owned by Economedica Group). Paradoxically, the two papers with the largest circulation, 24 Chasa and Trud, owned by the German media group Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, do not support German or any other language versions in paper or on the web.

Even the websites of the main media in Bulgaria have quite short versions with translated news and nearly all of them are in English. For television stations with national coverage in Bulgaria (BNT, BTV, Pro.BG, Nova TV) it is enough to have web sites only in Bulgarian with one single page “About us” and few words about advertising and bank accounts in English. This is true even in cases when these television stations are owned by foreign groups like Rupert Murdoch’s News Corp or the Central European Media Enterprise.

Soap operas are dubbed but foreign movies on all Bulgarian television channels are subtitled, which is quite good for multilingualism.

Another notable example in Bulgarian broadcasting is the public radio station (BNR-Radio Bulgaria) with its traditional Foreign Language Sections. For more than 70 years the world service of Bulgarian Radio has broadcast from and about Bulgaria for millions of listeners outside its borders. Today it broadcasts 60 hours daily to Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America on short and medium wave in Bulgarian, English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Serbian, Greek, Albanian, Arab and Turkish (in 11 languages together with a website in these languages). The Turkish language programmes are also targeted at the population of Turkish ethnic origin.

Scheduling on Bulgarian National Radio has also changed in the last 20 years. While still transmitted in Bulgarian, programmes have opened up to include interviews with foreigners with simultaneous translation live on air in contrast to the recorded and dubbed interviews from communist times. As a result it is no longer an exception to hear a foreign language on the radio news or talk-show current affairs programme.

Legislation and Society’s attitudes towards languages

The question of multilingualism is still part of a dubious mix of sensitive national feelings as Bulgaria barely recognises its national minorities nor its

linguistic minorities. For instance, the ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities made by the Council of Europe in 1995 caused a stormy debate in 1999 and is still part of the controversy and disputes about the difference between “national” and “ethnic” minorities.

The Constitution of Bulgaria (Article 3) says definitively that the official language is Bulgarian. At the same time there is an article giving the right for citizens for whom Bulgarian is not their mother tongue to learn it (Article 36), although the constitution does not distinguish national minorities, which then lends support to arguments to use the phrase “ethnic minorities” *.

The other crucial example of this complicated issue was the political decision of Bulgaria to be the first nation-state and neighbour to recognise the independence of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia but at the same time not to recognise the Macedonian language.

Within broadcasting this generates situations in which the speeches of Macedonian politicians or representatives are not translated into Bulgarian. There is strong prescription to do this but the fact is public media does not translate from Macedonian, or if they do, they use a third language such as English in the interview formats. The issue of the Macedonian language is part of the stormy complex of recognition of the so-called Macedonian minority, and one political party (OMO “Ilinden”) was denied registration precisely on the basis of rejecting the Macedonian language as an identity tool.

The **Cyrillic Alphabet** is another strongly defended tool of national unity and the attempt to use Latin letters together with Cyrillic on street signs met with severe resistance in the late 90s. Opponents said that transliteration of the signs could lead to a loss of national identity. Nowadays we can see Latin transliteration (the Transliteration law was adopted in February 2009) but only rarely and mostly only in tourist areas.

Regional Minority Languages

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 Bulgaria slowly began to open up to Western Europe. With the beginning of the transition to a liberal democracy, newspapers of the Turkish minority reappeared in their mother tongue.

The very first break in the dominance of the Bulgarian language in broadcasting was the emergence of a News Bulletin in Turkish on National Bulgarian Television Channel One (public TV) in 1999. Even today in 2010 the

so-called ‘Turkish news’ is viewed by some right wing national populist politicians in the Parliament as provoking questions about national identity, and there is some debate over attempts to initiate change in legislation in order to ban this news programme. Article 49 of the Law for Radio and Television says that public TV should give space for news in the mother tongue. The ‘Turkish news’ controversy continues to erupt, especially in periods of economic crises or instability.

Ethnic media in Bulgaria have a local character and a small circulation. There are three Armenian newspapers; one Roma monthly newspaper and (since 2008), one Roma magazine, bilingual but with the greater part of the text in Bulgarian; one Jewish newspaper, also in Bulgarian; one newspaper (Vlah) in Romanian. Curiously enough, most ethnic media (newspapers and magazines) are written in Bulgarian.

Languages traditionally known as “foreign” and the media

A look at the historical background shows that during the Cold War Bulgaria was a relatively isolated country with close connections mainly with the Soviet Union. Russian was compulsory in schools and Western languages were much less taught and only in special schools. During this 45 year period there were newspapers in Russian and a Russian language news section within the Bulgarian news agency. Today there is just one newspaper in Russian language for Russian migrants. This is comparable with the one surviving English newspaper, and in contrast to the one attempt to print a newspaper in German some 8-9 years ago.

The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) has an English section; there is also a private news agency (Sofia Morning News) for news from and about Bulgaria in English.

In the early 90s, one of the signs of opening to the West was the free broadcasting of Western radio stations – Radio Free Europe (in Bulgarian but transmitted from abroad), Voice of America (in English and Bulgarian), RFI (firstly only in French, before starting in the mid 90s to broadcast in Bulgarian for 12 hours a day), BBC World Service (both in Bulgarian and in English), Deutsche Welle (splitting its hours of broadcasting in German and Bulgarian). The foreign voices were quite symbolic and significant, considering not so long ago listening to Western radio stations was strictly forbidden and a risky activity.

Voice of America was the first to disappear from the frequency spectrum. Then Radio Free Europe ceased transmission to Bulgaria, followed by the BBC World Service, which stopped broadcasting and closed its Bulgarian Section in London. In December 2009 Radio France International sold its Bulgarian edition, which was physically based in Sofia, and lost its frequencies since, according to the law, to have a foreign-language radio station you have to do some hours of broadcasting in Bulgarian. As a result, English and French disappeared from the radio frequencies. The one language that still is present is German, and Deutsche Welle has managed to keep its Bulgarian editorial section in Berlin. The demise of RFI and BBC World Service was certainly a blow for multilingualism in Bulgaria.

Specific cultural context and non-weighable data

Bulgarian legislation differentiates languages as foreign, native and mother tongue. Perhaps this difference should be taken into account when defining what foreign and national language means.

Many people and experts think that the Turks and Roma living in Bulgaria do not have the status of national minorities; therefore their languages cannot be considered minority languages from a legal point of view. Politicians also prefer to talk about “ethnic groups” instead of national minorities.

Minority languages should not be under or overestimated. For example, Roma students often are unable to understand each other in their native languages. In that case, what counts as Roma language? Is there not a risk that treating the Roma language as an entity would bestow privilege on one Roma language above other Roma languages?

There are no specific laws regulating the use of languages in the public sphere, media and education, although legal provisions are present in different articles and texts for public media and education. However, there remains no single legal act on the use of languages.

Conclusions

English dominates the field. If there is any translation of Bulgarian news in a foreign language it is mainly in English. The concept of ‘other languages’ could be more appropriate than ‘foreign languages’. Immigrant minority languages are still something quite new for Bulgaria.

Naturally the young generation is inclined to see the world through the multilingual perspective. Nowadays foreign languages are on the curriculum in all public and private schools. Unconventional types of media on the web and new free weekly magazines/guides for cultural events are another development. For instance the 'One week programme guide for Sofia' is a combination of advertising for tourist sights and journalistic articles such as book reviews and event summaries. Other languages naturally find their place in these articles, sometimes only with a few words or notions. The streets on the maps in such editions are also in Latin letters. Together with international business, art, design and advertising could also be viewed as new fields for multilingualism because so many recognised artists come from the international scene. In the sections for art and exhibition galleries a foreigner will be not linguistically lost in translation.

The strong reactions in social web based groups like "Facebook" and other forums against the closure of Radio France International and the BBC World Service shows that the Bulgarian society had started to appreciate the pleasure of also being linguistically connected with other cultures through the media.

The media could be a great encouragement for multilingualism, given entertainment and information are recognized as desirable tools of globalization and not as any external pressure for unification. Various media formats (video clips, music, sound interviews in different languages, sharp and powerful cuts, images and graphics) could contribute strongly to the visibility and audibility of different languages. Unfortunately there are still gaps in the gathering of data about attitudes towards different languages, and probably an in depth analysis of hidden language policies should be made in order to create ideas for revising language hierarchies and to stimulate an enthusiasm for multilingualism.

* Constitution of Bulgaria - Article 36

- (1) The study and use of the Bulgarian language is a right and obligation of every Bulgarian citizen.
- (2) Citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian shall have the right to study and use their own language alongside the compulsory study of the Bulgarian language.
- (3) Situations in which only the official language shall be used shall be established by law. www.parliament.bg/?page=const&lng=en

ЗА ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОТО ВЛИЯНИЕ НА ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЯ СЪЮЗ

МАРИЯ СТОЙЧЕВА

Преди няколко години Европейският съюз и България бяха в конфликтна ситуация по един изцяло лингвистически въпрос – как да се изписва думата “евро”. И други държави-членки на Европейския съюз са поставяли въпроса за запазването на собствената езикова версия на термина, но всички те са били отхвърляни. В същото време обаче много европейски езици, между които италиански, английски, френски, немски и много други, имат свои версии на произнасянето на термина, което естествено не може да влезе в обсега на правното регулиране. Изискването на Европейската централната банка бе София да уеднакви произношението на термина за общата европейска валута с останалите европейски страни. Правилата на ЕС са категорични, че думата “евро” трябва да е идентична за всички държави-членки. Отговорът на България бе, че терминът “евро” е вече използван от лингвистите и юристите през 1995 г. и въвеждането на “еуро” ще е всъщност нова и изкуствена дублетна форма. В спора бяха засегнати и други аспекти на правилната кирилизация на валутния термин, по които юристите на Европейската централна банка се оказаха особено компетентни. Имаше опасност да се стигне до блокиране на Договор за асоцииране с друга страна на ЕС и благодарение на това спорът бе разширен.

Така възниква въпросът - това само технически лингвистически въпрос ли е, който не трябва да се смята за релевантен въпреки значението, което му се придава в страната? Как така такъв въпрос може да стане деликатен и чувствителен въпрос в контекста на ЕС?

Институционално многоезичие на ЕС (многоезичният характер на ЕС като институция)

Можем да започнем тази история и с друга реалност, в която 23-те официални езика на ЕС има равен статус, или с уникалния характер

на ЕС като многоезична организация, който се препотвърждава с всяка вълна на разширяването му. Тази история може да използва като начална точка и здравите основи на институционалното многоезичие – в конструкцията на прависти, политици и изследователи на интеграцията. Това е уникалното геройство на европейския проект – доброволно и равнопоставено многоезичие от безпрецедентен характер. Всички предшестваша многонационални и многоезични общности (Римската и Британската империя, франкофонията и т.н.) имат всички някакъв елемент на потискане на езиците и наложен доминиращ общ език. Всички останали международни организации (Обединените нации, НАТО, Съвета на Европа) имат ограничен брой официални и работни езици

Независимо от всичко това според много изследователи езиковата политика е област пренебрегвана и избягвана в Европейския съюз. Политиците като цяло предпочитат да не засягат езиковите въпроси като ги възприемат като спорни и потенциално разделящи (към което между другото ни насочва и нашата история)

В същото време може да се приеме за еднакво вярно, че демокрацията има нужда от общ език. Често обвиняват ЕС в демократичен дефицит и често става дума за недостиг на разделението на властите, за забулената в тайнственост и безотчетност бюрокрация и за управляващи, които не се избират пряко. Не толкова често се споменава, че на ЕС му липсва демократичен форум за обмен на виждания за бъдещето, за дебат и убеждаване, но е очевидно, че това е важна характеристика, която отличава политическия процес на европейско ниво от традиционните демократични практики. Проблемът е, че няма общ език, на който всички европейци могат да осъществяват широк дебат. В същото време далеч неприемливо би било налагането на общ език от горе. Както вече посочих, основополагащите договори изрично постановяват равния статус на всички национални езици. Въпреки това гражданството и участието в обществените процеси изискват форум за дебат. Това представлява един от най-силните аргументи на правителствата на националните държави в процеса на централизация с налагането на националния език за сметка на езиците на периферията. Аргументът, че електоратът трябва да общува помежду си, както и централните власти е все още валиден. Дали има разумно решение?

Не винаги обаче това, по което може да се постигне съгласи, и това, което се случва поради практическите комуникативни потребности съвпадат. Дори в институциите на Съюза с армията му от преводачи многоезичният

режим често се разпада поради сложността на комуникация. Ако попитате редовните участници в събития на европейско ниво, в заседанията на министерско равнище и срещите на различните комисии ще чуете един и същ отговор за английския като де факто, ако не де юре работен език. Парламентът и Съветът на министрите използват всички официални езици в своите сесии и за основните си документи, но политиките признават, че често това правило отпада в по-неофициалните дискусии. Комисията използва френски и английски като свои вътрешни работни езици; Европейският съд използва френски като работен език, въпреки че ищците, защитниците и свидетелите имат правото да използват своите национални езици. Фактически френски и английски са вече станали езици лингва франка за европейските институции: френският, защото институциите се намират на територията на френско говорещи и заради престижа на Франция като държава основателка на ЕС, и английският поради ролята си на световен език.

Ако пак се върнем към нашата история, можем да си зададем въпроса – изборът на определен език само въпрос на работен контекст ли е или ли предполага още нещо?

Тук бих искала да приведа един цитат от “Новата рамкова стратегия за многоезичието” на Европейската комисия:

Многообразието прави ЕС това, което е; не “гърне за претопяване”, в което различията изчезват, а общ дом, в който многообразието се цени и почита и където нашите многобройни майчини езици са източник на богатство и мост към по-голяма солидарност и взаимно разбиране.

Езикът е най-прекият израз на културата; тя е това, което ни прави хора и което ни дава чувство за идентичност. Член 22 от Хартата за фундаменталните права на ЕС постановява, че Съюзът уважава културното, религиозно и езиково многообразие. Член 21 забравя дискриминацията, включително и на езикова основа

Езикът е един от културните компоненти на националната идентичност. Религията, семейната структура, облеклото, изкуството, медиите и спортът са други нейни компоненти, които помагат да се изгради една “въобразена общност” от хора. Обаче би било израз на прекалена романтичност да приемем идеята за неразкъсваемостта между език и национална идентичност. До голяма степен фактът, че езикът, който

говорим днес, е езикът на нацията ни, е случайност. Възможно е това да е бил или да е друг език. Друг диалект на същия език с неговите особености е можело да стане език на нацията.

Все пак според Токвил,

“Връзката с езика е може би най-силната и най-трайната, която може да обедини хората”.

Потребността от общ език допринася за употребата на някои езици. Английският така значително засилва ролята си чрез разширяването на ЕС, но в същото време и най-малките езици укрепват своята. Преди две години ирландският език придобива статуса на официален език на ЕС, което бе приветствано от ирландския външен министър, Дермот Ахерн с думите: “истински психологически тласък за ирландския език”. Само 2% от дейността в ирландския парламент се осъществява на ирландски, но политически той има резонанс, който отида далеч отвъд този факт. С този акт той става един от 23-те официални езика на ЕС от 2007 година.

Сходен е резонансът и отношението към придаването на малтийския на статус на официален език на ЕС. Ето как го представя един университетски професор:

‘Това означава, че след 10 месеца нашият национален език ще се издигне до статуса на официален език на ЕС. Той ще стане единственият европейски език със семитски произход, който ще придобие официален статус в ЕС. Той ще стои редом с такива широко използвани езици като английския, френския, испанския, немския, италианския и други.’ (Д-р Касола)

И така национализъм срещу глобализация – това противодействие намира отчетлив израз по отношение на езика. Статусът на езици като английския в Западна Европа, на руския в бившия Съветски съюз, и на английския и френския в страните, които получават независимост след 1945 година, всички те поражда чувствителни политически въпроси. От една страна, глобализацията прави тези езици средство за международна комуникация. Хората не искат да изостават от хода на историята и полагат усилия да имат езиков репертоар, с който могат да посрещнат настоящите си потребности. От друга страна, все по-силно се усеща въздействието на националната идентичност в областта на

езика. Хората искат да запазят своя език жив, дори когато тези езици са оставени назад от света на технологиите и взаимнообвързаността на икономиката. Ще успее ли глобализацията да потисне националната идея?

Някои основни понятия постоянно се появяват в разсъжденията ни. Едно от основните сред тях е потребност или необходимост: при съществуването от древни времена на различни езикови общности, винаги е съществувала потребност или необходимост от многоезична способност. Многоезичието възниква и се поддържа от потребността и контакта и също налага друга необходимост – тази да се прекосяват езиковите бариери.

Сю Райт, британски изследовател по темата за езиковата политика, ни представя следната картина от предишно историческо време: всеки пътешественик по линията на южния континуум на романските езици е можел да премине от западната морска линия на Португалия, през Иберийския полуостров, по протежение на средиземноморския бряг от Перпинян до Ница, през Алпите и да достигне до Южна Италия като всички съседни села по пътя са имали взаимно разбираеми диалекти. Същото е било вярно и за другите семейства на диалекти, като например келските, славянските или германските. Разбира се, крайните точки на този континуум се различавали много, но тези важни разлики били видими само за пътешественика, а не за хората, които ги говорели. Винаги е било възможно взаимното разбиране на всеки две съседни точки.

Това бил основният модел на социално взаимодействие тогава, сега моделът е много различен. Някои от тези различителни черти са: тясна връзка между обикновената мобилност и многоезичието, която налага многоезична способност у елита, но и също всекидневна мобилност, която предполага широко разпространено не елитарно многоезичие. Днес потребността от комуникация между общностите е много по-очевидна и ярка от когато и да е било преди. Както често казва един мой колега, с когото работим в тясно сътрудничество на европейско ниво – “Европа се е променила до неузнаваемост”.

На личностно равнище, за разлика от институционалното равнище, многоезичието до голяма степен се формира от моделите на социални взаимоотношения. Именно в този смисъл чертите на съвременното

многоезичие са радикално различни от историческото многоезичие. Днес многоезичието е повече от всякога практически въпрос, свързан с движението на хора, но също са налице културни и образователни мотиви, които водят до разрастването на езиковите репертоари, дори тогава когато няма реална възможност за практическа употреба на новото умение в разговорна ситуация. Също така е напълно естествено да се приема, че уменията на отделния човек да използва два или три езика няма да са еднакви. Може да се допусне, че те ще се развият точно дотолкова, колкото изискват обстоятелствата.

Трябва обаче да признаем, че нарастващото проникване на английския, често отчитано с неодобрение от различни слоеве, които обявяват нуждата от територии, свободни от английски, не е съпроводено от сигнали за масова езикова смяна от типа, през който са преминали периферийните езици в процеса на изграждането на националната държава. Въпреки че все по-голям обем от научната продукция и обмен се осъществява на английски (както преди това е ставало на латински и френски), няма данни за повторение на този тип езикова смяна от националистичната ера. Също така много други събития, които трудно се свързват с английския език, се случват и заслужават нашето внимание: възраждането на регионалните езици в обществения живот (уелски, каталонски, баски и други), съществено обръщане на лингвистичното колело (отстраняването на руския от политическия и обществен живот в Естония, Литва, Латвия). Има и значима забележима тенденция за това, че далеч не може да приемем, че по-малко държави ще се оказват едноезични в Европа. С особена острота на повърхността отново излиза лингвистическият национализъм, като поставя на преден план езика като маркер за принадлежност към групата. Но тези процеси далеч не засягат английския. Всъщност често те всъщност се провеждат посредством употребата на английския език.

Трябва да признаем, че Европейският съюз се въздържа от формирането на обща езикова политика, като оставя това на държавите-членки следвайки принципа на субсидиарност и с някои елементи на политиката на ненамеса. Но можем ли да говорим за лингвистическо влияние на Европейския съюз? Историята, с която започнахме, показва, че суверенността на държавите-членки в областта на езиковите закони често се изправя пред прилагането на общностните закони. В много

случаи ЕС отказва да се позовава единствено и само на субсидиарността или до равнопоставеността на различните езикови версии (например, в електронната търговия, при директивите за застраховането, храните, патентите). Нещо повече, тази компетентност със сигурност ще се разширява.

Очевидно е, че официалните езици се облагодетелстват от издигането на статуса; те се интегрират активно във всички възможни области на езикова употреба, освен това на тяхно разположение са най-съвременните средства за превод и образователните програми подкрепящи езиковото обучение. Следователно, ЕС вече се е превърнал в институция, която регулира езиковата употреба. Той се е превърнал в лост за езикова промяна – като облагодетелства едни езици на широка комуникации, като предпазва западането на други езици и особено подпомага възраждането на трети. Той се е превърнал във важен фактор в оформянето на сложната социо-лингвистическа реалност в Европа.

ЕС е сам по себе си лингвистически играч и то доста важен. Той просто не може вече да избере да не участва на лингвистическата поле на действие.

THE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

MARIA STOICHEVA

Some years ago the European Union and Bulgaria were at odds over a purely linguistic issue – how to spell the word ‘euro’. Bulgaria was trying to convince the EU to allow it keep the Bulgarian term for the European currency, which is ‘evro’, instead of ‘euro’. Other EU member countries had also demanded to keep their versions of the term, but all requests had been denied. However, Italian, English, French, German and lots of other European languages have different pronunciations of the word, which cannot be a matter of legal regulation. The European Central Bank required Sofia to unify its pronunciation of the common European currency with the other countries. The current EU rules state the word ‘euro’ must be identical for all member states. Bulgaria said that ‘evro’ was already part of the Bulgarian language made official by linguists as early as 1995 and if the word “euro” was introduced to the language, it would be a completely new and artificial doublet. The dispute involved different opinions on the correct cyrillisation of the currency’s name, in which the European Central Bank lawyers seem to claim authority and expertise. The EU treaty with other European countries was about to be blocked and the dispute was only settled to avoid the risk of blocking the new European Union Treaty in Lisbon.

Is it an unrelated linguistic technical issue, whatever its domestic importance? How does it become a sensitive political issue in the context of the EU?

Multilingual character of the EU as an institution (institutional multilingualism)

The story could well start with another perceived reality, in which the 23 official languages of the EU enjoy equal status, or with the unique character of the EU as a multilingual organization that has been reconfirmed with every step of its enlargement. It can begin with the solid foundation of institutional

multilingualism – in the construct of lawyers, politicians and political scientists of integration. There is a unique heroism within the European project – voluntary and equal multilingualism of an unprecedented nature. Most previous multinational entities (Roman, British Empires, USSR, Francophonie, etc.) have had at least an element of oppression and a dominant lingua franca by imposition. All other international organizations (the United Nations, NATO, the Council of Europe) have a limited number of official languages.

However, according to many political scientists, language policy in the EU and language issues in general have been largely neglected and avoided. Political actors sidestep the question of language considering it a potentially contentious and divisive issue (as it has proven to be in our story).

But it is also equally true that democracy needs a shared language. The EU is often accused of having a democratic deficit and this is usually attributed to the lack of separation of political powers, to an overly secretive and unaccountable bureaucracy and to an executive which is not directly elected. The EU's lack of a democratic forum for an exchange of views, persuasion and debate is not often mentioned, but it is arguably one of the factors that differentiate the EU's political process from traditional democratic practice. The problem is that there is no language in which Europeans can decide to have a Europe-wide debate. The imposition of a language top-down would not be tolerated within the Union. As already mentioned, the founding treaty confers equal status on all national languages. Nonetheless, meaningful citizenship and participation in a democratic society seem to demand forums for debate. This used to be one of the strongest arguments of the governments of nation states as they centralized, imposing a national language at the expense of the languages of the periphery. The argument that an electorate needs to communicate with itself as well as with the power centre is still valid. Is there a solution?

What can be agreed to formally and what happens because of the pragmatic needs of communication are not the same thing. Even in the institutions of the Union, with their army of translators and interpreters, the commitment to a plurilingual regime often breaks down under the strain of complexity. Ask any of the regular participants in events at European level, ministerial conferences, seminars, expert groups and committee meetings and you will hear a common answer concerning English as the de facto not the jure

common language. The Parliament and the Council of Ministers use all official languages for formal sessions and key documents, but politicians admit that the rule is abandoned in less formal situations. The Commission uses French and English as its internal working languages; the European courts use French as their working language although the plaintiffs, defendants and witnesses have the right to use their national language. De facto French and English have become the *lingua francas* of the European institutions: French because the institutions are situated on French-speaking territory and because of the prestige of France as a founding member and English because of its role as a global *lingua franca*.

If we go back to our story we can again ask the question – is the choice of using a certain language just a matter of the working context or does it imply something additional?

The following quote from the New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism comes to mind:

‘It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a “melting pot” in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding.’

Language is the most direct expression of culture; it is what makes us human and what gives each of us a sense of identity. Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states that the Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. Article 21 prohibits discrimination based on a number of grounds, including language.

Language, to be sure, is but one cultural component of national identities. Religion, family structure, dress, the arts, the media, and sport form other components, helping to constitute an “imagined community” of people. However, it would be too romantic to subscribe to the idea of the inseparability of language and national identity. It could be considered a contingent fact that the language spoken today is the language of the nation. Yet it could have been another language. For various historical reasons another dialect variety could have become the language of any one nation.

Yet, as Tocquille observed,

‘The tie of language is perhaps the strongest and most durable that can unite mankind’.

So the need for a common language has actually fostered the use of some languages. English may have increased its power through enlargement, but the smallest languages in the EU have also come into their own. Two years ago Gaelic achieved official EU status, which the Irish foreign minister, Dermot Ahern, greeted as a 'real psychological boost for the Irish language'. In the Irish parliament, only 2% of business is conducted in Gaelic, but politically it has a resonance far beyond its use. It became the EU's 21st official language from 2007.

Similar to this are the resonance and the attitudes related to Maltese becoming an official language of the EU. A university professor expressed them as follows:

'What this means is that in ten months' time our national language will be elevated to the status of an official language of the European Union. It will effectively become the only European national language of Semitic origin to attain official status in the EU. And it will be placed alongside much wider spoken languages such as English, French, Spanish, German, Italian and others.' (Dr Cassola)

Nationalism versus globalization – these counter pressures are seen starkly over issues concerning language. The status of languages such as English in Western Europe, of Russian in the former Soviet Union, and of English and French in the states that received independence since 1945 all raise sensitive political issues. On the one hand, globalization makes these languages tools for international communication. People do not want to be left behind on the train of history and they make sure they equip themselves with language repertoires that can meet current needs. On the other hand, the pressures for national identity are most keenly felt in the domain of language. People want to keep their mother tongue alive, even if those languages are left behind in the world of technology and interdependence. Will globalization in language outpace the national idea?

There are some key concepts that have recurred in the discussion. One of the most central is necessity: given the existence, from earliest times, of different language communities, there has always been a need for multilingual facility. Multilingualism arises and is maintained through necessity and contact, and it imposes another necessity – that of crossing language barriers.

Sue Wright, a British language policy researcher, draws the following pic-

ture from earliest times: a traveller moving through the Southern Romance continuum could journey from the western seaboard of Portugal, through the Iberian Peninsula, follow the Mediterranean coast from Perpignan to Nice, cross the Alps and go to the very south of Italy without finding two adjacent villages whose dialects were not mutually comprehensible. The same truth holds for the other dialect families, eg Celtic, Slavic, and Germanic. Of course the extremes of the continuum were very disparate but significant differences would be apparent only to the traveller, not to the speakers. Comprehension could always be achieved at adjacent points.

That was the governing pattern of social interaction then, there is a different pattern of interaction now. Some of its different significant features are: the close correlation between simple mobility and multilingualism necessitates a multilingual facility among an elite, daily mobility also accounts for a more wide-spread non-elite multilingualism. The need to communicate across speech communities is more salient today than ever before. Multilingual encounters are common - more than ever before. Languages of Europe find themselves confronted by each other much more than before. Europe has changed beyond recognition.

At the personal rather than the institutional level, multilingualism has a great deal to do with patterns of social interaction. In this respect some distinctive features of current multilingualism are radically different to historical multilingualism. Multilingualism seems largely a practical affair mostly concerned with the patterns of movement of people, but also there might be cultural and educational motivation that leads to expansion of the linguistic repertoires even if there is no desire or possibility to use the new ability in ordinary conversational ways. It is also feasible to accept that an individual's ability in two or three languages will not be equal. It could be predicted that it will extend just about as far as circumstances demand.

But it should be acknowledged that the growing dominance of English, often viewed with resentment from various circles that proclaim the need for English-free territories, is not accompanied with any signs of a possible massive language shift of the type that peripheral languages experienced in the building of national states. Though larger and larger amounts of scholarly work and exchange is carried out in English (as it used to be in Latin and later French), no evidence of replication of the language shifts

of the nationalistic era are registered. And other events, hardly associated with English, do happen and require attention: the reappearance of regional languages in public life (Welsh, Catalan, Basque, Irish); complete reversals of linguistic fortune (Russian has been ousted from political and public life in Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia). And probably the most important trend is that it does not appear inevitable that fewer states will be monolingual in Europe. Linguistic nationalism has surfaced in Europe and with some virulence, putting forward language as a determiner for in and out groups, but this is not connected with English. It is often actually conducted and carried out with the use of and through English.

It should be admitted that the EU is abstaining from constructing a common language policy, leaving it to the member states following the principle of subsidiarity, with elements of applying the notion of benign neglect. But has there been any linguistic influence of the EU policies?

Our story in the beginning shows the sovereignty that member states claim through language laws is frequently faced with the implementation of Community law. In lots of cases EU institutions refuse to refer only to subsidiarity or to the equal value of different language versions (e-commerce, directives concerning insurance; directives on foodstuff, patents). Moreover, these asserted competences are bound to extend gradually.

It is obvious that official languages benefit from status elevation; they are actively integrated in all possible domains of language use, in addition they benefit from the recent engineering tools for interpretation and translation and from the educational programmes for language learning. Therefore, the EU has become an institution regulating language use. It has become a pole of language change - in favouring some languages of wider communication, in preventing language decline and more importantly in language revival. It has become an important factor in shaping the rather complex sociolinguistic reality in Europe.

The EU is itself a linguistic actor and an important one at that. It simply cannot opt out of the linguistic arena.

BILDUNG, SPRACHEN UND EIN REDEWETTBEWERB

JUNGE MENSCHEN AUF IHREM WEG ZU HUMBOLDTS BILDUNGSIDEAL

MICHAEL WIMMER

Wilhelm von Humboldt gilt gemeinhin als Begründer einer nicht unmittelbar auf den Erwerb beruflicher Fertigkeiten ausgerichteten allgemeinen Bildung. Seinen wegweisenden pädagogischen Vorstellungen folgend, hätte am Anfang jeglicher Bildungsbemühungen eine „allgemeine Menschenbildung“ zu stehen, die sich um die „allseitige Entwicklung der menschlichen Kräfte“ bemühen sollte. Eine solche Bildung war nicht gedacht im Gegensatz zur gesellschaftlich unvermeidlichen beruflichen Spezialisierung. Vielmehr wurde sie als notwendige Voraussetzung für jegliche spätere berufliche Tätigkeit angesehen. Denn nach Humboldt sind alle beruflichen Spezialtätigkeiten nur sinnvoll ausführbar, wenn diesen eine Basis gegeben wird, aufgrund derer man über die jeweilige Tätigkeit auch reflektieren kann.

Die Ausformulierung seines Bildungsideal führte Humboldt zu zwei zentralen Begriffen der europäischen Aufklärung: den Begriff des autonomen Individuums und den Begriffs des Weltbürgertums. Als autonomes Individuum sollte der Lernende in die Lage kommen, Selbstbestimmung und Mündigkeit durch eigenen Vernunftgebrauch zu erlangen. Als Weltbürger hingegen sollte er sich als ein autonomes Individuum einfinden in ein kollektives Band, das ihn unabhängig von seiner sozialen und kulturellen Sozialisation verbindet: „So viel Welt als möglich in die eigene Person zu verwandeln, ist im höheren Sinn des Wortes Leben“. Damit war sein Bildungsbegriff darauf gerichtet, sich möglichst umfassend mit der Welt auseinanderzusetzen und sich dadurch als Subjekt zu entfalten: „Zum Weltbürger werden heißt, sich mit den großen Menschheitsfragen auseinander zu setzen: sich um Frieden, Gerechtigkeit, um den Austausch der Kulturen, andere Geschlechterverhältnisse oder eine andere Beziehung zur Natur zu bemühen“.

Die Umsetzung sah der Bildungsreformer Humboldt in erster Linie durch die Vermittlung sprachlicher und mathematischer Fähigkeiten gegeben.

Nach seinen Vorstellungen diente der Erwerb von Sprachen nicht nur zum verbalen Informationsaustausch. Für ihn bildeten Sprachen auch die Empfindsamkeit und schöpferische Phantasie aus. Aus dem damaligen Zeitverständnis bedeutete das in erster Linie den Erwerb des Lateinischen und noch mehr des Griechischen. Wir dürfen heute vermuten, dass damit keine ewiggültige Sprachwerthierarchie definiert, sondern vielmehr einem bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert reichenden Zeitgeist Rechnung getragen wurde. Humboldt selbst verstand beziehungsweise sprach angeblich – die Angaben in diversen Biographien schwanken hier – zwischen 20 und 40 Sprachen, darunter auch fernöstliche und fernwestliche (z.B. Sprachen der Ureinwohner Amerikas). Der entscheidende Punkt in Humboldts Favorisierung auch außereuropäischer Sprachen lag wohl, folgt man dem österreichischen Erziehungswissenschaftler Alfred Schirlbauer, nicht in einer wie immer gearteten Vorliebe für globale Kommunikation (dafür reichte zu seiner Zeit zumindest in „gebildeten Kreisen“ das Französische). Sondern darin, dass wir mit fremden Sprachen auch andere Weltansichten kennen und beurteilen lernen.

Humboldt hat mit seinen Bildungsvorstellungen die europäische Schul- und Universitätsentwicklung nachhaltig beeinflusst. Womit er wohl nicht gerechnet hat, ist der Umstand, dass nach seinem Tod 1835 einerseits die Industrialisierung sein Konzept des „autonomen Individuums“ und andererseits der wachsende politische Bedarf nach nationaler Abgrenzung sein Ideal des „Weltbürgers“ nachhaltig unterminieren würden. Immer deutlicher drängten nationale Ansprüche auf eine kulturelle und damit auch sprachliche Homogenisierung. Der Erwerb der Nationalsprache wurde somit zu einem zentralen Ziel des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens, während der Erwerb sowohl der klassischen Sprachen als auch der einen oder anderen (in Österreich nahezu ausschließlich westlichen) modernen Fremdsprache einer kleinen bildungsbürgerlichen Elite vorbehalten bleiben sollte.

Vor allem die zunehmende weltwirtschaftliche Integration Österreich führte ab der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einem sukzessiven Ausbau des Fremdsprachenangebotes, vor allem der englischen Sprache. Dieses richtete sich aber nach wie vor an eine homogene, als Erstsprache deutsch sprechende SchülerInnen-Population.

Bildungspolitisch weitgehend verschlafen wurde dabei die Einsicht, dass es in dieser Zeit zu einer nachhaltigen demographischen Veränderung der

österreichischen Gesellschaft gekommen ist. Und so stellen wir heute noch immer etwas ungläubig fest, dass nicht nur die traditionellen VertreterInnen der anerkannten Minderheiten in Österreich (kroatische, ungarische, slowenische, slowakische und romanische Volksgruppen) über eine nicht-deutsche Muttersprache verfügen sondern mittlerweile 13% aller österreichischen SchülerInnen. In der Bundeshauptstadt Wien hat dieser Anteil mittlerweile mehr als 33% erreicht. Bosnisch, Kroatisch, Serbisch, Tschechisch, Türkisch, Albanisch, Chinesisch, Spanisch, Filipino oder Arabisch sind damit neben Deutsch gleichwichtige Sprachen unter den jungen Menschen an Wiener Schulen.

Gegen diese neue Sprachenvielfalt regt sich, zum Teil politisch geschürt, heftiger Widerstand – vor allem bei einsprachig gebildeten ÖsterreicherInnen. Mit überkommenen Argumenten wird die Vorstellung aufrechterhalten, alle SchülerInnen hätten ausschließlich Deutsch zu lernen, um sich in das traditionelle nationalkulturelle Gefüge einzuordnen. Bei allen Integrationsversuchen wird damit eine Sprachhierarchie perpetuiert, die die Beherrschung aller anderen Sprachen außer Deutsch nicht als einen Vorteil, sondern als eine Form der verbalen Behinderung darstellt.

Dazu eine kleine Anekdote: Weil die Volksschule Deckergasse in Wien Meidling von vielen serbischen SchülerInnen besucht wird, entschloss sich die Schulleitung, ein Kooperationsprojekt mit einer Partnerschule in Belgrad durchzuführen. Dazu wurde der Regelunterricht eine Woche lang in serbischer Sprache angeboten. Dies führte zu großer Verwirrung – und zwar nicht nur, weil sich die Minderheit der ausschließlich Deutsch sprechenden SchülerInnen (wie sonst die migranten Jugendlichen) schwer taten, dem Unterricht zu folgen. Sondern auch, weil die serbischstämmigen Jugendlichen es nicht fassen konnten, dass Serbisch, welches sie an der Schule sonst tunlichst vergessen sollten, auch eine Unterrichtsprache sein konnte.

Diese Form der allgemeinen Sprachverwirrung führt unter anderem dazu, dass das Beherrschen einer nicht-deutschen Erstsprache in der öffentlichen Diskussion über schlechte Deutschkenntnisse der Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund untergeht. Um dieser Hör-Verengung entgegen zu wirken, hat der Verein Wirtschaft für Integration im Zusammenwirken mit EDUCULT – Denken und Handeln im Kulturbereich unter dem Titel „Sag’s Multi!“ einen Redewettbewerb ins Leben gerufen.

Ziel war es, migrante Jugendliche in ihrer Fähigkeit, mehrere Sprachen zu sprechen, zu bestärken. Darüber hinaus sollte eine breitere Öffentlichkeit auf die Mehrsprachigkeit der Wiener Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund hingewiesen werden, um so auf das daraus entstehende Potenzial für den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt ebenso wie für wirtschaftliche Prosperität aufmerksam zu machen.

Frei nach dem Motto: „Nehmen wir einmal an, ich wüsste wer ich bin...“ (aus dem Roman „Faruq“ von Semier Insayif) beteiligten sich an der ersten Runde im Schuljahr 2009/2010 insgesamt 114 Wiener SchülerInnen zwischen 14 und 19 Jahren mit ihren insgesamt 29 verschiedenen Muttersprachen.

Ihre Aufgabe war es, über ein Thema ihrer Wahl in 6 bis 8-minütigen Kurzvorträgen in Deutsch und ihrer Erstsprache sprechen und so ihre rhetorischen und sprachlichen Fähigkeiten unter Beweis stellen. Dabei musste innerhalb des jeweiligen Vortrags zwischen der Erstsprache und der deutschen Sprache gewechselt werden.

Die SchülerInnen aus verschiedenen allgemeinbildenden und berufsbildenden Schulen haben die JurorInnen, die ZuschauerInnen und die OrganisatorInnen mit ihren selbstbewussten und offenen Auftritten fasziniert. Sie konnten ihre beeindruckenden und oft zum Nachdenken anregenden Geschichten in zwei Sprachen – manchmal sogar in drei Sprachen – mit Begeisterung und mit viel Natürlichkeit auf der Bühne zum Ausdruck bringen. Die JurorInnen, die selbst über unterschiedliche muttersprachliche und professionelle Kompetenzen verfügten, bewerteten die sprachlichen Fähigkeiten, den Inhalt der Rede und die Ausdrucksweise der SchülerInnen.

Diese jungen Menschen haben bewiesen, dass sie sich mit den Lebens- und Arbeitsumständen ihrer alten ebenso wie ihrer neuen Heimat kritisch aber auch humorvoll auseinandersetzen können.

Einige Zitate aus den Beiträgen:

Muhittin Akin, (KMS 18, 8. Schulstufe, Erstsprache: Türkisch)

Ein türkisches Sprichwort lautet: Ein Mensch mit einer Sprache ist ein Mensch, ein Mensch mit mehreren Sprachen ist zwei Menschen.

Viele Migranten sind sich des Wertes und des Potentials der Mehrsprachigkeit noch nicht bewusst.

In meiner Schule habe ich Gelegenheit, in Geschichte und Geografie die Unterrichtsinhalte auch in meiner Muttersprache präsentiert zu bekommen. ... Es ist mir dadurch möglich eine Präsentation in Türkisch zu erarbeiten und vor meiner Klasse in Deutsch zu halten, und ich bin stolz darauf.

Susi Chiang, (GRG Gottschalkgasse, 11. Schulstufe, Erstsprache: Chinesisch)

Als ich mit fünf Jahren in den österreichischen Kindergarten kam, sprach ich kein einziges Wort Deutsch. Aber der erste Satz, den ich in der National-sprache dieses Landes erlernte, war: Bitte alles aufräumen. Dies sagte die Kindergärtnerin stets, wenn es Zeit war die Spielsachen wegzupacken. Bitte alles aufräumen!, würde ich diesen Satz in meine heutige Lebenssituation übertragen, müsste ich mir die Frage stellen, ob ich meine Vergangenheit in China wirklich aufräumen sollte. Sollte ich meinen kulturellen Hintergrund wirklich entsorgen und vergessen? Dieses Kapital aus dem Buch, das sich Leben nennt, reißen? Mich ihrer entledigen wie einer Last? Sie gar verleugnen und abstreiten?

Meine Antwort auf all diese Fragen: Nein, niemals, auf gar keinen Fall!

Anna Novak, (BG 13 Fichtnergasse, 12. Schulstufe, Erstsprache: Tschechisch)

Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt – Wittgenstein hatte zwar nicht dasselbe im Sinn wie ich, aber es wäre möglich zu sagen, dass man sich dort zu Hause fühlt, wo man die Sprache beherrscht. Sprache oder Sprachen sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil unseres Lebens, weil wir sie jeden Tag benutzen – und das nicht nur wenn wir Übersetzer sind.

Außer im Alltag bringen sie uns auch im Urlaub etwas. Ich zum Beispiel kann mit mehr als einer Milliarde Muttersprachlern kommunizieren. In Realität also, kann ich mich mit rund drei Milliarden Menschen verständigen.

Alisa Mujanovic (BAKIP 8, 13. Schulstufe, Erstsprache: Bosnisch)

Um vor ihnen hier zu stehen, müsste ich Ihnen klar sagen können, wer ich bin. Eigentlich weiß ich das auch, jedoch werde ich oft verunsichert. Denn ich werde immer wieder als Ausländerin bezeichnet oder als eine bosnische Touristin in Bosnien. Jedoch weiß niemand von diesen Menschen, wer ich wirklich bin. Und wissen sie überhaupt, wer sie abseits von ihrer Nationalität selber sind?

Unzählige Kriege unendlicher Hass. Die Unzufriedenheit der Menschendies sind Gründe, um alles in Frage zu stellen..

Als der Krieg in Bosnien über mich und meine Familie einbrach, war von all diesen Wünschen und Hoffnungen nichts mehr geblieben. Die Menschen wussten, wenn dies alles vorbei ist werden die Straßen des Herzens leer und verlassen sein. Die Augen werden ihren Glanz verlieren und die Trauer wird sich widerspiegeln. Die Tränen werden ein Ausdruck ihrer Seele sein. Wenn der Krieg endet werden in den Erinnerungen der Menschen all die unschuldigen Gefallenen verbleiben. Die Menschen werden am liebsten die Zeit zurück drehen wollen. Die verblassten Erinnerungen von früher sollten ihre Hoffnung erhalten. Während dieser Zeit wusste niemand wirklich wer er ist...oder wer nun wirklich wie ist.

Es wussten viele Menschen nicht wer sie sind...sonst wären sie nicht im Stande gewesen diese furchtbaren Dinge zu tun....

Esra Demircan (BAKIP 8, 13. Schulstufe, Erstsprache: Türkisch)

Ich fange einmal an über das Leben der Gastarbeiter zu erzählen. Wer weiß, vielleicht ergibt sich ein Text durch Zufall, von ganz allein, aber glaube ich an Zufälle?

Nun gut, Mehmet hatte bereits die Koffer gepackt und natürlich hatte die Mutter nicht vergessen ihm die Hände mit Henna zu bemalen.

Zur gleichen Zeit macht Hans Zukunftspläne über die Vergrößerung seines Unternehmens und zählt bereits die Schillinge.

Mehmet's Vater tröstet seine Frau, nach bereits 5 Jahren mit voller Geldbörse, einem neuen Traktor und etlichem zurückzukehren. Aber was hatte das Schicksal ausgemalt? Wer weiß!

Der Westen erwartet Input für den Aufbau, und aus dem Zug steigen die Menschen aus. Freude vermischt mit einem Hauch von Misstrauen, Kälte aber auch eine Prise Hoffnung begleiten die Massen, während das Begrüßungskomitee in vollen Tönen erklingt. Alle Gastarbeiter? Jaaa, natürlich, einstimmiger Konsens! Zu Gast, aber nicht zu Hause!

Und zuletzt noch der Eindruck eines erwachsenen Augen- und Ohrenzeugen: Auf die Bühne gekommen sind – dem Alter nach – durchwegs Pubertierende. Aber ihre Beiträge – die sowohl in der jeweiligen Erstsprache als auch in

Deutsch verfasst waren – ließen darauf schließen, dass ihre spezifischen Lebensumstände sie schon vor längerer Zeit dazu gezwungen haben, sich von kindlichen Symbiosephantasien zu verabschieden und stattdessen ein erwachsenes Leben zu führen. Folgt man den Erzählungen dieser jungen Menschen, dann verfügen die meisten von ihnen über mannigfache Erfahrungen von Verlusten, Verletzungen und Enttäuschungen. Der Zorn darüber war da und dort unüberhörbar. Und doch haben sie diese zum Teil sehr widrigen Umstände ganz offensichtlich nicht davon abgehalten, ihren Anspruch auf ein selbst gestaltetes und sinnstiftendes Leben aufzugeben; ganz im Gegenteil. Diese Jugendlichen haben sich in ihren Äußerungen selbst Mut zugesprochen, aber auch all denen, die ihnen zuhören durften und dabei ganz unmittelbar ihre Lebensenergie gespürt haben.

Seit der Entwicklung des Humboldtschen Bildungsideals mit seiner Forderung nach einer umfassenden Persönlichkeitsentwicklung sind mittlerweile mehr als 200 Jahre vergangen. Die jungen Menschen, die an „Sag’s Multi!“ teilgenommen haben, sind ein lebendiger Beweis dafür, dass der Traum eines mit sprachlicher Vielfalt begabten Weltbürgertums nicht zu Ende geträumt ist. Vielmehr haben die einzelnen Beiträge unmittelbar deutlich gemacht, dass die Kenntnis jeder Sprache mit einer besonderen Sicht nicht nur auf die jeweils eigene Kultur, sondern auf die Welt als Ganzes verknüpft ist, so dass das Leben mit jeder Sprache reicher wird.

Das mag auch die beruflichen Karrierechancen erhöhen. Zuerst aber ist es ein Beitrag zur „allseitigen Entwicklung der menschlichen Kräfte“, um auf diese Weise die Verstandestätigkeiten soweit zu schärfen, dass wir in der Lage sind, in „selbstbestimmten und mündigen Vernunftgebrauch die Welt zu verstehen“. Und was anderes ist Bildung heute wie vor 200 Jahren, als der Versuch, die Welt zu verstehen, sich darin zurecht zu finden und an ihrer (hoffentlich) positiven Weiterentwicklung mitzuwirken. Dass die TeilnehmerInnen von „Sag’s Multi!“ dazu im Stande sind, haben sie eindrucksvoll bewiesen.

EDUCATION, LANGUAGES AND A RHETORIC COMPETITION

YOUNG PEOPLE ON THEIR WAY TOWARDS HUMBOLDT'S IDEAL

MICHAEL WIMMER

Wilhelm von Humboldt is widely known as the founder of a concept of humanistic education that is not directly linked to the acquisition of professional skills. According to his ground-breaking pedagogic ideas, a 'basic humanistic education – allgemeine Menschenbildung' should be the starting point of any educational effort, developing 'all human virtues in a holistic way'. This kind of education was not conceptualised in contrast to the development of specialised skills that are inevitably necessary in a society. He regarded the basic humanistic education as the necessary prerequisite for any kind of profession, as it provided a basis of reflection about what you are doing and why you are doing it.

The development of his ideas led Humboldt to two key terms of the European Enlightenment: the autonomous individual and cosmopolitanism. As an autonomous individual, the learner should be enabled to reach self-determination and maturity through the use of reason. As a cosmopolitan, the autonomous individual should find his or her place in a collective, binding together individuals irrespective of their social or cultural upbringing. 'To convert as much of the world as possible into one's own self is in a higher sense of the meaning of life.' Thus, his definition of education was directed at the active confrontation with the world as the basis of self-development. 'To become a cosmopolitan means to deal with the major questions of life: to work towards peace, justice, the exchange with other cultures, a change in gender relations or a different relation with nature'.

The education reformer Humboldt regarded language and mathematical skills as key to the realisation of his ideal. Languages were not only necessary for the verbal exchange of information. They were a central part of the development of sensibility and a creative mind. At that time this meant learning Latin and more importantly Greek. We can presume that Humboldt accommodated the zeitgeist and did not intend to define an everlasting

hierarchy of languages. Allegedly Humboldt ‘mastered’ – the numbers vary in biographies – between 20 and 40 languages, amongst them far-eastern and far-western (e.g. Native American) languages. The decisive point in Humboldt’s preference for non-European languages was presumably – according to the Austrian educationist Alfred Schirlbauer – not an interest in global communication (at that time, at least in intellectual circles, a knowledge of French would have met that need). It was rather so that Humboldt assumed that through foreign languages we would learn about other world views.

Humboldt has sustainably influenced the European school and university development. What he did not know was that after his death in 1835 the age of industrialisation would undermine the idea of the ‘autonomous individual’ on the one hand, and that on the other the growing political need for national separation would corrupt his ideal of the ‘cosmopolitan’. More and more explicitly, national interests pushed towards a cultural and linguistic homogenisation, making the national language the central goal of general education. The classical languages, as well as one or two modern (in the Austrian context, only western) languages should remain with the intellectual elite.

It was mainly the global economic integration of Austria in the second half of the 20th century that led to a gradual extension of the offer of foreign languages, mostly English, targeted at a homogenous population of pupils with German as their mother tongue.

The Austrian education policy missed the insight that throughout that time the country’s population changed drastically. Thus, we still wonder about the fact that not only the officially recognised minorities (Croats, Hungarians, Slovenes, Slovaks and Roma) speak a language other than German, but that meanwhile 13% of all Austrian pupils do so. In the capital Vienna, this share has reached 33%, making Bosnian, Croat, Czech, Turkish, Serbian, Albanian, Chinese, Spanish, Philippine or Arab just as important as German on Viennese schoolyards.

Against this new language diversity, a monolingual part of society is offering resistance, stirred by some political voices. Using outdated arguments the idea is upheld that pupils should learn German in order to integrate into the traditional national structure and to be able to follow the teacher’s instructions. Thus, a language hierarchy is reiterated which claims that knowing any language other than German would not be an asset but a form of verbal handicap.

The following anecdote serves to illustrate this: since the elementary school Deckergasse in the Viennese district Meidling had a high share of pupils with Serbian as their mother tongue, the director decided to start a co-operation with a partner school in Belgrade. For one week, regular classes were held in Serbian. This led to much confusion, not only among the pupils who did not know Serbian and thus had a hard time following the teacher (usually an experience for many of the pupils with a migrant background). In addition, the Serbian-speaking pupils could not believe that their language (they were told to forget about in school) could actually be a language of teaching.

This kind of language confusion often leads to the situation that proficiency in a foreign mother tongue perishes in public discussions about the poor command of German among pupils with a migrant background. To work against this reduction, the NGO 'Wirtschaft für Integration – Economy for Integration' together with EDUCULT, an institute for research and project management in cultural and educational policy started the rhetoric competition 'Sag's Multi! – Say it multi!'

The competition aimed at encouraging young people to express themselves in their languages and in German. Furthermore it was meant to raise awareness among the broader public about the potential of young Viennese people with a migrant background, both in the context of social cohesion and in the light of economic prosperity.

Following the theme 'Let's assume I would know who I am...' (from the novel "Faruq" by Semier Insayif), 114 Viennese pupils age 14-19 participated in 29 different mother tongues.

Their task was to talk for 8 minutes about a subject of their choice, both in German and in their respective mother tongue. This meant they had to switch between their mother tongue – e.g. Turkish, Serbian, Arabic, Chinese etc. – and German, demonstrating their rhetoric and linguistic ability.

The pupils from different grammar and vocational schools fascinated the jury, the audience and the organisers with their confident and outspoken performances. They were able to express their impressive and often well-reflected stories on stage in two, sometimes even three languages with a lot of verve and enthusiasm. The jury – with various professional and linguistic backgrounds – judged the competitors on the command of the languages, the content of the speech and the style.

These young people demonstrated that they are able to thoroughly reflect on the circumstances they live and work in, both in their “old” and “new” homeland – in a critical way, but also with a good sense of humour.

Some quotes from the contributions:

Muhittin Akin, Middle School, 8th grade. Mother tongue: Turkish

A Turkish proverb says “someone with one language is one person, someone with two languages is two people.” Many migrants are not aware of the potential of multilingualism. At my school, I can follow the teachers instructions in history and geography in my mother tongue. Thus, I am able to both work on a presentation in Turkish and to present it to the class in German, and I am proud of that.

Susi Chiang, Grammar School, 11th grade, mother tongue: Chinese

When I arrived at an Austrian Kindergarten at the age of 5, I could not speak a word of German. But the first sentence I learned in this language was „Bitte alles aufräumen – please tidy up“. That is what the kindergarten teacher used to say when it was time to store away the toys, „Bitte alles aufräumen!“ If I transferred this phrase to my present situation of life, I would need to ask myself whether I should really tidy up my past in China. Should I forget and wipe away my cultural background? Scratch the page out of the book that is called life? Get rid of a burden? Deny it? My answer to all of these questions is: no, never!

Alisa Mujanovic, vocational college for kindergarten teachers, 13th grade, mother tongue: Bosnian

To stand here in front of you, I should be able to clearly say who I am. Actually I do know that, but sometimes I get insecure. Sometimes when I'm in Bosnia, I am called a foreigner or a Bosnian tourist. And yet none of these people really know who I am. And do they know who they are, apart from their nationality?... Numerous wars, infinite hatred. The dissatisfaction of the people...these are reasons to question everything.

As the war in Bosnia broke into my family, none of our wishes and hopes persisted. The people knew that when everything is over, the streets of our hearts would be empty and deserted. The eyes would lose their sparkle and would mirror mourning. The tears would be an expression of their souls. When the war is over, all the innocent victims will remain in the memories of the

people. The people would want to turn back time. The perishing memories of the past should maintain their hopes. During that time, nobody knew who he was. Many people did not know who they were...otherwise they would not have been able to commit those horrible crimes.

Esra Demircan, vocational college for kindergarten teachers, 13th grade

I will start telling you about the life of the Gastarbeiter. Who knows, maybe a text emerges, coincidentally, by itself, but who believes in coincidence? Well, Mehmet has already packed his suitcase and surely his mother has not forgotten to paint his hands with henna. At the same time, Hans makes plans about the enlargement of his company and starts counting the schillings. Mehmet consoles his wife: after only 5 years he would be back with a full wallet and a new tractor and many other things. But who knows what fate has planned! The West expected an input for the industry and people emerged from the train. Joy, mixed with a whiff of mistrust, coldness but a pinch of hope accompanied the masses, while the welcoming committee sounds at full blast. Everyone a Gastarbeiter? Yeees, sure, unanimous consensus! A guest, but not at home!

The impression of an adult eye witness:

On the stage came – according to their age – young people in their puberty. But their contributions, both in German and in their mother tongue – made evident that their circumstances of life had forced them to abandon their childish fantasies and to lead a grown-up life instead. According to the stories of these young people, many of them experienced loss, injuries and disappointments. The wrath about this was sometimes unmistakable. And yet those sometimes very difficult circumstances did not hold them back from claiming their right for a self-determined and fulfilling life; on the contrary. These young people encouraged themselves by their statements, but also all the others who could listen and feel their energy.

More than 200 years have passed since the development of Humboldt's educational ideal with his demand for a more holistic self-development. The young people participating in 'Say it multi!' are living proof that the dream of a multilingual cosmopolitanism is not over. The individual contributions made it clear that the knowledge of a language is not only connected with a special perspective on the respective "home culture" but on the world as a whole. Thus, every language can enrich life.

This may also enlarge the professional career prospects; but foremost it is a contribution to the 'holistic development of human virtues,' raising our awareness and enabling us to understand the world in a self-determined and mature use of reason. And what else is education, today as well as 200 years ago, other than the attempt to understand the world, to find one's way in this world and to work towards a positive future for this world. The participants of 'Say it multi!' have impressively demonstrated that they are able to do so.

BIOGRAPHIES



Dr. Csilla Bartha is a Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Research Centre for Multilingualism in the Research Institute for Linguistics and also Associate Professor at ELTE University, Fac. of Arts. Areas of specialisation: Linguistics minorities (patterns of language shift, language maintenance, and revitalization, language ideologies, language and identity, linguistic prejudice, linguistic human rights, minority education and policy), Socio-linguistics, Bilingualism (theories, Deaf communities, immigrant groups, grammatical and interactional aspects of code-switching); She has been involved in several EU funded projects as co-ordinator or partner.



Dr. Ineta Dabašinskiė is Professor of Linguistics at Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania. Her research interests include socio- and psycholinguistics, and she has widely published on such topics as first and second language acquisition, language use and variation, multilingualism and language policy. She has taught and carried out research at different universities in Europe and the USA and has coordinated several research and educational projects on a national and international level.

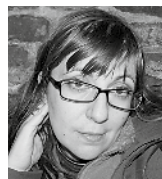


Dr. Sara Hannam is a Researcher at the South East European Research Centre and the Assistant Academic Director of Doctoral Studies. She holds a BA (hons), CTEFLA, DELTA, MEd in ELT and PhD on language policy & planning/language & identity in Serbia with the University of Sheffield UK. She has extensive experience of carrying out research, (qualitative and quantitative), on language perception and multilingualism in various Balkan countries, including Greece. Sara has a large network of contacts throughout Greek private and public sector language education and is interested in researching and promoting policy changes to encourage linguistic diversity. Sara has sat on the board of IATEFL International, TESOL Northern Greece and is a regular international conference presenter, publishing her work widely in a number of forums. Sara also has extensive experience in Web 2.0 technology. Sara is also involved in sessional teacher development work at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics.

Lone Leth Larsen worked as Director of the Danish Cultural Institute in Brussels. She was educated as an art historian and has worked and lived in different European countries. She was one of the founding members of CICEB, the network of European cultural institutes in Brussels, and has followed the development to a European network of Institutes, EUNIC. She is a board member of different civil society and arts organisations and therefore has access to various networks. Her main interests are

intercultural dialogue, and the cultural dimensions of society questions, like mobility, participative democracy and multilingualism. Having taught English to adult and school students in Denmark she has an insight into current issues in language teaching.

Irina Nedeva is a journalist. Her academic background is MA in Philosophy (Sofia University, 1992). She has an extensive experience as host of prime-time political news programs with the National Bulgarian Radio (1993-2000 and since 2006 till now) and the National Bulgarian Television, Channel One (2000-2006) and many articles in Bulgarian press. She is responsible for the political debates in the independent Center for Art and Debate "The Red House" in Sofia (www.redhouse-sofia.org). She is also a documentary film-maker ("A Cold Coke in the Days of the Cold War", 2005, "Goch", 2010, "Return ticket for free", 2002), author of the book: "Mission Paris", 2007. She is additionally involved in different projects like Fame Lab/Beautiful Science (British Council project), ESODOC European Social documentary project of Zelig School in Bolzano, Italy, Women and science etc. Her main professional interests are in Human Rights, Art, Media and Freedom of speech.



Dr. Evagelia Papathanasiou is Research Associate at the South East European Research Centre. She holds a PhD in Language Education and has a wide range of experience in data collection and analysis in language education and acquisition. She has developed an excellent ability to work in a multicultural environment gained through her studies and international work experience. She also has extensive knowledge of the Greek educational setting. As a teacher of both the English and Greek language she has a specific interest in linguistic diversity and equality. She also has experience in curriculum structures and language learner competences. She was actively involved in seminars and events of Languages Sheffield (a merger of Multilingual City Forum and the Association of Sheffield Community Language Schools) as a representative of the Greek community school of Sheffield, UK. She participates in European and National projects on language education. She has presented papers at international conferences on applied linguistics and published her work in selected journals.



Paweł Poszytek is the co-founder of IQE which serves as the National Institute for Languages in Poland. Previously, from 1998 to 2010 he was the coordinator of the Lingua programme and European Language Label, then member of the managing board and the director of the Polish Socrates and LLP National Agency. He is a creator of the Polish success in the eTwinning programme. Former member of several advisory boards for languages at national and European level, the national coordinator of the Council of Europe's project 'Country Profile', former member of the national committee for ELP and former member of the executive committee of EALTA. He is also an author of a book on language testing and a number of articles on language education. Currently involved in Language Rich Europe project and the social campaign, 'Language is the key. Learn Languages' in Poland.





Maria Stoicheva is Associate Professor at the Department of European Studies, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". Her principal research interests are language policy, European dimension of education, language education policy, comparative study of education and language policies in the context of European integration and cooperation. She was a member of the Bureau of the Council of Europe's European Language Portfolio Validation Committee between 2007 and 2010 and is a member of several EU independent expert groups.



Teresa Tinsley is a freelance consultant and the UK expert on the EU's Languages for Jobs group. She was until recently a Director at CILT, the UK National Centre for Languages, and played a leading role in the development of many aspects of CILT's work, including publishing, research, exploitation of digital media, and the promotion of languages through press and PR. She developed the award-winning Languages Work resources on careers with languages and was responsible for the annual Language Trends reports tracking the status of languages in secondary schools. She directed the ELAN research project on the economic value of languages to European business, and was co-leader of the Council of Europe's VALEUR project (Valuing all languages in Europe).

Before joining CILT in 1992 she was a staff member of the Spanish Embassy in London and was instrumental in developing the promotion of Spanish as a foreign language in the UK. She is the author of several books including an adaptation / translation of a Spanish Grammar, and continues to contribute regularly to press and journals



Cezar Vrinceanu originally trained as a teacher (pre- and primary, English and Geography), but also holds an International Diploma in Educational Management co-validated by the University of Cambridge, University of Queensland and School for International Training. He joined the EuroEd Foundation in 1996. Over the last fifteen years, he has taken part in over 30 different international projects in the field of education in which EuroEd has participated either as a partner or coordinator. His work in the foundation involves coordination of the Projects Department, project management, promoting and putting on events (conferences, seminars and congresses) and carrying out related tasks (organisation, financial management, human resource management).



Michael Wimmer was trained as an organist, music educator and political scientist. From 1987 - 2003 he was director of the Austrian Culture Service. He is lecturer at the Institute for Political Sciences and the Institute for Theatre Sciences at the University of Vienna, Author of the Austrian National Report "Cultural Policy in Austria" and of the report "Cultural Policy in Slovenia" for the Council of Europe, and expert of UNESCO, Council and Europe and the European Commission on educational and cultural policy issues. He is founding member and since 2003 head of EDUCULT – Institute for Cultural Policy and Cultural Management, which organised the Fourth International Conference on Cultural Policy Research in Vienna. 2006 he became consulting editor for The Journal of Arts, Management, Law, and Society.

The Language Rich Europe project is delivered by a consortium of over 30 partners



Language Rich Europe is supported by



This publication is published in collaboration with



www.language-rich.eu
www.britishcouncil.org

The United Kingdom's international organisation for cultural relations and education