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Introduction to the Special Issue:

Political and Economic Obstacles of Minority Language Maintenance

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Over the past decades, problems related to linguistic minorities and their well-being, as well as to minority languages and their maintenance, have developed as an independent branch of minority studies. Studies of language in society and sociolinguistics, strategies of minority language survival and the empowerment of their speakers have produced a considerable output of case studies and theoretical writings (to mention some of the most notable writings: Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 1995; Crystal, 2000; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Extra and Gorter, 2001; Hale and Hinton, 2001; Harrisson, 2007; Arzoz, 2008; Edwards, 2010; May, 2012).

In this multifaceted field of investigation, language use, language practices, language policies and language politics represent interrelated aspects of social and linguistic relations that cannot be meaningfully addressed from a point of view of one scientific discipline only. This is specially the case when one wants to understand processes of language loss and maintenance, or the revitalization and empowerment of a language community. Such processes are linguistic expressions of complex social settings, and reflect group and individual identities that in turn express changing systems of collective values, human networks, fashions and social practices.

The interrelationship between political and economic participation and rights to land and other resources with ethnic and linguistic maintenance – the theme uniting the articles of this volume – is also a very complex one and reflected in a variety of

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ways depending on the individual context. Often minority cultures and the languages that support them start to lose ground when traditional language communities are shaken, for instance by changes in livelihood practices and land use or by urbanization or other types of demographic changes. Urbanized minority representatives who do not practise traditional livelihoods or live in the traditional area of their group are typically much more likely to lose their language than those members of the same community who continue their traditional ways of life (c.f. e.g. Fishman, 2001: 21 who includes 'cultural loss reinforces identity change, so that language becomes less important for the peoples' in his list of factors contributing to minority language maintenance or loss).

Such developments are often also connected with changes in employment. This is not only reflected in the dispersal of traditional settlements and when abandoning traditional forms of livelihoods, but also in rising educational standards in circumstances where education is conducted solely in the majority languages (c.f. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). During the educational process, as well as in relation to new forms of labour connected with services and creativity, languages increasingly turn from tools of communication into instruments of work (for instance, in highly esteemed professions such as teachers, lawyers or consultants in which the language functions both as a tool as well as the end product of the work process, c.f. Zamyatin, Pasanen and Saarikivi, 2012).

However, even among groups experiencing seemingly similar social shifts, a notable variation can be observed in the rate of language loss and maintenance. This depends on different types of group identities and values as well as the different ways in which language and linguistic knowledge are embedded in them. In the literature on minority language maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality, a variety of factors affecting language loss or maintenance are regularly mentioned. For instance, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) stresses the size of the linguistic minority, language transmission, educational rights and labour-related issues (language vitality and endangerment). Edwards (2010) mentions demography, education, sociological factors, media, religion, politics/laws/government, the economic situation, linguistic factors (e.g. language competence and standardization), history, geography and psychological issues (attitudes).

It is obvious that it is extremely difficult to establish a comprehensive list of factors contributing to language shift and maintenance because languages exist in different settings and are used in very different communities and social networks. The only issue that can be considered with certainty to be vitally important for language maintenance is linguistic transmission to the next generation of speakers through one way or another.

In this context, the factors that affect language maintenance can be broadly divided into two categories: those which are straightforwardly determined by legal, economic or societal action (such as laws, administrative and educational practices, language standardization or media supply), and those which are predominantly related to questions of identity and practices (such as language attitudes, interethnic relations, language competence and prestige). The latter cannot be changed quickly by administrative measures, but reflect the history and values of historically emerged human groups as well as the forms of governance in a particular region.

Patterns of linguistic behaviour are learned in multiple social circumstances including home, family and relatives, schooling, employment, media and various other types of social networks. Also, the social base that supports a language and the networks in which a particular language is spoken can change relatively quickly. In some cases, a minority language may be transmitted not as a mother tongue, but as a language of particular social practices or social roles. Such a situation has been identified, for instance, in the case of the interrelationship between language maintenance and reindeer herding among the Sámi and Nenets, where traditional languages have sometimes only survived as the languages of the men working on the tundra (c.f. Aikio, 1988; Liarskaja, 2009: 34–35). Other minority languages may survive as languages that are learned in adolescence when new social roles are adopted. For instance, *Stadin slangi*, a pidgin-like Finnish-based working class vernacular spoken in Helsinki from the late nineteenth through the twentieth century, has been predominantly a language of the male population. It emerged in a bilingual Finnish–Swedish environment among youngsters and continued to exist as a language of particular social practices for more than one hundred years (c.f. Paunonen and Paunonen, 2000: 14–17). It has been suggested that the South Estonian varieties (see Saar and Koreinik, in this volume), in their present stage, display similar characteristics and are learned – where this still happens – not at home, but predominantly in the networks of adolescence (c.f. Lõbu, 2002).

Standardization, as well as the emergence of new languages of education and administration, represents a special case of such a change in the social and communal base that supports a language. Several European state languages only turned from predominantly rural vernaculars to languages of "high society" during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In many countries such as Finland and Estonia this process also involved a partial language shift of higher social classes (in Finland, Swedish-speakers; in Estonia, German-speakers) to new languages. Instances of language revitalization that take place today among different minority communities involve similar processes in which a rural (and often stigmatized) vernacular begins to be used in new domains, turns into a language of the educated people and adopts new societal functions.

Paths to language maintenance

Efforts by minority activists to secure recognition as a group, and acceptance of their language use, land rights and control over resources in a specific territory, take place in complex frameworks affected by multiple factors. Claims for rights to practise traditional livelihoods and control land and resources, which are regularly aired by minority activists and minority representative bodies, are not always directly related to language survival, but very often these two aspects of ethnic survival struggle are perceived to be interrelated. For instance, the Finnish and Norwegian Sámi and several groups of Native Americans and Australian aboriginals have long been involved in conflicts and negotiation processes related to the use and control of land while simultaneously striving for language maintenance and/or revitalization. States are often willing to grant ethnic and linguistic minorities some form of cultural autonomy, but very often they do not permit them control over significant amounts of resources and deny them the creation of decentralized state structures which would allow local or regional decision-making on issues of great importance.

At the same time, in many cases where minorities do formally control some land areas – for example in multiple Native American reserves or many of the autonomous republics and districts of the Russian Federation – minority representatives have not been successful in developing and maintaining their cultural traditions. It is in this context of land rights and territorial self-determination that we suggest reading the articles by Johnsen, Hlebowicz and Schüler.

Johnsen *et al.* discuss the situation among the Oneida nation, which has gained significant wealth through gambling industries and has developed a strong minority identity. Yet in spite of decade-long efforts the Oneida have been unable to transfer their economic success into language revitalization, not least because of continuing hostile and intimidating attitudes on the part of large swathes of society, a lack of a bilingual and multicultural tradition of identity creation and a shortage of successful methods for language instruction in a new linguistic situation with a heavy dominance of the majority language and very few fluent speakers of the native language remaining.

The communities of the Oneidas are scattered in different administrative regions and, not surprisingly, have multiple links with the surrounding English-speaking communities. The community members receive instruction predominantly in English and acculturate mostly to the English-speaking networks. Understanding of some of the cultural traditions can be transmitted through the tribal school but it does not produce fluent speakers of the Oneida language. A comparison between the Oneida in the US State of Wisconsin and in Canada also shows how different political systems affect a community in different ways and provide an interesting case study of a group that has lost its language in one cultural environment but has been somewhat successful in maintaining and revitalizing it in the other.

The Delaware, discussed by Bartosz Hlebowicz, represent an even more complex setting of forced linguistic choices. This Native American group has been living among the Cherokee nation, and has not only suffered from discrimination by the majority population, but also by another, stronger minority that has (limited) control over the territory in which the Delaware live. The last native speaker of Delaware died some years ago but the group has nevertheless been able to turn their language into a strong cultural symbol. Some cultural patterns and practices linked to the language were abandoned a long time ago, but extensive language documentation, the creation of teaching materials and other revitalization efforts have kept the Delaware language alive as a symbol of ethnic pride which is still not completely forgotten. However, the use and transmission of the language depend on a few relatively fluent individuals and, generally, language competence is very low.

These examples from North America demonstrate how the interaction of factors relating to identity on the one hand and to the larger political and institutional frameworks on the other may result in very different and not always positive outcomes, even if the institutional structures in these cases are generally rather favourable. This is not an uncommon situation in other countries of the world either. For instance, in the Russian context, the fate of minority languages has largely depended on the interplay of different political levels of decision-making and the degree to which regional authorities have seen active ethnopolitics and language planning as their responsibility.

Some minorities in Russia, for example the Khanty and Mansi, reside in territories of enormous wealth. The autonomous district of Khanty and Mansi (523,000 km², population 1.4 million) currently produces over half of all Russian oil (approximately 7% of the global total). The region ranks second in gross national product (GNP) per capita in Russia, after Moscow. Yet the indigenous Khanty and Mansi who in principle are the titular people of the autonomous region, only account for around 2% of the regional population. As a result their ability to influence regional development is very limited, and they encounter serious problems in the transmission of their language and culture. UNESCO classifies the Northern and Eastern Khanty as ‘definitively endangered’, and Northern Mansi as ‘severely endangered’. Four other Ob-Ugrian languages once spoken in the region are already considered extinct (UNESCO Atlas) and approximately half of the representatives of the Khanty and Mansi groups do not report group language skills in censuses.

Konstantin Zamyatin explores the position of different languages in the educational system of the Russian Federation, reflecting several of the issues underlined above. His focus, however, is on the question of who controls the national autonomies, as well as the “free choice” of the language of education guaranteed by the constitution of the Russian Federation. In particular, his article investigates the role of the national autonomies *vis-á-vis* the central power as the executors of language policies and the role of educational policies as instruments for nation-building at different levels. Zamyatin demonstrates that in the present-day Russian context many minorities that lack educational opportunities in their autonomous territories may, in fact, have such possibilities outside their "own" autonomies if they live among other minority populations that have been more successful in gaining control over their nominal areas. Thus, it is not the autonomy itself but its political organization that either succeeds or fails in modernizing the minority languages to the languages of school instruction, education and employment.

As in Russia, examples of political autonomy from many other parts of the world demonstrate that such arrangements may give rise to varying degrees of empowerment for ethnic and linguistic minorities. There are numerous examples where decentralization of a state along linguistic or ethnic lines has been implemented in an effort to guarantee the ethnic and linguistic rights of particular groups of the population on the one hand, while protecting the overall integrity of society on the other. Examples such as Catalonia or the German-speaking communities in Belgium or South Tyrol show that such decentralization may indeed be a way to ensure ethnolinguistic vitality. This has also led to economic empowerment in cases where local governments have been able to develop their local or regional economy and have taken decision-making on economic support for language and culture into their own hands. In countries such as Belgium or Switzerland the areal model covers the whole country, which is divided between various language communities, each of which supports its own cultural institutions. This is in contrast to countries such as Finland or Ireland which have aimed to create bilingual societies that would function at the state level irrespective of the region.

The example of the Sámi in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia shows how different policies, economic backgrounds and levels of political autonomy and administrative decentralization shape the ground for different levels of ethnolinguistic vitality, and how such developments are not only connected with the governmental structure, democracy or the human rights situation of the country. Norway, Finland and Sweden all belong to a similar type of European democracy, yet the grade of language and cultural maintenance among the Sámi differs significantly. In Norway, where the biggest Sámi population resides, a significant revitalization of parts of the Sámi community has occurred. A new type of a modern Sámi identity has emerged that places special emphasis on language, reindeer herding and land rights as symbols of Sáminess. This is reflected in the fact that, in the core reindeer herding area, the Northern Sámi language is now spoken more openly and is more likely to be transmitted to children than some decades ago (Rasmussen, 2005). However, many Sámi communities, especially those on the sea shore that have practised livelihoods similar to Norwegians, have been left largely outside of this process (c.f. Saarikivi, 2011: 86–87). Yet an administrative solution that would have given the Sámi nominal control over the northernmost part of Norway was impossible to reach, and instead a joint local land council model was chosen in which the Norwegian- and Finnish (Kven)-speaking residents of the area could have their say in questions related to land and resource use.

In Finland, the legislation provides for a "Sámi native region", where there are guarantees on use of Sámi languages in the educational process and administration, as well as on the safeguard of cultural rights. At the same time a new type of language-centred activism emerged among the Inari Sámi, a traditional inland fisher–hunter population that could not share all the values and especially the heavily land-rights centred objectives of the reindeer herding Sámi (with whom there have also been tensions, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century). In addition, a conflict over indigenous identity emerged when the descendants of the Fennicized Sámi began to claim "Lapp" identity (from the exonym of the Sámi, Finnish *lappalainen*). Finally, Sweden – a country with long and stable democratic traditions – has shown considerably less readiness to grant rights to the Sámi. This is also reflected in the fact that it was only in 2010 that the first law was passed that defined the areas in which Sámi languages were granted the status of official minority languages.

In a broader European context, one would be inclined to think that those models of minority protection that entirely lack the principle of areal autonomy have often been less successful in guaranteeing language maintenance among minority peoples. The Irish language community is an example of a linguistic group with the full support of an organized state exercising control over land use, resources and educational process that nevertheless has not been able to maintain or revitalize its language in a substantial manner. In bilingual Finland, the population rose from 3 million in 1912 to 5.4 million in 2012, with a simultaneous decline in the Swedish-speaking population from approximately 350,000 to 280,000. At the same time no similar decline can be observed in the monolingual Swedish-speaking autonomous region of the Åland Islands where population growth has also increased the amount of

Swedish-speakers. This demonstrates that the Fennicization of the Swedish-speaking population has mainly taken place in bi- and multilingual urban environments and among the working class (Tandefelt, 1994: 270–271). One can note that the Fennicization of the Swedish-speaking Finns has occurred nearly as fast as the Russification of several Finno-Ugrian groups in Russia (c.f. Lallukka, 2001), despite the fact that for the most part the latter have not had the opportunity to receive school instruction in their languages, and that the use of the Finno-Ugrian regional minority languages of Russia in administration and media is much more limited than the use of Swedish in Finland.

One can note that, among Swedish-speaking Finns, those social classes which work predominantly in professions where language skills are considered an instrument of work, and which therefore benefit from the bilingual societal structures of Finland, have not given up their language, while the urban working class for whom the language has primarily been a medium of daily communication (and not of employment) has lost it. A similar language shift has not occurred in the predominantly monolingual rural communities which continue to be Swedish-speaking.

The case of Swedish-speaking Finns demonstrates that even a relatively generous and well-organized bilingual administrative and educational system may not necessarily prevent the decline of a minority language. In this context it is interesting to note that there are also examples of linguistic minorities that have very limited control of land or resources, as well as very weak structures of education and administration in their own languages, but which nevertheless have not disappeared – and have even gained strength. Examples such as the Jews or Tatars in many European countries and Russia demonstrate that it is possible for minorities to preserve their ethnic integrity and language for centuries, in spite of their status as minority nationals within various state formations, without significant political control over major economic resources. In many cases this happened despite explicit attempts to crush minority identities. The Turkish Kurds or the Chechens in Russia might be examples of such linguistic minorities.

The relationship between territorially-bound perceptions of minorities and alternative approaches is also the focus of discussion for Hornsby and Agarin. The authors scrutinize different forms that societal group formation can take in centralizing and decentralizing societies, by analysing specific cases of minority languages in Wales and Brittany, and in the Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia. While in the 1990s and 2000s the latter underwent a process which shifted power from the Russian-speaking population to the Estonian- and Latvian-speaking populations, Britain and France had very different experiences of political decentralization and the empowerment of minority language-speakers. Based on a critical evaluation of the current common perceptions of nation-states, the authors argue that contemporary cross-border migration and communications, as well as the changing nature of traditional minority languages, requires a new political paradigm for language policy and language planning that would not be based on the idea of homogenous citizenship reflected in the use of a single language. This should also lead to new research agendas which take into account both traditional, nation-state dominated, linguistic regulations, and current developments towards an increasingly borderless Europe in times of globalization.

On the other hand, articles by Koreinik and Saar, as well as Lazdiņa and Marten, outline the perspectives for minority language-speakers, emphasizing the limits of political autonomy. Koreinik and Saar discuss how majority society perceptions of the South Estonian varieties of Võru and Setu have created separate self-identification dynamics within these groups which have led to varying patterns of identity and cultural practices. The Setu group of the South Estonian speakers – who, in contrast to the (historically) dominating Lutheran denomination in Estonia, are overwhelmingly of Orthodox faith – are more inclined to consider their vernacular as an independent language and their group as an independent nation than the Võru group who are traditionally Lutheran and lean towards Estonian identity. However, this is not automatically reflected in their linguistic identities. Many Võru speakers consider their language an independent language or sub-language, and having some knowledge of it is considered a vital part of regional identity.

Similarly, Lazdiņa and Marten consider the lack of political decentralization in Latvia, and the absence of regional autonomy for the Latgalian language in Eastern Latvia. Speakers of Latgalian are suspected of being disloyal to the Latvian state and are thus caught between two stools in their struggle for recognition of their distinct regional identity within Latvian identity. In addition, the lack of decentralized structures has also led to economic policies which have left most speakers of

Latgalian in an economically peripheral situation. It is only in recent years that these state policies have begun to be challenged through increased activism by the community. Lazdiņa and Marten thereby relate economic aspects to ethnolinguistic vitality. Economic factors are particularly relevant in the context of state funding schemes, while the economic well-being of a region as a whole might also influence the situation.

As has frequently been pointed out, policies based on ideologies that have been labelled capitalist or neoliberal are often detrimental to ethnolinguistic survival (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Phillipson, 2003); minorities are often simply not prepared for the struggle in the framework of “survival of the fittest”. Therefore, minority protection schemes are of fundamental importance. As Vogt and Kreck (2009) show for the Sorbs in Germany, effective funding schemes are just one aspect of language maintenance. It is of fundamental value that the economic situation of a country as a whole allows for generous financial policies on minority issues, notably in cases where minorities live in remote regions, such as Gaelic-speakers in the Scottish Highlands or examples from South Estonia and Latgale. It is clear that decentralized structures of economic policies and public spending may influence economic well-being, and that economic resources are of fundamental importance to the development of a prosperous minority community.

The overarching theme of this special issue is thus the relationship between economic resources and political structures on the one hand, and participation of minority language communities on the other. This connection is related to ethnic and/or linguistic mobilization by minority communities which typically involves claims for economic participation and land, among other resources, despite examples of groups that control such commodities but which are unable to maintain or revitalize their languages. The articles in this collection address different societal processes affecting the recognition, use and transmission of languages through human networks and different types of administrative structures.

In this context, the articles in this volume investigate several overlapping questions that will be of interest to scholars of social and political sciences, as well as to sociolinguists and anthropologists working with and on minority language communities. The authors investigate how control over land, among other resources, is a prerequisite for sustaining linguistic communities. To what degree does access to non-linguistic resources support multilingualism and how does it help to foster linguistic identities and to enhance language use within and outside the community? Given the differences in the vitality of language communities, what factors can explain differences? Our articles deal explicitly with the role played by the legislation and policies of nation-building, and with practices of language use and linguistic identities of communities in this process. Are different ethnic identities being mobilized in dealings with the authorities, while attempting to obtain recognition, oppose standardization and assimilate into societal processes? Can cooperation among linguistic minorities and communities of alternative identities be more successful in achieving recognition by the power structures? And finally, what is the role played by the right for land and resources in staking minority communities' rights to education as a tool to ensure the survival of linguistic communities?

This special issue of the *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* (JEMIE) brings together some of the participants of the symposium Political and Economic Resources and Obstacles of Minority Language Maintenance organized by the Language Survival Network 'POGA' at Tallinn University, Estonia, in December 2010. More than 20 scholars representing linguistics, anthropology, social sciences and law participated in the symposium, to present papers and discuss questions related to minority language loss, maintenance and revitalization. The six case studies contained in this special issue look at different minorities and regions in the European Union, Russia and the US. The linguistic communities discussed are the Russian-, Võru/Seto- and Latgalian-speaking minorities of Estonia and Latvia; the Welsh- and Breton-speaking communities of the Celtic language; the Russian Finno-Ugrian people with regional autonomies; and the native American groups of the Delaware/Cherokee and the Oneida. The reader will find articles relating to interdisciplinary research approaches in and on minority languages and minority language communities.

The POGA – Language Survival Network

The organizer of the Tallinn symposium, the POGA network, is a loose interdisciplinary and international network of scholars interested in questions related to endangerment, vitality and revitalization of minority languages in Russia and the EU. The aims of the network are to connect Russian and Western scholars and activists, to facilitate the exchange of ideas between these two regions and their academic traditions, and to highlight similarities and differences between them. Participants in these network meetings represent academic institutions, government agencies and other organizations from Europe and beyond, and have backgrounds as linguists, anthropologists, lawyers and political scientists. The network has no organized structure, rules for membership or organized leadership. The activities have been funded by grants from different sources, among them Volkswagen Stiftung (Germany), Kone Foundation (Finland), and the Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (NOS-HS). These grants have been administered through the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies (up to 2009 the Department of Finno-Ugrian languages and cultures) at the University of Helsinki.

Since 2007 POGA has held eight events. These included four symposia, three mini-symposia and one panel discussion. In the meetings, questions related to various aspects of language endangerment and revitalization were discussed, in light of the academic presentations delivered. The four symposia took place in linguistically diverse areas and addressed various aspects of language survival: *Language and Cultural Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Europe: Comparing Russian Federation and European Union*, which was held in Lujavr [Russian *Lovozero*], Murmansk oblast, Russia, August 2007; *Equally Diverse? Comparing Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the Russian Federation and the European Union* in Inari, Finland, January 2009; *Rights of Linguistic Minorities: Empowerment of European and Russian Speech Communities by Means of a Nordic Model?* in Mariehamn, Åland Islands, Finland, January 2010; and finally *Political and Economic Resources and Obstacles of Minority Language Maintenance*, in Tallinn, Estonia, December 2010. The Tallinn symposium focused on a comparison between minority language situations in different regions of the world, notably Russia, the EU and North America with an emphasis on traditional autochthonous minority languages. For the first time in the scientific activities of the POGA network, papers were presented that related to the indigenous peoples of the US.

POGA symposia have typically been small and informal, often with fewer than 20 participants. It has not been their aim to generate a publication from every meeting, but several publications related to minority language empowerment have been prepared within the context of the network. The volume, *Equally Diverse. Comparing the Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities of the EU and the Russian Federation* (eds. Reetta Toivanen, Janne Saarikivi, Michael Riessler and Heiko F. Marten) is a selection of case studies on minority languages from Russia which aims to spread knowledge of Russian minorities among an English-speaking audience and to contrast these cases with cases from Western Europe. *Kak i začem soxranjat' jazyki narodov Rossii?* (*Why and how to protect the minority languages of Russia?* by Annika Pasanen, Janne Saarikivi and Konstantin Zamyatin) is a popular scientific monograph on issues related to language extinction and revitalization, which includes practical advice for minority activists who want to protect their linguistic heritage, revitalize their languages and empower their ethnic groups. Both of these volumes are due to be published in 2012, with more information available on the network webpage, at http://saami.uni-freiburg.de/poga/en/index.htm.

In addition to these publications network activities also paved the way for the research project, *Empowerment and Revitalization Trends among the Linguistic Minorities in the European Union and the Russian Federation*, funded by the Academy of Finland, which is currently ongoing at the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Helsinki (headed by Janne Saarikivi). The main goal of the project is to clarify why some linguistic minorities succeed in revitalizing their languages and cultures, while others – which operate in seemingly similar social circumstances – lose their languages and culturally assimilate to majority populations. Within this general framework, six individual research projects will be carried out that focus on Russian and European minority language communities (among them Udmurts and Komi, the indigenous people of the Tajmyr peninsula, Hungarians in Romania, Inari Sámi and the South Sámi).

This special issue of JEMIE is the third volume to derive from the academic network developed under POGA. The articles evidence the multi-dimensionality of the empowerment of minorities and the challenges for securing ethnolinguistic vitality in Europe, and provide ample space for comparing European experiences to cases of Native Americans in the US. While favourable political structures and economic well-being are clearly important factors, the case studies presented here show that similar circumstances may nevertheless result in very different outcomes. It is this interplay of general factors and the uniqueness of each individual situation that makes linguistic and cultural maintenance of minorities so challenging. The editors and the authors of the articles in this special issue of the *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* welcome you to this debate.

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The Education Reform in Russia and its Impact on Teaching of the Minority Languages: An Effect of Nation-Building?

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Public minority-language schools have a crucial role in the preservation of the societal culture of the minorities. This article explores the institutional position of the languages of the minorities of the Russian Federation in the education system and its transformation as a result of the latest education reform. In the area of language education the reform was justified by the need to ensure the free choice of languages in education by citizens. However, it is argued that those who developed the reform were not as concerned with the rights of citizens as with a nation-building agenda. The analysis of policy documents and legal acts demonstrates that the education reform has not institutionally affected the modes of language education. It is further argued that the reform actually discourages teaching of minority languages and, therefore, will inevitably produce further decline in the numbers of students learning their "native language".

Keywords: Russia, education reform, language education, minority languages, nation-building

In many countries of the world language education policy is implemented in situations of linguistic and cultural diversity. The Soviet education system addressed issues of linguistic and cultural diversity within a separate structure of 'national education' (*natsionalnoe obrazovanie*). Russia's education system mostly began to take shape at the beginning of 1990s, and it inherited many educational structures of the Soviet period. Its construction continued for a decade. From the beginning of the 2000s the dynamics of language education in Russia began to be determined by preparations for a new educational reform. As in some other countries, the need for modernization was used as justification. It began through systematic attempts by the Russian Ministry of Education to change federal and regional educational policies and practices towards

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the recentralization of power in Moscow and 'restoring the role of the central state as a major "player" in school affairs' (Eklof, 2001: 16–17). In 2007 the reform was launched by the adoption of the amendments to the Education Law (Federal Law, December 1, 2007). Among other changes, the education reform eliminated 'national–regional' and school components from the state educational standards, which had previously served as a framework for teaching the history and languages of Russia's peoples. The authorities of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and other republics expressed their concern that this elimination might hamper the teaching of history and language (*Federalnyi standart,* 2010: 7–14).

The problem is that, while the impact of the reform on teaching of history in the regions has been studied at length both domestically and internationally (see Eklof, 2001: 3, 10), its impact on various modes of minority language education has yet to be evaluated. How has education reform affected the institutional status of languages in Russia's education system today? To answer this question, the article will begin with an analysis of policy statements and legislative regulations[1], along with official international and domestic reports[2], expert opinions and other secondary sources. Second, it will explore Soviet language education legacies, before examining the position of languages in the Russian education system prior to the reform. Third, it will look at the ideological foundations for restructuring language education as part of the reform, as well as the content and the course of the reform. Finally, based on the data obtained, the impact of the education reform on modes of language education will be evaluated. The analysis is restricted to an investigation of the modes of language education in primary and secondary general school (*obshcheobrazovatelnaia shkola*) and does not address the issue of changes to the content of teaching, its volume or quality. Neither pre-school nor higher education, nor the teaching of foreign languages, are included within the scope of this study, which is designed and interpreted from a 'legal-institutional' perspective (see Kymlicka and Grin, 2003: 5–7). The analysis demonstrates that, while the reform of the education system has not institutionally affected the modes of language education, the major change – leaving whether a language is taught as 'native' (*rodnoi iazyk*, see discussion on the term below) to parental choice – will inevitably produce further decline in the numbers of students learning their 'native language'.

Dynamics in language education in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and in the Russian Federation

What were the Soviet legacies in language education of post-Soviet Russia? In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) 'national schools' (*natsionalnye shkoly*) were created and expanded in the 1920s and 1930s as part of Lenin's nationalities and language policy. The use of the 'national language' as the medium of instruction marked a school as 'national'. In principle, all students had to study in their native language. By the 1960s, in the RSFSR 50 languages were used as media of instruction, besides Russian (see Kreindler, 1989: 54; Batsyn and Kuzmin, 1995: 14). Since the Soviet education reform of 1958, parents 'were to choose their children's language of instruction and even decide whether they be taught their native language at all' (Kreindler, 1989: 49). This brought about a mass increase in schools where Russian was the language of instruction, and the most affected among titular nationalities were those of autonomous republics of the RSFSR (Batsyn and Kuzmin, 1995: 15-16). In fact, parents were forced to choose Russian for their children, rather than their native language, as a language of opportunity. The reform of 1958 resulted in the virtual dismantling of the national schools system which taught in the languages of the many titular peoples of the USSR, primarily in the autonomous republics of the RSFSR. By the 1970s many languages in Russia – beginning with the languages of the peoples of the Caucasus – stopped functioning as a medium of instruction; the amount of teaching of many languages, especially the Finno-Ugric languages, decreased; the native language of instruction almost disappeared in urban areas and continued functioning in reduced numbers, mostly in rural areas (for more details see Kreindler, 1989). As a consequence, the language of instruction in national schools was either the native language or Russian; it was no longer obligatory to learn one's native language.

At the end of the Soviet period, by the late 1980s, out of the 18.5% non-Russian population of the RSFSR only 9% of schoolchildren, or less than half, studied in national schools; the other 9.5% studied in ordinary Russian schools. Besides Russian, 44 native languages were taught, including 26 languages that were only taught as subjects. Out of 18 languages of instruction only four (Tatar, Bashkir, and to lesser extent Yakut and Tuvin) were used in secondary school (*sredniaia shkola*); 11 were a medium of instruction in primary school (*nachalnaia shkola)* for three grades, and three languages for four grades (Batsyn and Kuzmin, 1995: 18). For the latter categories in secondary schools the medium of instruction switched to Russian, and the native language was henceforth taught as a subject only (Kuzmin and Artemenko, 2006).

If Soviet education was highly centralized, then the fundamental principle of Russia's Education Law (RF Law, July 10, 1992) became:

> [T]he removal of state control from education policy. In regions with non-Russian populations, that meant that educational institutions could base their curricula and teaching methods on national and historical traditions. In all regions, enactment of the law meant significant autonomy for local authorities to choose education strategies most appropriate to the time and place (Curtis and Leighton, 1998: 259).

From the early 1990s, which saw the beginning of the decentralization education reform, the dynamics of language teaching were determined by the implementation of a language revival policy for a decade and even longer, notably in the republics. In official documents of the republics the terms 'national education' and 'national schools' were preserved, but in practice these were 'native-Russian bilingual and bicultural education institutions' (Russia's Second Report, April 26, 2005: 29), that is, ordinary schools which additionally had native language teaching either as the medium of instruction or as a subject. Nevertheless, these schools were an important mechanism and resource in ensuring the sustainability of languages and cultures of the peoples in post-Soviet Russia. From a comparative perspective, native (Russian and non-Russian) language learning in the educational system of Russia had a higher share among the humanities, and foreign language learning a lower share, than the global average (Agranovich and Kozhevnikova, 2006: 38–39, 51).

How is the current situation in language education assessed? The number of languages taught and the amount of language teaching increased, due to the implementation of a decade-long language revival policy. The inertia of the 1990s policy still had some impact at the beginning of the 2000s, when the new education reform had not yet had an immediate impact on language teaching. By the end of the 2000s, 39 languages were media of instruction while 50 languages were taught as a separate subject (State Council Report, 2011: 11). The growth in the number of languages used in education since the beginning of 1990s is typically presented in official reports as evidence for the efficiency of the language policy. However, in order to grasp the bigger picture, one should view it from a perspective that is extended over time. Namely, if one takes into account the number of languages used in education before the 1958 reform the growth does not seem exemplary at all. Moreover, the number of languages used in education often does not necessarily reveal their actual use and in some aspects might be misleading. For example, Altaic, Bashkir, (Meadow) Mari, Tatar, Udmurt, Chuvash, Evenki, Yukagir and Yakut are listed as languages of titular nationalities used as a medium of instruction 'in the senior years' (State Council Report, 2011: 11). However, the Evenki and Yukagir languages are only the media of instruction for tens of children in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) (Tishkov et al., 2009: Table 9 in Appendix 2). Further, in Tatarstan there is native language instruction for a few hundred Mari and Udmurt schoolchildren in secondary education, and in Bashkortostan for a few hundred Udmurt schoolchildren in primary school and approximately 3,000 Mari schoolchildren in basic secondary education (Tishkov et al., 2009: Table 10 in Appendix 2). The situation for these nationalities is worse in their own titular republics: the 11,000 Mari and 19,000 Udmurt schoolchildren in the Republics of Mari El and Udmurtia respectively learn the native language as a subject only. Thus, the number of languages is not a very informative criterion, because it does not reveal the actual amount of teaching for every language in every region.

Another official criterion is the number of schools where native (not Russian) languages are used in the educational process ('national schools'). There are five types (models) of national school (Russia's Second Report, April 26, 2005: 29-30). In the republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, secondary education is taught in the native language for the whole period of study (first type). In the republics of Sakha, Tyva and Chuvashia, students are instructed in the native language for five or seven grades (second type), while in other republics like Buryatia and Mordovia this is limited to elementary school (third type), and thereafter children are instructed in Russian and continue studying their native language as a separate subject. In most other republics, autonomous districts and regions, national schools use Russian as the language of instruction throughout the whole period of study, while the native language is taught only as a separate subject (fourth and fifth type). In addition, there are several types of schools for indigenous small numbered peoples of the North (Russia's Third Report, April 9, 2010: 50–51).

It was officially reported that by 2005, in 9.9% of general education institutions in Russia, students were taught in their native languages, while in other

16.4 % of schools native languages were taught as a separate subject (Russia's Second Report, April 26, 2005: 28–29). In 2009 the share of schools teaching in a native language has been measured at 45% in Bashkortostan, 40% in Sakha, 59% in Tatarstan and 80% in Tyva. It is further reported that the number of schools teaching in native languages in all Russia's republics increased on average from 13.5% in 1991 to 56% in 2009 and that the number of schoolchildren increased accordingly (State Council Report, 2011: 11, 43; Artemenko, 2010: 47-48).

However, contrary to the generalized assertion that "the number of schoolchildren increased accordingly", the share of schoolchildren actually learning the languages is at times smaller than the share of schools with native language instruction. This is so because, typically, languages are taught in small rural primary schools or in separate classes of urban schools. It is sufficient for a few pupils to learn their language for it to count as a school with native language instruction. Therefore, the number of schools listed in official reports as having native language instruction does not reveal, but actually *conceals* information about what share of schoolchildren have access to native language education.

In practice, the extent of language education depends on the status of a language and on the sociolinguistic situation in the different regions. By these institutional settings two central variables in the dynamics of teaching in and of minority languages are: (a) the mode of language education and, (b) the school type for a particular educational institution in a particular region. These institutional settings are established in the legislation.

Languages in Russia's education system under the pre-reform legislation

In what ways were the different modes of language teaching dependent on the official status of a language? Russia's legislation does not use the terms 'national minorities' or 'minority languages' (Tishkov et al., 2009: 8–13). Instead, both the Declaration on the Languages of the Peoples of Russia (October 25, 1991) and the Language Law (October 25, 1991) proclaim equal protection and equal opportunities for all languages of the peoples of Russia. This meant that, in line with the Soviet legacy, the 'peoples of the Russian Federation' were considered 'equal-in-right collectivities', irrespectively of their size. Furthermore, the Russian Federation comprised the 'multinational people of the Russian Federation', the latter being 'the bearer of sovereignty' in Russia (Preamble and Article 3, Constitution, December 12, 1993). Article 3 of the Language Law states that all languages of the Russian Federation have 'equal rights' in terms of their maintenance and development.

At the same time, Russia's Language Law followed the 1960s Soviet policy tradition of hierarchization of nations, peoples and ethnic groups. There are several legal regimes for languages in the Russia's legislation: (1) 'the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation', (2) 'the state language of the Russian Federation', (3) 'the state languages of the republics' and (4) 'the native languages'. Because designation of particular languages as official languages means state protectionism, this hierarchy implies actual inequality of languages. According to the recent opinion of experts, trusted to give statements on the official policy, Russia's Language Law establishes 'functional equality' *only* among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation (Tishkov et al., 2009: 19–20).

Article 3 of the Language Law has given Russian the status of 'state language', while the republics obtained the right to designate their own 'state languages'. There is no definition of the term 'state language' either in international documents or in Russian legislation. The 'state language' (*gosudarstvennyi iazyk*) in the Russian context is loosely corresponds to what is internationally referred as an 'official language'. Additionally, it emphasizes the existence of the state and acts as a symbol of national identity; to use the terminology of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), it is a 'national language'. Besides 'state languages', the term 'titular languages' is also used in Russian legislation, but the latter term is not used to designate languages taught in the Russian education system (for further discussion of the terms see Neroznak, 2002: 12–13).

All citizens of Russia are obliged to learn Russian as the state language at school. In some republics bi- and multilingualism is a feature of their multinational communities ('multinational peoples of the republics'). In these places both majority and minority members have to be mutually bilingual (multilingual). The need for common languages is used to justify official bilingualism and the compulsory study of the state languages of the republics by all inhabitants, irrespective of their identity. However, only some republics established state bilingualism and the compulsory study of the titular languages in all schools through their legislation. In line with the Soviet tradition, the term 'native language' is applied not to one's mother tongue, first language or language in use, but to the language one identifies with, which tends to coincide with the language of one's ethnic group (Tishkov et al., 2009: 11). Thus, the term 'ethnic language' (*etnicheskii iazyk*) has recently entered into use, after being invented as a substitute for the expression 'national language' (*natsionalnyi iazyk*).

Article 10 of the Language Law states that Russian has to be taught as the state language in general and professional establishments; teaching of the state languages of the republics is undertaken in accordance with their (regional) legislation. Citizens have the right to learn their native language and to have it as their language of instruction (see Leontiev, 1995). According to the original text, the language of instruction in educational establishments had to be defined by federal and regional legislation, and parents had the right to choose educational establishments based on their language of instruction (Article 9). Since the 1998 amendment, the language(s) of instruction have to be selected by the founder(s) of the educational establishments - predominantly state (federal and regional) and municipal authorities - , and/or stated in the establishment's charter (Federal Law, July 14, 1998).

Article 6 of the Education Law (now in force), echoed the wording of the Language Law and articulated the right of citizens of Russia to receive basic secondary education in their native languages, and also to choose the language of instruction, but only within the range of possibilities afforded by the education system. The right to education in one's native language is ensured by establishing a required number of appropriate educational institutions, classes and groups, and by providing the conditions for their functioning. The study of Russian is compulsory in all state-accredited educational establishments, except for pre-school education.

However, these legal provisions are not directly enforced and are not backed up by sufficient funding. The Council of Ministers in the Council of Europe noted that:

> Detailed norms for implementing the right to receive instruction in or of minority languages, provided for in federal legislation and in the laws of a number of subjects of the federation, have still not been developed (CoE Council of Ministers Resolution, May 2, 2007).

That is why it is of crucial importance not to restrict the study to an analysis of legal provisions, but to examine administrative regulations as well.

Division of powers, state educational standards and language education

According to the Russian Constitution (December 12, 1993), Russian federalism is ordered in accordance with the principle of vertical division of powers; powers thus fall either under the exclusive competence of the federal authorities, the exclusive competence of regional authorities, or the joint competence of both. Even after the policy shift towards enhanced nation-building in 1999-2000 (see below), the constituent entities of the federation (in Russia these are officially termed *subiekty Rossiiskoi Federatsii* or 'Subjects of the Russian Federation') were largely autonomous in arranging the process of education within public institutions under their jurisdiction, and in providing support to language teaching and other areas of ethnocultural orientation (RF Law, October 6, 1999; Federal Law, July 14, 2003; Federal Law, December 31, 2005, Article 26/3, Section 2, Subsections 13, 13.1, 20). The sphere of joint competence is funded from the federal budget, but administered regionally. This sphere continues to include, *inter alia*, financing municipal general educational institutions through municipal budgets, including teachers' salaries and the costs of textbooks and training aids for implementation of the main general educational programmes (*osnovnye obshcheobrazovatelnye programmy*). The state educational standard (*gosudarstvennyi obrazovatelnyi standart*) is the central element of the education system. The standard is a set of norms and requirements on the minimum content of basic study plans, the maximum permissible workload and the level of graduates' proficiency. The requirements on the content of education include 'integration of an individual into the national (*natsionalnaia*) and international culture' (Education Law, Article 14). In line with the principle of vertical division of powers, the standards, before amendments in 2007, were divided into a federal component, a national–regional component and an educational institution component. The content of each component was decided, respectively, by the federal, regional and school authorities.

Since the adoption of the revised version of the Education Law (Federal Law, January 13, 1996), and until the adoption of relevant amendments in 2007, languages of the peoples of Russia could be used as languages of instruction within all three components of the educational standards, and could be taught as a discipline either as part of the national–regional component or as part of the component of the educational institution. In the regions, the (national–)regional component made up at least one tenth of study time and included history and culture of the region, geography, art, technology and traditional crafts. In the republics, the national–regional component additionally included the titular languages and literature.

Adjusting the standard to the level of educational institutions, the Provisions Concerning General Educational Institutions (March 19, 2001) mirror the provisions of the Education Law by stating that the language(s) taught at school, as well as the language(s) in which education and training are conducted, should be stated in the charters of the relevant institution, and that the teaching of Russian is compulsory. The Provisions serve as a basis upon which institutions can elaborate their charters. The Provisions add that an educational institution has to enable citizens to execute their right to acquire basic secondary education in their native language and to choose their language of instruction (Provisions, paragraphs 2 and 37).

Languages in main educational programmes and core curricula

Typically, the solutions to many practical issues in Russia are not prescribed by laws, but are transferred to the executive authorities. As the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (ACFC) points out:

> In most cases the relevant norms lack mechanisms that would guarantee their implementation, leaving too much discretion at the hands of the executive authorities (ACFC Second Opinion on Russia, May 11, 2006).

The original plan was that approval of the federal component of state educational standards would be through a law, but according to the prescribed procedure it was only approved by an administrative decision (RF Government Decree, February 28, 1994). The federal component was approved as a 'transitional' standard for in its first phase of application ('first generation') by an order of the Minister of Education (Federal Component, March 5, 2004). It is implemented through the main educational programmes and related core curricula. The federal component contains the sample programmes (*primernye programmy*) of each separate subject of study for all types of schools in Russia (both with Russian or native language of instruction) (Khruslov, 2007: 331–332) and declares Russian as a compulsory subject for each stage of school education. The educational programmes were elaborated on the basis of the 'Compulsory Minimum Content of Education' (*Obiazatelnyi minimum soderzhaniia obrazovaniia*), which is a normative document approved for primary education in 1998 and secondary education in 1999, and which established a level of knowledge which school graduates must attain and which must be demonstrated by proficiency exams at the end of the study period.

The Federal Core Curriculum (*federalnyi bazovyi uchebnyi plan*) must be approved for each stage of school education (primary I-IV grades, basic secondary V-IX grades and secondary complete X-XI grades), together with models of sample syllabi (*primernye plany*) for all types of schools. The Federal Core Curriculum was approved on 9 March 2004 and contains sample syllabi for educational institutions: (1) with instruction in Russian, (2) with instruction in Russian but where one of the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation is also taught, and (3) with instruction in the native (not Russian) language. Five types of national schools operate within the second and third models depending on the language of instruction. It is stipulated in the curriculum that, at educational institutions with instruction in native (non-Russian) language, class hours for teaching the 'native (non-Russian) language and literature' are counted as part of the national–regional component or the component of the educational institution. At educational institutions with instruction in Russian, a 'native (non-Russian) language' must be taught by applying 'a component of the educational institution, the sixth educational day in a week, and the time reserves of the educational year' – meaning the time that is left after the teaching of other subjects (Federal Core Curriculum, March 9, 2004).

Thus, according to the legislation, minority language education occurs through: (1) teaching language as a state language of a republic, (2) teaching language as a native language, and (3) native language of instruction. Already in the debates over the drafting of the relevant provisions, some officials advocated for a common standard and a unified content of education for all types of schools. The need for the same level of literacy among all school graduates in order to ensure equal opportunities for entering university was brought forward as justification for such step, as it implies an obligatory written exam in Russian (Khruslov, 2007: 333–334). In fact, the Provisions (March 19, 2001) did not regulate the use of language in the interim and final exams: Russian served as the language of examinations by default. Nor did the language laws of the republics set rules regulating the use of their state language in final examinations. However, unification of the content of education did not happen at that stage, because until the 2007 reform the competence of federal authorities was limited to developing the federal component of the educational standards, and federal educational policy in general. Therefore, in pre-reform institutional settings curricula for common Russian schools and national schools diverged.

Education reform, revised division of powers and the nation-building agenda

By 2000 language teaching was carried out according to the system of 'national education'. However, the change in language education policy was part of an overall policy shift in Russia. At the turn of the millennium and with a new president entering into office, there were changes in the policy of federalism and the nationalities policy in Russia. To strengthen the centralized state system, between 1999 and 2001 there began a process of imposing the supremacy of federal law and bringing regional legislations into compliance with it. To reshape the existing balance of powers, the constitutional division of competences between the federal centre and the constituent entities was now interpreted extensively in favour of the former.

The federal authorities now claimed jurisdiction over general issues of language policy (Constitution, December 12, 1993, Article 71(f), Article 72(f); Russia's Third Report, April 9, 2010: 44), moving towards legislation which treated language as part of culture. Indeed, languages, dialects and subdialects are understood as cultural values (RF Law, October 9, 1992, Article 3). These provisions were used, *inter alia*, as grounds for extended interpretation of the competence of the federal centre by declaring:

> Since the status of state languages of republics of the Russian Federation interferes with the status of the state language of the Russian Federation and with the rights and liberties of her citizens in the sphere of education and culture, it thus cannot be an issue of exclusive competence of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation (Judgement of the Constitutional Court of Russia, November 16, 2004).

Therefore, teaching of state languages of republics must be determined by federal educational standards (Tishkov et al., 2009: 11).

Furthermore, the Language Law was amended in a way that reduced the importance of languages other than Russian (e.g., the 2002 amendment forbade state languages of republics to be based on scripts other than Cyrillic) (Federal Laws, July 14, 1998 and December 11, 2002). In 2005, a federal law was adopted to strengthen the position of Russian as the state language of the whole country, and a federal programme for 'The Russian Language' was approved (Federal Law, June 1, 2005; Federal Programme, December 29, 2005). Arguably, among the reasons for the adoption of that document was the desire to stress the primary status of Russian over the state languages of the republics, and thus to pave the way for a reform of language policy, as shown below.

Meanwhile, a concurrent process of revision of nationalities policy and language policy was underway in the sphere of education (see Zajda, 2010: 182). The principles and agenda of education reform were also laid out between 2000 and 2001 through the National Doctrine of Education (October 4, 2000) and the Concept of Modernization of Russian Education (December 19, 2001). Notably, the latter states that 'the multinational school in Russia has to manifest its important role in preserving and developing the Russian language and the vernaculars, and in shaping the Russian civil self-awareness and identity'.

Ideological basis of the education reform concerning nationalities issues

During the same period, a Draft Concept of the State Ethno-National Educational Policy was developed at the Institute of National Problems of Education of the Russian Ministry of Education in 2001, but was only brought before a wider audience in November 2004[3]. The Draft Concept was a package of several documents and included a draft Programme for the Implementation of National Educational Policy for the Modernization of the General Education System. The accompanying analytical report, justifying the need for the new programme and signed by the Director of the Institute Mikhail Kuzmin, stated that the document should have been developed earlier 'as a departmental regulatory act to define in more detail the implementation of the Concept of the State Nationalities Policy in the area of education'.

Shortly before the report was presented officially, it was published as an article on 'transformation of the mosaic-like traditional polyethnic society into the homogeneous civil society' (Kuzmin, 2005: 16; Shnirelman (2006) noticed discrepancies between the report and Kuzmin's article text). The article pointed out that the Education Law had already 'disunited the vernacular language and the native culture, subjecting them to the competence (and control) of various agencies acting in the educational space'.

The Draft Concept sought, in turn, to deepen the separation established by the Education Law by atomizing national education into isolated linguistic and cultural elements and scattered demand units. The Draft Concept admitted that ‘ethnoses’ may have their own interests, which differ from and occasionally compete with those of the state, and which tend to cause conflict of interest between the dominant ‘ethnos’ and other ‘ethnoses’. The Draft Concept, however, offered no solutions to this conflict of interests.

Instead, the Soviet policy of the 1960s and 1970s of the accelerated ‘drawing together’ and ultimate ‘merging’ of peoples into a single ‘Soviet nation’, with Russian as the ‘second’ native language, was evaluated positively in the report. The need to restructure the education system was emphasized in order to ‘consolidate the multinational people of the Russian Federation into a single Russian (“*rossiiskii*”) political nation’ (on the distinction between an ethnolinguistic ‘*russkii*’ and a territorial–political ‘*rossiiskii*’ aspects of the term ‘Russian’, see Brubaker, 1996: 30). The draft contained the implicit assumption that building up alternative republican national identities or republican ideologies of language revival would hamper the policy of identities (Kuzmin and Artemenko, 2006). Naturally this approach was rebuffed, first of all in the republics. The draft was characterized as contradicting the federal structure of the Russian state, strengthening unitarian tendencies, and provoking tensions between the federal and regional education authorities (Iskhakov, 2005).

In 2004, work began on a new Draft Concept of the Nationalities Policy in the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IEA RAS) (text in Sokolovskii, 2004: 172–182). Neither the Draft Concept of the Nationalities Policy nor the Draft Concept of the State Ethno-National Educational Policy were accepted in their proposed forms, and thus did not attract much attention. However the latter draft, and the dispute it caused, was particularly interesting, since it served as a basis for the Concept of the State National Educational Policy (August 3, 2006). This document laid the ideological foundations for restructuring language policy both in education and well beyond the education sphere (see Zajda, 2010; Prina, 2011). The focal point of the paper was the idea of building a politically unified and culturally homogenized Russian nation through ‘consolida[tion] of the multinational people of the Russian Federation into a single Russian political nation’.

Judging from the title of the paper, it ought to be a supplementary document to the Concept of the State Nationalities Policy, but in fact came close to substituting it.

The Concept seeks to overcome ‘the negative tendencies’ caused by the transformation of ‘an educational institution intended to implement the educational programmes with a national–regional component and with instruction in the native (non-Russian) and the Russian (non-native) languages, into a tool of ethnic mobilization used to transform federal relations into confederative ones’, and offers a set of measures for overcoming those tendencies. These include a total reshaping of the conceptual framework. Instead of the notions of ‘national component’, ‘national school’ and ‘national education’, the authors instead prescribe notions with the prefix ‘ethno-’, e.g. ‘ethnocultural component’, ‘schools with an ethnocultural component’, and ‘ethnically-oriented education’. Realizing the inflammatory nature of this document, the authorities refrained from bringing it forward for broader discussion. Instead, the Concept was quietly approved by an order of Minister of Education and thus escaped wider public attention.

Elimination of standard components and redistribution of competences

The draft amendments to the Education Law which contained the ideas of the Concept were developed by the Ministry of Education and were said to have been supported by the majority of constituent entities of the Russian Federation (Materials, 2009: 61). It was only in 2007 when the changes were statutorily approved through amendments (Federal Law, December 1, 2007), that they were subject to wider public discussion.

In line with the ideas laid out in the Concept, the division of state educational standards into federal, national–regional and school components, which had existed since adoption of the Education Law in 1992, was now eliminated. The pretext for this was that Article 43 of the Russian Constitution on the right to education did not envisage the division of federal educational standards or their transfer to the constituent entities of the federation. The transition to unified federal standards was scheduled to begin in the 2009 school year, and to start from the first grade of elementary school; students admitted prior to 2009 would complete their studies in accordance with earlier standards. Thus, a big step was made towards implementing the principle of “one curriculum for all learners”.

The elimination of the national–regional component made teaching of the languages, literature and culture of titular peoples of the republics, and the history and geography of regions, problematic. In the republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan the discussion was largely focused on teaching history and history textbooks. It became clear that the federal authorities, in their efforts to construct a 'single political nation', would not tolerate any alternative interpretations of history. Proposals were even made to introduce censoring of history textbooks (for more details on the evolution of ideas and of the debate on the teaching of history, see Shnirelman, 2006). Details of the discussion aside, an indicative innovation should be noted: under the amended law there was a procedure of expert evaluation of all textbooks recommended or permitted by the federal authorities (Federal Law, December 1, 2007, Article 28). Most importantly, elimination of the national–regional component inevitably affected not only the teaching of history, but also the teaching of native languages. Indeed, in some regions, the teaching of languages became as controversial as the teaching of history, as illustrated below.

Another important point in the 2007 amendments to the Education Law was the redistribution of competences from the regional to the federal level, and to the educational institutions themselves. Prior to the passage of the amendments, the educational authorities of republics, i.e. the ministries of education, were the locomotives of 'language revival' in the republics; *inter alia*, they could influence the selection of the language(s) of instruction and the amount of language teaching undertaken in schools. Under the amendments, and in line with the ideas of the Concept of the State National Educational Policy, the educational authorities of the republics lost virtually all control over the process of language education, and with it the ability to directly support their titular languages. The amendments restricted the capacity of regional ministries to intervene in decisions relating to the language of instruction and the amount of language teaching, and it is now the schools themselves which take such decisions.

The republics ministries of education still have some options for the implementation of republican legislation in the area of education, *inter alia* through implementation of national educational development programmes. The design and implementation of such programmes, on national, socioeconomic, ecological, cultural, demographic matters specific to the region, have remained within the competences of regional authorities and can act as a tangible lever for developing the education sphere (RF Law, July 10, 1992, Article 29, Section 5).

Language teaching within the reformed education system

According to the 2007 amendments to the Education Law, the main educational programme and its federal core curriculum is now divided into two parts: an obligatory part is shaped by the federal authorities, while a variable part is shaped by participants in the educational process (*Federalnyi standart*, 2010: 16; *Analiticheskii vestnik*, 2011).[4] The teaching of state languages of the republics is assigned to the former, while the teaching of native languages is assigned to the latter. Participants in the educational process at a general educational institution are defined as follows: ‘students, teaching employees of the general educational institution, parents (or legal representatives) of students’ (Provisions, March 19, 2001, paragraph 44). This means that the language of instruction at a state or municipal educational institution and the number of hours (if any) allocated to native language teaching must be determined by students themselves, together with their parents and teachers, organized in parental, trustee, supervisory or other boards capable of developing collective positions.

Schools are typically the municipal educational institutions. Local self-government authorities are in charge of establishing new municipal educational institutions and still have control over schools’ supervisory bodies (Article 31). Therefore, in practice, municipal authorities should be able to influence the selection of the language(s) of instruction by schools.

The 2007 amendment to the Education Law has introduced ‘satisfaction of linguistic and ethnocultural educational needs of citizens of the multinational Russia’ as the main criterion for determining the efficiency of its language policy. This differs from the quantitative indices previously used by republics in that it proposes moving from a focus on demand to a focus on supply. This shift is facilitated by the separation of requirements into ‘linguistic’ and ‘ethnocultural’. To substantiate this, statistical data have been produced which demonstrate the language shift taking place among many peoples in Russia, and use rhetoric about the inadmissibility of compulsory language teaching that ignores the will of parents (State Council Report, 2011: 11). A proposal was also made to evaluate the needs of children and their parents by statistically monitoring parental desire to have the native language taught to schoolchildren. In other words, consideration would only be given to the needs manifestly declared by children and parents (Kuzmin and Artemenko, 2010: 44–46).

Subsequent changes in the reform as a result of compromises

How was the need for reform of the language domain in education ideologically substantiated? When justifying the reform, its exponents portrayed the amendments made to the Education Law in 2007 as a reaction to the 'alarming rise in the number of complaints filed by members of the public with the state authorities and the courts', stating that state and native languages were being taught at the expense of Russian (Tishkov et al., 2009: 37–38).

However, the amendments were poorly received in the republics, as some had anticipated during discussions on the draft concepts. The uncertainty about whether the languages of Russia's peoples would be preserved, and how they would be conducted, caused anxiety and protest in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, not only among national elites but also among teachers and parents who feared that officials would take the amendments to mean prohibition of language teaching (Stepanov, 2010: 6). The amendments caused complications for the educational institutions, which found themselves in a situation of double-subordinance in relation to both federal and regional authorities.

In 2008 the administrations of both republics appealed to the federal authorities, demanding revocation of the 2007 amendments. The conflict received widespread media coverage. Articles appeared with titles like: '*Moscow Is Destroying the Multilingual System of Education in Bashkortostan*', or even '*The New School Education Standard as Casus Belli*' (see Iulbarisov, 2009; Ivanova-Gladilshchikova, 2009). According to some experts, the exponents themselves provoked 'a growth of interethnic tension in the republics of Russia' as a reaction to 'the deprivation of the republican or regional authorities of a considerable share of their rights in organising the education in native languages and their teaching at schools' (Iamskov, 2010: 199–200; Stepanov, 2010: 5).

In reaction to these appeals from regional authorities, the Ministry of Education proposed a number of ways to ensure the use of languages in education. One of the proposals was a new amendment (Federal Law, February 10, 2009) that supplemented the Education Law with a mechanism that allowed regional authorities to participate in the development of model educational programs with regard to regional, national and ethnocultural specifics, based on federal educational standards (Article 29, Section 5, Clause 2). Although the law does not contain a separate reference to linguistic issues, it is expected that the mechanism will enable the teaching of native languages to be preserved under the new federal educational standards.

A public discussion was also initiated on this issue. The lower chamber of the Russian parliament, the State Duma, held parliamentary hearings (*Federalnyi standart,* 2010). Representatives of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan expressed their concern that amendments to the law could tip the balance in federal relations. The resolution adopted following the hearing acknowledged legislative deficiencies that deprived the regions of autonomy in developing teaching programmes reflecting national and ethnocultural specificities. According to one expert's opinion, subsequent discussions and compromises resulted in changes to the draft charters of educational institutions, allowing for the teaching of various subjects in the languages of the peoples of Russia (Shnirelman, 2010: 61). It was embarrassing that, even once negotiations were completed and compromises reached, initiators of the reform still confirmed that:

> [t]he difference from the previous norms and practices is that native languages, including Russian, should be taught now at schools only at the will and choice of participants of the educational process themselves instead of the educational administration of the constituent entity [of the Russian Federation] (Artemenko, 2010: 50).

According to the compromise, a mechanism was developed by which the republican education authorities, alongside the federal ones, participated in determining the scope (the number of hours) and the structure (the list of subjects) of teaching in native languages within the Federal State Educational Standards, later included in the Education Law (Federal Law, June 3, 2011; Rules on the Development, February 24, 2009) (hereinafter 'the Rules'). Some experts evaluated this step as 'a fairly reasonable compromise' (Iamskov, 2010: 203-204). Another step back from the original reform was the extension of the transition period to the new federal educational standards to the end of 2009 (Federal Law, July 18, 2009).

If requirements in the 1990s only related to the content of education, then the reform changed this. Following the Rules, the 'new generation' of Standards for

Primary Education (October 6, 2009, revised November 26, 2010; in force since September 1, 2011) and for Basic Secondary Education (December 27, 2010; in force since September 1, 2012) were approved. The standard is defined a set of requirements concerning: (a) the substantive accomplishments of the main educational programme; (b) the programme's structure, including the obligatory part, and the part devised by participants in the educational process; and (c) the conditions of its implementation. The standards establish that the part shaped by participants in the educational process, which can include native language teaching, accounts for up to 20% of the main educational programme in primary education and 30% in basic secondary education (*Analiticheskii vestnik*, 2011). The standard for the third stage, that is, for secondary education (tenth and eleventh grades), in 2012 was still only as a draft and a hot topic of debate. Among the most contested issues is the intention of reformers to limit the obligatory part of the curriculum to 40%, which would not include either Russian or native languages. This intention has been justified on the grounds of providing students with more freedom to take optional subjects. The establishment of rules for this particular area of education is at the forefront of current developments in Russia's education system.

Modes of language education in the core curricula

What should be the expected state of languages under the final compromise option? Both approved standards establish that, if federal or regional legislation so regulates, the curricula ensure the possibility of receiving an education in the state language of those republics where state bilingualism is established by legislation or in the native language, and define the number of hours for this purpose (*Analiticheskii vestnik*, 2011). On the basis of the standards, the Main Model Educational Programmes was elaborated both for primary education in 2010 and basic secondary education in 2011. These are not normative documents but models for educational institutions to approve their educational programmes and curricula.

The revised Federal Core Curriculum (March 9, 2004, revised August 30, 2010) is attached to the relevant Main Programmes and contains the same models of sample syllabi for educational institutions listed at the beginning of the article. The Draft Federal Core Curriculum for Educational Institutions was elaborated from the same methodological perspective in 2008, but is not yet enforced. The Provisions

(March 19, 2001, paragraph 31) presume division of classes into two groups for the purpose of native language teaching and foreign language teaching. The document demands a minimum number of students of 25 in urban schools and 20 in rural schools, but allows for the establishment of smaller groups if sufficient resources are available. Thus, three modes of language education were maintained, as illustrated below.

1) Philology is an obligatory “learning area” for primary and basic secondary schools, and includes both the Russian language and literature, as well as the native language and literature. This means that the native language can be the medium of instruction in those schools which have chosen a sample syllabus as the basis for their school study syllabus. The reformers emphasize that this decision must be taken by participants in the educational process themselves (Kuzmin and Artemenko, 2010: 46). They argue that Russian constitution and the Language Law establish free choice in the language of instruction, which the reform enforced, and that educational administrations of constituent entities of the federation should not interfere with the choice of language of instruction by schools.

2) The state languages of the republics cannot be used as a medium of instruction in schools that have not chosen to use them, but may still be taught as subjects in the obligatory part of the main educational programmes (Kuzmin and Artemenko, 2010: 46). Another compromise was that the teaching of state languages of republics as subjects was not restricted to the part determined by participants in the educational process. In 2004, notwithstanding the shift in the ethnopolitical line in Russia by that time, the Constitutional Court of Russia found compulsory teaching of both state languages in the Republic of Tatarstan to be constitutional (RCC Judgement, November 16, 2004). The court ruled that the state languages of the republics must be taught in compliance with federal educational standards. However, while state language learning is compulsory, and a request from children and their parents is not required, the volume of state language teaching is usually restricted to one or two hours per week.

3) Before the reform, native languages were taught as subjects within the national–regional and educational institution components. With the elimination of these components the primary issue of concern in the republics was the possible negative repercussion resulting from the discontinuation of native language teaching. Under the new law, teaching a language as ‘native’ is only allowed during that part of

the main educational programmes which is determined by participants in the educational process, in other words by the pupils, their parents and their teachers. Following the reform, they must 'choose' to assign more hours of the syllabus to subjects that fall under the obligatory part of the Unified State Exam (as Russian) at the expense of subjects from the variable part (including native languages). In particular, this concerns the regions and schools that have chosen a model where Russian is the medium of instruction and one of the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation is taught as a subject. The author's fieldwork shows that this is why, even if a native language can potentially be taught for up to six hours per week, in practice the actual native language teaching often only amounts to three to five hours in republics and to one to two hours in other regions.

Probable impact of free choice on language teaching

It seems that free choice can only work in a fully functioning civil society. In the reality of modern Russia much will depend on the collective attitudes of the community at large (majority attitudes) because the decision-making body, instead of being formed exclusively by participants in the educational process, will be appointed in part by the management of the educational institutions. The schools will have to choose an arrangement of the 'ethnocultural component', including when the language of instruction is the vernacular. The schools will also select subjects for its curriculum that satisfy the ethnocultural and linguistic needs of students, while simultaneously taking account of the opinions of participants in the educational process; these subjects may include language teaching. All this is especially difficult given that the amendments to the law, as well as other administrative ordinances, fail to establish a concrete mechanism to take account of the interests of the population regarding the introduction of a non-Russian language of instruction at school. Experts have pointed out that the basic drawback of the amended Education Law is the absence of a mechanism and criteria for selecting the language of instruction at an educational institution. It was only recently that scholars started to address the issue (Stepanov, 2011). In practice, when schools make decisions, they tend to jettison all arrangements that include language teaching, particularly with regard to instruction in the native language, and the Russian language serves as the default setting.

The likelihood of this development was fostered by another innovation: since 2008 the final secondary school examination in basic subjects of general education could only be conducted in the form of the Unified State Exam in Russian (Regulation, November 28, 2008, paragraphs 4–6). Typically, the issue of language tests was initially addressed not in laws but in administrative acts. Indeed, the system of knowledge assessment is one of the key indicators of language education policy. After another heated public debate, native languages can now also become subjects of optional final examination after completion of basic secondary and complete secondary education, by a decision of regional authorities (Federal Law, June 3, 2011). Soon afterwards, a unified regional state exam in ‘state language of the republic’ was developed in some republics (State Council Report, 2011: 45).

Some progress has been made towards free choice, so that now active parents not only have a nominal right but can also demand teaching in/of native language in territorial units of Russia that are neither republics nor autonomous districts. However, the criterion based on individual demand still suggests a much narrower interpretation of linguistic needs than in the case of ethnic self-identification of students as applied in population censuses and sociological researches arranged by republican authorities (see *Gosudarstvennye iazyki*, 2006). Presumably, individuals who ethnically self-identify with the titular group of a republic, but fail to master the titular language, would be recognized as having ethnocultural needs while lacking linguistic needs.

What is more, this approach ignores the collective interest of the group in expanding the network of schools that instruct in the vernacular and for teaching those who have not mastered their native language. As the population is mixed and teaching of the titular languages is optional, ‘the range of possibilities provided by the education system’ would be confined only to areas of dense residence in mainly rural districts. Situations where a large number of children of the titular ethnic origin, particularly those residing in urban areas, are deprived of an opportunity to study the ‘native language’ will not be properly evaluated. Put another way: answering the question of whether demand or supply should serve as an indicator of satisfaction of the educational needs of peoples and citizens is the key to selecting the proper criteria for evaluating language planning in education in the republics.

The criterion set by the reform is based on demand, and is arguably aimed at reducing the supply level to the demand level. This reduction may be implemented indirectly by closing down small rural schools to "optimize" the school system, using demographic decline as justification. Or it may take the form of direct parental will for allocation of fewer hours for native language teaching, explained by the need to comply with the maximum permissible workload. The evaluation of needs is already hampered, and the opening up of "national classes" is discouraged by requirements introduced prior to the reform, notably *per capita* financing of schools and the imposition of a minimum number of students per class.

Conclusion

This paper began with the assumption that recent educational reforms in Russia have impacted on the teaching of minority languages. Was the impact planned and what was the rationale behind it? It seems that the weakening of the institutional position of languages in the education system was not a by-product of the reform, but was instead the result of deliberate action aimed at diminishing the role in education of languages other than Russian. The purpose and mechanisms used, as well as the scenario of the present reform, suggest a parallel with the Soviet education reform of 1958. There, too, freedom of choice took priority over the right to mother tongue education and the obligation of state support for all languages. Freedom of choice has once again become a means to enhance the language shift. If the reform of 1958 served as part of the mechanism to 'merge' Socialist nations into a single 'Soviet people', then the need to build a Russian political nation with Russian as its language (State Council Report, 2011: 61) is reemphasized over and over again in speeches by senior Russia officials and in key policy documents. The latest document in the series of several drafts is the federal target programme 'Strengthening the Unity of the Russian Nation and the Ethnocultural Development of the Peoples of Russia', announced by the Ministry of Regional Development in November 2011. The policy of nation-building might provide the key to understanding covert efforts to narrow the scope of native language teaching despite the official language ideology in support of linguistic pluralism.

This means that, as is the case with history textbooks, the language of instruction is used as another tool in nation-building, first by federal authorities but also by regional authorities in some republics, for instance in Tatarstan. The normative question of which nation-building exercise is more justified, or whether any such exercise is justified at all, was not included in the discussion, but it seems that current power relations have led to the contemporary prevalence of the trend towards recentralization. Supporters of the present reforms have barely concealed their nation-building objectives in their ideological substantiations. Instead, they hope to continue with the reform notwithstanding the compromises agreed (Iamskov, 2010: 204). What is striking is that everybody is busy exercising their nation-building agenda, but nobody presents any vision of a functionally multilingual society in which there are two-directional communicative choices.

How would the reform affect the future state of languages in education? The reform is currently ongoing and there are still many open questions concerning the place of languages within the reformed system. The draft Education Law is being elaborated in the Ministry of Education. Still, bilingualism is not a policy goal and no modes of language education directed at the promotion of functional bilingualism have been put forward to date. The results of the current study demonstrate that, formally, the three modes of language education that existed previously have remained in place, with all types of national schools. In practice, however, the proportion in which these modes and types are applied has changed, particularly due to the transition of schools from teaching native languages to teaching state languages of the republics.

What is the reason for this transition? The information available suggests that teaching languages as state languages of republics is likely to continue. Consequently, the reform has not directly affected the teaching of languages in this respect. The republics may introduce the teaching of state languages through their own legislation. In some republics, e.g. in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, the teaching of state languages has been made compulsory for all schoolchildren. However, the current ethnopolitical situation will hardly allow for the introduction of language teaching in those republics where it has not existed to date, as any efforts to do so would be interpreted by federal authorities as attempts to promote regional identities at the expense of the overarching Russian political identity.

If schools refrain from teaching a language as native in a situation where studying state languages is compulsory, this may lead to a shift by schools from teaching a language as native to teaching it as the state language. Such a move would lead to considerable deterioration in the quality of language teaching. According to the core curriculum, the amount of time allocated per week for teaching the titular language as the state language in republics does not usually exceed two hours, which is adequate for familiarizing students with the language but not for developing sufficient competence in it. To develop competence in a language, it is clearly preferable to study it as a native language rather than as a state language, as the weekly time allotted to teaching children their native language is greater: up to six hours for different grades in different regions. Most preferable for developing language competence and bilingualism in schoolchildren is instruction in the native language. Of course, the quality of teaching does not depend merely upon the number of hours, but also on the supply of adequately trained teachers, and current textbooks and methodologies. The narrowing of the competence of regional education authorities has had an indirect impact on the number of teachers and teaching materials, because their supply will now depend solely on the decreasing number of students.

The educational reform has stripped educational administrations of the constituent federal entities of the opportunity to directly influence the choice parents would make regarding whether or not the native language should be taught, as well as the choice of native language by an educational institution. It is safe to anticipate a further decrease in the number of children studying native languages, either because parents would reject the idea or merely because of a lack of demand from parents. To understand the further implications of the education reform, one should not restrict the analysis to a general study of official data on absolute numbers of languages used in the education system, schools with language teaching, or students. To analyse the scale of changes in the various modes of teaching and in the numbers of schools and students, it is necessary to study the results and effects of the education reform separately in terms of the amount of teaching of particular languages in every region and the proportion of students of titular ethnic origin.

Notes

1. Policy documents and legal acts cited in the article (available at http://zakon.scli.ru/):
   Declaration *On the Languages of the Peoples of Russia,* approved by the Supreme Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, October 25, 1991;
   Law of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic *On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic* of 25 October 1991 № 1807-I (as amended by the Federal Law of 24 July 1998 № 126 and the Federal Law of 11 December 2002 № 165);

Law of the Russian Federation *On Education* of 10 July 1992 № 3266-I (as amended by the Federal Law of 13 January 1996 № 12 and the Federal Law of 03 June 2011 № 121);
Fundamentals of the Legislation of the Russian Federation on Culture approved by the Law of the Russian Federation of 09 October 1992 № 3612-I;
Constitution of the Russian Federation of 12 December 1993;
Order of the Development, Approval and Endorsement of the Federal Components of the State Educational Standards of General Primary, General Basic Secondary, General Secondary Complete and Primary Professional Education, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 28 February 1994 № 174;
Concept of the Nationalities Policy of the Russian Federation, approved by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 15 June 1996 № 909;
Federal Law *On General Principles Governing the Organization of Legislative (Representative) and Executive State Authorities of Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation* of 6 October 1999 № 184 (as amended by the Federal Law of 4 July 2003 № 95 and the Federal Law of 31 December 2005 № 202);
National Doctrine of Education in the Russian Federation 2000-2025, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 4 October 2000 № 751;
Typical Provisions concerning General Educational Institutions, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 19 March 2001 № 196 (as amended by the Government Decree of 10 March 2009 № 216);
Concept of Modernisation of Russian Education to 2010, announced by the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of 29 December 2001 № 1756-p;
Federal Component of the State Education Standards for Primary, Basic and Complete Secondary General Education, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation of 5 March 2004 № 1089;
Federal Core Curriculum of the Russian Federation, including Sample Syllabi for Educational Institutions of the Russian Federation Implementing General Education Programmes, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation of 9 March 2004 № 1312 (as amended by the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of 30 August 2010 № 889);
Judgement of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation On the Case of the Examination of the Constitutionality of the Provisions in Section 2, Article 10 of the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan On the Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Tatarstan, Part 2, Article 9 of the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan On the State Languages And the Other Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Tatarstan, Section 2, Article 6 of the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan On Education, and Section 6, Article 3 of the Law of the Russian Federation On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation in relation to the Complaint of the Citizen S. Khapugin and the Request of the State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Supreme Court of the Republic of Tatarstan of 16 November 2004 № 16-P;
Federal Law *On the State Language of the Russian Federation* of 1 June 2005 № 53;
Federal Target Programme 'Russian Language (2006–10)', approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 29 December 2005 № 833;
Concept of the National Educational Policy of the Russian Federation, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation of03 August 2006 № 201;
Federal Law *On Amendments to Selected Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation Concerning Changing the Notion and Structure of the State Educational Standard* of 01 December 2007 № 309;
Typical Provisions concerning Institutions of Higher Vocational Education, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 14 February 2008 № 71;
Regulation on the Methods and Procedure for Conducting State (Final) Certification of Students Having Completed the Main General Educational Programmes of Secondary Complete Education, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of 28 November 2008 № 362;

Rules on the Development and Endorsement of Federal State Educational Standards, approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 24 February 2009 № 142;
Federal Law *On the Amendments to Selected Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation on Provision of Scholarships and the Arrangement of the Educational Process* of 18 July 2009 № 184;
Federal State Educational Standard for Primary Education, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of 6 October 2009 № 373 (as amended by the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of 26 October 2010 № 1241);
Federal State Educational Standard for Basic Secondary Education, approved by the Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of 17 December 2010 № 1897.

2. Official documents under Framework Convention and domestic reports:
Second Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. April 26, 2005. Available at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_2nd_SR_RussianFederation_en.pdf.
Second Opinion on the Russian Federation of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. May 11, 2006. Available at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_2nd_OP_RussianFederation_en.pdf.
Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe on the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Russian Federation. May 2, 2007. Available at https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1126345&Site=CM&BackColorInternet=C3C3C3&BackColorIntranet=EDB021&BackColorLogged=F5D383.
Third Report of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of Provisions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. April 9, 2010. Available at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_3rd_SR_RussianFed_en.pdf.
'Report of the State Council of the Russian Federation on Measures of Strengthening the Inter-Nationality Concord in Russian Society' (in Russian). Ministry of Regional Development, March 29, 2011. Available at http://www.minregion.ru/activities/interethnic_relations/national_policy/505/902.html.
3. 'Draft Concept of the State Ethno-National Educational Policy'. Federal Center for Educational Legislation, November 2004. Available at http://www.lexed.ru/pravo/actual/?concept_01.html/. Institute (later, Centre) of National Problems of Education (NB: not, for example, of problems of national education), subordinated to the Ministry of Education (later to the Federal Institute for the Development of Education at the Ministry of Education) and headed by Mikhail Kuzmin (later, Olga Artemenko), was a think tank for language reform in education.
4. In fact, the 1993 and 1998 Core Curriculum also had two parts, but at that time the variable part was shaped mostly by regional authorities.

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Maintenance of South Estonian Varieties: A Focus on Institutions

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Institutions are seen as the societal rules of the game in the broadest sense. Institutions include informal norms and formal laws, which are not necessarily functional, but shape human interaction by both prohibiting and enabling it. In language maintenance, too, institutions can serve as obstacles or can provide support, for example through additional resources. In our article, both the normative and legal aspects of language maintenance are presented and discussed on the basis of the example of South Estonian. Although its varieties – Seto and Võru – are traditionally grouped into one category of sub-language, the speakers' senses of identity and different cultural practices lead to objections to this exclusively *linguistic* branching. We discuss how, given the similar linguistic resources the Seto and Võru speech communities possess, norms and laws concerning varieties of South Estonian have been maintained and whether they have changed.

Keywords: institutions; language maintenance; South Estonian varieties; spoken and written language; language activism

In the new-institutionalist framework, institutions are seen as the rules of the game (North, 1990); they include both informal norms and formal laws and are 'constituted in and through recurrent practices' (Giddens, 1982: 8). Institutions may provide resources for societal continuity and prevent unwanted change from happening or, vice versa, may interrupt stable development and force change. While laws can be changed overnight, it takes time to alter norms. Institutions are not necessarily functional; however, the costs of everyday trial-and-error behaviour are reduced by institutions, and this generally makes institutions resources, in terms of predicting behaviour. Institutional support is vital in the maintenance of any language, but especially of lesser-used and non-standard vernacular languages. In the context of language studies, some authors also use the word "ideology" for either a group's

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representations (van Dijk, 1998) or ‘the norms about which language is appropriate for different settings and for use with different people’ (Harris Russell, 2001: 140). For example, the ideology of standard language institutionalizes high and low varieties: ‘the standard form becomes the legitimate form, and other forms become, in the popular mind, illegitimate’ (Milroy, 2001: 547). In general, dominant language ideologies have (re)produced social differences by constructing some varieties as worthier than others (Blackledge, 2005; Koreinik, 2011a). The language laws, including the Language Act of Estonia, often follow simplified essentialist representations of language (c.f. Kroskrity, 2000) and the Herderian ideology of distinct languages (c.f. Gal, 2006), and strongly promote the official language (c.f. Dunbar, 2010). In this article, we seek to analyse the role of institutions, namely norms and laws for the maintenance of South Estonian varieties, and to discuss the possibility of institutional change.

Modern standard Estonian was developed on the basis of northern Estonian dialects, incorporating a number of southern linguistic features. Standardization took a while: it started in the sixteenth century with the emergence of two regional codified written varieties, which competed against each other and superimposed high languages for expanding their domains ‘before an all-Estonian standard was eventually engineered’ (Raag, 1999: 34). The reasons for such an “ineffective” standardization are to be found in the society’s limited economic integration, and localized public administration, which lacked public compulsory education, nationalist ideologies, mass (print) media and the welfare state (Anderson, 1991; Kymlicka, 2002; Dunbar, 2010). Yet, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, despite prescriptive attitudes and forced uniformity, the Estonian literati wrote as they wished without being afraid of stigmatization (Raag, 1999). There were some men of letters, Baltic Germans, whose first (written) language was German but who sometimes preferred an Estonian vernacular in writing because it was ‘the purest Estonian’ (and hence a desirable model for their colleagues) (c.f. Peegel *et al*., 1994). Simultaneously, there were literati who based their preference for a vernacular on writing for a target group that had full command of a particular variety. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when opposing the German nobility and the clergy, the radicals of the national movement displayed contempt for illiterates, for the use of dialects, for conservatism, and for the old literary Estonian and the Tartu language (*tartu keel*) - the written standard of southern Estonia (Laanekask, 2004). Those sentiments gradually developed into a kind of linguistic authoritarianism which became apparent after 1905, with the emergence of Modern Standard Estonian (Raag, 2010). While between the two world wars of the twentieth century the experiment of cultural self-government was welcomed and institutionalized by the Law on Cultural Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities (1925), which allowed non-ethnic Estonian citizens of groups over 3,000 to found schools and foster their cultural life in their mother tongue (Müüripeal and Neljas, 1999), all deviations from standard Estonian, for example colloquial language and dialects, were regarded as marginal or incorrect, not as legitimate varieties (Hennoste, 1997). Estonian purism falls into the targeted xenophobic/ethnographic/archaizing category[1] (Thomas, 1991, as referred to in Raag, 1999); while it is conservative and idealizes past (linguistic) practices, it does not support heterogeneity in languaging. While (Standard) Estonian is perceived as a highly planned ethnic language (*ibid*.), it also has a high symbolic value for its users (c.f. Vihalemm, 1999, 2002).

Following Estonia's annexation to the Soviet Union, and within the context of extensive migration from neighbouring, Russian-speaking Soviet republics, the Estonian language was largely seen as the symbol of psychological resistance against Russification/Sovietization. It also constituted the basis of ethnopolitical mobilization during the restoration of an independent Estonian state (Vihalemm, 1999, 2002; Hallik, 2002). Decades later, Estonian is still iconically linked to Estonian-ness (c.f. Koreinik, 2011a), i.e. Estonian is represented as Estonians' 'inherent nature or essence' (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 37). Both purist and symbolic aspects contribute to the ideology of a standard language, and within this context different institutional aspects (norms and laws) of the maintenance of the South Estonian varieties of Võru and Seto are presented and discussed next.

Norms of speaking and writing South Estonian varieties

Despite the emergence of the all-Estonian standard variety, the vitality of South Estonian varieties decreased after only a half century; the language shift to standard (common) Estonian took place in the 1960s-1980s (Org *et al*., 1994). South Estonian survived best in peripheral south-eastern Estonia (Pajusalu *et al*., 1999), where mostly bilingual Võru-speakers live, switching between their vernacular and standard (common) Estonian depending on circumstances and interlocutors. Given their strong

Estonian identity, Võru-speakers do not regard themselves as a minority; Brown (2004) has described them as a reluctant minority group who object to "minoritization" by observers. Recent focus group interviews within the European Language Diversity for All (ELDIA) project[2] seem to demonstrate this fact. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Setos were seen as Estonia's Other and 'long lost sons' (Kalkun, 2011). The Setos, who live on the Estonian–Russian border, have a minority status in Russia but not in Estonia, where they are however increasingly seen as a separate ethnic group. Although both varieties – Seto and Võru – and their speakers are traditionally grouped into the category of sub-language or dialect (*Võru murre*), the speakers' senses of identity and different cultural practices lead to objections to this mostly linguistic branching. Therefore, below, both varieties will be looked at separately, though in comparison.

Although Estonian vernaculars have historically been less prestigious languages *vis-à-vis* the "power languages" German and Russian, which enabled a speaker to achieve upward social mobility, the enforcement of standard Estonian created a new language hierarchy. Within this new hierarchy, written South Estonian (*tartu keel*) lost its position because of print-capitalism, nation-building and overall societal modernization. Printing for the small south-eastern Estonian market, where Seto and Võru as spoken, was not lucrative (Laanekask, 2004; Ross, 2005). According to the first census in the Baltic provinces in 1881, the counties of Tartu and Võru, where written South Estonian was used, had more than 267,000 residents, the majority of whom were likely to be (South) Estonian speakers (*Rahvaloendused Eestis*). A relatively well-functioning primary education system in South Estonian, with its readers, religious books and calendars which, by the end of the 1800s, taught the whole population to read and write in their vernacular, was not sufficient for emerging intellectuals, for whom the potential of North Estonian seemed more promising. Although an ABC-book in Võru South Estonian was published as late as 1885 – as Jakob Hurt, a leader of national movement, believed that children should learn to read in their mother tongue first (Hurt, 1885) – the replacement of vernacular instruction in south-eastern Estonian schools by common language instruction was demanded (Laanekask, 2004). Thus, South Estonian gradually disappeared from written use: first it was limited to schools and churches and then, at around the turn of the century, it was abandoned in both domains.

During the twentieth century, the peripheral Võru-speakers' economic–geographic situation and socioeconomic prospects gradually worsened compared to the rest of Estonia. Therefore an ethnic–conservative and nostalgic attitude seems to be rather common among Võru-speakers, especially those who have not out-migrated to urban centres. They are not aware of the structural, market-initiated injustice of regional development which accelerated in the Estonian nation-state. Despite Europe's supposedly celebrated (linguistic) diversity, ethnic–conservative attitudes may make the vernacular especially vulnerable and easy to give up: it is enough to claim that the maintenance of Võru can harm the interests of the Estonian national (state and official) language and Estonians in general. Such an argument, as the authors' observations and decades-long fieldwork experience have shown, is mostly accepted by Võru-speakers without any critical analysis. Empirically, a survey by the Võro Institute in 1998 also indicated that Võru was a less prestigious language, although it may have had hidden prestige among some users (Pajusalu *et al*., 2000; Eichenbaum and Koreinik, 2008). Social groups that are receptive to (language) prestige – women, young people, educated people and urbanites – reported less frequent language use than other groups (*ibid*., c.f. Labov 2001). Yet, it is not clear whether language use was under- or over-reported; the estimated number of active and passive users was 50,000 (Koreinik, 2007; c.f. Pajusalu *et al*., 1999). Ehala and Niglas (2007) concluded that Võru was neither used nor valued in Estonian society; its low prestige was likely linked to its peripheral position compared with the Estonian and global 'prestige centres' (Ehala, 2004).[3]

Nevertheless, reading and writing in their own vernacular has some legitimacy for Võru-speakers. For example, since 2000 the Võru-language newspaper *Uma Leht* (UL) has been read regularly or occasionally by three quarters of residents in the area (Saar Poll, 2005). Moreover, UL has a number of correspondents and many Võru-speakers take part in its annual writing contest (about 60 authors in 2010). Finally, Võru-speakers have reported their support for the publication of children's books and fiction (Eichenbaum and Koreinik, 2008). The collective memory of Võru-speakers seems to embrace the idea that it was still possible in the nineteenth century to read and write everything that a peasant needed in his everyday life using his own vernacular (*tartu keel*). There seems to be a "correlation" between longing for one's own written word and nostalgia for a simpler societal life of pre-modernity.

Developments were rather different for the Setos, whose identity has been construed via the fluctuations of the Estonian–Russian border (Jääts, 2000; Saar, 2003). At the end of the nineteenth century, the Setos were closer to Russians than to Estonians because of their "Russian" religion; Russian Orthodoxy (Jääts, 2000). The Estonian national (c.f. traditional) culture, modelled after the German culture, remained unfamiliar to the Setos, as they were either illiterate or, to a lesser extent, educated in Russian. Therefore, the Setos were subjected to Estonianization when their habitat, together with Russian villages (as the new 1920 border was a strategic rather than an ethnic one), was incorporated into the interwar Republic of Estonia. The patronizing ideology that the Setos were younger, uneducated brothers of Estonians whose development had to be fostered was also accepted by the Setos, especially when their religious affiliation was left untouched (*ibid.*).

After World War II, a number of the Setos first in-migrated to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic from Russia and then moved to urban centres. In cities, the Setos gave up their mother tongue and the Soviet atheist propaganda had its impact on their religious practices (Saar, 2003). In their traditional rural habitat, older Setos reported more frequent language use, while younger Setos reported less frequent use (Eichenbaum, 1998; Mäger *et al*., 2006). Moreover, young people have become unfamiliar with the meaning of many religious practices (for details see Semm and Palang, 2004). Most likely, there are inter-generational but also cross-generational differences in the ethnic identification of the Setos: some perceive themselves as ethnic Setos, some identify with Estonians, and some are in between. In the second half of the twentieth century, Seto activists realized the value of old traditions, beliefs and folklore, and found a common language with other Finno-Ugric ethnoses and ambassadors of traditional cultures all over the world. However, the Seto heritage has now been defined by experts and the institutionalized funding of its cultural practices excludes other versions of local culture (Annist, 2009).

Not having developed a writing system of their own, Seto activists have made several unsuccessful attempts to create one. Nevertheless, given their rich and original heritage, the Setos have more choices for identity-building in the globalizing world than Võru-speakers, whose cultural practices resemble those of Estonian-speakers and whose local identity is largely linguistic. Võru language activists, on the other hand, agreed upon *vahtsõnõ kiräviis* - "the new spelling" for both Võru and Seto varieties in 1995. Yet, linguistically older, geographically distant, otherwise unfamiliar or stigmatized forms appear strange and Seto-like to many Võru speakers; the standard variety is not firmly established. The new standard seems to be "owned" by the Võru Institute rather than by speakers. How the ownership of the standard written variety (and the language) is interpreted, however, depends on different experiences people may have with standards and written languages in general. Both the Võru and Seto movements have their radicals, who are engaged in identity-building, either supporting the essentialist view of a distinct language (Kansui, 1999) or of a distinct ethnos (Jääts, 2000). In a world where identity has become a matter of cultural choice (Meluzzi, 1996), language activism has not attracted masses of followers. Therefore, while the elite of the Setos and the Estonian intellectuals who have joined them have chosen to maintain their traditions or vernacular, the majority of the Setos, alienated from the tradition, feel excluded. Similarly, the majority of Võru-speakers may feel excluded from decisions made for written Võru and language acquisition. This corresponds to Gal's (2006: 21) observation that: 'the language attitudes of language specialists, intellectuals, media workers come to be at odds with the preferences of other minority speakers'. Given this sense of exclusion, it can be concluded that social norms seem to be somewhat ambivalent as regards what concerns the public and, in particular, the written use of South Estonian varieties. Language has different importance for Võru-speakers and the Setos; it occupies a different role in speakers' and activist speakers' everyday lives. Nevertheless, while South Estonian varieties have been used in a number of legal areas, e.g. in education and media, as described in the chapter below, activists have made attempts to institutionalize South Estonian varieties as regional languages. These attempts are discussed in the concluding chapter.

Laws and South Estonian varieties

When discussing typologies of language legislation, Dunbar (2002, 2010) describes Estonia, along with the other Baltic states, Catalonia and Quebec, as a strong model of the promotion regime, where there is a right to receive services and to work in the national language. Moreover, there are requirements for public information and enforcement mechanisms, including significant sanctions when the rules are not followed and special control bodies with significant powers. According to his typology, all those promotion regimes have an "official" language of a "nation", spoken by a majority of the polity, although vulnerable to a certain degree because of historical reasons (i.e. Russification and Russian-speaking new migrants in the case of Estonia) originating from a neighbouring state or its predecessors. There is general political consensus on language issues among Estonian-speakers, and significant preparedness, e.g. institutionalization, its presence in all levels of the education system and training, and a well-developed text corpus. Obviously, the Estonian promotion regime, with its constitutional provisions, and language, educational and media laws, has an impact on Seto and Võru language maintenance, as it categorizes languages into an official language and foreign languages, but the two South Estonian varieties do not quite fit into the legislative, instituted taxonomies (c.f. Bourdieu, 1991).

The Estonian Constitution is the fundamental law of the country, and defines the one official language of the country as Estonian. The new Language Act (*Keeleseadus*), adopted on February 23, 2011, reinforces its status as the state language, but Article 3(3) also requires the state to support the protection, use and development of regional varieties of Estonian (*eesti keele piirkondlikud erikujud*). Moreover, in the area where a particular variety has historically been spoken, official texts can, in addition to language use conforming with the Literary Standard, also be written in the regional variety (Article 4(1)). Needless to say, the writing conventions of South Estonian varieties do not always correspond to the Literary Standard. These provisions were not included in the previous version of the Language Act. Nevertheless, nothing has prevented public (local) authorities from writing texts in the regional variety, although they can only be regarded as unofficial documents. While the Literary Standard still guides the use of Estonian in public information and provision of services, whenever the use of the Literary Standard is not required explicitly, a regional variety can be used. The Explanatory Note to the draft stated that the term 'Estonian language' was to be understood as including both the Literary Standard and regional varieties of the Estonian language (Meiorg, 2011).

Estonian legislation also defines foreign languages as any language other than Estonian, except for Estonian sign language. A language of a national minority is a foreign language which Estonian citizens who belong to a national minority have autochthonously used as their mother tongue in Estonia. Another law in which language plays a significant role is the 1995 Citizenship Act (*Kodakondsuse seadus*), with its requirements for and assessment of knowledge of the Estonian language.

Both Setos- and Võru-speakers are mostly Estonian citizens and bilingual by birth; bilingualism is defined as the ability to use one or more languages (dialects) in most communicative situations and to switch freely between languages when needed (Oksaar, 1998: 72). According to the 1993 Act of Cultural Autonomy of National Minorities (*Vähmusrahvuste kultuuriautonoomia seadus*), a 'national minority' includes Estonian citizens who live in the Estonian territory, who have a long, firm and lasting relationship with Estonia, who differ from Estonians by their ethnicity, cultural uniqueness, religion or language, and who are driven by the will to maintain their customs, religion or language, which is the foundation of their common identity. While at the beginning of the twentieth century the otherness and autonomy of the Setos was unquestioned, near the end of the century the representative body of Setos, fearing being assimilated by Estonians, proclaimed themselves to be a separate ethnos (Kalkun, 2011). As Cultural Autonomy Bodies of National Minorities can be formed by non-ethnic Estonian citizens of German, Russian, Swedish and Jewish origin, and by groups of over 3,000 persons, the Seto activists seriously discussed this option of the application of cultural autonomy, but the idea was soon dropped. The 1996 Place Names Act (*Kohanimeseadus*) (Article 10) states that the spelling of a place name must follow Estonian orthography although it may reflect the local dialectal sound structure of the name. Estonian dialects, with or without their own orthographies, are considered to be parts of the Estonian language for this purpose (Article 1(4)) (Meiorg, 2011). In 1997 the Place Name Board made recommendations to local governments to reverse the 1970 administrative reform, and many historical place names were eventually restored. At the end of the 2000s, toponyms in Estonian and in Võru are displayed in parallel on the road signs of historical church parishes. Personal names of Võru and Seto origin correspond with the provisions of the 2004 Names Act (*Nimeseadus*), which requires that the spelling of an Estonian personal name should be in accordance with the rules of orthography of Estonian. While, in general, the Language Act secures the political arrangement of languages into 'standard-and-its-varieties', the adaptability of legislation and policies is binary: the Language Act provides enough leeway to speech communities to use their languages in parallel with Estonian in the public sector, but when it comes to the status of Võru and Seto the law is inflexible (Meiorg, 2011).

As for educational legislation, the 2010 Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act (*Põhikooli ja gümnaasiumi seadus*) (Article 21) states that Estonian is the language of instruction in both basic and upper secondary schools. As a matter of fact, according to the law, any language can be the language of instruction: in municipal schools, on the basis of a decision of the local government council, and in state schools, on the basis of a decision of the Minister of Education and Research. The board of trustees of a school must make a corresponding proposal to the local government council or the Minister of Education and Research. Seto and Võru do not form part of the National Curriculum, but they are included in the list of optional subjects or electives chosen by schools. The School Curriculum - designed in accordance with the National Curriculum and partially with in-school agreements based on local needs, parents' and students' wishes, and local resources - creates a legal opportunity to teach non-standard varieties of Estonian; however, this option has been exploited by a few local schools (see also Koreinik, 2007). Pupils and their parents tend to choose skills needed in the globalized world: English classes in particular always seem more desirable than vernacular instruction once a week. Eventually, parents' choices add up to a drop in the number of students and the closing down of small rural schools, steps which make intergenerational language transmission harder. Beginning in the 2011/2 school year, Võru was be used as a medium in preschool education in one group in a rural kindergarten, and there is a plan to introduce a couple more in Võru. There is a language immersion group where activist speakers bring their children once a week. The share of (both basic and upper secondary) schools where the Võru language or local (cultural) history, literature and folk music are taught has been stable in recent years (20 schools out of 39 in 2011/2), although the percentage of pupils who study Võru has been small since 1997, i.e. throughout the period it has been possible to study it (Koreinik, 2007). To conclude, while the national curriculum incorporated aspects of identity and culture, and Võru can be taught as an elective subject, Brown (2005) describes the teaching of Võru, as for other local aspects of culture, as being peripheral in the school environment or "schoolscape".

The use of language in the media is also regulated by the Language Act, which covers the translation of foreign language texts of audiovisual works, television and radio programmes and advertisements. In the broadcasting of audiovisual works, a foreign language text must be accompanied by an adequate translation into Estonian. Translation into Estonian is not required for retransmitted or language-learning programmes or for radio programmes targeting a foreign language audience. Although there is no special provision on the use of Seto and Võru in the media, both are used in short radio news and in television episodes with Estonian subtitles in the Estonian Public Broadcasting, as well as in mono- (Võru language) and bilingual (Seto language) print community media. Adding subtitles to television episodes was initiated by media professionals, as programming had to be in accordance with the law, i.e. the Literary Standard. Those have been funded from the state programme "Southern Estonian language and culture" and its follow-up. Before the turn of the millennium, Võru was used in all journalistic genres (Saar, 2005). With UL being the only entirely Võru language channel, other local newspapers have almost stopped using Võro (*ibid*.). Another example of Võru in print media is the first Võru-language version of the oldest Estonian children's magazine, *Täheke*, which was published in February 2005 with seven more editions coming out in the following years. The Võru versions of *Täheke* were distributed without charge among first graders and those who study the Võru language in the Võru-speaking area (Koreinik, 2007). Finally, sporadic texts in Võru and Seto have been published in all-Estonian print media and in new media, such as chat rooms, internet forums and the blogosphere.

As for less regulated domains of written and spoken language, in addition to the boost to Võru language literature, which is characterized as an example of small literature in the spirit of Kafka (Sallamaa, 2009), dramaturgy and performing arts were popular in the 1990s. Theatre in the Võru language was started by professionals (the drama school of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, and the Vanemuine Theatre in Tartu), moved to the sphere of a small chamber-like experimental theatre (the Võru Theatre Atelier) and reached a repertoire which engaged an unpretentious, but broad, audience. It has been one of the most advanced performing arts in which the use of Võru has been most explicit. Although some performers and genres of music (e.g. singer's song and choir music) have enjoyed the audience's attention, the existence and development of theatre in a "minoritized" variety, with its dramaturgical roots, fiction and poetry demonstrate that the written word has maintained its importance for Võru-speakers in less regulated/standardized domains.

Although texts in Seto are available in a number of print media (*Setomaa* and *Peko helü* 'Peko's voice') and there are a number of text producers, the Setos have remained outsiders in the Estonian written culture. At the same time, the Setos' polyphonic singing tradition *leelo* is also very much alive and popular within an all-Estonian context, being constantly reinterpreted, for example by the ethno-pop group 'Zetod'. As for the theatre, new forms have developed in music, which interpret sounds and epics of folk songs (e.g. Veljo Tormis). This is produced by local youth, who have grown into the Seto culture. While Võru-speakers have maintained their tradition of writing, the Setos have so far preserved their predominantly oral culture, with its material and mental elements.

Discussion: the future of South Estonian varieties

Despite the general political consensus on the arrangement of Estonian into the standard form and its varieties, there have been a couple of legal proposals on the recognition of South Estonian varieties as distinct languages. In general, those proposals may indicate some institutional and legal change.

In 2004, the council of the state programme "Language and Culture of Southern Estonia 2000-2004" proposed amendments to the Language Act to recognize Southern Estonian varieties, including Võru and Seto, as regional languages, in order to expand the domains of South Estonian, to improve its prestige and to remove legal gaps. A number of parliamentary factions, ministries and other relevant bodies discussed the proposal, but no consensus was reached. The issue was reopened in 2009, when drafts of the Language Act were discussed, but again no decision acceptable to both the proponents and opponents of legal recognition was reached. For example, the proposals included replacing "regional varieties of Estonian" with "Estonian regional languages". The proposal also included provisions for the use of varieties in the media, in public signage and by public officials. The new Language Act enacted in 2011, with its Explanatory Notes, addresses Seto and Võru as regional varieties, i.e. as dialects or, in other words, as dialectual languages (*murdekeeled*). This obviously does not satisfy the proponents of legal recognition. The (de)legitimation of South Estonian varieties, a rather marginal topic in the public discourse, has been voiced by language activists (Koreinik, 2011b). Legal recognition is argued against with references to costs (rationalization) (c.f. Ehala and Niglas, 2007), the past (historicization and path dependency) and the future (threats and discourses of language endangerment) (Koreinik, 2011b). In public discourse Estonian is often represented as an endangered language due to Russification or

Anglification. The following extracts from all-Estonian newspapers translated into English exemplify the discourse of language endangerment rather well:

> The director of the Institute of the Estonian Language sees in this regulation serious dangers, because if the Võru language is granted regional language status, then this should be granted, according to him, to Russian as well (Mattheus, 2004).[4]

> The number of languages in the world which manage to function on a high level is under 75. The Estonian language belongs to those, but remains, by the number of supportive users, the second to last (surpassing only Icelandic). We are under growing pressure to drop out of this premier league. The scattering of human and financial resources is wicked. The creation of an artificial rival inside or next to Estonian is a dangerous frivolity. If, in the eighteenth century, the generation of two standards, which split the body of the nation, had not been given up, I am afraid we would not now have the nation-state of Estonia (Soosaar, 2005).[5]

The analysis of the South Estonian (de)legitimation discourse has demonstrated that recognition of South Estonian varieties is often represented as undermining Estonian *vis-à-vis* Russian. It seems safer, then, to position Southern Estonian varieties into the cultural enrichment framework and discursively represent them as functional parts of monolithic Estonian (Koreinik, 2011b, 2011c). Although approximately half of the 18-64 year-old residents in the area have claimed a need for a law which would protect Võru (Eichenbaum and Koreinik, 2008), it is not clear whether the vernacular should be protected as a heritage language or otherwise. For example, many seem to believe in “diglossic” norms when it comes to protection. Yet, the justification of diglossia (or its interpretation) can further contribute to the ideological marginalization of language and to the legitimacy of the canonical form (see Milroy, 2001).

Different directions of new-institutionalisms explain institutions differently: the “newest” new-institutionalism, discursive institutionalism (DI), defines institutions as both structures and constructs, subjective and real, and as such represents a dynamic account of institutional change and continuity (Schmidt, 2008). The other three new-institutionalisms regard institutions as rather stable historical regularities, incentive structures or cultural norms (*ibid.*). The discourse of the (de)legitimation of South Estonian varieties demonstrates how different actors, the proponents and the opponents of the legitimation of South Estonian, have argued for or against institutional change (Koreinik, 2011a). Nevertheless, this discourse also embraces arguments about what other new-institutionalisms have to offer in terms of explaining institutional continuity: path dependency, rational choice and cultural norms. Those also seem to be key arguments in discursive practices when the opponents of South Estonian legitimation happen to explain why institutions, and especially laws, should endure as they are.

While standard Estonian is secured by institutional continuity, is some institutional change possible and desirable for South Estonian varieties? Dunbar (2010) concludes that the law can have an impact on reducing or eliminating conflict, but it hardly addresses protection and promotion of regional and minority languages. While the law can have an impact on language users, in general it is not enough for the successful accommodation of language diversity. To conclude, institutional change in formal laws, such as the Language Act, will only be effective when speakers find it unavoidable and welcome it. So far only language activists have demonstrated their interest in institutional change. It seems to be a universal phenomenon, by which the interests of language activists and speakers with regard to language maintenance differ a great deal (Gal, 2006; see also Saarikivi and Marten, in this volume). Meanwhile, in spite of laws being devoid of provisions on Võru and Seto, and of speakers not claiming their language rights, the South Estonian varieties keep, to a limited extent, functioning as oral and written languages.

Notes

1 Xenophobic purism refers to conservative attitudes towards loan words and calquing. Archaizing purism is about revitalizing the tongue of the Golden Age. Ethnographic purism idealizes rural life, folklore and dialects. Among other categories, elitist and patriotic purisms are mentioned. See also Dorian (1994).
2 For more details, see http://www.eldia-project.org.
3 Prestige centres are cultural-geographical centres which have legitimate and symbolic power for different speakers. The ethnolinguistic vitality of minority languages (most languages have a minor position compared to “power languages” in a globalising world) depends on what language (minority or majority language) is the main vehicle of communication in their prestige centre (c.f. Ehala 2004).
4 *Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituudi direktor näeb sellisel regulatsioonil tõsiseid ohte, sest kui anda võru keelele regionaalkeele staatus, tuleks see tema hinnangul anda ka vene keelele* (Mattheus, 2004). Translated from Estonian by Kadri Koreinik.
5 *Maailmas on keeli, mis suudavad kõrgtasemel toimida, alla kolmveerandsaja. Eesti keel kuulub nende hulka, kuid jääb toetavate kasutajate hulgalt islandi keele järel tagantpoolt teiseks. Me oleme kasvava pinge all esiliigast välja pudeneda. Inim- ja finantsressursi killustamine on kurjast. Kunstliku rivaali tekitamine eesti keele sisse või kõrvale on ohtlik kergemeelsus. Kui XVIII sajandil ei oleks loobutud rahvuskeha lõhestava kahe kirjakeele tekitamisest, ei oleks meil, ma*

kardan, praegu eestlaste rahvusriiki (Soosaar, 2005). Translated from Estonian by Kadri Koreinik.

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Latgalian in Latvia: A Continuous Struggle for Political Recognition[1]

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This article discusses the situation of the Latgalian language in Latvia today. It first provides an overview of languages in Latvia, followed by a historical and contemporary sketch of the societal position of Latgalian and by an account of current Latgalian language activism. On this basis, the article then applies schemes of language functions and of evaluations of the societal position of minority languages to Latgalian. Given the range of functions that Latgalian fulfils today and the wishes and attempts by activists to expand these functions, the article argues that it is surprising that so little attention is given to Latgalian in mainstream Latvian and international sociolinguistic publications. In this light, the fate of the language is difficult to prognose, but a lot depends on whether the Latvian state will clarify its own unclear perception of policies towards Latgalian and on how much attention it will receive in the future.

Keywords: Latgalian, Latvia, minority language, language policy, language activism, language functions

This article discusses the societal position of the Latgalian language in Latvia today. In introducing the situation of the Latgalian language to a broader international audience, it documents the impact of current debates in Latvian society and politics on the Latgalian speech community. This is based on an evaluation of Latgalian in the framework of the ethnolinguistic vitality of linguistic minorities and of language policy, legislation and rights.

Language policy in Latvia is a well-known case in international sociolinguistic circles: the organization of post-Soviet multilingualism, with the reversal of language shift from Soviet Russian back to native Latvian as the Latvian state's aim, and the struggle for linguistic rights by the Russian-speaking population, have dominated

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international debates and, partly, raised considerable attention and emotional uproar. The individual position in that debate has largely depended on whether authors saw the Latvian state's policies as a legitimate attempt to engage in post-colonial societal transformation. In light of this debate, other linguistic debates were heard far less often in Latvia in recent years, and other minorities have found it difficult to gain a voice. Traditional groups, such as speakers of Polish, Lithuanian or Belarusian in the South-East of Latvia, have suffered from a lack of attention in a similar way as non-Russian Soviet migrants, with their languages and cultures often being downgraded to purely folkloric items. Those minority schools which exist in Latvia today, such as Polish or Ukrainian schools, do not normally function in the respective minority language, but only teach it as a second language.

In this context Latgalian is in a rather specific situation. Whereas Latgalian enjoys some official recognition, in that it is mentioned in the Latvian constitution, it suffers from being traditionally perceived as a dialect of Latvian rather than a language in its own right. The debate on Latvian and Russian has been a considerable obstacle to discussing Latgalian issues, although in terms of users Latgalian-speakers are clearly the third-largest speech community in Latvia. Riga-dominated political and academic circles often do not show interest in Latgalian issues – an overtly political agenda which has only in recent years been slightly counteracted by some active individuals from Latgale.

The aim of this article is to place the Latgalian language within the context of ongoing debates on languages and their status in Latvia. For this purpose, we will first give a sociolinguistic and historical overview of Latgalian from a comparative perspective. We will then discuss recent developments and political discussions on Latgalian before putting Latgalian and its functions into theoretical frames of minority languages and discussing possible future scenarios. In this context, we will show the degree to which political (and to a lesser degree economic) obstacles may indeed shape the present and the future of a speech community and its language.

Latgalian in Latvia: an overview

The dominant language of Latvia today is Latvian. It is the only official language ('state language' in Latvian terminology) and the first language of around 60% of the population.

Russian is the biggest minority language and is spoken as a first language by around one third of the population. Whereas Latvian-speakers were mainly the autochthonous population of Latvia, most Russian speakers (or their ancestors) came to Latvian territory during Soviet times. In 1989, less than 10% of the Russian population were traditional Russian speakers (e.g. Russians who came to the territory as part of an administrative elite in Tsarist times, but also Old Believers who settled in the seventeenth century after being expelled from Russia for religous reasons) and their descendants (c.f. Apine and Volkovs, 2007: 238). In the perception of the traditional population, there is a large gap between these “old” Russians who are referred to as “our” Russians and Soviet times migrants (c.f. Lazdiņa *et al*., 2011); while the former are seen as locals, the latter are largely not.

Whereas Russian was the dominant language in all domains of higher prestige during Soviet times, Latvian has replaced Russian as the language of administration and the state since the reestablishment of Latvian independence in 1991. In all other domains, however, Latvian society functions fully bilingually – there are Latvian and Russian schools and media and there are no restrictions on everyday practices. The aim of official Latvian language policy since 1991 has been to develop Latvian as the “integrating language” of Latvian society, i.e. to develop sufficient competence in Latvian among non-Latvian mother tongue speakers.

Other languages of Latvia are traditional minority languages such as Polish or Belarusian. Like Russian, these are not officially recognized by law but enjoy financial and institutional support in certain areas such as education or culture. The most common foreign language today is English, albeit still with far lower competence than in many Western European countries. German as a traditional strong foreign language is still common but in decline, whereas other foreign languages are rare.

The only two languages besides Latvian which are mentioned in the Latvian constitution are the small Finno-Ugric autochtonous language of Livonian (with only a handful of speakers left today) and Latgalian. Latgalian is referred to as the “historical written variety of Latvian”, but it remains unclear what this status implies. Latgalian is a Baltic language variety closely related to Latvian and spoken mostly in the historical region of Latgale in Eastern Latvia. It has sufficiently distinctive features to make it unintelligible to many Latvian-speakers. However, even more important for classifying it as a separate language is the tradition of a written standard which was developed during the nineteenth century and which was used in the first time of Latvian independence between 1920 until 1934. Thereby, Latgalian fulfils linguistic as well as social and political criteria for being perceived as a language in its own right. From an ethnic point of view, Latgalian is closely related to Catholicism (in contrast to dominant Lutheranism in other parts of Latvia, c.f. Lazdiņa *et al*., 2011). In this, religious and linguistic components interact, but in total most speakers of Latgalian see themselves as a sub-ethnos of Latvian ethnicity rather than as a separate ethnicity altogether. Thus Latgalian, in terms of its perception by the state as a historic variety and the self-identification of its speakers with the main ethnos of the state, can be considered a regional language in line with regional languages such as Kashubian in Poland, Low German in Germany or Scots in Scotland (c.f. Lazdiņa and Marten and Pošeiko, 2011).

Latgalian is a Baltic variety which has developed separately from other varieties over several hundred years. Originally spread over large parts of today's Latvian territory, Latgalian tribes settled in the Eastern area of today's Latvia as the rural population under changing rulers. They were politically separated from other Baltic-speaking people when their territory came first under Polish and then under Russian rule, whereas the Western parts of today's Latvia remained Swedish. This also explains why Roman Catholicism is the dominating religious confession among speakers of Latgalian in contrast to mostly Lutheran speakers of Latvian. Also after the incorporation of the entire territory of today's Latvia into the Russian Empire, Latgale remained administratively separate, thereby reinforcing cultural and linguistic differences. Therefore, early written forms of Latvian and Latgalian developed independently of each other. This development could not be stopped by Russification attempts in the nineteenth century, which banned printing in Latgalian (as any other variety not written in cyrillics) for several decades. After this ban was lifted in 1904, in the spirit of national awakening all over Europe a lively scene of Latgalian culture developed. This resulted ultimately in the political aim of uniting with Latvian-speaking areas, a demand expressed in 1917 in a congress in which Latgalian intellectuals declared their unity with Latvia. After the creation of the Latvian Republic in 1918, a slow process of cultural reunification started, with Latgale as the economically weakest and ethnically most diverse part of Latvia. Yet, in spite of nationalist attempts to unite the Latvian language, the cultural and linguistic distinction was maintained, as Latgalians had explicitly demanded. Therefore, publication of Latgalian periodicals and books flourished since 1920, and Latgalian was the medium of instruction in the first four years of primary school.

This development of Latgalian stopped when the authoritarian Ulmanis regime took over in 1934. Latgalian was banned from all public functions, printing and schools. Essentially, this situation has continued to the present day. During Soviet times, Latgalian remained banned (even though this was not an official law, but rather a *de facto* policy), with niches of its survival being mostly private homes and the Catholic Church. In addition, Latgalian was maintained in exile, including several publishing houses, albeit with very limited extension. Bukšs, one of the most active researchers of Latgalian literature and culture in exile, commented as early as 1961 that Latvian philology during Soviet times continued the Tsarist perception of Latgalian within the tradition of a 'political philology' in which the decision of what to recognize as a language and what to downgrade to a dialect depended on the ruling powers (Bukšs, 1961: 104).

Since the reestablishment of Latvian independence in 1991, the use of Latgalian has no longer been publicly forbidden, but the traditional lack of official recognition has continued. Latgalian is not used in administration, official public signs in Latgalian do not exist, and education in Latgalian is very limited and takes place only on individual initiative (c.f. Marten *et al*. 2009). The difference with previous times is that Latgalian is no longer restricted to the private sphere, and nobody is afraid of being punished for using it. Also, to a limited degree, Latgalian is used in publications, media and research reflecting the numbers of its speakers in today's Latvia.

According to the large-scale Ethnolinguistic Survey of Latgale with more than 9,000 respondents all over Latgale (Šuplinska and Lazdiņa, 2009), 62.1% of the population have command of Latgalian. Related to the total population of Latgale of about 350,000, this means that around 217,000 persons in Latgale know Latgalian. Traditional accounts speak of 150–200,000 speakers of Latgalian in all of Latvia (c.f. Marten *et al*., 2009: 9). It will be interesting to see the results of the current census in Latvia (carried out between March and May 2011) which, for the first time, has included a question on Latgalian (see below).

Research on attitudes to Latgalian shows that its speakers are generally quite positive towards it (c.f. Šuplinska and Lazdiņa, 2009; and Lazdiņa *et al*., 2011). Of the respondents to the Ethnolinguistic Survey of Latgale, 35% wish to see Latgalian as an official language, 33.9% are against it and 31% do not know. 58.9% of the respondents perceive the need to speak Latgalian as being a substantial condition for integration into the local community. Only 23% of the respondents do not wish Latgalian to be used at school at all, whereas 77% do – but only 8.3% as Latgalian-medium education, 10.5% as a compulsory second language, and 58.2% as an optional subject (Šuplinska and Lazdiņa, 2009: 337). These attitudes show that the population in Latgale is in favour of supporting Latgalian, even though there is no consensus concerning its official status. The fact that people often do not know reflects that they might not have thought about the question, arguably as a result of efforts to discourage the development of personal opinions during Soviet times. In addition to that, research for a linguoterritorial dictionary of Latgale (Rēzeknes Augstskola TILRA Project 2010) revealed that 1,763 of 1,959 respondents considered the Latgalian language to be of importance for "Latgalianness", thereby declaring it the second most important characteristic of Latgale (next to the pilgrimage to the Church of Aglona).

Since 1991, the Latvian state has focused on the reversal of language shift from Russian back to Latvian as the main language of society. Latgalian is seen by many as either not important or even as a separatist threat, although Latgalian identity is largely constituted as a regional identity within Latvian identity, not in opposition to it. In fact, the minority-friendly climate of the 1920s reflected this by referring to Latgalian and their speakers by the term "Latvian(s) of Latgale". Yet, societal attitudes gradually deteriorated – similar to processes which delegitimized the use of South Estonian varieties in the early twentieth century (c.f. the article by Koreinik and Saar in this volume). Among the population of Latvia outside Latgale, negative attitudes are still regularly displayed, for instance in online fora relating to newspaper articles on Latgalian. Trūpa (2010) shows numerous of examples of extremely aggressive comments between 2006 and 2009 which reinforce stereotypes relating to the primitivism of Latgalians. Similarly, in a discussion of an article on the demand to give Latgalian regional official status in October 2009, many respondents made openly hostile and occasionally vulgar remarks towards Latgalian (c.f. Marten, 2012).

In education and science, it is a step forward for recognition of Latgalian that the important 4th Letonika Congress, held in October 2011, included a section on Latgalian issues (c.f. *Apvienotais Pasaules l atviešu zinātnieku III kongress un Letonikas IV kongress* 2011). Yet, as a counter example, the Association of Teachers of Latvian Language and Literature in November 2010 clearly displayed its attitude to Latgalian in a decision taken on the position of Latgalian linguistic and cultural heritage in the Latvian curricula: the members decided that a project should be developed to have ‘the students become acquainted with all non-standard forms (dialects) of the language’. By doing so, the Association entirely ignored the fact that a standardized Latgalian language exists, while simultaneously classifying Latgalian within the same category as Latvian varieties which are entirely lacking the separate development of Latgalian and whose speakers have never asked for official recognition. Further, it suggested that these measures should take place in the form of (voluntary) “hobby lessons”, thereby also clearly showing that it did not assign any importance to the issue (*Latviešu valodas un literatūras skolotāju asociācija* 2010).

The position of Latgalian within the ecolinguistic framework of Latvia may therefore be summarized in the following hierarchical overview of languages in Latvia today, according to their functions, their prestige, their recognition and their spread (c.f. Figure 1). This includes the distinction between endogenous (for languages which have traditionally been present in Latvia) and exogenous varieties (languages which only recently entered the ecolinguistic scenery of Latvia). Latgalian is certainly an endogenous language, but from the perspective of Latvian society as a whole it lacks the functions and prestige of Latvian, or of languages such as English or Russian which, in turn, are less endogenous than Latgalian. In terms of societal strength it is far weaker than Latvian, but also than Russian – with its demographic strength and the political and societal attention it receives – and than English, which is considered a prestigious target of educational policies.

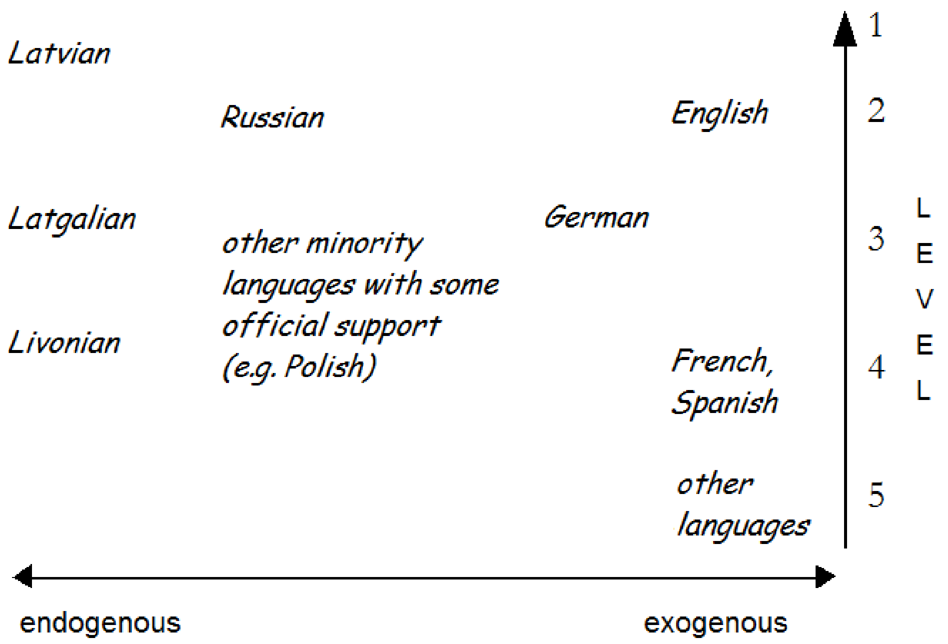

Figure 1: Languages in Latvia

In light of models for assessing language rights and policy situations, the model by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995: 80) enables us to evaluate Latgalian along two dichotomies: assimilation versus maintenance-oriented (on a scale ranging from prohibition via toleration, non-discrimination prescription and permission to promotion) and overt versus covert language policies. In this respect, the situation of Latgalian today suffers from a lack of active promotion of language rights or even a rights-based approach. The state only very hesitantly reacts to repeated demands by activists, if it reacts at all. Spoken Latgalian is tolerated as long as this is restricted to less formal domains, and it is only slowly spreading to more prestigious functions wherever there is support from activists. Therefore it seems legitimate to place Latgalian into the "toleration" category of the assimilation versus maintenance scale. On the overt versus covert scale, because of the lack of coherent policies and the continuing confusion regarding how Latgalian should be classified, we can speak of a more covert than overt policy.

It is interesting to compare the evaluation of Latgalian in the context of languages and language policies in Latvia to other scientific accounts of languages in Latvia. In this context it is remarkable that Latgalian is often not mentioned at all, and where it is this is often only as a side issue. Encyclopaedic publications such as

Haarmann (2002) or Janich and Greule (2002) do not refer to Latgalian with a single word. The Ethnologue – which provides encyclopaedia-type overviews of countries world-wide according to the languages which are spoken therein – mentions Latgalian under the entry 'Latvian' only as a dialect of Latvian and an alternate name for the variety called East Latvian or High Latvian. There is no distinct entry for Latgalian, and Latgalian also does not appear separately in the Ethnologue's list of 'Languages of Latvia'; nor is there a remark on the Latgalian written language.

Hogan-Brun *et al*. (2009: 103) do mention Latgalian, but only in one paragraph (about a third of a page) in a volume of 164 pages. Druviete (2010), in her account on sociolinguistics in the Baltic States, does not mention Latgalian once and her account also ignores all sociolinguistic research which has taken place on Latgalian in recent years. Many older scientific articles of language policy in Latvia similarly do not discuss the issue of Latgalian, for example Ozolins (2003), Tsilevich (2001), Hogan-Brun (2008) or Schmid (2008) (with the first author taking a Latvian perspective, the second a Russian perspective, and the last two outsiders' perspectives). Not surprisingly, Latgalian is also missing in accounts of Latvian language policy in general volumes on language policy, such as those by Spolsky (2004, 2009).

Many more general scientific publications on Baltic linguistics also speak of just two surviving Baltic languages today (i.e. Latvian and Lithuanian), thereby failing to recognize that Latgalian exists in both spoken and written form. Although scientists working on Latgalian such as Leikuma (e.g. 2002) or Andronovs (e.g. 2009) do mention Latgalian, references beyond these circles are very few, e.g. Nītiņa (2007).

These examples show that Latvian centralist policies have been very successful in concealing the existence of Latgalian both in Latvian and in international publications. While examples of Latvian linguistics might be found in the tradition of centralist structures and may even have a political dimension, for example in attempts to recognize Latgalian, international authors arguably do not have an ideological reason for failing to include Latgalian in their lists.

In total, there is thus a considerable discrepancy between perceptions by local and regional scholars and activists, and scholars from other regions of Latvia and other countries. In spite of the fact that Latgalian already fulfils a large number of social functions, has the potential to expand to more official domains, and enjoys the support of activists, the dominant view taken by the Latvian state on Latgalian has been supported by many non-Latgalian scholars from Latvia, and has shaped the perception of languages in Latvia by the international scientific community. In this interplay of activism and research, contradictory societal opinions, and the state's rather sceptical attitudes, it is difficult to foresee a positive angle on Latgalian. A lot depends on whether the modest steps initiated by activists in their dialogue with politicians will eventually lead to more fundamental changes, such as a partial recognition of Latgalian as a regional language with certain rights, possibly even extending to administrative use in certain defined areas.

Latgalian activism in recent times

In the light of the tradition of suppression and neglect of Latgalian, since the reestablishment of Latvian independence Latgalian activists have fought fiercely for the reintroduction of Latgalian onto the cultural and political agenda. From the early 1990s activists initiated events such as competitions in Latgalian for school children or Latgalian summer camps. The first books in Latgalian, after the interruption of Latgalian publishing during Soviet times, have appeared again in the publishing house of the Latgalian Cultural Centre. Institutions created at the time included the Association of Latgalian School Teachers and the Research Institute of Latgale at Daugavpils University. Activism in education succeeded in establishing afternoon classes in Latgalian in several schools, culminating in academic programmes which included courses in Latgalian language and literature. The publication of scientific works, including the journal *Via Latgalica* since 2008, has indicated the direction in which Latgalian might be heading in the future.

One of the major successes of Latgalian activism was official recognition of Latgalian orthography in 2007, initiated by the Latgalian Students' Centre. In the State Language Centre, an organization operating within the structures of the Ministry of Justice, the Expert Commission of Latvian Language created a sub-group on Latgalian. Latgalian scientists and activists participated in this commission, resulting in an orthography which tries to pay justice to phonetical and grammatical differences within the Latgalian varieties.

The establishment in 2009 of LatBLUL, a Latvian counterpart to the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) (which has since been closed down), was a success in terms of activism of linguistic minorities in Latvia in general. Languages that are represented in LatBLUL are Latgalian, Livonian and the Russian varieties spoken by Old Believers. The organisation focuses on issues relating to minority languages in Latvia. To date it has had some practical impact on procedures to develop the current working group on Latgalian and the inclusion of a question on Latgalian in the census (see below).

At the international level, the official assignment of an International Organization for Standardization (ISO) language code ("ltg") in 2010 was seen as a major success by Latgalian activists, and lobbying by LatBLUL also ensured the inclusion of Latgalian in the 2011 national census (Dalykums, 2010: 217–227). The question of 'Which language do you use at home?', which originally offered only the options 'Latvian, Russian, Belarusian and others (please name which)', was changed to include the question: 'Do you use Latgalian, subtype of the Latvian language, on a daily basis?' (*Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabinets* 2011). This is a fundamental step forward insofar as Latgalian had not otherwise been mentioned in official statistics at all. Latgalian linguists are thus eagerly awaiting the census results in order to contrast them with previous research results.

In spite of these successes, however, there were also considerable setbacks which show that the general position of Latgalian has not changed dramatically. One major example was the decision by the Latvian Supreme Court in August 2009 relating to official documents in Latgalian. The court ruled that 'a document in the Latgalian written language is to be considered a document in a foreign language'(c.f. Viļums, 2011), based on the legal provision that all official documents in Latvia must be in Latvian. It thus became apparent that, in spite of the tolerance of cultural activism, political recognition remained out of question. As a consequence, the Register of Enterprises ruled in March 2011 that the application to include a company which handed over relevant documents in Latgalian was unlawful (c.f. Viļums, 2011).

The discouraging situation regarding official use of Latgalian and the lack of improvement in terms of societal prestige resulted in a petition by participants of the 2nd scientific conference on Latgalistics which took place in Rēzekne in October 2009. The main demand of the petition was to recognize Latgalian as a regional official language (Dalykums, 2010: 204–206). Yet, two letters in response to the petition by the Latvian Ministries of Justice and of Education and Science reinforced the tradition of seeing Latgalian as a dialect of Latvian. The Ministry of Justice also argued that the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages did not provide for the possibility of 'dialects of official languages to be eligible as regional languages', and therefore denied Latgalian the possibility of arguing for its status as a regional language (c.f. Dalykums, 2010: 212–215). Similarly, the Ministry of Education and Science rejected the demand on the grounds that Latvian laws did not create the grounds for providing official status to any variety other than Latvian – rather than considering that it might be time to create such grounds. The Ministry only referred to the possibility of safeguarding Latgalian traditions, including the Latgalian language, under the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on Non-Material Cultural Heritage (c.f. Dalykums, 2010: 212–215).

However, the uproar among Latgalian activists and the continuing pressure by several groups in the aftermath of the petition prompted the Ministry of Education and Science to initiate a working group on Latgalian. Arguably, the government had understood that Latgalian has become an important topic in parts of Latgalian society, which, in light of the general elections in Latvia in September 2010, would have been unfavourable from the perspective of the Latgale electorate. The working group began meeting in the summer of 2010. Many activists were disappointed by the fact that the group did not initiate any real policy changes but instead just created a list of tasks for developing Latgalian issues before its work was interrupted by early general elections in September 2011.

Similarly, in a letter to the leader of the language policy department in the Ministry of Education and Science in November 2011, Veronika Dundure, the head of the Latgalian Teachers' Association, stressed that Latgalian was not mentioned at all in the Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005-14, and provided several suggestions as to how Latgalian could be supported. The main demand was to 'develop a state-financed programme for maintaining and developing the Latgalian written language'. Dundure (2010) called for a guarantee to study Latgalian at school, to create an institution responsible for Latgalian and to finance at least one periodical in Latgalian, in order to overcome 'the Soviet heritage in the educational system with regard to Latgalian'.

So far the working group has created a list of areas in which policy steps should be developed. According to suggestions by activists in December 2010, the chapters in this list sound promising and point towards holistic, coherent language planning: legal questions, financial questions, education, teaching materials, communication and mass media. Yet the optimism did not last long. Many core issues were taken off the agenda right from the start, notably in the section on legal questions. The comment on why the activists' demand to 'render more precisely the status of the Latgalian language in the Latvian state' was deleted from the list reveals the conditions under which state representatives participate in the working group: 'Since there is no normative document in which the term "Latgalian language" is used/explained, it is not necessary to make the terminology more precise.' Similarly, in response to the demand to 'secure the possibility guaranteed by the state to use the Latgalian standard language in business communication in the region of Latgale', they commented that 'the state language law regulates that in record keeping the Latvian language according to its standard norms is used'. And regarding the request to ensure that all schools in Latgale have at least one specialist on Latgalian language, literature and culture, government representatives replied that 'it is every school director's responsibility to decide on the pedagogical staff in their schools'. Not surprisingly, demands to establish an institution for the coordination of Latgalian issues or the right to Latgalian classes at schools were also rejected (*Latgaliešu rakstu valodas darba grupa* 2010).

What remain on the list are a few issues that merit discussion, but which in no sense reflect the quest for more equal status for Latgalian in Latvia. They include the inclusion of language-related aims into the strategic aims of regional development, the preparation of Latgalian study programmes and teachers' training, financial support for Latgalian media and projects relating to culture and history. These aims sound promising, but they are vague and in no sense create a legally binding framework. In addition, the responsibility for reaching these aims is assigned to educational institutions and activist organizations in Latgale, many of which are already fulfilling these tasks without being officially assigned to do so by the government. Attitudes expressed by some working group members such as "nobody stops your activism" reflect this attitude; according to the government, Latgalians should be happy that they can enjoy the freedom of researching what they wish and of conducting cultural events. This attitude is also reflected in the fact that one of the remaining points on the list refers to 'regularly informing the Ministry of activities with regard to Latgalian', a notion which seems reminiscent to activists of Soviet-era state control (*Latgaliešu rakstu valodas darba grupa* 2011).

Regarding the question of whether Latgalian is part of Latvian or a separate language, it seems that many state institutions follow whichever line suits them in a given moment, in order to avoid having to give more support to Latgalian. If it suits their purposes, Latgalian is considered part of Latvian; if it does not, it is considered outside the limits of Latvian. There is thus a remarkable logical contradiction: in most official situations, Latgalian is not considered 'sufficiently Latvian'; however, when speakers of Latgalian try to gain recognition for the standardized version of Latgalian, Latgalian is denied the status of a language in its own right. Viļums (2011) explains that the question of whether Latgalian is seen as part of the Latvian language has the following consequences: if it is seen as part of Latvian, it should gain equal rights as the Latvian standard language; if it is not considered part of Latvian, the state would have to take a clear decision on where Latgalian can be used and where it cannot (at which point it would then have to be counted as an autochthonous minority language alongside Livonian). Viļums (2011) also stresses that there would need to be a redefinition of the ethnicity of speakers of Latgalian.

In total, on the one hand recent steps have led to a partially more coherent policy towards Latgalian by the Latvian state. On the other, the negative reaction towards any demands that might entail more substantial recognition have demonstrated that no serious language planning activities which might safeguard or even promote Latgalian are on the agenda. In addition, the lack of a clear definition of its status once again illustrates the shortfalls of not having a clear policy on Latgalian. In this struggle to be recognized as a distinct variety, social perceptions regarding Latgalian are therefore similar to other regional languages throughout Europe, such as Võru in Estonia, Kashubian in Poland, Low German in Germany, or Scots in the United Kingdom. This, in turn, is an additional reason for questioning traditional categorizations of languages determined by political and economic power structures (c.f. Hornsby and Agarin in this volume). Only if these obstacles are overcome will the Latgalian speech community be able to use its language in a wider sphere.

Functions of Latgalian in contemporary Latgale

Taking into consideration the history of Latgalian and contemporary activism, we can now summarize the functions of Latgalian in Latgale society today. Marten (2009: 37) suggests the following domains of language use as a point of orientation for analysing the functions of minority languages: use in private communication (in private space and in public), general legal status (i.e. recognition by law), use in administration, court, police/prison, health services, education, economy/business, culture/heritage, media/arts, religion, and international relations. Given the boom in studies of written languages in the public sphere under the heading of "Linguistic Landscapes", this additional category will also be added to the list. Furthermore, corpus planning, symbolic language use and attitudes/prestige planning were included not as domains of language use in the strict sense, but as aspects relating closely to specific perceptions in the evaluation of language planning and status.

In most of these domains the use of Latgalian depends on individuals and their decisions. There are no restrictions on the use of Latgalian in private communication, and it is in this area where Latgalian is at its strongest. The second stronghold of Latgalian is the Catholic Church. In state-dominated domains, however, the written use of Latgalian is usually not accepted, and oral use mostly takes place on an *ad hoc* basis in situations where persons are familiar with each other, e.g. in small rural communities where locals know each other and know who speaks Latgalian and who does not. In education and the media the use of Latgalian is rare, even though private local initiatives have created a certain space for Latgalian: for instance, the regional radio station *Latgolys radeja* has been in operation for several years, activists among teachers and parents have organized Latgalian classes at primary schools (outside the regular curriculum), and Latgalian has seen a certain academic revival through its inclusion in several academic study programmes at Rēzekne University College, and through the series of annual international *Latgalistica* conferences since 2008. The examples of symbolic use in the names of companies or cafes to create a local image show that over the past few years a certain prestige has developed around Latgalian as a marker of regional identity in specific situations.

Table 1 provides an overview of the functions of Latgalian today. It summarizes a situation that is characteristic of many minority languages: while Latgalian is frequently used in informal and private domains, thereby reflecting a desire on the part of the people to use the language, it is only rarely used for official purposes. The use of written Latgalian is also rare in comparison to its oral use, which is clearly the result of a lack of competence or experience on the part of many Latgalian-speakers in writing the language, due to the lack of Latgalian education and the fact that an official agreement on standard orthography was only reached in 2007.

Domain	Situation of Latgalian
Use in Private Communication (in private and public space)	No restrictions by law; number of speakers declining; Latgalian perceived as a rural variety of older generations; yet, intergenerational transmission still takes place to differing degrees
General Legal Status (i.e. the recognition by law)	Mentioned as 'a historical written variety of Latvian' in the state Language Law, without further specification
Administration	No written use; oral use on an *ad hoc* basis is sometimes possible
Court	No written use; official court ruling that documents in Latgalian are considered to be written in a foreign language and therefore have to be rejected; oral use rare
Police/Prison	No written use; oral use on an *ad hoc* basis sometimes possible
Health Services	No written use; oral use on an *ad hoc* basis sometimes possible
Education	No state-organized teaching of Latgalian; some local initiatives outside the regular curriculum; in higher education Latgalian as part of a few programmes of philology
Economy/Business	No written use; oral use on an *ad hoc* basis sometimes possible
Culture/Heritage	No restrictions for cultural organizations to use and spread oral and written Latgalian; a rich variety of music groups in Latgalian
Media/Arts	Some local/regional media in Latgalian (radio: one local radio station; television: very little; websites: increasingly; newspapers: mostly only individual articles, often relating to church issues); a rather rich literature (but only a handful of books are published every year); in total rather little
Religion	Catholic Church as an institution where Latgalian has survived
International Relations	No restrictions on seeking international cooperation with other speech communities
Linguistic Landscape	Rare, even in core Latgalian areas
Corpus Planning	Standardized orthography adopted in 2007; otherwise some small-scale private initiatives only
Symbolic Language Use	Sometimes in the names of companies, cafes or similar
Attitudes/Prestige Planning	Some activists' activities; traditionally low prestige; today at the local level partly with increasing prestige

Table 1: Functions of Latgalian according to Domains of Language Use

Latgalian shows today a tendency towards decline. Even though it is not classified as 'endangered' by UNESCO's "World's Languages in Danger", its placement as 'vulnerable' at the lowest end of a scale illustrating the levels of threat faced by languages means that it is also not considered to be entirely safe (Moseley, 2010). This evaluation is accurate in that Latgalian is certainly not on the brink of extinction: it is not acutely endangered in the sense that there are no children who speak the language. Yet it is also true that, as a result of the policies of the twentieth century, Latgalian is not entirely safe and the numbers of active users are declining.

Stage	Content	Situation of Latgalian Today
1	Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels	No activities on Latgalian at the national level
2	Local/regional mass media and governmental services	Some mass media in Latgalian exist, but these are few; no governmental services in Latgalian
3	The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere both within the ethnolinguistic community (among other X-men), as well as outside it (among Y-men)	Oral communication in the local work sphere is sometimes in Latgalian, depending on individual attitudes; hardly any written use of Latgalian; no use of Latgalian with outsiders
4b	Public Schools for X-ish children, offering some instruction via X-ish, but substantially under Y-ish curricular and staffing control	No Latgalian-medium instruction
4a	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control	No separate Latgalian schools; local administration reacts often positively to parents' demands for extra-curricular classes on Latgalian issues and in Latgalian
II.	*RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment*	
5	Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education	Latgalian courses exist in some schools as extra-curricular activities and in some universities
6	The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission	Intergenerational transmission takes place in a substantial proportion of families, depending on the area of Latgale
7	Cultural interaction in X-ish is primary involving the community-based older generation	No coherent picture; cultural activities in Latgalian take place and involve all generations, yet there is a lot of code-switching to Latvian
8	Reconstruction of X-ish and adult acquisition of XSL	Not necessary, but acquisition of larger parts of the adult population might make sense
I.	*RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)*	

Table 2: Latgalian in Fishman's GIDS, authors' assessment

When placing Latgalian into Fishman's influential Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (c.f. Fishman, 1991) on the well-being and revitalization of minority languages, we see that reality does not correspond to the idealized model in which a language may clearly be placed on one stage (c.f. Table 2). Yet, there are certain statements which can be made. No doubt, Latgalian does not fulfil the requirements of Level 1, as Latgalian is not present at the national level in Latvia. However, its situation is not so poor as to justify classification of level 7 or 8. That said, placement within the other levels is less apparent. Intergenerational transmission is widespread, although there are also many families in which the language is not passed on to the younger generation. The Ethnolinguistic Survey of Latgale (Šuplinska and Lazdiņa, 2009) reveals that 33.7% of the respondents speak Latgalian with their children, with some areas where the overwhelming majority passes on the language and others where Latgalian is rather rare. At first sight this may seem like a rather low proportion. Yet, considering that 32.2% of the respondents answered that they do not have any children, this means that about half of the respondents (33.7% out of 67.2%) do in fact transmit Latgalian to their children. Furthermore, when considering that only 62.1% of respondents answered that they know Latgalian, this means that within the Latgalian speech community, intergenerational transmission takes place among a majority of speakers.

Regarding the other domains, as seen above, Latgalian education exists only on a voluntary basis outside regular curricula. Oral communication in the workplace and local media in Latgalian is rare and essentially depends on individual situations, and personal networks and preferences. Overall, therefore, classification at level 5 seems justified: while intergenerational transmission and extra-curricular schools remain safe, Latgalian education as part of the general curriculum, along with the use of Latgalian in the media and economic spheres, are the exception.

Discussion: what future for Latgalian?

From this historical and political account of the linguistic situation in Latvia, we can conclude that Latgalian remains a language that is used and cherished by a large number of speakers in Latvia, even if there is a certain level of endangerment resulting in large part from the attitude of state authorities for much of the twentieth century. However, Latgalian is spoken and written in various contexts and intergenerational transmission does takes place, if not throughout the entire speech community. Many users wish to see the functions of Latgalian increased, as evidenced by a lively community of activists who have developed local initiatives with the aim of spreading Latgalian and according it greater recognition. Latgalian is currently being researched from structural linguistic, sociolinguistic and other perspectives. It can therefore rightly be considered a fully-fledged language which may fulfil all societal functions, even if historical and contemporary attitudes preclude it from doing so at the moment.

One fundamental aspect of this debate is whether the Latvian state is able to clarify its own policy towards Latgalian: will Latgalian be recognized as a fully-fledged second written variety under the broader roof of the Latvian language and, if so, will that mean that Latgalian can be used wherever regulations demand the use of Latvian? Or will it be seen as a non-Latvian variety of a minority language used by a considerable proportion of the autochthonous population in Latvia (at least 7% but possibly by high as 15-20%)? Or will the Latvian state continue to be undecided in its approach and violate the rights of Latgalian speakers by making decisions on an arbitrary and *ad hoc* basis? One solution to the problem of defining what Latgalian actually is might be to go back to the dominant perception of the 1920s, when Latgalian and Latvian were seen as two written varieties within the Latvian language. This would also solve the question of whether Latgalian activism is perceived as separatism, since it would clearly establish that Latgalian is part of Latvian identity.

However, regardless of the final decision on the status question, for Latgalian to be recognized it is essential that the Latvian state develop a coherent approach towards the language. Very modest steps in that direction are being taken by the current working group, but most activities today are rather small-scale initiatives by individual activists and organizations, e.g. in education and the media. If the linguistic and cultural heritage of Latgalian is to flourish under the conditions of the twenty-first century, a coherent language policy is needed which is modelled on policies of 'active offer' or holistic language planning. Latvia has a rich experience with language policy, so the designing and implementing of language policy programmes are a question of political will rather than of competence.

It is here that political and economic obstacles to the well-being of the minority group play a major role. The political obstacles – the centralist attitudes and the lack of willingness by the central government to respond to Latgalian demands – clearly show how much the Latgalian community depends on the goodwill of its political leadership. In addition, there is an obvious issue of structures: Latgalian certainly suffers from Latvian centralism, which permits only a very low level of regional decision-making, let alone any notion of autonomy or federalism (c.f. Marten, forthcoming, on the detrimental impact of decentralized structures on minority language development). This centralism is even reflected in the perceptions of large swathes of the scientific community.

Economic obstacles play an additional role, with Latvia experiencing financial difficulties that have resulted in heavy cuts in public spending. As the poorest region in Latvia, Latgale suffers from particular problems such as high unemployment, low salaries and social problems. Yet there are activists who are currently devoting their time to developing the Latgalian language, designing educational programmes and teaching materials, to creating literature and music in Latgalian, and to producing small-scale radio and television programmes.

However, it would be too easy to argue that the non-recognition of Latgalian is essentially an economic problem. Latvian centralism has certainly had a negative impact on the distribution of resources. For even in times of financial hardship, a different attitude on the part of political leadership would nevertheless make a coherent, Latgalian-oriented policy possible.

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The End of Minority Languages?
Europe's Regional Languages in Perspective

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The European Union (EU) today counts 23 national languages with as many as 65 regional and minority languages, only a few of which enjoy recognition in the EU. We assess the perspectives of regional and, particularly, endangered languages in Europe in three steps. First, we argue that current approach of nation-states, defining both national and regional/minority languages from the top down, is increasingly at odds with the idea of cross-border migration and communications. We illustrate this with the examples of Estonian and Latvian, official languages of EU member-states with around one million native speakers each. Second, we attest the end of "traditional" forms of minority language, contending that if they are to survive they cannot do so as mirror copies of majority languages. To make our point clear, we discuss regional efforts to increase the use of the Breton and the Welsh languages. We outline a research agenda that takes into account the nation-state dominated linguistic regulations and the future of an increasingly borderless Europe, and suggest how both can be accommodated.

Key words: EU; regional languages; minority languages; Welsh; Breton; Latvian; Estonian; multilingualism; language policy

Today the official languages of the European Union (EU) member-states enjoy *de jure* equality across the union, even outside the territory of the state that recognizes them as official. In a context where speakers of diverse official languages share a common European public space, there is a growing need to revisit our understanding of languages bound to particular territories and defined as state, regional, official, majority or minority languages. Increasing mobility of citizens across the EU has led to a stronger emphasis by the European Commission (EC) on the promotion of multilingualism across the European citizenry to ensure the effective communication between EU citizens, either in their native or their vehicular languages. Ultimately,

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this means that speakers of all European languages, however large the number of speakers "at home", regularly find themselves in a minority status when travelling into another EU country. Our article highlights the implications of the processes that are taking place across the EU today as a result of advanced functional integration of the European public on the one hand, and the lack of dynamic in the institutionalized relations of European states with the populations they serve.

The research programme introduced in this article advocates for the expansion of the current understanding of the "majority/minority language" dichotomy. From our point of view, the previous emphasis of scholarship on minority/majority status issues largely overestimates the territorialization of linguistic regimes without paying enough attention to linguistic heterogeneity in contemporary Europe. To clarify our point, we start with a review of the approaches to linguistic diversity visible across European nation-states. In the first section of the article, we investigate how the EU and its nation-states deal with the languages spoken on their territories, and conclude that many of these approaches are limited. This allows us to depart from traditional classifications of European languages in subsequent sections of the article. All EU languages only have a limited use beyond the geographic regions where their status is ranked as more advantageous as a result of official recognition. In the second section of the article we analyse the two state languages, Latvian and Estonian, which provide a fertile basis for reconceptualization of the idea of "Europe's regional language". We then focus our attention on linguistic situation in Brittany and in Wales and attest the end of "traditional" forms of minority language, contending that if they are to survive they cannot be mirror copies of majority languages. We conclude by highlighting the logic of linguistic territorialization inherent in all EU member states, which simultaneously reinforces the identity-based claims of speakers of state languages at the expense of speakers of all other languages and non-standard varieties. By discussing the implication of (over-)regulation of language use, we ultimately argue that the empowerment of communities with languages of limited intelligibility has a range of adverse consequences. Overall, our article engages in the debate about the future of European language communities, both large and small, which will depend on the ability of their members to access the social, economic and political resources available to all European citizens and is decreasingly bound to geographic polities.

Language policy and linguistic ideologies

The central challenge of our undertaking is related to the terms we use to describe different language communities. While languages do not exist independently of frameworks of social interaction, their speakers constantly compete among each other for symbolic privileges and prestige, but also for extension of language use into social, economic and ultimately political domains. It is from this perspective, we believe, that languages across the world are divided into state/official languages of institutions, including those of the states, and regional/minority languages of societies, including those of linguistic communities. The vast majority of European debates on linguistic diversity consider the official status of a language to be an indicator of its use and of its potential survival chances in contact situations (c.f. Goodin, 2006; Barry, 1975). As has been frequently addressed in the literature on European linguistic diversity, a focus on the status of a language requires a debate about the level of congruence between the people and the linguistic community served most often by monolingual state institutions (Irvine and Gal, 2009; Mar-Molinero and Stevenson, 2006; Nic Craith, 2006), which usually results in heated arguments about the size of a linguistic community that deserves particular protection. We have no intention in engaging in such discussions.

Instead, we focus on the opportunities available to members of linguistic communities to compete with speakers of other languages. As was (and remains) the case for minority languages across Europe, many were (or are) not allowed to be used in communication with public officials, were dismissed as inappropriate “idioms” for educated citizens, or suffered from state policies which had the effect of disrupting intergenerational transmission. Such policies rarely targeted languages *per se* but rather impacted on non-native speakers of state/official languages and projected an image of a monolingual civic community to outsiders. We rarely presume that a German citizen might not be a native speaker of that language, although Danish and Sorbian are both spoken by a considerable number of German citizens and can be used in communication with authorities. The need to establish a common means of communication within schools and with officialdom were the more pragmatic reasons for these policies, which frequently attempted to reinforce the prevailing ideologies within particular nation-states. Language competence hence determines individual chances for acquiring membership of a given linguistic community, allows for competition with members of other linguistic communities domestically and at the European level, and enables contention for access to scarce resources. Group construction is thus the primary social function of language proficiency and is used much more often than we acknowledge, thereby excluding some individuals from access to group resources, however defined.

Like a huge range of identity markers, language is a relational reference tool (Brubaker *et al*., 2004; Wimmer, 2003). The linguistic identity of a speaker constructs that individual's membership in a group using a particular idiom in the everyday. If we think of language as a base for linguistic identity, upon which collectivities develop their convictions about the content of culture, tradition and ethnicity, it becomes clear that language serves a particular function for social cohesion. This happens precisely when one uses language as an identity marker, through which an individual comes to identify or negate his membership in a linguistic community and can claim privileged access to group resources (Spolsky, 2005).

The arguments that start by positing a function to something can also constitute part of a valid explanation for a broader set of phenomena. In our case, we are looking at the future of regional/minority languages in Europe. This makes us consider languages in their function as identity markers, which necessarily undergo change and can vary significantly across linguistic communities. Whatever the changes in the function of a language, however, it is almost universally deployed in day-to-day communication between members of a linguistic community as a rule of thumb for navigating the cultural, social and economic world. More fundamentally, everyday interactions with a range of individuals allow us to categorize objects in our social environment through a constant problem-solving activity. In our case, linking individual members of a language group by referring to experienced and/or implied language proficiency allows individuals who are party to such an arrangement to secure personal gains in the face of competition between different linguistic communities.

Kenneth McRae (1975) was among the first to draw attention to language as a marker of identity in political contexts. McRae was primarily concerned with the principles upon which states establish their linguistic policies, leading him to distinguish policies promoting "personality" from the "territoriality" principle. Among sociolinguists, Joshua Fishman was among the first to discuss the role of language as a powerful marker of identity in a systematic, albeit inconsistent manner

(Fishman, 1968, 1980), followed by many other scholars who treated language as *the* marker of individual and group identity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Skutnabb-Kangas *et al*. 1995). Others focused on possibilities for successful intergenerational transmission and survival of language within social communities. Scholars ranging from Woolard (1985) and Trosset (1993) to Laitin (1993, 1994), all expressed a greater degree of support for territorial understanding of language regulation, by defining linguistic communities as being geographically contiguous and requiring support from territorially defined structures, namely states.

John Myhill went further, suggesting that what we observe are two competing and contradictory linguistic ideologies (Myhill, 1999, 2003, 2006). Language-as-identity emphasizes 'the inherent emotional and spiritual connection between a person and his/her native language', while language-and-territory emphasizes 'a connection such that in each territory a particular language should be the one generally used in public circumstances and intergroup communication' (Myhill, 1999: 34). Importantly, Myhill claims that sociolinguists' failure to develop a consistent take on how to treat minority languages, downplays the role of this science in developing solutions to the conflicting interests of the linguistic communities they address (Myhill 1999, 47). Myhill's observation is particularly salient if one includes languages of migrant communities within this framework. Spoken outside the territory of the state that recognizes them as official, the language-as-identity principle would necessarily apply to (native) languages used by migrants, incentivizing speakers to adopt the local language, spoken by the majority and supported by institutions pursuing language-and-territory ideology (Goodin, 2004; Kraus, 2011).

And because, as we outline above, our article *is* about regional/minority languages in general and the future of Europe's regional/minority languages in particular, we look for a way out of the impasse created by what Myhill calls the 'contradiction between ideology and ecology' (Myhill, 1999: 39). This is important for two reasons. Firstly, it is beyond the scope of any article to address the variety of competing narratives, identities and loyalties intricately connected to any one language. While we perceive many European languages as being endangered in the long-term, constraints of space do not allow us to address the problems of each language in detail here. We do however see that, in the vast majority of cases, languages face the same problems in the medium-term, because they compete for speakers, who ensure their acceptance, recognition and use. More importantly, however, we see many language communities being consistently marginalized in the public sphere because demographically more numerous language groups control access and ensure the advantageous use of their idioms at the expense of smaller language communities.

As we demonstrate in the following sections, the status granted to languages can, but does not have to, support positive outcomes in terms of language survival. We do this first by looking at the situation of the state languages of Estonia and Latvia (section 2), and then through a review of the language situation of Welsh in the United Kingdom (UK) and Breton in France (section 3).

Language territorialization: provincializing the state language

Contemporary language policies in the Baltic States are an interesting example of how European regulations have been deployed at the level of the nation-state. While the EU perceives linguistic loyalties to be mobilized from the bottom-up to increase the competitiveness of the languages perceived as endangered by larger idioms, post-Soviet policies in the Baltics followed the established EU practice of regulating linguistic regimes from the top-down (Hogan-Brun and Ramoniene, 2004). In the process of claiming greater independence from the Soviet Union during *perestroika*, Estonia and Latvia (together with Lithuania) geared their efforts towards (re-)building cultural nations, continuing the nation building projects of the early twentieth century, and allegedly to keeping the other language communities then residing in the republics in check. In the process, language laws were the first laws passed in the bid for greater sovereignty from Moscow in the late 1980s. The laws established that only the languages of the states' titular groups were to be used for the work of the state apparatus and in communications between citizens and civil servants. Enforced in the context of the still-Soviet republics, these regulations aimed at 'containing the Russian language and monolingual Russian speakers ' (Järve, 2002: 79), effectively limiting the access of monolingual Russian speakers to key positions in the post-Soviet republics. Depending on one's point of view, this could be a good or a bad thing: it is an understandable reaction to the hardships of Soviet rule in the region, but one which has excluded sections of Estonian and Latvian residents from participation in politics, limited their opportunities for social interactions across linguistic groups, and propped up their economic marginalization.

Despite the fact that the political leadership of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania coordinated their actions in the run-up to independence, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in August 1991 each state developed its own strategy to regulate language use domestically. These strategies were determined by the social and linguistic situation in each state and reflected the perceptions of state language speakers of their languages' survival, given the heavy Russification during the period of Soviet inclusion. During the Soviet era, Estonia and Latvia experienced large-scale migration of Russian speakers from other Soviet republics, which made up around 35% and 45% of the population respectively. Russian speakers had little incentive to acquire knowledge of Estonian and Latvian, while little opportunity was provided by the Soviet authorities in the decades leading up to Soviet demise. Recent scholarship argues convincingly that although linguistic environments were initially mixed, growing numbers of Russian speakers in conurbations resulted in the emergence of monolingual Russian-speaking enclaves (Raun, 2009; Plakans, 2009; Siiner, 2006; Druviete, 2000; Kreindler, 1991). While most Russian speakers had little knowledge of local languages, the Soviet regime actively encouraged bilingualism of all non-Russian speakers. In effect, by the end of 1980s around 80% of Balts were almost fluent in Russian, although admittedly the figures differed from 94% in Latvia to 69% in Estonia (Soviet Government, 1991). Therefore, after the *de facto* independence of the state and the tightening of regulations governing language use, it was Russian speakers in Estonia and Latvia who found themselves unable to participate in state-building for the want of proficiency in the re-established state languages.

In Latvia and Estonia regulations were put in place that required all official communication to be held in the state language only, underlining that all other languages were "foreign" and thus disqualified from public use. Overnight, Russian speakers were put in the position of either having to learn the state languages, or being socially marginalized. Most of the Russian speakers were also pushed outside of the sphere of political influence in the independent Estonia and Latvia, which treated all Soviet migrants as "resident aliens". The post-Soviet sovereignty of Estonia and Latvia was constitutionally accepted as continuing the statehood tradition interrupted by the Soviet inclusion of 1940, and thus required all Soviet-era migrants to undergo a naturalization procedure to acquire post-Soviet citizenship. Proficiency in the state language was an important part of the naturalization examination that all Soviet migrants had to pass in order to acquire Estonian and Latvian citizenship. During the

1990s both Estonian and Latvian legislation was repeatedly criticized by international organizations for their parsimony in assisting Russian speakers to learn the state language, although of course state language policies are widely supported by majority language-speakers.

In 1994 the Latvian government, with the assistance of the Council of Europe, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) began a National Programme for Latvian Language Training (NPLLT) in an effort to improve knowledge of the state language among speakers of other languages. Although the NPLLT is considered a success story, regulations on language use in Latvia became stricter in the run-up to EU accession. In 1998 a revised language law confirmed the status of Latvian as the sole language of the state and in 2002 Latvian also became the sole official working language of the parliament. In Estonia the decision to support members of the Russian-speaking community in acquiring Estonian language skills did not surface until pressure mounted from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the CoE, and the EU. Although financial aid was granted to the Estonian government via the EU PHARE programme to implement nation-wide language training activities as early as 1995, it was only in 1998 that the Estonian government produced an action plan to help Russian speakers acquire knowledge of Estonian. In order to increase non-Estonian speakers' proficiency in Estonian a 'Language Teaching Strategy of Non-Estonian Population' emerged in 2002 and a 'Development Strategy of the Estonian Language' was drawn up by 2003. Primarily these sought to ensure the increasing importance of the language for the state, society and within the EU context, further marginalizing non-state languages on the territory of Estonia.

The regulations concerning training in the state languages were essentially the same in Estonia and Latvia, emerging from a background of amendments to the Estonian Language Act (June 1, 1999) and Latvian Language Law (December 9, 1999). These approved the mandatory levels of knowledge of the state language, the extent and order of examinations, and the certification procedure for speakers of other languages employed on the territory of the 'national' state.

Additionally to the comprehensive strengthening of the role of the state language, both Latvia and Estonia undertook educational reforms, discontinuing the Soviet schooling systems. Prior to 2004 in Latvia and 2007 in Estonia, speakers of the "foreign", *de facto*, Russian language, could graduate from high schools without any knowledge of the state language despite compulsory language training in minority schools, i.e. schools where the language of instruction was Russian. Since 2008 secondary schools located on the territory of Estonia and Latvia are expected to teach at least 40% of the curriculum in the state languages, thereby ensuring that graduates have sufficient knowledge of Estonian or Latvian to continue into tertiary education, which had already switched to the state language by the end of the 1990s. This made individuals from the younger (birth) cohorts proficient in state languages to a degree that allowed them to compete with native speakers in key labour market positions. Yet, Russian speakers born before 1980 – around 50% of the group – continue to lack proficiency in the state language in both countries. However, restrictive language regulation ensured better positioning of state languages across the Baltic States *vis-à-vis* the Russian language (Metuzle-Kangere and Ozolins, 2005; Ozolins, 2003). At the same time knowledge of Russian among speakers of the state languages fell dramatically, from 79% to 58% in Estonia and 94% to 66% in Latvia (Siiner, 2006; Tammpuu, 2004; Zepa *et al*., 2005). Nonetheless, there were few opportunities for the state to undermine the status of Russian as a widely understood means of communication in the country, and indeed internationally (Druviete *et al*., 2001).

The territorialization of language regimes in Estonia and Latvia has been at the centre of attention for scholars of democratization because language policies resembled Soviet approaches to language institutionalization (Linz and Stepan, 1996; Martin, 1999; Tsilevich, 2001). However, it has been acknowledged that language policies in the Baltic States differ little from EU language regulations (Coulmas, 1991; Eurobarometer, 2006; Nic Craith, 2006; Ozolins, 2007; Trenz, 2007). The situation to date suggests that state and nation building in Estonia and Latvia have aimed at reversal, rather than preservation, of the linguistic *status quo* inherited from the Soviet Union. During the Soviet era, knowledge of the state language (then, Russian), was sufficient to ensure full integration within the social, political and economic processes taking place across the Soviet Union (Bjorklund 2004; Djackova 2003; Kulu and Tammaru 2004; Tsilevich 2001). In the decade preceding the Soviet demise, however, a range of political, economic and social deliberations in national republics of the Soviet Union took place in languages other than Russian. Group cohesion within ethnolinguistic communities in the late 1980s functioned as a prelude to popular mobilization, resulting in the reinstatement of a post-Soviet statehood in which Latvian and Estonian were each ascribed the status of sole state language. In so doing, the post-Soviet state language policies overturned the privileges that had previously gone together with the dominant status of Russian speakers in the Soviet Union, prompting the regeneration and empowerment of local languages in the public domain. Both states put regulations in place determining the levels of language proficiency necessary for state employers, while there were also attempts to regulate language use in private business (Adrey, 2005; Järve, 2002). However, greater flexibility with regard to language regulations in private institutions allowed for recruitment of individuals proficient in both state and “foreign” languages.

In the Baltic context, state languages were clearly perceived as signifying state sovereignty with the policies of linguistic territorialization favouring speakers of the state languages, while simultaneously disadvantaging Russian speakers in the public domain (Antane and Tsilevich, 1999; Vetik *et al*., 2004). State-led efforts to protect and promote official languages at all costs, however, seriously undermined the value of the state language for Russian speakers. Instead, the monitoring of linguistic competences of the group meant that Russian speakers increasingly placed emphasis on the economic motives for language acquisition (Djackova, 2003; Laitin, 1998; Pisarenko, 2006; Vihalemm, 1999). With intergenerational transmission, broader groups of bilingual Russian speakers effectively adapted to the dominance of monolingual state-language speakers in Estonia and Latvia. As a result, the percentage of Russian speakers who were fluent in the state language in Estonia rose from 67% to 80% and from 62% to 80% in Latvia between 1991 and 2004 (Eurobarometer ,2006; Evas *et al.,* 2004).

Interestingly, the linguistic regimes of these states clearly illustrate that territorial language policies stand at odds with the requirements of an increasingly multilingual Europe. Both Estonian and Latvian linguistic policies treat states as primary protectors of the official languages, espousing a tough territorialization approach. The use of the state language is promoted and monitored at all levels of state administration, despite the existence of Estonian municipalities with more than 50% of non-Estonian speakers who are long-term residents and who have repeatedly (and unsuccessfully) applied for the right to use (the officially mentioned as) “foreign” languages in communications with their electorate throughout the (predominantly Russian-speaking) North East Estonia. Prominently, in February 2012 Latvia’s citizens held a referendum to elevate Russian to the level of state language, in an attempt to challenge the strict application of a territorial approach to language by the state. Nonetheless, over the past two decades, Russian speakers have increasingly adapted to bilingual practices required for social, economic and political advancement and success, while the speakers of state languages find themselves locked in a zero-sum game between linguistic loyalties. Neither the Latvian nor the Estonian state encourages their majority populations to learn the "foreign" Russian language, despite the fact that it is spoken by around 40% of their respective country's populations (Tuul, Ugaste, and Mikser, 2011; Lindemann and Saar, 2011; Tabuns 2010; Pavlenko, 2011). At the same time, all residents of the states are encouraged to acquire a working knowledge of Western European languages, predominantly English (Grasmane and Grasmane, 2011; Toots and Idnurm, 2011; Toomet, 2011). In other words, the Baltic States have adopted centralist policies similar to those of the Soviet authorities before them, rather than reworking them to open up the space for development of non-dominant languages, including languages recognized as *de facto* minority languages, e.g. Swedish in Estonia and Liv in Latvia.

An increasing numbers of Russian speakers who are able to use Latvian and Estonian provide positive feedback on the effects of the territorialization of linguistic regimes. Indeed, by acquiring the capacity to communicate in the state language, the speakers of "foreign" languages can compete more efficiently for scarce economic resources in Latvia and Estonia, while declaring the same degree of proficiency in (Western) European languages as in Latvian and Estonian (see e.g. Toomet, 2011). It is clear that the promotion of state languages within the region might empower the status of those languages on the territory of the state, but is unlikely to make them more attractive for communication beyond the limited geographic realm of Estonia or Latvia, in the absence of native speakers of those languages. Like the promoters of many numerically smaller European languages, both the state-sponsored Estonian Language Institute and Latvian Language Centre support the studying of their languages abroad, and in doing so effectively undermine the territorial approach to the promotion of small state languages within the framework of the EU. Following such policies, the linguistic communities of Estonian- and Latvian-speakers are likely to remain highly limited in their opportunities to use their language outside their homeland countries. Naturally, communities numbering 0.8 million speakers of Estonian and 1.3 million speakers of Latvian are no more limited in their opportunities than, for instance, 15 million Hungarian speakers, 5 million Finns or 300,000 Icelanders. Indeed, we find similarities with many other monolingual national language speakers in the EU, who migrate towards employment and education opportunities in other European states, where they are unlikely to profit from their knowledge of and use the official language of their state of citizenship. The experience of Latvia and Estonia illustrates that while language promotion has fairly good chances of succeeding on the territory where its status is protected, protectionism can easily result in provincialization of the speakers of those languages in the context of an increasingly mobile and decisively multilingual Europe, unless it is coupled to proficiency in a vehicular language. Moreover, as Edwards (2010: 69) has accurately pointed out, small state languages (such as Estonian or Latvian) do 'have an increased likelihood of survival compared to their stateless cousins [i.e. minority languages], but it would be a great mistake to assume that the acquisition of official status by a small language means that a corner has been decisively turned'. Furthermore, 'exactly the same pressures apply here' (Edwards, 2010: 69), in that small state languages are subject to the same push-and-pull factors of globalization as small and stateless languages.

In the following section, we will discuss how the centralizing monolingual policies of France and the UK have affected the linguistic loyalties of speakers of Breton and Welsh. It will also become clear that minority language-speakers increasingly come to perceive their language not as an instrument of policy, but as a marker of identity.

Language tokenism: do regional languages follow the identity principle?

Territorially defined languages were not always in a much better position than the languages lacking territorial reference today, such as Romani in Hungary or Ruthenian in Slovakia. Over the period of European enlargement, many of the varieties treated now as languages historically spoken on contiguous territory profited greatly either from interstate treaties aiming at securing diversity of languages on their territories, or came to enjoy benefits of their neighbouring states' languages becoming official EU languages. These language varieties included minority languages in any given territory and small majority languages which were territorially and demographically restricted in the past. At all times, however, languages that enjoy official EU status are framed in instrumental terms as facilitators of centre–periphery communication between the EU and the nation-state, as well as from the nation-state centre to often peripheral minority-speaking regions. State devolution in particular greatly supported an understanding of regional languages as markers of local identity, resulting in increased popularity, if not wholesale revitalization, of frequently near-extinct languages.

Many areas of Europe where a minority language is currently or has historically been spoken are currently experiencing revitalization efforts, notable regions being Wales in the UK; Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain; and Friesland in the Netherlands, to name but a few obvious examples. In the majority of cases, such regions were once entities independent of the nation-state of which they now find themselves part. Under nineteenth century nationalist ideologies when monolingualism was considered the "natural" order, speakers of regional languages found themselves actively discouraged from using their tongues in public and in private, and experienced a certain amount of coercion to shift linguistically towards the state language. Ironically, state languages gained prominence with Herderian ideology, which emphasized the role of the native tongue in identifying with one's "ethnonational community", as well as with the adepts of the primordial connection of each individual with his/her ethnic group via the native tongue (Kraus, 2012).

Current thinking, however, sees political redress as being due to such communities today, and many languages that were previously pushed out of the public sphere are being granted official status at one level or another. As is the case with Welsh and Breton, the domains in which these languages are used now are expanding to include education and governance, while actual numbers of native speakers appear to be declining (Williams, 2008: 254). Other revivalist movements, particularly among regional languages in France, are used to receiving little or no support from the state and have to rely on their own resources for their own particular endeavours. Only 31,500 pupils in the whole of France are educated, either partially or totally, in a regional language. That 25% of all Basque pupils in France (the highest of all minority groups) have some exposure to Basque has little to do with the French government itself and more to do with the efforts by activists in the Spanish Basque Country (EBLUL-France, 2007). Other countries provide financial and legal support for some linguistic minorities but not for others. The United Kingdom, for example, recognizes Welsh (alongside Irish and Scottish Gaelic) as being entitled to particular consideration under Council of Europe Language Charter, while less support is provided for Cornish, Manx, Channel Island French and Scots, thereby making the respective linguistic communities rely a great deal more on bottom-up initiatives than Welsh-speaking citizens.

The historical position occupied by certain languages in the collective psyche of a nation or regional group emerges in hierarchies that often go unquestioned. In Wales, as in many other areas where a minority language is being revitalized, the territorial principle has taken precedence over the identity principle. The Principality of Wales has benefitted from a number of initiatives over the past few decades which have improved the status of the Welsh language. The language was identified as a core curriculum subject in the 1988 Education Act, and since 1994 all secondary schools in Wales have been obliged to teach Welsh to their younger pupils. This has resulted in a growth in the number of schools using Welsh as a medium of instruction, a growth in the number of schools teaching it as a second language, and the elimination of schools that opt out of teaching it at all, with only a few exceptions (Williams, 2008: 260). The provision of an all-Welsh television station since 1982 has seen increasing television output, with associated benefits for the language (intergenerational reproduction, employment possibilities and status reversal). Most importantly, the Welsh Language Act of 1993 has secured higher status for the language in a number of arenas by requiring public bodies to treat English and Welsh equally, its chief policy instrument being the Welsh Language Board (*Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*). The remit of the Board includes advising organizations which are preparing language schemes to meet the requirements of the Act and advising the public and central government on Welsh-language issues (Williams, 2008: 265). The Board has been given responsibility for acquisition, usage, status and corpus planning under the strategy 'The Welsh Language: A Vision and Mission for 2000-2005' (Williams, 2008: 268), which was followed up by the Welsh Assembly's policy statement, '*Dyfodol Dwyieithog*/Bilingual Future' which articulated the Assembly's stated aim of creating 'a bilingual Wales'. This was to be carried out through its action plan, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (2003) by:

- Increasing the proportion of the population that spoke Welsh by 5%.
- Stopping language shift in the heartland communities of Wales.
- Increasing the proportion of children in Welsh-language nursery education.
- Increasing the number of families where Welsh is used as the main language.

- Increasing the provision of Welsh-language services in the public, private and voluntary sectors. (Williams, 2008: 275)

That such policies seem to be working well reinforces the argument that a territorial-based authority is best placed to ensure successful language revitalization. To what extent, though, is language a necessary part of an ethnic identity? For parents who send their children to minority language schools in Brittany, it is important enough for them to have their children educated in Breton and to develop their own identity (partially) through the local language. The extent to which these same parents either speak or are learning the same language that their children are being educated in remains uncertain. For others, the minority language is not an essential part of their own identity. These people are thus happy to leave it to other members of their community to carry out the work of language revitalization. A Breton identity does not seem to be threatened by a lack of knowledge of Breton. Broudic's latest survey on attitudes towards Breton show that 89% of the inhabitants of Lower Brittany think that the language should be preserved, and 67% of these same inhabitants feel confident that the language will be maintained (Broudic, 2009: 153). Yet rhetoric does not match action. A Breton identity through French is a secure enough concept among these inhabitants that only 1.5% in all of Brittany feel the need to send their children to Breton-language immersion and Breton/French bilingual schools (EBLUL-France, 2007: 7; see also Edwards, 2010).

The competing language ideologies of minorities within the French state, where identity is juxtaposed against arguments of territoriality, can hinder their own positions. By attempting to compete on the same terms as those espoused by the state, and insist on the same services in local languages as provided in French (education, local government and media, for example) and by adopting what Lafont (1985) has termed the 'Sociolinguistics of the Periphery' (a centre–periphery model of political and economic relations, see Hechter, 1975), linguistic minorities within the French state play the conflict "game" by their adversary's rules. Le Nevez (2006) has proposed an alternative model, suggesting that emphasis (and the efforts of language activists) needs to be transferred to domains where Breton is currently still in a strong position, and moved away from concentrating on the perceived defects of Breton compared to French. As a consequence of the latter approach, the current linguistic conflict has resulted in a situation comparable to the one Haugen observed in Norway:

'The result of the language movement has so far been to create an image in "schizoglossia", a personality split which leaves many persons linguistically divided and uncertain' (Haugen, 1982: 276).

Activists in Brittany find themselves in an impossible position as a result of their lack of understanding of the clash between ideologies of territorialization and identity. It may make sense, given the lack of status Breton has in public life, for activists to press hard for political parity for regional languages in France. As Ó Néill (2005: 428) notes: 'Sociolinguistic planning not backed up with political clout is, in effect, impotent'. The problem is that sociolinguistic and political planning are two very different fields. However, what is appropriate or possible in one domain may not work at all well in the other. Working to change the status of Breton does not mean the corpus of the language also has to be "upgraded". Breton's lack of parity with French in territorial terms does not mean, in certain domains, that Breton does not dominate in other domains, for example in cultivating a sense of affectivity, community and local identity. Insisting on the use of Breton in exactly the same way French is currently used in Brittany today merely reinforces, albeit ironically, the idea that Breton is less useful and less prestigious than French (Le Nevez, 2006).

Brittany provides an example of 'unanticipated results in language management' (Spolsky, 2006: 87). Attempts at reviving the language have produced a hybrid variety which has been dubbed 'neo-Breton' (Jones, 1998; McDonald, 1989; Timm, 2001), which stands in marked contrast to the variety spoken by older, traditional speakers. While such hybridity has immediate and obvious advantages for language activists and others interested in the Breton language, it can and does alienate other sections of Breton society. Scholars such as Nederveen Pieterse (1995) and Joseph (1999) argue that many optimistic readings of hybridity neglect the relations of power and domination that circumscribe and form hybrid practices. Nederveen Pieterse (1995: 57) in particular suggests the need for careful consideration of 'the terms of mixture [and] the conditions of mixing' in specific instances of hybridity. Furthermore, Dirlik (1999: 109) argues that the use of the term hybridity 'blurs … significant distinctions between different differences'. In other words, conceiving of Breton (or other) identities and language varieties as hybrids may obscure the distinctiveness of each specific hybrid phenomenon.

Zuckermann points out that '"revived" languages are unlikely to have a single parent' (2008: 36), which in the case of Breton means that the new form of the language which is gaining currency has both Breton *and* French as “parent languages”, in much the same way as revived Hebrew has Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, Russian and other languages as parent languages. This recalls Bentahila and Davies’ assertion that revived languages are, for the most part, *transformed* languages (Bentahila and Davies, 1993: 372). We believe it is unrealistic to expect revitalization movements to reproduce faithfully and exactly the same form of language which is (or was) spoken by older generations, often idealized as the purest and best form of the language and to be copied at the expense of other, less ideologically charged linguistic varieties. Indeed, one wonders if such a linguistic resurrection is even possible, ‘without the occurrence of cross-fertilization with revivalists’ mother tongue(s)’ (Zuckermann, 2006: 58). Naturally, such hybridity sits uneasily with traditional speakers of the language who use a “pre-revitalized” local vernacular for daily interactions, while a revitalized version of the language typically is a literary language used in the media, for instruction and administration, all of which reflect the changing role of language from an identity marker to an instrument of cooperation with the state. The changing role of the language undergoing revitalization additionally impacts the perceptions of revivalist speakers themselves and makes them doubt the authenticity of their language planning, without however hindering them from accepting such a hybridity as a necessary step to depart from idealistic perceptions of linguistic community and move towards a view of language as a functional tool of institutions. Yet of course many languages, and in this case Celtic languages specifically, are not usually widely accepted as genuine, and if they are it is only grudgingly.

Thus hybridity, while it can usefully be used to challenge narrow social, cultural and linguistic categories, can also ironically become a gloss that reduces all differences to a generic condition of “mixture”. Not only are traditional speakers of Breton excluded in such a framework (with their own traditional hybrid form of Breton being classified as too “corrupted” by contact with French), the majority francophone population in Brittany also can be discouraged from participating in any aspect of the revitalization project. Linguistic hybridity can consequently ostracize certain speakers as much as it affirms and supports others. What such hybridity does offer, however, is a way round the deadlock that territorial- and identity-based ideologies are currently causing. Regulating languages to fixed categories, much in the same way as Latgalian and Võru have been regulated in the Baltic States

(Koreinik, 2011; Martin *et al*., 2009), serves more to limit the possibilities for speakers of these languages, than to provide innovative opportunities. Breton-speakers (like Võru- and Latgalian-speakers) are not just confined to the same areas where they were once traditionally located, and while such areas can serve as a symbolic “heartland” for the languages in question, territorial concepts need to be accompanied by a greater understanding of transnational migration and movement across and within regions (Agarin and Hornsby, 2012). Falling back to our case study of Breton, the variation therein has produced a chaotic situation where each and every standard is contested.

More productive in such situations would be greater metalinguistic awareness, among all sections of the community in question, of the need for more realistic expectations of the end results of language planning; in the words of Zuckermann: ‘When one revives a language, one should expect to end up with a hybrid’ (2008: 36). If expectations in the Breton speech community were to shift more in the direction of the acceptability of new, hybrid forms, then intercommunal tensions would diminish at a moment in the history of the Breton language when it needs all the advantages it can muster. Modernization in its French form would have seen the demise of regional languages. It is only efforts at revitalization that are raising such questions in the minds of vernacular and neo-speakers at all. Such acceptability would ideally not seek to cover up the differences neo-Breton displays, but rather accept them as linguistic changes in progress. Neo-Breton, similar to Welsh in the twenty-first century, is evolving and acquiring new functions with a certain ‘ecological “naturalness” to these changes, which will be hard to resist’ (Coupland and Bishop, 2006: 46). As a hybrid form of Breton, the “neo” prefix does not need to be dispensed with, but accepted and indeed celebrated for its naturalness, much in the way that Zuckermann insists that revived Hebrew should really be called ‘Israeli’, as the title of his recent book, *Israeli, a Beautiful Language* (2008) suggests.

Hybridity in language is symptomatic of the hybrid identities which are developing, due to increased social, regional and global migration and is not, in itself, a phenomenon which exists in isolation from other modern trends. The obstacles facing acceptance of such linguistic and identity hybridity is its largely modern nature. Whereas linguistic hybridity historically has been evident in many situations of language contact, for example, the Limburg Frankish dialect in the Netherlands, which displays French linguistic influence (Millar, 2004: 7); the Kashubs’ traditional

'Catholic identity and large-scale bilingualism in Low German [which] rendered their identity highly hybrid' (Millar, 2004: 10); and the Caithness dialect of Scots, with apparent phonological and lexical interference from Gaelic (Millar, 2004: 12), identity issues were not called into question as a result of such historic hybridization. Precisely the point we are making here: the "contested hybrids" are presumably different from "uncontested hybrids", which *per definitionem* are all other languages. This is because the concept of territorialization of such minorities is never contested, while modern linguistic- and identity-based hybridity challenges the notion that language has to be inexorably linked to a particular region and/or ethnic group.

Language regulations have long encouraged citizens to shift linguistic loyalties away from the lesser-used varieties, towards state/official languages. The general acceptance of the notion of a community of language users being coterminous with at least one European municipality, region, or state was particularly decisive in the process of language shifts over the range of countries, regions and social strata. However powerful the argument, the earlier understanding of relations between linguistic, cultural and national communities needs to be reconsidered in the face of an increasingly multilingual European citizenry. Multilingual communities have long existed across Europe, but growing territorial mobility calls for a revision of individual states' technocratic approach to linguistic loyalties and challenges these states' understanding of citizenry as being monolingual.

The status of Latvian and Estonian as official languages of the EU highlights important points about the lesser-used languages in the region and beyond. Firstly, the experiences with promotion of state languages at the expense of more widely used "foreign" language in the two countries suggest more than ever that the future of multilingual Europe is heavily dependent on the equality of opportunities available to speakers of different languages, whether these are recognized as official or not. Secondly, the cost of implementing monolingual policies in the two states has been extremely high, especially with regard to the "zero-sum game" of shifting the patterns of multilingualism. The cost of acquiring multilingual skills in the course of reorientation from Russian- to English-language learning, is likely to boost levels of individual multilingualism in the short run, but prove a strain for native speakers of state languages in the long run. As many linguistic communities that speak official EU languages are dwindling in numbers, the costs of language support will need to be readjusted to the realities of an increasingly multilingual Europe. Unlike the case of

Welsh and Breton, policies regulating the use of Latvian and Estonian indicate a preference for the localization approach, which are unlikely to remain sustainable even in the short run. As with many other states that have promoted monolingual policies over the past decades, Estonia and Latvia have been fairly successful in ensuring advantages for native speakers of their state language in some public domains. However, as in the above case of the UK, monolingual speakers of the state language are usually outpaced by speakers of minority languages in areas where regional/minority languages are on an equal footing with the state/national language. Naturally, analyses of language use among the minority point to the positive impact that an external state and its institutions can have on the maintenance of language skills among minorities, such as Hungarian-speakers outside Hungary, or even support from regionally devolved governments, as in Wales or the Basque Country. However, most of Europe's regional languages lack an institutional backdrop that guarantees financial support and infrastructure, which leaves speakers of most regional languages entirely dependent on societal networks that they must activate and maintain through their own, scarce resources.

Activists promoting the use of minority, regional and/or non-standard language variations have been vocally pointing out the inherent disadvantages for speakers of non-state languages in accessing and participating in political decision-making across Europe. Those not entirely fluent in state languages are *de facto* excluded from equal opportunities for political participation at the regional, national and European levels. This draws particular attention to the limits imposed on minority language use in the public sphere across European states, which *de facto* favours state languages at the expense of minority languages. In so doing, however, both the EU and nation-states alike have already contributed to further marginalization of linguistic communities speaking non-state languages and have given space to their in-part militant, identity-driven claims. Moreover, the anticipated enlargements will add languages to the list of those that are officially recognized.

What do these indicators tell us about the long-term future of languages tied to and supported by a diverse set of European, national and regional policies? Most strikingly, the policies supporting language territorialization can have a positive impact on language use, and ultimately on its survival. As we have hinted above, without the promotion of Estonian and Latvian as the sole state languages in their respective countries, no comparable results in language acquisition would have been achieved on the part of the Russian speakers over a relatively short period of time. On the flip side, however, state support for monolingual policies stands in sharp contrast to current European objectives earmarking the emergence of multilingual citizenry, befitting the European Commission's "native plus two languages" strategy. Whereas Western European states encourage their citizens to acquire knowledge of further languages, the Baltic States not only reject recognition of the *de facto* minority language in their country, but suggest that Russian speakers opt for more widely used languages with a European appeal such as English, rather than the state languages that ultimately guarantee access to participation and resources in the respective nation-states. In so doing, Baltic language policy planners are perpetuating the same minoritization outcomes that affected Welsh and Breton centuries earlier. This might appear particularly surprising given the fact that Russian features as the fifth most widely understood language across the EU, after English, German, French and Spanish (Eurobarometer, 2006). However, the policies make perfect sense in the context of recent state and nation building exercises. Hence, although we allude to the fact that the policies are not logical *strictu sensu*, we consider it important for reasons of balance in evaluating the reasons for such policies and for avoiding accusations of chauvinism on the part of policy makers. Efforts by these states to promote monolingual practices in official languages have already resulted in an increasing standardization of the official variety at the expense of linguistic diversity and a partial loss of non-standard varieties in the two states. The gradual decline of Southern Estonian Võru and Latgalian in Eastern Latvia are testament to just how difficult it has been for the Estonian and Latvian authorities to halt language shift in these areas.

As we have seen in this section of the article, language promotion on one particular territory can only be successful in Myhill's terms of language-and-territory insofar as speakers of other languages are not proficient in the state language. At the same time, territorialization of language in McRae's terms can be successful if the state and society that are designed to be the primary guardians of the language are impenetrable to speakers of other languages. Both these aspects are at odds with the current realities of increasing social intermixing of linguistic communities with speakers of other languages. While some might argue that the Baltic cases have limited applicability because of regional specificity (Soviet history of the states, the disputed status of the Russian speakers and difficult relations with the potentially protective Russian state), we have observed here that the territorial approach to language regulation misfires under the given circumstances of increased individual mobility and growing importance of vehicular languages over regional languages, even if these are endowed with the status of an official language. We fall back on our case studies. Current linguistic policies of Estonia and Latvia should be read as efforts to protect the relatively small state languages from a real and powerful competitor, which to date is not even granted the status of a minority language. Being implemented at the expense of the Russian language, which is spoken by more than a third of the states' residents, results in decreasing levels of communication between the increasingly monolingual members of the titular ethnic group, local minorities, foreign nationals, and European visitors. One could further read the lack of political recognition of Russian in the region as undermining potential claims of Russian speakers for greater accommodation of their linguistic identities within the framework of the EU. Failure to sustain the level of competence in Russian among speakers of the state languages has inevitably led to the isolation of residents of the Baltic States *vis-à-vis* the locally numerical minority, marginalizing members of the minority in the political decision-making processes. Following the territorialization approach cemented in linguistic polices in these states, speakers of state languages can make unlimited use of their native languages when in "their" states, but would find it hard to communicate with speakers of any other languages abroad.

At the same time, however, our overview of the language-as-identity approach adopted in Brittany and Wales does not provide overly optimistic results either. Minority/regional languages that have undergone successful revitalization over the past decades are highly dependent on support from their "native" territorial unit in the medium and long run. More than anything, the previous successful titularization of Catalonia and the Basque Country have seen similar shifts in linguistic loyalties and the gradual reinterpretation of language policies away from identity-driven claims in favour of territorial arguments in support of the languages. Needless to say, while neither in the case of Welsh nor Breton are we likely to see the emergence of monolingual communities that are unable to use English or French, regionalization practices of language revitalization aim to increase the currency of the minoritized majority language, with the consequences for both majority and the minority languages that we can observe in the Baltic States today. As we have demonstrated, this would be a very unfortunate development primarily for the very speakers of these languages. Although the resulting power relations between the linguistic communities appear to be straightforward, they are not in fact always clear-cut. More often than not, speakers of the state language can have much easier access to state services and are better positioned to use their “native” linguistic skills to reach further than second-language speakers. On the other hand, however, speakers of state languages are disadvantaged *vis-à-vis* the speakers of the usually bi- or multilingual regional/minority language speakers.

It is in this context that we need to consider the loyalties of different linguistic communities and the opportunities they have to use “their” language. While across the EU today, most members of minority linguistic communities, if proficient in one or several of the EU’s official languages, can enjoy definite extralinguistic advantages over those who are able to use fewer languages in their everyday life. The situation today is that the speakers of Europe’s regional languages are *de facto* better equipped to guarantee the survival of their languages and their claims to linguistic identity if they avoid references to language territorialization at the European, national or regional levels.

Conclusion

All of the EU’s 23 official languages are Europe’s regional languages in one way or another, although most enjoy a special status in the narrow geographic realm of their respective regions. Relations within the nexus are particularly problematic as one focuses on the community of language-speakers rather than on the language itself. Because political borders do not always follow the main cultural divides, in some cases Europe’s regional language, our preferred term over “minority” language, is in fact an official language of the EU. The speakers of minority languages across the EU have continuously faced difficulties in reconciling the cost of linguistic transactions motivated by the EU’s territorial take on language and a given linguistic community’s identity-driven claims for language support. The increasing number of EU member states will inevitably result in a growing number of official EU languages and will place additional strain on languages with a comparably small number of speakers. Speakers of the languages, who lack recognition as a tool of governance, have been continuously campaigning for language support at different levels of the EU, mainly by seeking to “territorialize” their language in order to protect the linguistic identities of its users.

Especially in the light of the presence of high numbers of multilingual speakers across the EU today, one would expect a revision of the current language policies driven by the language-in-territory ideology of most European states. On the one hand, we expect language planning to embrace active promotion of bilingualism in state and regional vehicular languages, such as Estonian and Latvian, and Russian; or French/Breton and English/Welsh respectively, precisely because languages are not living entities but require social context to be used and, as some would have it, to survive. On the other hand, what we expect to see from a review of the situation with only 4 of the EU’s 65 regional languages is that greater support for acquisition of languages, spoken and understood beyond the narrow realm of state borders will be likely to increase in popularity.

In our view, the logic of linguistic territorialization espoused by the EU and the majority of nation-states worldwide dismisses the future reality of an increasingly borderless world and the importance of linguistic identity in each individual’s life. Moreover, disposing of language as an identity ideology and regulating linguistic regimes according to the territoriality principle inhibits the chances of using languages with limited intelligibility beyond the region of their traditional use, thereby marginalizing them *outside* a given territory. We believe that providing better opportunities for each individual to receive education in his/her native language would support the claims to language as identity. At the same time, ensuring the ability of all citizens to communicate in one of Europe’s regional languages and in an additional, possibly EU, language would pay sufficient respect to the territoriality principle. By emphasizing the importance of language as a central pillar of identity in policy making at the European level, rather than using domestic narratives of “language death” to justify the failure of accommodating multilingual practices in national curricula, will inevitably lead to a gradual decline in minority language use. Ironically, an increasingly multilingual Europe will not stop at the territorial borders of nation-states tasked with protection of Europe’s state languages, as in due course these are likely to experience the same fate that current befalls minority languages.

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Land and Language: The Struggle for National, Territorial, and Linguistic Integrity of the Oneida People

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The ability to maintain a living community is a functional requirement for the natural transmission of culture and language. The Oneida Indians, aboriginal people of what is now the State of New York, have struggled for more than two centuries to sustain their community and culture. The Oneidas have experienced an aggressive programme of expropriation, the division of their community, and the exile of the majority of their people to Canada and the State of Wisconsin. Only within the last few decades have the Oneidas begun to achieve some success in rebuilding their economic base and in reclaiming some of their native lands, but in the meantime their language has been almost entirely lost. They have attempted to use recent legal victories to rebuild their land base, their community, and their basis for cultural and linguistic transmission, but continue to confront a hostile and intimidating social and legal orientation on the part of the larger community, as well as divisive conflict among themselves. An examination of the case of the Oneidas illuminates the continuing impact of the European expansion into the Americas and of policies and practices that have been inimical to the retention of native cultures and languages.

Keywords: Oneida Indians; language preservation; US Indian policy; indigenous languages

> I think once you learn the language you see the world through the Oneidas' eyes, not through English ones, with the values being taught right with the language. The values that are core and central to our culture that have been there before the Europeans came here… When we lose our language, then we are no longer Oneidas. Then we are something else. We may look like Oneidas, we may have a reservation, but we are no longer Oneidas, because we have not our language.
>
> Forrest Brooks, Oneida language teacher, Wisconsin
> (interviewed by B. Hlebowicz 9 September 2002)

Linguist Leanne Hinton begins her report of the state of Native North American languages with the grim assessment that of the 209 native languages still spoken in North America, children are only learning 49 of them: 'Year by year the number of

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language extinctions has increased while the number of children who are speakers has continued to drop' (2008: 351). An examination of the history of the Oneida Indians, of their programmes, goals and aspirations concerning Oneida language and culture, and of the forces arrayed against the Oneida people, illustrates the challenges American Indians have faced that have led to the circumstances Hinton discusses. Such an examination will also, however, serve to demonstrate the persistence and the resilience of native North Americans in the face of these challenges.

Oneida history speaks eloquently to the struggle that the native peoples of North America have experienced in maintaining their languages and their cultures. For two and a half centuries the Oneidas have fought against the implacable forces of an overwhelming European hegemony, which has worked both deliberately and incidentally toward their destruction as a people. Ironically, many Oneidas were among the first allies of the US, siding with the American colonists in their revolution against Great Britain. This fact, however, did not prevent the full force of American rapaciousness being turned on them. Their community experienced physical violence and privation, expropriation, division and extirpation, so that by the twentieth century only a handful of Oneidas remained in their homeland, clinging to tiny patches of unalienated land. The largest groups of Oneidas felt obligated to leave, and migrated to the West or to Canada. The elders and transmitters of culture and language thus became scattered, disunited, and discouraged, so that now there is only a tiny number of native speakers of Oneida, most of them elderly.

Recent decades, however, have seen a resurgence of interest among the Oneidas in their language and in cultural traditions. The three main communities – in New York State, the Province of Ontario, and the State of Wisconsin – have all embarked on significant programmes of language and culture retention and transmission. Increasing resources are being devoted to these projects, which are also increasingly sophisticated in their application of technology and pedagogy. It is an uphill battle nonetheless, since the forces that hold sway in the larger society work against it.

Overview of Oneida history

The Oneida Indians are one of the founding nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, or the Haudenosaunee, along with the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, with the Tuscaroras joining in the eighteenth century (Tooker, 1978: 433).

The Haudenosaunee were among the most powerful of the North American peoples and dealing with them, in both friendly and unfriendly ways, was a significant element in the colonization process for the Dutch, French and English. Oneida territory originally included over 10,000 square miles, stretching through what is now the state of New York from the St. Lawrence River to the Susquehanna River.

After the outbreak of the American Revolution (1775-1783) the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee could not reach consensus about a common response to the conflict. The Oneidas and the Tuscaroras generally fought on the side of the Americans, while the warriors of the other Iroquois nations tended to side with their former British allies. This resulted in turmoil within the structure of the Confederacy and ultimately to the end of Iroquois political independence. At the end of the war, two-thirds of the Iroquois population fled to Canada (Graymont, 1988: 87–89; Wallace, 1978: 443). This was especially true of those who had fought for the British, but even the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who had supported the Americans, were robbed of nearly all their territory through a relentless process of theft, deceit and aggression that continued for more than a century.

The Oneidas had the misfortune of living astride the most effective passage through the Appalachian Mountains into the interior of the continent. New York's plans for economic growth were predicated on securing control over all Indian lands, but in particular the lands of the Oneidas. Between 1785 and 1842, New York State was involved in twenty-seven land transactions with Indians. Only two of these were with the permission of the federal government, whose laws and treaties promised protection against alienation of Oneida land (Locklear, 1999: 147).

The state played upon disunity among the Oneidas in a "divide and conquer" policy by using Christian missionaries to play the different factions against each other. A network of missionaries, land speculators, and state and federal government agents acted to achieve the goal through treaties and land transactions (Hauptman, 1995: 34–35; 1999a: 63–64; Horsman, 1999: 65).

> These arrangements were of dubious legality, and some were out-and-out frauds. Typically agents of the state, or some land company acting under state approval, would seek out a few Oneidas who could be coaxed, threatened, or otherwise induced to sign their names to a document of sale. Most of the Oneidas involved could not read the document. They were not represented by their own counsel. They often did not even possess the land supposedly sold in the 'treaty,' and in any case, since land holding was communal in Oneida law, as individuals they had no right to sell it. The agents of New York, however, treated every one of these deals as completely legal and binding. (Johnsen, 2001: 7)

The Presbyterian missionary Samuel Kirkland, having started his career among the Oneidas in 1767, significantly shaped the course of their history until long after the end of the American Revolution. At his arrival, the Oneidas were divided into quarrelling factions. They had to struggle with massive problems such as famine, increasing pressure from land-hungry whites, crime, and alcoholism (Graymont, 1972: 33–37; Campisi, 1978: 481–483; Ronda, 1988: 24–26, 29; Lehman, 1990: 535). His trusting followers regarded him, 'as a spiritual director, a guide in the midst of troubled times' (Ronda, 1988: 24). In 1784, immediately following the conclusion of the Revolution, he advised the Oneidas not to cede any foot of their territory. Soon after, however, he became convinced that their religious conversion would be easier to achieve by selling their excessive territory (Lehman, 1990: 535–536).[1] Since he had established personal relations of trust with the Oneidas, his presence at six illegal state treaties gave them the appearance of legitimacy (Hauptman, 1999b: 44). In reality, the treaties, though he undoubtedly knew they were illegal, gave him the means of pursuing the "civilizing" strategy that he had evolved for the Oneidas, depriving them of land in order to force them to adopt the ways of encroaching American society. Personal gain for himself from the land transfers also clearly figured into Kirkland's motives (Ronda, 1988: 24–26).

Eleazer Williams's arrival in 1816 filled the Christian vacuum after Kirkland's death. Williams was a lay reader for the Episcopal Church. Himself a Mohawk Indian, he could address the Oneidas in their own language, and in this way revitalized frustrated Christian converts. Yet his missionary work further split up the Oneidas and created a segmented community, allowing New York State to conclude treaties with separate Oneida factions.

The federal government faced increasing pressure for Indian removal in the decade after the War of 1812. Between 1800 and 1820 the white population of New York State increased from 589,051 to 1,372,812 people. The state had given the pre-emption rights for land to private land companies, whose owners, managers, and stockholders held social and political positions that allowed them to put pressure on the state and federal governments. After 1815, the Ogden Land Company assumed the leading role. David A. Ogden, as an elected Congressman in 1817, used his position to gain federal approval for the Iroquois Nations' removal to the Green Bay area in what is now the State of Wisconsin. He found federal officials to lobby for his goal and created an alliance with Eleazer Williams, who had his own visions of a vast Indian empire in the West under his religious leadership (Geier, 1980: 148–153; Horsman, 1999: 53–60; Hauptman, 1999a: 18–20, 147). With money from the land speculators, Williams was able to finance his journeys to explore the Green Bay region and initiated the Oneida immigration to this area. In 1830 missionaries from the Methodist Church convinced more Oneida converts to move to Wisconsin and many more did so for the next 50 years (Horsman, 1999: 65; Campisi, 1974: 133–134; Geier, 1980: 152, 159–160).

At the same time that New York State and land speculators were "legally" expropriating the Oneidas, their white neighbours carried out the process informally. Oneidas still today refer bitterly to the "two furrows a year rule", whereby farmers whose land abutted Indian land would plow two additional furrows in their fields each year, gradually encroaching on the land of the Indians (Johnsen, 2001: 8). Yet one more unpleasant surprise was in store for the Oneidas: in 1843 New York enacted legislation requiring the division of tribal lands in severalty (again, without the required federal approval), which meant that land could be sold off piecemeal rather than a treaty being required.

Disgusted with the situation in New York State and despairing of any positive resolution, a group of 241 Oneidas sold their land in New York and acquired eight square miles of land in Canada. In three emigration waves between 1840 and 1845, they settled along the Thames River in Southwold, Ontario. By the middle of the nineteenth century, then, the Oneida Nation had become divided into at least three separate communities, all of which over the coming decades would face additional challenges to their social integrity.[2]

Land, casinos and community

In 1843, there were only two non-contiguous areas of Oneida land left in New York, totalling about 900 acres. The land base went through further reductions until by the twentieth century it was down to 32 acres (Campisi, 1974: 262–266, 404–408; 1978: 485). Fighting against all odds, however, the Oneidas pursued legal recourse for the return of or compensation for their lands. An Oneida woman, Mary Winder, searching for documents and writing petitions since the 1920s, proved to be the leading figure in the land claims proceedings. She travelled to Washington, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Canada to sustain Oneida land rights (Hauptman, 1986: 187–191, J. Chrisjohn, 1999:

142; Gleason, 1999: 3). 'She had the dream to unify Oneida people on ancestral homelands' (Shenandoah, 1996). After her death in 1954, her sister, Delia Cornelius Waterman, continued the efforts. Waterman adopted Jacob Thompson, her Mohawk son-in-law, into the Oneida community and provided him with all land claims materials. In the 1960s, he strengthened the alliances among the Oneidas, including those living in Wisconsin and Canada (Hauptman, 1986: 191–193).

Thompson contacted an attorney who cracked the vicious cycle of legal impediments that had bedevilled the Oneidas for years, and they brought suit to have land returned that had been taken in violation of federal law. In 1985 the US Supreme Court ruled that 300,000 acres had been taken illegally. The Court ordered that negotiations between New York State and the Oneidas proceed in order to determine a fair settlement of the claims, which it was assumed would include a combination of financial compensation for the loss and a return of some public land to the Oneidas. This was to involve representatives of the Canadian, Wisconsin and New York Oneidas. Negotiations, however, proceeded very slowly, and it soon became clear that the state was not negotiating seriously. It appears that the state's strategy was to delay in the hope that eventually (as has happened) the composition of the Supreme Court would change to a panel less inclined to rule in favor of Indian land claims. In the meantime, two developments made the negotiation process even more difficult. First, the prospect of Oneidas regaining land spurred the development in the 1990s of a militant right-wing anti-Indian organization, Upstate Citizens United for Equality, that has put pressure on local and state politicians not to "give in" to Indian "demands". Second, differences in opinions and strategies among the very strong personalities who lead the various Oneida groups have led to dissension among them to the point where they no longer cooperate in any legal matters, and find cooperation of any sort difficult. Land negotiations have now fallen apart entirely, and appear to be headed back to the US Supreme Court for further adjudication (Cooper, 2011).

Another recent development is the appearance of new sources of revenue, primarily in the form of casino gambling.[3] Almost overnight, the Oneidas in both New York and Wisconsin have gone from poverty to very substantial wealth. This wealth has had a contradictory effect on the prospects of the Oneidas. On the one hand, it has meant that they have access to resources for housing, education, medical care, and cultural activity, which they could not have dreamed of a few decades ago. On the other hand, the money has further exacerbated the schisms between the separate groups, and to some extent has aggravated factionalism within these groups. It has also enmeshed them in economic and political institutions of the wider economy that tend to work against tradition and community. Further, it has hardened the attitude of the state and the Oneidas' white neighbours, who see no reason to support land return or economic reparations for people with such wealth. The state has also used casino compacts as a means of encouraging intertribal competition and disunity (Schüler, 2011).

The 1,100 or so Oneidas who remain in New York live largely scattered throughout the central part of the State and the Mohawk River valley. Many live in the cities of Utica, Syracuse, and Oneida. The community now has two geographic foci. One is the 32-acre territory that was never alienated. It contains the longhouse (a ceremonial and political centre), a community building and a cultural centre, and nearby are the health centre, the children's and elders' centre, and the new housing of the Village of the White Pines. The other focus is the Turning Stone resort and casino, an impressive complex that rises like a skyscraper from the farmlands of central New York. The Oneida administrative and governmental offices are scattered in several locations throughout the area.

In Wisconsin, today about 16,500 individuals are enrolled in the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin (Wisconsin State Tribal Relations Initiative, 2010a). This makes them three times larger than the other two Oneida groups combined. Most of them live on the reservation, though many live dispersed in cities throughout the Mid-West. The Wisconsin Oneida reservation is also inhabited by almost 18,000 non-Indians, a consequence of the allotment process, which allowed non-Indians to buy up Indian land (Wisconsin State Tribal Relations Initiative, 2010b).

The 4,000 Oneidas in Southwold, Ontario, live in a fairly tightly bounded area purchased by their ancestors. They have been able to maintain a community residentially segregated from non-Oneidas, but like their New York and Wisconsin kinsmen they are enmeshed in a complex economic and political network with the larger society.

Education and the undermining of community

Another factor that significantly influenced all three Oneida communities was education in boarding schools (in Canada, "residential schools") to which they, like other Native American groups, sent their children, and were sometimes forced to send them.[4] Historically the Oneidas were already accustomed to formal schooling. Samuel Kirkland had established the first school among them in the eighteenth century. When the Wisconsin community was established, for example, one of their first aims was to begin a school, which they did in the 1830s. By the 1870s there were four functioning schools among the Wisconsin Oneidas, and several individuals even attended a nearby university.

The boarding school system, on the other hand, was not an indigenous development, but was part of a 'policy of aggressive civilization' formulated and passed into law by the US Congress in 1869, followed by the Canadian authorities a decade later (Smith, 2001: 255ff). The idea of sending Indians to schools off the reservations in order to "soak" them in the "civilization" of, and to assimilate them to, the dominant society was strongly promoted by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, veteran of the American Civil War and the Indian wars in the West, who in 1879 founded the model Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Through his and others' efforts the idea of wrenching Indian children from the reservations as the only way to give them chances to survive in modern American society came to dominate. Pratt was convinced that Native Americans were as capable of mastering the same skills and obtaining the same education as white students, if they were only given equal chances, but their allegiance to their traditional ways of life had to be sacrificed (Pratt, 2004).

Integral to Pratt's concept of Indian schooling was that Indian children from different nations were to attend the same school, thus becoming a part of the "melting-pot" of the new American (Indian) identity (Bell, 1998: 38). Pratt, like many liberal activists of that period, believed that the great diversity of indigenous cultures and languages was an obstacle to 'becoming a very part of the people of the country' and that the Indian 'must become capable of living among our people and taking care of himself and his own affairs' (Pratt, 2004: 221–222). The main thrust of education in the boarding school was teaching Indian children how to read, write and speak English. Indian boys were also taught occupations like smithing, carpentry, farming; Indian girls were taught to sew, and to work in the kitchen and laundry (Utley, 2004: xxii–xxiii; Hauptman, 2006: 19). Christian denominations took part in the everyday functioning of the schools (Smith, 2001: 254).

Indian boarding schools were founded all over United States (24 by 1900) and there were over 50 in Canada (see Miller, 1996: 121). 'By 1900 three-quarters of all

Indian children were enrolled in boarding school, with approximately a third of this number in off-reservation schools … Many of those attending reservation boarding schools would eventually move on to off-reservation institutions' (Adams, 2004: xii). Oneidas from Wisconsin and New York were among the largest groups of Indians at Pratt's school in Carlisle (Hauptman, 2006: 116). In 1933 the American New Deal of the Franklin Roosevelt administration significantly changed policy towards Indians, acknowledging the uniqueness and value of their cultures, but boarding schools continued until the 1960s.

Although these schools were disruptive of Oneida culture, their legacy is more complex and mixed, as is revealed by the memories of the people who attended them (Adams, 1995: 209–269; Lewis, 2005; Lomawaima, 1993). On the one hand, the schools aimed at assimilating Indians into American or Canadian society according to the principle expressed by Pratt, 'kill the Indian, save the man' (Hauptman, 2008a). Part of this civilizing education was to discourage or forbid children to speak their native language. Lloyd Schuyler remembered that he was punished at the boarding school for errors he made while trying to speak English: 'when I'd see the number eleven [the teacher was showing two fingers] I didn't know how to say [eleven]. I'd see two marks there. And I'd hate when Winnebago [Indian] kids laughed at me' (Hlebowicz, 2002: 7A).

Andrew Beechtree, an Oneida, returned to the Wisconsin Oneida reservation after several years spent in Carlisle, educated, proud, and with high self-esteem, 'expecting to be welcomed back with open arms' (Lewis, 2005: 309). The people greeted him in the Oneida language, but he answered in English.

> I didn't notice at first, but soon it flashed on me that they were talking broken English. But imagine our surprise when they started using their native tongue and I couldn't understand but a few words of it. In fact, it sounded so strange to me that it was comical. And if it was comical to me to hear them talk native, it was a scream to hear me try to talk it. The meaning of the Oneida words I learned came back gradually, but to converse or talk in Oneida – it was beyond my poor power to master. (Lewis, 2005: 309)

He explains that it is enough to make a small mistake in pronouncing an Oneida word to change its meaning in such a way that it 'would not be nice to say in public. After few embarrassing experiences I decided that I could get along better if I left the making of speeches in Oneida to someone else' (Lewis, 2005: 309–310).

Dennison Wheelock, a distinguished Oneida student of Carlisle and afterwards of other boarding schools, who received national fame for his accomplishments a band conductor, composer and cornet soloist, in 1887, just two years after arrival to Carlisle, published a controversial article in which he ridiculed the teaching of Indian languages. Successful in following the white man's path, he was alienated from his own community and after his death was not even buried among his fellow Oneidas on the reservation, but in a white cemetery in Green Bay (Landis, 2006: 51; Hauptman, 2006; Hauptman, 2008a). Indeed, many of the "boarding school" Indians adopted the notion propagandized during their education that the tight-knit nature of their home communities and their reservations were obstacles to the civilization of their people (Hauptman, 2010: 200–202). This was indeed a decisive period that broke intratribal ties and the natural language transmission among the most Native American communities.

On the other hand, boarding schools initiated something Pratt and other educators neither planned nor wished for: the growing sense of pan-Indian identity among students coming from different tribes which would act against the assimilationist objectives of the white reformers (Hauptman, 2008a: 26). Many other aspects of the boarding school experience seem to have been generally positive. Wisconsin Oneida children attending the Oneida Boarding School founded on their own reservation (as fulfillment of their own goal to have such a school) as well as boarding schools off the reservation (Cornelius, 2006: 68), took pride in getting an education, and participated in the schools' athletic and musical activities as well as various clubs and societies (Hauptman, 2008a; Lewis, 2005: 406–407; Adams, 2006). They were also able to earn money themselves thanks to the so-called "outing system" – seasonally living with and working for white families all over the country and returning to school after summer (Adams, 2006; Landis, 2005: 51–53). They could also live with a white family closer to the school and work before and after classes every day. There were cases when leaving school and returning home "touched the very heart" of students who had lived there several years, made friends with other Indians, and experienced their early loves there. One of the former pupils recalled, 'life at the school was good compared to home ... I hear they forbade our language at these schools, but it didn't affect me since I didn't know my language. The Winnebago and Sioux people spoke their language in small groups at the school and yet no one bothered them at the time [1930s]' (Metoxen, 2006: 84).

The first residential school in the Oneida community in Southwold, Ontario, was established in the 1840s, three years after their arrival, under the direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Antone (2006: 71) reports that, 'in the early years, the people of this new community recognized the necessity that their children should learn to read, write and do arithmetic'. The first teacher was an Oneida, Abraham Sickles, who taught all the subjects, in Oneida (Antone, 2006: 71), but this changed to a white teacher after a couple of years. The children could also attend the Mount Elgin Indian Residential School, which opened in December 1849 on the neighbouring Chippewa Indian reserve, and other residential schools as far away as Manitoba (Antone, 2006). The Canadian policy towards Indian education, like in the US, was assimilation, so Oneida language teaching was not a desired part of schooling. The older Oneidas interviewed in the 1990s by Antone (1996: 124) and in 2002–2003 by B. Hlebowicz recall being punished for speaking their language at school (even in a day-school on the reserve). They did not want the same to happen to their children so many of them decided not to pass on knowledge of the language (Antone, 1996: 124–126).

The Canadian Indian Act of 1951 called for integration of Indian children into public schools, and Oneida students were brought to schools in London, Ontario, by buses. In 1973 that policy was reversed, with a programme of 'Indian Control of Indian Education' (Antone, 1996: 119–120). However, the attitude of the parents, already accustomed to the idea of non-Indian education for their children, was such that some of them would not send their children to the reserve-based Standing Stone School when Oneida language instruction was introduced there. They perceived the Oneida language as 'irrelevant and useless; it would not help the children learn to get a job' (Antone, 1996: 124–125). Harry Doxtator, former chairman of elective council and now council member, recalled in 2002:

> My grandparents and parents were threatened [if they used their] language at school ... During summer they came back home and used the language. The problem was that my generation kind of stopped; my parents didn't use the language as much at home as they did between their parents. But as I visited my grandparents, they always did use the language; I guess I just didn't get enough of it to carry it over. I understand the language, not totally, but some of it. … when I was first time in the council, they used language pretty much all the time. It only lasted for two terms. But then the council was getting younger and younger and with my generation it is kind of rare. (Interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, December 2002)

In more recent years, in both Wisconsin and Ontario, the Oneidas have developed their own schooling programmes oriented toward cultural preservation. (The New York Oneidas are too dispersed for this to be practical for them.) One of the goals of these indigenous schools has been language preservation. The Turtle School on the Wisconsin Oneida reservation opened in 1994. Today 331 students attend, down from 500 at the beginning (Hlebowicz *et al.*, 2004: 14). The school is run by the Tribe, and supported with the gaming revenues from the casino on the reservation as well as by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition to the standard schooling on the elementary and middle school level, the school offers cultural and language instructions. The teachers, although most are not fluent Oneida speakers, keep learning the language themselves and during the classes they try to use it as much as possible, together with teaching about older Oneida traditions. The teaching at the Turtle School is based on the basic elements of the Haudenosaunee heritage: life cycle ceremonies, the Great Law of Peace, and *Kaiwi-yo*, the teachings of a Seneca prophet, Handsome Lake, who at the turn of eighteenth century reformed the older religion (Hlebowicz *et al.*, 2004). Other non-Christian elements of Turtle school education include morning recitation of the Iroquois Thanksgiving prayer. In each class every week or every month the students choose a “chief”, a “clan mother” and a “runner” among themselves, which are references to positions that existed in Iroquoian societies in the past. Thus, teaching of the language is combined with cultural instructions, including maintaining a garden outside the school where the traditional “three sisters” (maize, squash, and beans) are cultivated, as well as participation in the longhouse.

The attitude of the students towards learning the unfamiliar language, which is only used in certain limited spheres of their lives, varies. One of the former teachers at the tribal high school said, ‘some kids really picked the language up, but others didn’t show interest at all, or even showed dislike; some of the kids didn’t find it useful and they kind of expressed it to me. Maybe they were just being honest. A lot of kids didn’t want to learn it,’ which is clearly a reflection of the children’s sense of its lack of relevance to their lives (interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, 9 September 2002).

Among the Canadian Oneidas, the tribal Standing Stone School holds Oneida language lessons apart from the regular curriculum. Traditionally-oriented people, however, felt the need to revitalize the language more directly and, together with it, the Oneida culture and world-view, understood as the “longhouse” culture, with its community values such as cooperation and responsibility.[5] A new “learning place” was opened in 1986 called *Tsi Niyukwaliho:t^*, which means ‘the place where they teach “our ways”’ (Poulette, 2003: 136; Hlebowicz *et al.*, 2004: 17). It does not have much in common with standard education, and it should be viewed as alternative education or a survival school. An effort is made to teach the Thanksgiving Address in Oneida, proper ceremonial vocabulary, and proper conduct in longhouse ceremonies. Much of the instruction occurs outside of the school facility, including picking berries that are called "medicines", learning about plants, or constructing traditional crafts like water drums or turtle rattles. As Howard Elijah, the founder and director of the school said, the language, ceremonies, and ancient practices build 'the substance of Oneida identity' (interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, 4 December 2002). The curriculum is 'set by the moons', according to Elijah: the seasons dictate community agricultural activities and thanksgiving ceremonies, and the school tries to inculcate this knowledge in the students. There have been also been attempts to teach the language to the parents. In Elijah's words, 'in order to retain the language, both the children and the parents need to learn it so that there is continuity between the home and the school to make *Onyotara:ka* a living language that carries the significance, magnificence, and the spirit of the people'.

The school does not have many students (perhaps two dozen), and just a couple of instructors. It faces several problems. For example, due to internal friction within the community someone burned it down once in 2005. Some parents have taken their children away from the school because the children tell them that they want to learn to write and read, which indicates that these basic elements of education are not provided there at a satisfactory level (community member, e-mail to B. Hlebowicz, February 2007). Although the small group of instructors feels responsibility for the whole Oneida community, they seem to be of the opinion that only traditional "longhouse" culture is adequate for Oneidas. One of the clan mothers, raised by her grandparents, who attended both the church and the longhouse growing up, now says that she would feel uncomfortable going to the church (interview by B. Hlebowicz, 8 December 2002). Another member of the community, raised in a Christian family, said that when she approached the "traditionalists" to learn about the longhouse, they ridiculed her. Among Christian Oneidas you can hear disparaging opinions about the longhouse people: 'they're pagans'.

The history of Oneida language preservation efforts

Given the history of the US government in the destruction of the Oneida community and its language, ironically one of the most important steps in the preservation of the language was a result of federal governmental action, the start of the Oneida Language and Folklore Project in 1939, part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a New Deal programme during the administration of Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s.

This development occurred among the Wisconsin Oneidas, who were the most influenced by Christian missionaries and the most open to the values of the dominant society. This orientation may paradoxically have led this Oneida community to contribute more than the ones in New York and Canada toward the development of linguistic resources for the future, since they were comfortable with, and could see the value of, working with linguists and anthropologists. The idea to apply for federal money to study the Oneida language came from Morris Swadesh, a linguistic anthropologist at the University of Wisconsin. With the help of one Oneida student and with the use of one Oneida text published by Franz Boas in 1909, Swadesh and his university students attempted to write Oneida in phonetic transcription in order to learn the sound system of the language and then its structure, creating in effect a new alphabet and orthography. Then Swadesh's student, Floyd Lounsbury taught this Oneida alphabet to a team of Oneidas. After a two-week training period, they collected short stories in the Oneida language from other community members. These were typed and translated into English word-for-word. This material allowed Lounsbury and the Oneidas to immerse themselves in the work of deciphering Oneida morphology and to start building a dictionary (Lounsbury, 1988: 131–134; Hauptman, 1981: 164–176; Lewis, 2005: xxxii–xxxvii).

Of course, the Oneidas – who were already losing their native tongue by the 1930s – did not start speaking the Oneida language again on an everyday basis. Still, the project, together with another similar one that followed immediately, the Oneida Ethnological Study, brought astonishing results. First, it gave the Oneida community, at least the Oneidas in Wisconsin, a sense of unity, as 'nearly every adult member of the community contributed a story to the project' (Hauptman, 1981: 173). The extensive material produced a broad picture of a Native American people in transition (Lewis, 2005: xxxv–xxxvii). A particular and important outcome of the project was the publishing in 1941 of the Oneida hymnal, which has been very popular and much used to the present (Hauptman, 1981: 175–176).

From 1974 to 1985, thanks to federal funding, the Oneida Bilingual Program was conducted. It was a revival and continuation of the earlier WPA projects (Clark, 1988: 139). For the first time Oneida language and culture were introduced to the local public schools and were taught 10 to 15 minutes a day. Many stories gathered during the Oneida Language and Folklore Project, so far existing only in a written version, were read by Oneida speakers and taped, and now they are being archived for future generations and used for an online dictionary (Abbott, 2010: 41–42). They were also illustrated and published in Oneida and English versions. A set of tapes was issued, which included a transcription of the material of the second WPA project. The materials have recently been digitized and edited, and are accessible on the internet. They are used as teaching materials for elementary school-aged children (Clifford Abbott, e-mail to B. Hlebowicz, 6 December 2010).

Also in the 1970s a nearby university began offering Oneida language instruction as a credit-bearing curriculum. Potential Oneida language teachers can also obtain certification at the university to be able to teach Oneida (Cornelius and Jourdan, 2010; A. Chrisjohn, 1988). About the same time, the WPA collections were indexed to make them more usable, together with allotment records for family genealogy research. These are tools for the teachers in tribal schools who want to develop curricula for their students to conduct research on the Oneida language as well as family and tribal history (Oneida member Susan Daniels, e-mail to B. Hlebowicz, 29 November 2010). In the mid-1990s language instructors used the WPA stories to direct plays in the Oneida language.

Part of the language revival in Wisconsin in the 1970s was the Native American Language Project, based at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. From 1973 to 1976 individuals from the Oneida tribe and four other Indian communities in the state recorded native words, phrases and stories. One of the results of the project was the publication of the *Oneida Language Manual* (Hinton, Philbrick and Sandoval, 1981). In the 1980s the Oneida language became a constant part of the curriculum at the Oneida Tribal School. Another tribal school on the reservation, the Oneida Nation High School, starting in 1994, introduced obligatory four-year classes of the Oneida language and culture. Currently there are 79 students and seven Oneida language teachers. In 1994 the Oneida Business Committee passed a resolution declaring Oneida the official language of the Oneida Nation (Cornelius and Jourdan, 2010), though this has little practical significance. In 2003 the tribe established the Oneida Language Charter Team composed of 13 individuals. The aim of this body is to prepare a long-range strategy of full reintroduction of the Oneida language to all Oneida people (Krejci, 2004).

In 1996, 30–35 individuals took part in a six-week semi-immersion language session in which Oneidas learned how to teach the language. This included elders knowledgeable in the language who were coupled with the younger people wanting to learn and teach the language (Susan Daniels, e-mail to B. Hlebowicz, 29 November 2010). The same year the Oneida Language Center (*Tekalu.tatu*) was established on the reservation, and has functioned as a kind of laboratory with elders fluent in Oneida and language instructors. Some of them have specialized in learning and teaching the religious vocabulary used at the ceremonies in the Oneida longhouse (Randy Cornelius, interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, 12 September 2002).

One of the founders of the (Wisconsin) Oneida elementary school in 1980 and later the Turtle School in 1994 was Maria Hinton, a woman devoted to preserving Oneida language and culture, and the co-author of the 1996 dictionary that used the Oneida Language and Folklore Project stories (Abbott *et al.*, 1996). Recently she has accomplished the enormous task of recording all the dictionary entries into a computer programme, making the pronunciation of all of them available online. Professor Clifford Abbott (e-mail to B. Hlebowicz, 7 December 2010) also holds a university class at the Turtle School each semester, and it typically enrolls 15 to 20 non-Indian university students, and sometimes participants from the community. The website, created at the University at Green Bay, contains resources to learn Oneida. On the same page one can also listen to some of the stories collected during the Oneida Language and Folklore Project, read by the next generation of Oneida speakers, as well as study the 165-page Oneida Teaching Grammar.

As impressive and important as these developments have been, the use of the Oneida language continues to decline precipitously. As Randy Cornelius, a language teacher from Wisconsin, puts it:

> Our tribal school has been in existence for 31 years now and it hasn't produce one single [fluent] speaker. Most children that go through our school system have an understanding of the ceremonies and basic vocabulary but don't use it in the community. There are a couple of families that do use the language in the home with their children but none of them are fluent. It's been over 90 years since our children's first language was Oneida. It'll be a miracle when this happens again. (E-mail to B. Hlebowicz, 6 December 2010)

According to members of the New York Oneidas interviewed by J. Johnsen in 2010, there are no fluent speakers of the Oneida language left in New York. Interviewees reported that in their own families, parents stopped teaching their children to speak Oneida several decades ago, though many older people can remember extensive usage in the household as they were growing up. Since the New York Oneidas have lived in a dispersed fashion for so long, there has been no basis for a community life that was mediated by their native language, nor have they been able to make any attempt to operate their own schools in which the language might have been the medium for instruction. As Hinton (2010) points out, this is the case for many Native groups in North America:

> While it is the dream of many people involved in language revitalization to see a new generation of native speakers, the parent generation, who sincerely desire the language for their children … do not speak their heritage language themselves, and cannot take on the task of passing the language on to their children at home. Thus second-language learning becomes the center of language revitalization. (Hinton, 2010: 38)

Recently, however, the New York Oneidas have taken significant steps towards the second-language learning that is a necessary precondition for the recovery of their language. Using resources and teachers from Wisconsin and Ontario, classes have been organized under earnest and competent leadership. The Oneida Nation has contracted with Berlitz to develop an immersion system, according to Sherri Beglan (interviewed by J. Johnsen October 2010). The Nation has articulated the extraordinary goal of teaching the Oneida language to the entire enrolled membership and, using the wealth generated by casino revenues, has begun to invest heavily towards this end. One programme involves helping members to stay focused on the language by paying them a salary that allows them to leave their jobs, turning learning the language into full-time employment. Only a few have taken advantage of this yet, and still fewer have persisted. Several adult students, however, interviewed by J. Johnsen (October 2010), were quite clearly thrilled with how far they had come. Still largely at the level of simple sentences and conversations, they nonetheless described how they are beginning to work with the children in the day care centre and how they worked in a disciplined fashion to speak Oneida to their own children at home. An informal conversation has also opened up with a local college to explore offering Oneida for academic credit.

Only in Canada has a community been sustained that is fluent in Oneida. The Canadian Oneidas, conservative in their values, had the fortunate circumstance of not having to submit to land allotment, and they have never allowed whites to settle on their lands. This allowed them to maintain an intact, Oneida-centred community for much longer than the other groups. In a fish and chips restaurant in St. Thomas, a small town near the Southwold reserve, in winter 2002 B. Hlebowicz witnessed the Oneida language in action. The restaurant was full of older people, the majority of whom were Oneidas. Robert Doxtator, an older fluent speaker of the language, in a jovial way greeted other people in Oneida and engaged them in conversation, and the Oneida language could be heard being spoken at other tables as well. Such a scene is unlikely in any other place outside the Southwold reserve and area. Even there, however, it is becoming a rare thing, for while there are more native speakers of Oneida in Southwold than in New York and Wisconsin combined, nonetheless native speakers are few (probably about 100) and are mostly elderly. In Canada, too, the people are becoming concerned, and not just about language but about the whole array of cultural features that they see as mediated by language. Since at the longhouse ceremonies only the Oneida language is used, many people in all three Oneida groups do not understand what exactly is being said. An Oneida longhouse person from Wisconsin (interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, 9 September 2002) suggested that people attend anyway, understanding the context ('they have general understanding'), but among New York Oneidas sometimes it stops people from participating. They ask how they can take part in something that they do not understand, and how they can give thanks for something when they do not know what it is (Hlebowicz, 2009: 140).

Challenges and opportunities

In North America, 'English is the hegemonic language. It has overcome indigenous languages, first through forcible education, and ultimately by its economic power. The loss of Native American languages as people's first languages is almost complete' (Hinton, 2010: 36). Among the Oneidas, as among so many Indian groups, the fragmentation of their people, the loss of their land base, and the destruction of indigenous community life hastened this process. As Hinton (2010: 40) notes, 'language death ultimately involves people who know the language ceasing to speak it'. Despite great resilience and resistance, at a certain point the energy and discipline necessary to sustain the language and its transmission to a younger generation flagged among the Oneidas. Today the language is not known or used by a large number of people in any of the three communities. There are perhaps 100 fluent speakers in Canada, no more than ten in Wisconsin and none in New York (Michelson and Doxtator, 2002: 1).

It is important to note that this is a state of affairs that did not just happen as an accident of history. Rather it is the result of the social, cultural and political goals, prejudices, and ethos of the dominant Euro-American societies of the US and Canada. If the policies that grew out of this ethos have varied from time to time and place to place, they have nonetheless been constantly animated by and directed towards one overriding end: the obliteration of sovereign Indian nations. In the instance of the Oneidas, those policies have taken numerous forms: disruptive missionary activity, quasi-legal and illegal taking of land, failure to allow the Oneidas to pursue redress through the courts, the lack of will by the US Congress and the Canadian central government to safeguard Oneida rights, active abetting of the division of the Oneidas into far-flung separate communities, allotment of land, removal and boarding schools.

Constant efforts by Oneida elders, social projects like the WPA, and the diligent linguistic studies of anthropologists have kept the potential of language survival alive, however, and have produced an impressive base of resources for teaching and learning the language. Both Canadian and Wisconsin groups run schools where the youngest generation can at least be exposed to the language. Individuals among New York Oneidas strive to improve their knowledge and efficiently teach the language to others. The language exists, then, although not as a spoken mother tongue of the people. It is used during the longhouse ceremonies, in prayers, or "ornamentally" in everyday situations, like e-mail correspondence when Oneida expressions meaning "hello," "how are you?" or "thank you" are used.

Examination of the efforts so far allows us to draw several conclusions. (1) The use of the language during ceremonies has contributed to the sense of Oneida identity and to some degree to the preservation of the language. On the other hand, the ceremonies have little practical effect on most Oneidas' lives and, in any case, the members of all the Oneida communities have demonstrated that it is possible to participate in the ceremonies without understanding what is being said. (2) While the school programmes are creative and the result of great effort, they have been extremely limited in their effects. There are insufficient numbers of fluent teachers, and moreover the instruction is so limited in duration and frequency that it is easily compartmentalized by students, just another one of many subjects they study. (3) While these results have been disappointing, the efforts of the Oneidas have nonetheless produced an impressive array of resources – curricula, dictionaries, grammars, narratives, recordings – that constitute a bulwark against complete language loss.

As Fishman (1980: 171) argues, however, 'stable bilingualism and biculturalism cannot be maintained on the basis of open and unlimited interaction of minorities and majorities'. The minority community must have the ability to control 'its own residential and economic bases', and to regulate 'the domains and degrees of interaction with Angloamerica'. At the very least the community needs to have sufficient control over the education of its youth to maintain immersion schools or similar means of language training. But all the language training in the world will not matter if the language is not used. Whether the Oneidas can now organize their lives and their resources to create the kind of community life and continuity that will undergird language survival remains to be seen. This would require a level of commitment to a shared life and a level of political cooperation that are not currently in evidence.

Interestingly, the process of reviving their language seems to have much better chance of uniting Oneidas than any political agreement among their various governments. The Oneida teachers from Wisconsin who now work at the Turtle School were told to go to Southwold to learn about ceremonies and the Great Law of Peace and live with the traditionally oriented part of that community. The aim was 'to practice the culture' (Hlebowicz, *et al*., 2004: 13 and cf). In the 1997 immersion programme on the Wisconsin reservation there were fluent speakers from both the Canadian and the New York groups. 'They came and helped us; that was something really good', recalls one of the Oneida educators (interviewed by B. Hlebowicz, 9 September 2002). The Wisconsin Oneidas organize large conferences held in their Turtle School, and although most of the scholars and Oneida educators participating deal with Wisconsin Oneida issues, members of Canadian and New York communities attend also. New York Oneidas hire language teachers from the Canadian community to staff their language instruction programme.

As difficult as it is to hang on to it, facing a future without their language is much more difficult for most Oneidas to contemplate. Increasing numbers have come to the conclusion that their lives, their children's lives, and the life of the larger global community, will be richer for the continued robust presence of the Oneida language. A recurrent theme of most American Indian cultures is an orientation for political action and planning that projects forward into the distant future, as the Iroquois say, 'for seven generations to come'. While the marketplace is full of kitschy Indian lore and sayings of pseudo-profundity, nonetheless as Hauptman (2008b: xxi) argues, the Iroquois invocation of concern for seven generations in the future is 'not just slick politics' or 'mere shibboleths', but a clear statement of the real sense of responsibility the community and its leaders feel that they have to future generations. Despite the pessimistic assessment of Forrest Brooks quoted at the beginning of this article, should the Oneidas cease to speak their language, they will not cease to be Oneidas. The efforts to preserve the language are, in fact, reflections of the deep-seated sense of identify still felt by them despite their centuries-long history of dispersal and loss. These efforts at language preservation have, however, in turn contributed to a greater consciousness of the importance of their Oneida identity in their lives.

Notes

1 Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many self-designated “friends” of Indians saw the common ownership of land by native peoples as an impediment to their economic and moral development.
2 The situation was yet more complex in that a number of Oneidas also settled on the Six Nations Reserve in Canada, while others lived dispersed with other Iroquois groups in New York.
3 A quirk of US law makes it feasible for Indians to run casinos that whites are barred from owning. This is because the laws regulating gambling are state laws, but except through special provision, Indians are subject only to federal law.
4 Schools for indigenous peoples were founded by various Christian denominations, both in the US and Canada, as early as the seventeenth century. On the history of the residential schools in Canada see Miller, 1996; on boarding schools for Indians in the US see Trafzer *et al*. 2006; Adams 1995.
5 Learning the language is such a responsibility. See, for instance, the opinion of one of the younger Oneidas devoted to learning the language, expressed in her masters thesis:

> I am part of the wolf clan ... The wolf clan is responsible for guiding the people ... More specifically, I am a descendent from the wolf title, *Kanuhkwe’niyo*. This title and its descendants are said to have the responsibility of looking after provisions and sustenance for the people. We ... need to ensure that the people are provided for. This is not limited to food but to anything that the *Onyota’a:ka* people need such as our language. (Poulette, 2003: 20)

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Why Care about Lënapei lixsëwakàn? Ethnography of the Lenape Language Loss

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The Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma, which originated in the Northeastern Woodlands, today struggles to preserve the Lenape language of their ancestors, whose last fluent native speaker died in 2002. The tribe's language reclamation efforts are in large part connected with the works of Jim Rementer, a non-Indian who came to live with them at the beginning of the 1960s, learned their language, and in the course of time became the director of their language project. However, the "old ways" – former cultural patterns – have long since been abandoned or dramatically changed, and together with them their attachment to the language. Those few Delawares who do try to learn it must study it as a second language, without a natural/traditional learning setting. The 11,000 Delawares live, go to school and work among a much larger non-native society, which makes mastering the language extremely difficult. Yet, despite this situation, efforts to protect the language continue to be made, and an impressive source base for contemporary and future learners (Delaware language grammar, internet dictionary, CD lessons) has been continually enlarged. Today, when political divisions within the tribe weaken the community cohesiveness, a well-documented language, "alive in Delawares' minds", remains one of the most valuable elements of their heritage, a source of their ethnic pride, but also a challenge.

Keywords: Delaware Tribe, Indian Territory, Lenape, endangered languages, language preservation and reclamation, ethnic identity

> My prayer is that my grandchildren will know that the Delaware Nation[1] is still here and functioning. They will have heard their language spoken and their songs sung.
>
> Dee Ketchum, 2001, (then) Delaware Tribe Chief
> (*Delaware Indian News* 2001, 24(1): 1)

The Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma, whose members now all speak English as their mother tongue, is located in the two most northeastern counties of Oklahoma, Washington and Nowata, but has registered members living all over the US and in other countries. With a population of about 11,000, this is the twentieth largest Indian tribe in the US (USCB, 2002) and the largest of the Delaware groups living in the US and Canada. Like the majority of

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Native American groups today, the Delawares do not own their reservation. “The Delaware country”, drained by the Caney and Verdigris rivers, may seem quite indistinguishable to an outside observer, but to the Delawares it holds ‘a uniquely Delaware sense of place’ due to their 150-year presence in the area (Obermeyer, 2009: 181). The tribal office is in Bartlesville, Washington County, the town that grew from the 1873 homestead of a mixed family (Jacob H. Bartles, a white businessman, and Nannie Journeycake, daughter of the Delaware chief Charles Journeycake) (Weslager, 1991: 445).

Lenape, the language of the Delawares (*Lënapei lixsëwakàn*), is not spoken on an everyday basis since all fluent native speakers have died out – the last one in 2002. Thus on Fishman’s Graded Intergeneration Dislocation Scale (GIDS) it occupies stage 8, the lowest: those languages ‘for which ample evidence is available but who have lost their native speakers to such a degree that these languages must first be learned as second languages before further sociofunctional repertoire expansion can be envisioned for them’. It is a language which is used – if at all – ‘outside of natural social settings’ (Fishman, 1991: 287). However, the Lenape language is very well documented and its archiving continues. This article discusses the historical and political reasons for the Delaware language loss, analysing both external and internal factors which have made language reclamation an extremely challenging task. It also offers a summary of contemporary efforts to preserve the language. By demonstrating how language (and language reclamation efforts) affect the group’s identity, the article points out the importance of having members of the community formulate their own language expectations and discusses conditions which may help reclaim the language.

In this study I refer to my ethnographic research on Delaware ethnic identity through participatory observation, formal interviews and casual conversations with tribal members conducted in August 2004. In addition to examining the literature and unpublished documents, I have communicated for the last seven years with Jim Rementer of Bartlesville, who has lived among and worked for the Delawares for about 40 years. Because of Jim’s life-long involvement with the Delawares and his efforts to preserve their language, his activities and opinions will be discussed here as well.

The people and the language

The Delawares originated in the northeastern part of what is now the United States of America, in the area that today is New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, northern Delaware and southern New York State. The name “Delaware” (as well as the name of the river in the area where they lived), comes from 1610 and is an anglicized form of the name of the third Lord De la Warre, Governor of the Virginia Colony. It refers to various politically disconnected and mostly hunter–horticultural groups who never formed a “tribe” or a “nation”, and it was not used until the eighteenth century, when those groups had already left their eastern homelands and engaged in the struggle against British rule in Pennsylvania.

The Lenape language belongs to the extensive Algonquian linguistic family that covered large areas of North America: the Northeast, Middle Atlantic, Great Lakes area, Midwest, central Canada, and parts of the Great Plains. The people called Delawares spoke two dialects which had a common stem in the ancient past (Goddard, 1974: 103): Munsee in the north of their eastern homelands (northern New Jersey and southeastern New York), Unami in the centre (Northern Unami) and in the south (Southern Unami – below Trenton and Toms River). Both were further divided into sub-dialects (Goddard, 1978: 213–215; Kraft, 2001: 4, 7).

According to Gregory Anderson (2010: 129–130), Oklahoma belongs to the world’s ‘language hotspots’ – areas where the ‘global language extinction crisis’ is felt particularly strongly and which ‘have concentrations of the most diverse and fragile languages where rapid focused action is needed’. Oklahoma has the second largest concentration of the Indians in the US (the first being the Navajo reservation in Arizona), and the biggest concentration of Indian tribes. There are about 40 Indian groups in Oklahoma now, but historically there were about 70 (Wright, 1986). According to statistics provided by the Intertribal Wordpath Society, an organization promoting Native American languages of Oklahoma, all the Indian languages in that state are either not used any more or have only a few speakers left. Most of the tribes that originated in the Eastern Woodlands (the majority of which spoke one of the Algonquian languages) now suffer from language loss, with only a few – if any – native speakers remaining (e.g. zero among the Delawares, nine among the Sauks, three among the Ottawas).[2] A relatively better situation was found among some of the “Western” or Plains tribes that moved to the Territory earlier than others, which now live in the western part of Oklahoma: e.g. Kiowa, which has 400 speakers left; Arapaho, which has 100; Ponca, which has 33. The tribes removed from the Southeast fare better still (though the numbers are in each case only a small percentage of each tribe’s overall population): Chickasaws have 600 native speakers, the Seminoles and Creeks combined have 6,000, the Choctaws 4,000, and the Cherokees 9,000. Only five languages can be heard spoken by children (in all of

Southeastern tribes and among the Kickapoos).[3] The Delawares, with no native speakers left, have suffered the most dramatic language loss.

Anthropologist William Newcomb, who conducted research among the Delawares in 1951 and 1952, observed: 'At the present time no Cherokee-Delaware, whatever his age or acculturative status, habitually speaks Delaware; all speak English. It is within the last generation that this change has taken place' (Newcomb, 1970: 114). Out of the 32 persons Newcomb spoke to, the youngest fluent speaker of Lenape was 26, which illustrated a general pattern that the older the person, the more fluent his/her knowledge of the language (Newcomb, *ibid.*). At the beginning of the 1960s, Jim Rementer, who was staying with the Thompson family in Dewey, Oklahoma, found that English was the most used language:

> For my first three years I benefited by hearing Nora and her dad talking Lenape with each other, but once he was gone (1964) it was rare for two speakers to get together other than for short visits. It always surprised me that people who should have been speakers because they grew up in homes where Lenape was the most common language often could no longer use the language. I recall one time Nora and her cousin were shopping and Nora asked her a simple question in Lenape. A nearby blonde-headed woman kept staring at them. Nora thought maybe it was someone her cousin knew, so she asked, '*Awèn hàch na opantpat*? (Who is that blonde-headed person)?' That's a fairly simple thing in Lenape but the cousin didn't understand (JR, August 13, 2011).

As in the past, the Delawares continue today to live as distinct groups, separated by their different histories, politics, dialects and geography. Apart from several small communities that live in their ancient eastern homelands and claim Delaware origin, there are four major groups: two in Ontario, recognized by the Canadian government; and two in Oklahoma, recognized by the American government. Oklahoma groups spoke Southern Unami dialects, and the groups in Canada spoke Munsee dialects. Additionally, the Stockbridge Munsee Band of Mohican Nation (today living in Wisconsin) have been in part composed of Munsee-speakers who migrated from their homelands in northern New Jersey at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Today these dialects are virtually extinct. In Canada, only a few speakers of Munsee can still be found (in one of the two Delaware communities there, Moraviantown),[4] while in Oklahoma the few speakers of Unami remaining are only partial speakers (not fluent in the language). In Wisconsin there is not a single speaker left.

Historical overview

The Delawares were one of the first Native American groups who entered into contact with the Europeans. In 1524 explorer Giovanni Verrazzano saw them in New York Bay. The Dutch colonists started occupying part of the Delawares' territory at the beginning of the seventeenth century, followed by the Swedes, Finns and the British. At the beginning, their relationship with the Europeans was friendly, especially in Pennsylvania during the time of its first governor, William Penn (1680-1701), a Quaker. Soon, though, the Delawares sold and abandoned their eastern homelands, pushed out by the Pennsylvania colonists and their Indian allies – the Iroquois. In the middle of the eighteenth century they lived in western Pennsylvania and Ohio. During the American Revolution some Delawares supported the British, while others fought on the side of the colonists (they were the first Indian people to sign a treaty with the new US, in 1778). Within a few decades after the Revolution, groups of Delawares had dispersed in various directions, westward to Indiana and north to Canada. In 1866, after the conclusion of the American Civil War (1861-1865), in which the great majority of their men fought on the side of the Union[5], they were pressed into signing a treaty with the US and moved again to protect themselves from the flow of white settlers into Kansas and pressure from the railroad companies. They settled in today's northeastern Oklahoma, then called Indian Territory. At that time, whites were not allowed to live in Indian Territory unless they were married to an Indian.

Before moving to Indian Territory the Delawares signed two treaties, first with the US government, and then with the Cherokee Nation who already lived in that area. The Cherokees had suffered their own tragic story of removal from their homelands in the Southern Appalachian Mountain region (e.g. today's Georgia) in the 1830s. The Indian lands in the east were needed for more and more numerous white settlers, and the solution was to resettle eastern tribes in the "wilderness", the large territory west of the Mississippi River, recently formed after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase from France (Perdue, 2005: 47–48; Slotkin, 1986: 68–70).[6] As usual in its pursuits with native peoples, the American government negotiated successfully with those parts of the nation that were more willing to sell their lands and move west (Perdue, 2005: 49). Despite protests by the majority of the Cherokees, the US Senate ratified the agreement, and in 1838 soldiers rounded up the Cherokees and began burning their cabins and crops. Thus began the infamous Trail of Tears of the Cherokees from the Southeast to the so-called Indian Territory, during which one in four Cherokees died (Perdue, 2005: 54; c.f. Thornton, 1991: 75–95; Perdue, 2000: 527–540). Therefore, the Delawares arriving in the Cherokee territory encountered a nation which had also taken its share of betrayal and abuse by the American government, and had learned a good lesson about survival of the fittest, which they were not going to forget in their transactions with the Delawares.

To those Delawares who agreed to leave their Kansas reservation after the 1866 treaty, the US government promised to sell a tract of land further south, in Indian Territory, 'to be selected by the Delawares in one body in as compact a form as practicable' (Haake, 2002: 419). At the same time the US government made a separate treaty with the Cherokee Nation in which the Cherokees agreed to accept other tribes onto their lands for a fee. There were two options for the tribes who would settle on Cherokee lands: they could abandon their tribal organizations and become part of the Cherokee Nation, or they could retain their tribal organization and have a separate part of the Cherokee land for themselves, for which they would pay. The latter option provided at the same time 'all the rights of native Cherokees' after further additional payment into the Cherokee fund (Haake, *ibid*.: 420; Adams, 1995: 51–61).

In 1867 the Delawares concluded a treaty with the Cherokees. This was supposed to be a confirmation of the provisions of the previous year's treaty between the US and the Delawares, but it turned out to be not exactly so. There was no common tribal land base for the Delawares. Instead, individual Delawares received 160 acres each of Cherokee land, for which they paid one dollar per acre; they also paid 123 dollars per person for citizenship rights in the Cherokee Nation. Another change was that the newborn Delaware children were to become regular citizens of the Cherokee Nation. With these new conditions, continuation of the tribal entity seemed impossible. However, the Delawares continued to choose their tribal council, and the federal government continued to maintain relations with this body until 1979.

Since the very beginning, the treaty of 1867 was interpreted differently by the two tribes. The Delawares claimed that they had simply purchased land from the Cherokees along the western border of the Cherokee lands (it was 10 miles wide by 30 miles long) (Kraft, 2001: 514), which allowed them to reestablish the tribal organization there as promised in the 1866 treaty with the US. In addition they paid to exercise the rights of Cherokee Nation citizens in order to participate in the Cherokee budget and health care system. The Cherokees, on the other hand, claimed that, by signing the treaty, the Delawares had ceded their tribal sovereignty and had become Cherokees.[7]

Federal courts and the federal government have also had problems interpreting the treaty. As a result, the federal authorities have shifted their decisions on Delaware status throughout the twentieth century until, after the 2004 termination of their status as a federally recognized tribe by the US government, the Delawares again received official recognition from the American government in July 2009. The cost of recognition was high. They first had to agree to sign an agreement with the Cherokees (2007) and later to amend their constitution accordingly, with parts of it dictated by the Cherokees.

This situation did not confer a satisfying political status on the Delawares, and indirectly influenced their capacity to preserve core community activities. It also deepened internal conflicts within the Delaware Tribe. The new Delaware government, chosen after the 2004 termination, pressed for cooperation with the Cherokees, which made some Delaware community leaders suspicious (c.f. Ketchum, 2006). Also, the politics of this new government (which changed as a result of the November 2010 elections) discouraged most people from taking part in weekly community gatherings in the tribal centre, where previously they would eat, talk and dance together. Their social and cultural activities were perceived by the tribal leadership as "playing Indian", so many chose not to participate any more.[8]

More than 100 years of constant forced attachment and partial subjugation to a more powerful entity has had a twofold effect on the Delawares. On the one hand, it strengthened the sense of Delaware identity during difficult times. On the other, it confused some Delawares' ideas about themselves.[9] Although the usual interpretations of how US government ideology and politics limit tribal sovereignty hold true, on a micro-level – closer to Delawares' everyday lives and their communal strategies – it is the Cherokee Nation that has managed to exercise its influence over the Delawares.

Change of Delaware mother tongue

The language shift started when the Delawares moved to Oklahoma and sent their children to government-run schools.[10] It must have gathered pace with the breaking up of the Delaware communities after Indian Territory (later Oklahoma Territory) became the state of Oklahoma in 1907. This decreased the relative isolation of their rural settlements, absorbing Delawares more and more into the regional economy and pushing many of them to move to the cities (Obermeyer, 2003: 147). The Delawares' situation was not unique. For example, Morris W. Foster, an anthropologist studying another Oklahoma tribe, the Comanches, observed that by the 1940s 'many … families made a conscious decision to shift the everyday language of the home to English'. English was becoming the language of everyday communication, and – rather than Comanche – began to serve to describe the world they now lived in (Foster, 1991: 115). The use of English in schools and, later in the mid-twentieth century, exposure to television at home must have played an enormous role in erasing Indian languages in the US.[11]

The allotment of tribal lands at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the rapid settlement of Indian lands by whites after 1907 Oklahoma statehood, made any communal action among the Delawares extremely difficult. As a tribe the Delawares lost a big part of their land, and the distance between Delaware families and communities in northeastern Oklahoma began to widen: ‘the communal lifestyle has become a thing of the past’ (Kraft, 2001: 525–528; Obermeyer, 2007: 187–188). One can see parallels with the loss of cultural institutions among other Oklahoma tribes. Foster writes about an old Comanche medicine man who decided not to pass his powers and knowledge to the next generations and ‘to take this to the grave with him’ because the ‘modern day’ required Comanches to live like white men. He also feared that his powers could be defiled (Foster, 1991: 115). In the mid-twentieth century, Delawares explained that they no longer sought visions – which were a crucial part of their religion – because one had to be ‘morally clean’ to do so, and living in the world of the white man made that impossible (Newcomb, 1970: 112).[12]

Another important factor that contributed to the loss of the language was the centuries-old influence of Christianity and its adoption by “modernists” among the Delawares. Although Delawares in Kansas and later in Indian Territory had their own Baptist and Methodist ministers who preached in Lenape, they switched to English when whites gradually joined the congregations. However, Christian influence has much deeper roots that affect the very structure of the tribe: for several generations some of Delaware leaders have identified Christianity with modernism, and consequently rejected the ‘old ways’ as useless (c.f. Obermeyer, 2003: 169–170; Obermeyer, 2009). In August 2004 one of the older Delawares told the author that the grandfather of their (2004) chief was a Baptist pastor who would go to the Delaware Big House ceremonies organized at the beginning of the twentieth century and scold the participants for being “pagans”. The majority of the “modernists” were also more willing than the non-Christians to leave Kansas, sign the treaty with the Cherokees, and move to Indian Territory (Obermeyer, 2003: 48ff.).

It is very difficult today to find individuals whose parents are both Delawares, and thus natural language transmission is hardly possible even within the home. The lack of families with two Delaware parents cannot only be explained by the Delawares’ dispersal across a larger, Native American (non-Delaware) and white society. Paradoxically, traditional Delaware kinship rules work against family cohesion and, by extension, the community. ‘The Lenape traditionally calculate family relationships to many degrees. In Lenape there is no word for "cousin"' (Rementer and Pearson, 2002). All cousins are simply brothers and sisters, so dating and marriage are forbidden. Thus Delaware tribal members are, by their own social patterns, discouraged from marrying other Delawares, and intermarrying with whites and other Indians diminishes the chances of culture and language transmission (Newcomb, 1970: 109).

Likewise, in the first half of the century the formerly important ceremony of the Big House was abandoned, ironically, out of respect for their own culture. Delaware elders realized that it was no longer possible to save substantial elements of the ceremony such as vision quests, deer hunting and the singing of vision songs. The last Big House was held in 1924, although in 1944-1945 there were attempts to revive its practice. Delaware religion was to some extent a private matter, in which 'favored individuals experienced a vision of a guardian spirit (*manito*)' (Wallace, 1956: 2). The songs belonged to the individuals or to the families, not to the tribe as a whole, so once an individual or the family died, the song could no longer be sung (JR, August 2004).

However, today some individuals still attempt to preserve what is perceived as a traditional culture, which most notably includes the Lenape language. Among them is Jim Rementer, a non-Indian from Pennsylvania, who came to live with the Delawares in eastern Oklahoma at the beginning of the 1960s, and remained with them for good, learning their language, working on editing the Lenape grammar, teaching language lessons, developing an internet base of Lenape words and phrases as well as an interactive Lenape language CD Rom. In addition, he has been raising money for their language programmes by submitting language grant proposals to various institutions. He has also been a member of the Lenape Language Committee, formed at the beginning of the 1990s, served as the Secretary of the Culture Preservation Committee (CPC) of the Delaware Tribe and, since 1997, has served as Director of the tribe's Lenape Language Project.

In 1963 Jim Rementer was adopted into the Delaware family of Thompsons, with whom he spent most of his time during his first years in Oklahoma. Five years later, another non-Indian arrived to eastern Oklahoma: Bruce Pearson, a graduate student of linguistics. Pearson, like Rementer, worked with Nora Thompson Dean until her death in 1984, as well as with several other elderly Delawares who could still speak the Lenape language. In those times very few young Delawares were interested in the preservation of their culture and language.

In 1974 Anna Davis and Elizabeth West taught Lenape language at the New Hope Indian Methodist Church in Dewey, Oklahoma, a few miles north of Bartlesville. Nora Thompson

Dean taught classes at Nowata in 1979 and 1980. Only a few were able to attend the classes, so in 1980 Dean developed several cassette tapes and booklets with Rementer on Lenape language lessons. In 1985 Edward Leonard Thompson, the Ceremonial Chief of the Delaware Tribe of Eastern Oklahoma and the last fluent speaker of Lenape, also taught language classes. Another language teacher was Lucy Blalock, who taught under the auspices of the CPC of the Delaware Tribe (formed in 1991) at the tribal headquarters in Bartlesville, Oklahoma. She had about 30 students then (Blalock, 1997: 38). After two years she continued teaching in her home in Quapaw, 90 miles west of Bartlesville until 1999; she died in 2000 (Rementer and Pearson, 2002; Oestreicher, 2001: 535). A few years before her death, Lucy Blalock helped to prepare a Lenape grammar (Blalock *et al.*, 1994).

This preservation and sustaining work was continued by Rementer, who used the recordings of Nora Thompson Dean and Lucy Blalock in his language classes. In 1999 the tribe produced a CD Rom of the Lenape language (Oestreicher, 2001: 535). 'The program introduces numbers, common expressions, and familiar nouns. It includes sound files for authentic pronunciation as well as pictures for many objects, especially animals that might not be familiar to an urban population and cultural items that have no counterpart in English' (Rementer and Pearson, 2002). Another grammar – a wonderful tool for both linguists and anthropologists studying Delaware culture – was edited by Jim Rementer and published recently (Rementer, 2011). This is a version of Southern Unami dialect grammar (the earliest known Unami grammar), originally published in 1824.[13]

In 2002 the Delawares received a grant from the National Science Foundation to create an online dictionary of the Southern Unami dialect. It counted over 12,000 words. Now it has grown to include lessons about spelling and grammar, sound files with samples of sentences (1,400 sound files), as well as photographs, and a total of 14,000 words of which 5,525 have single word sound files. The dictionary went online in 2006 (available at http://www.talk-lenape.org). Sound files in the online dictionary were created by digitizing the audiotapes made in previous decades with now deceased Lenape speakers (available at http://www.talk-lenape.org/introduction.php). In 2010 the Delawares successfully applied for an additional grant to improve their database and website (Rementer *et al.*, 2010). This has let them add a Lenape–English dictionary to the existing English–Lenape version. They have also developed a section with texts in Lenape, so users could listen to stories and conversations in their language. They are now able to digitize many more tapes that they have, as the 14,000 words currently in the online dictionary are not even half of those gathered by Jim Rementer, linguists Bruce Pearson, Ives Goddard, David Oestreicher, and others.

Thanks to the efforts of several now deceased fluent Lenape speakers, as well as of non-Indian linguists and Jim Rementer, the Lenape language is very well documented. Apart from the online dictionary and two grammars, there are published and unpublished materials that include Lenape vocabulary and language analysis, ranging from the writings of Moravian missionaries who worked among the Delawares in the eighteenth century to data gathered by anthropologists and linguists throughout the twentieth century. Moreover, the Delawares possess approximately 1,000 hours of recordings of language class sessions and language interviews conducted over a number of years with tribal elders. There are various teaching tools being spread among tribal members, like word-a-day calendars, a *Conversational mini-dictionary*, Christian songs in Lenape (recorded, transcribed and some of them accessible online), and Delaware folk stories in both Lenape and English. One member of the tribe chose Lenape as her "foreign language" requirement in college, and subsequently worked with Delaware children, teaching them words and songs in Lenape. She has created the Lenape Language and Culture Facebook page where Lenape words and phrases are exchanged among the Delawares (as of January 2012 there are 349 "members" of this virtual Delaware speech community). The page not only helps people to collectively learn words and phrases, but might also connect Bartlesville Delawares with tribal members spread all over America, thereby strengthening the sense of community.

Documentation, reclamation or revitalization?

Various terms are applied when language maintenance is discussed: "documentation", "reclamation", "revitalization" (or "resurrection"). Although there are definitional discrepancies in the use of those terms (c.f. e.g. Wetzel, 2006: 79; Rowicka, 2007: 28; Romaine, 2008: 19; Leonard, 2008), it is convenient to associate "documentation" with language preservation in the form of written and audiovisual records, grammars, dictionaries etc., while "revitalization" suggests bringing the language "back to life", so that it is actually used on an daily basis. The latter would involve recreating a "speech community", in the sense of a social unit of people who share a common language, 'along with rules or norms for its use' (Miller, 1996: 222), thereby making them distinct from other communities. Of course language documentation and its revitalization are not inseparable processes, and probably any language-oriented activity can serve both purposes (for example, an internet sound dictionary is a valuable resource for linguists and anthropologists studying the language and culture of the Delawares, as well as an aid to those who already possess some language competency to increase their vocabulary and to learn the meaning and pronunciation of words). However, particular actions fulfil those two functions unequally: studying a published grammar serves the linguists and more advanced language learners, but is much less useful for beginners; whereas conducting casual conversations in a language can serve as proof of its vitality, they will fulfil a documenting role only if they are actually recorded.

I propose thinking of language "reclamation" as something between language documentation and revitalization: obtaining some level of language competency among a significant part of the community members that allows for at least limited conversational usage in some contemporary contexts. The actions to promote language use described above speak more of language preservation/documentation than its reclamation (or revitalization). The former is highly developed thanks to the efforts of Rementer and others. However, the only effective strategy of returning the language as a living thing to the community seems to be that of the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program, as outlined by linguist Leanne Hinton (c.f. Hinton *et al*., 2002). It has brought about some positive results in the revival of some of the Native American languages in California and elsewhere, and has also been applied among another Native American group, Loyal Shawnees in Oklahoma (c.f. Linn *et al*., 1998; Sims, 1998; Rowicka, 2007; Charles, 2005).

Since late 1990s a variant of the master-apprentice programme has seemed to be effective among the Delawares' neighbours in Oklahoma, the Miami Indians. Like the Delawares, the Miami Indians were relocated to Indian Territory from further north, and lost their last fluent native speakers even earlier than the Delawares, in the early 1960s. Today the Miami language is used on an everyday basis within one family, composed of the father and four children. Also, the Miami Indians now claim to have 'hundreds of Miami people with some knowledge of the language and perhaps about fifteen people with conversational proficiency'. According to the chair of the Miami Language Committee, 'many Miami families have incorporated the language into their daily communication' (Leonard, 2008: 25–26; Baldwin, 2003). Such a programme – aiming at conversational proficiency on the part of the learner, which in turn leads to the revival of the speech community – requires two dedicated individuals who are ready to spend a considerable amount of time together, with frequent and regular sessions in informal immersion situations, such as doing everyday activities together and speaking about them at the same time, using only the native language (c.f. Hinton *et al*., 2002; Mitchell, 2005: 188). The people will not start speaking the language of their ancestors just because there are grammar books, words and phrases they can read or even hear on an internet dictionary. The system of formal Lenape language classes did not help either. Those are tools that should accompany people when they are learning the language, but the main instruction should occur through oral instruction and everyday life situations that are similar to the former natural context of Native American culture transmission. The "master" is thus not only a language teacher, but also a cultural instructor in the deepest sense – the one who passes on the memory (*passeur du mémoirs*) (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2010: 55). Doubtless, this is an extremely challenging task, considering that Jim Rementer, the most natural candidate to serve in the role of a master, is already overwhelmed with the tasks of a linguist, language activist and coordinator, which ideally should be fulfilled by several persons, or even teams of several persons (Berardo, 2002: 21–22).

Throughout their history the Delawares suffered numerous emigrations and constant uprooting, along with political, economic and cultural pressure from the whites and from other tribes. All this has had a twofold effect: on one side, the constant influence of greater powers weakened the political autonomy of the tribe; on the other it provided for a sense of common history and common experience, unique from whites and from other Native American groups, including other Delaware groups. Delaware cultural patterns and their most significant cultural institutions like the Big House (a ceremony of thanksgiving and renewal) were, one by one, being lost, along with the Lenape language. Hence it is crucial to understand what language preservation means today, given that the natural context of language use is gone. One cannot imagine a return to its everyday use because the Delawares live now in a mostly non-Delaware context, and the modern social setting does not encourage the use of the Lenape language, much less make it necessary. Most likely nobody would really want to replace English with Lenape.

Even if "resurrection" is impossible, however, there are always smaller or larger chances for some version of its reclamation, or "approximation": the prosody, the grammar, 'the rhythm of the language' (Fishman, 2007: 167). Should the community choose to struggle for language reclamation, it should be understood as language "reinvention", that is, conscious application *of parts of the* former language in new contexts and in a much-limited range. New contexts and range (e.g. place names, songs, speeches and short conversations) may seem modest, but their realization would nevertheless constitute a significant success and provide a stimulus for setting broader goals (Rowicka, 2007: 28; Linn *et al*., 2002: 118).

Attitudes towards language reclamation

The words of the former Delaware chief quoted at the beginning of the article show that, at least in the minds of some Delaware community leaders, their language is strongly connected to the culture and identity of the group. Yet the question remains: is it possible to use the language again when its natural setting, the culture, has gone through irreversible structural changes? Is it something that people desire? Of course, bringing back the language cannot be discussed without insight into people's attitudes towards the language.

For example, the Big House ceremony, of which the most important part was recitation of the visions, not only provided an institutional opportunity for younger generations to receive cultural instructions, but it also exposed them to the language. The attitudes of some Delawares show that this practice was declining in the middle of the twentieth century. One reason for the decline of the Big House ceremony was that many young Delawares did not want to attend, thinking it 'silly' or 'because they did not understand the Delaware language very well'. Also, the reciting of the visions during the last Big House ceremonies ever organized (during World War II) was ridiculed and visions were considered as having no 'power' (Newcomb, 1970: 110). Thus another natural context for language mastery ceased to exist.

Aside from individuals changing attitudes towards their culture and language, there are more objective obstacles to language use. People of mixed families, not living on their own reservation, do not have many occasions to be exposed to the Lenape language. Only 25% of the Delaware Tribe lives within 75 miles of Bartlesville, a minority dispersed among white society. Consequently, the prestige of the Delaware language has been in decline, with a growing feeling of shame among its speakers. This must have been another important factor contributing to the Delaware language shift. Lucy Blalock recalled how Delaware children were ridiculed when they tried to speak their language when among whites: '… when they got teased that just killed their spirit. They got ashamed' (Blalock, 1997: 38).

Now people do not feel shame, but the language is no longer spoken, or, as some people say, it is "sleeping". This means that it can potentially be spoken because the documentation exists, as opposed to being "extinct", which is when a language has neither the speakers nor the documentation to allow for its comprehension (Leonard, 2008: 26–27). In an attempt to learn about people's needs and expectations, in 1997 the Delaware CPC sent 4,350 questionnaires to the heads of the community families. They received 1,269 answers, indicating that in total 2,154 members of the Delaware households (about one fifth of the total population) wanted to learn the language, They cited as areas where they were especially interested in obtaining language competency: 'greetings', 'basic grammar', 'creating sentences', 'kinship terms', 'people', 'prayer words' or 'numbers'.[14] On the one hand those answers show a dramatic lack of language competency within the community (when those who show any interest in learning the language at all admit they do not know how to greet or count in the language), while on the other the desire to learn grammar and form sentences reveals a further wish to actually use the language rather than being merely satisfied by its ornamental existence. Further, the desire to learn prayer words and kinship terms reveals that the respondents link language fluency with “traditional” culture and community values. However, people should be aware that attempts to “reinvent” their language would mean changing the range and contexts of its use.

Still more important than people’s desires are their actions. Rementer notices: ‘Some people thought that it was enough to be a Delaware to learn how to speak Lenape easily. Nothing could be further from the truth; the Delawares learn the language just like any foreigner’ (JR, August 2004). For at least last two generations of Delawares, English has been their mother tongue – the language they speak at home. Janifer Brown, member of the tribal Culture Preservation and Lenape Language Committees, who partly mastered the language from Lucy Blalock and from Jim Rementer, recalls her experience with teaching the language:

> They want to learn, but it seems like they want to plug it in and don’t want to spend the time to do it, and it does take time. I’ve taught two classes and helped with another one. About 50 people show up and maybe 30 people will stay for two–three months and then summer hits and … nobody. They’re gone. If we don’t get them back in the fall … (JB, August 2004).

Very often being a Delaware is also a matter of identity choice. Some of the community members discovered their Delawareness at later point in their lives. In this connection the history of Janifer Brown is significant: ‘I didn’t know I was a Delaware Indian until I was 23. I was raised by my white mother. I didn’t even know I was Indian … I received a notice that I was enrolled in the tribe’ (JB, August 2004). Thus, even though individuals like Janifer Brown feel a strong sense of Delaware identity, they must face particular barriers in their attempts to learn a culture and language in which they were not actually raised.

The importance of the attitudes of those who officially control tribal affairs and those who know the language to some degree cannot be overestimated. There have been plans to introduce signs with Lenape names for the streets in Bartlesville. Such an idea would not only have made a handful of Lenape names recognizable to Delawares and non-Delawares alike, but it would have also ‘raised Delawares’ spirits’, making them constantly visible in symbolic way in the area. The idea was dropped ‘as they were too busy fighting the Cherokee Nation (JR, August 14, 2011).’[15]

On another occasion, the Delawares discussed a project to start a language summer camp for young people – a programme that functions well in other communities, e.g. among the Miamis who, like the Delawares, live in Oklahoma and have a language belonging to Algonquian family (Leonard, 2008: 24). The idea of the camp was abandoned, however, when one of the members of Delaware CPC mentioned troubles with 'insurance for such an event and other drawbacks' (JR, August 15, 2011). Jim Rementer recognizes the idea came too late:

> … by that time it was being discussed we no longer had any fluent speakers who could come and spend a week doing the sessions. Lucy [Blalock] was getting too feeble and Leonard [Thompson] was almost deaf. I'm not sure my ability with the language is good enough anymore to do such a thing (JR, August 15, 2011).

Disappearance of natural domains of language use and the dying out of fluent speakers have contributed to a deepening sense of language incompetency among remaining speakers. Once a question about how to say 'Welcome' confused one of the late teachers, as she could not find the proper expression in Lenape. Later Jim Rementer found in his notes that another teacher had constructed the whole sentence *'Nulelintam eli paan'* ('I am glad because you came') to say 'Welcome' (JR, August 15, 2011). An even bigger problem is the instructors' lack of awareness that, even if they are not fluent in the language any more, they are nevertheless the most knowledgeable of the language and the tribe's only hope for the language to be resurrected.

Conclusion

The case of the Delawares from eastern Oklahoma suggests that a decline in a people's sense of identity goes together with a decline in former cultural traits and in knowledge and use of the language. When the once-used means of transmitting cultural knowledge or the traditional learning institutions (like the Big House) are no longer a part of a community's common experience, and when the culture does not stimulate a need for learning the language, language fluency is likely to be found among only a handful of tribal members dedicated to its preservation, and among scholars and a few enthusiasts. The chance of obtaining a higher level of fluency among the wider community is somehow greater in those Native American communities which live on more or less isolated territories or reservations.[16] The results are often still less than expected, whether in the well-funded and well-developed learning setting on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin[17], or in stubborn attempts at language preservation in the limited learning setting of the Oklahoma Delawares.

Although contact with non-Indian culture has brought about an irreversible cultural and linguistic dislocation, the Cherokee Nation's manipulation of Delaware status has affected not only the political autonomy of the Delawares, but also their community focus on language revival. As some of the examples in this article have shown, the energies that could be spent on language learning have often been directed instead towards the struggle against Cherokee pressure. In this regard it is significant to note that the Loyal Shawnee band, so called "Cherokee Shawnees" (another group with a history of being absorbed into the Cherokee Nation, but less actively claiming separate recognition than the Delawares), is receiving help from the Cherokee Nation in its language reclamation efforts (Linn *et al.*, 1998: 71).

In any case, Cherokee pressure is not the main obstacle to Delaware language preservation or reclamation. According to James Crawford:

> Language shift is determined primarily by internal changes within language communities themselves .... ultimately speakers themselves are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don't. Elders choose to speak the language on certain important occasions or to insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don't … (Crawford, 2007: 50).

Cultural and political endangerment can motivate people to radical defence (Jackson, 2007), but some of the examples from the last century of the Delawares' transactions with the Cherokees show that inertia may be another result. Of course, external pressures contribute to language decline, but sometimes it seems that little resistance is offered. As Joshua Fishman (2007: 169) wrote, sometimes 'Languages do not die, they commit suicide … Some of them begin to do it far before they have any need to'.

However, the languages are not all gone. Gone are their everyday functions, but that does not necessarily mean that the language is reduced to mere decoration. In the case of the Delawares, their language is still a viable means of sustaining Delaware identity, and therefore plays an important symbolic role, much like the Delaware Big House ceremony, even if that is no longer celebrated. As the anthropologist Brice Obermeyer has demonstrated, 'despite the passing of the ceremony's annual performance, [Big House is] present at every social gathering where Delaware people meet to reaffirm a sense of shared Delaware identity' (Obermeyer, 2007: 194). Just as the Big House is no longer an expression of Delaware religious beliefs, similarly the Lenape language is not a tool of everyday authentic communication, nor do the Delawares form a speech community anymore. Yet both the language and the Big House are alive in people's minds and are constant points of reference for contemporary Delawares. Recurrent attempts to preserve the language, and the memory of it, prove that the language exists "there", even if only in the form of online databases or single words and phrases. While it is no longer a means of every-day communication, the language is becoming simultaneously much less and much more: it is becoming a source of pride and group identity. The question of whether the community can go beyond this to actual language reclamation, in the sense of the language being used in everyday life, is yet to be determined and will depend on what level of community involvement the Delawares are able to sustain.

Notes

1 The official name of the group whose language is discussed in this article is the Delaware Tribe of Indians, and they live in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. The other, smaller group of the Delawares has a central site in Anadarko, Caddo County, in western Oklahoma – their official name since 1999 has been the "Delaware Nation". Dee Ketchum of course refers to eastern Delawares, using the word "Nation" in an ideological sense.

2 The exception among Algonquian tribes in Oklahoma is that of the Kickapoos who in 2006 probably had 400 speakers. All data in this paragraph comes from 2006 (available at http://www.ahalenia.com/iws/index.html).

3 Another study, however, offers a still darker picture of Oklahoma Native American languages, whereas Kickapoo is the only language still spoken by children on regular basis, with Choctaw and Cherokee to a much smaller extent, and the latter only in increasingly isolated areas (Linn *et al*., 2002: 112–113).

4 At present, there may be three or four speakers with some level of fluency in Moraviantown, all in their eighties (e-mail communication with John O'Meara, 6 January 2012).

5 170 out of a total of 201 males between the ages 18 and 45 volunteered (Weslager, 1991: 416–422.

6 Native Americans who would choose to stay in their eastern homelands had to become "civilized", which means assimilated and absorbed into non-Indian society. Unfortunately, the Cherokees, 'Red children of the White Great Father' were, according to standards of the day, already civilized but at the same time attempted to remain independent, forming their own southern republic: they had their own constitution, newspaper, alphabet, and ran schools, churches, and plantations, and owned slaves (not unlike George Washington). However, when the gold on their lands was discovered, civilizing experiments proved of little importance. 'When the white "parents" found these Cherokee grownups unwilling to sell their land and remove, they assaulted the Nation' (Young, 1981: 505–506). Andrew Jackson was the main proponent of the Cherokees' and other southeastern Indians' removal and, after his presidential victory in 1828, their removal became inevitable. On the invention and fulfilment of the idea of 'Indian Territory' see e.g. Ronda, 1999.

7 Both the Delawares and the Cherokees seem to be victims of the treaties imposed on them by the US government, which pushed and controlled both tribes while signing the treaty, and which was responsible for drafting two different, sometimes opposite, deals on the same issue. The Cherokees were forced to admit other tribes (Delawares were not the only one) onto their lands, and their fight for the Confederacy during the Civil War (their leader, Stand Watie, was the last

Confederate general to surrender) put them in a position from which it was difficult to negotiate. In 1862 Congress authorized the President to abrogate existing treaties with those Indian nations which supported the Confederacy. The Delawares did not leave their land in Kansas voluntarily, but were pressed by the government, the railroad company and the settlers. Also, putting together two tribes which had fought on opposite sides in the just-finished civil war contributed to new intertribal troubles (Weslager, 1991: 428–429).

8 For more on tensions within the Delaware Tribe, provoked by the new deal with the Cherokees see Michael, 2010: 191–196; Obermeyer, 2011.

9 For example, to have membership and voting rights in the Cherokee nation, one has to obtain 'a certificate degree of Indian blood' card (CDIB) (Sturm, 2002: 178), which in the past was issued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and from the mid-1970s has been administered by the federally recognized tribes. From 1979 each member of the Delaware Nation can apply for a CDIB at the Cherokee Nation Registration Department. This means that in the whole 'Cherokee Country' the Cherokees can substantially manipulate the official identity of non-Cherokee Indians, including that of the Delawares. In the case of Delawares enrolled in the Cherokee Nation the card states 'Cherokee A.D.,' which stands for 'Adopted Delawares.' Although the Delawares are not obliged to hold 'blood certificates', only with a CDIB card, which imposes Cherokee identity, is one officially considered Indian, and only then can one have access to federally funded services, which includes the provision of healthcare – crucial for Native Americans (Obermeyer, 2003: 174–196). Jim Rementer recollects: 'When I first came to Oklahoma, some young Delawares thought they were Cherokee, because their parents and grandparents had Cherokee cards. I would ask them: "How come you are Cherokee if your grandmother was a Delaware?"' (JR, August 2004).

10 Some Delaware families, who were not willing to send their children to government- and Cherokee-run schools, did construct their own schools (Weslager, 1978: 234–235).

11 For example, the anthropologist Art Einhorn observed the television-stimulated process of quick loss of the language among New York Onondaga and Mohawk children as early as the 1950s (e-mail communication, April 10, 2011).

12 Although the respect for "pure" Delaware language and culture may hinder their actual preservation, at least in some cases it does strengthen the sense of Delaware uniqueness. When I conducted my research among the Delaware community in Bartlesville in August 2004, an older man had no problem chatting with me in the Delaware tribal complex located east of the "white" town of Bartlesville, but he would not let me into his house in the rural area, saying that my presence would disturb the spiritual powers there.

13 In 1823 C. Trowbridge visited Delawares then living in Indiana to do research on their language and customs at the request of Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory.

14 Data taken from the official website of the Delaware Tribe of Indians, 'Language Revitalization. The Lenape Language Preservation Project'. Available at http://www.delawaretribe.org/language.htm.

15 For that matter, the Cherokees placed many street signs written in their language in Tahlequah, their capital city and elsewhere.

16 For example, Pueblos in Southwest, the Navahos in Arizona, St. Regis Mohawks on the border of New York State – Ontario – Quebec, various Lakota reservations in South and North Dakota, the Tlingits or Inuit in Alaska and in the Arctic, the Choctaws in Mississippi or Kickapoos in Oklahoma.

17 See the sad conclusion of Randy Cornelius, Oneida language instructor, about their immersion programme in the article of Johnsen, Hlebowicz, and Schüler, 'Land and Language. The Struggle for National, Territorial, and Linguistic Integrity of the Oneida People', in this volume.

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