

The European Union and Minority Languages: Real or Perceived Failure?

Melissa Kronenthal

TAAL, University of Edinburgh

Email: melissa@ling.ed.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades increasing social and political integration in the European Union has gone hand-in-hand with increasing support for autochthonous minority-language communities. Nevertheless, in this paper I show that not only is the outlook for minority languages still discouraging in Europe, but also that this plethora of support is not being readily perceived by the minority language communities themselves. The data for this paper come from the Galician community in Spain, and were obtained through an internet-based survey which has attempted to measure perceptions of language vitality, as well as gauge the impact of ongoing integration and the effectiveness of the EU's support measures on this vitality.

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the growing interconnectedness of Europe's disparate regions and the expanding domains over which the European Union has regulatory power, language issues have not typically been identified as a significant aspect of EU policymaking and have rarely been accorded much priority. Although to a certain extent language use has been regulated within European Union institutions in the form of the fiercely defended principle of absolute equality for all national languages in official spheres, in other areas, particularly those concerning the many autochthonous non-state languages in Europe, it seems that a lack of planning has been the norm rather than the exception.

2. INTEGRATION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Integration itself presents something of a double-edged sword to the speakers of Europe's minority languages. On one hand the evolution of the European Union¹ into a kind of supra-state government provides a unique umbrella of protection to its

¹ Legal and political scientists make the distinction between the *European Union* and the *European Community*, the latter of which being the foremost pillar upon which the European Union is built. Technically it is the *European Community* that constitutes the institutions that legislate on the European level, and although all policy issues should be discussed in terms of the *Community*'s powers, to avoid confusion I will refer only to the *European Union* here.

members, offering advantages to smaller regions that previously were the domain of only the nation-state, for example access to large economic markets, economic redistribution and subsidies for poorer regions, a single currency, and possibly in the near future shared international relations and a common defence network (Wright 2001). Regional communities in turn have the opportunity to use these favourable political and economic conditions to support the promotion and normalisation of smaller languages, and to push for greater linguistic autonomy within the current state framework. In addition, the various institutions of the EU have supported this trend by pressing their member states to establish a general climate of linguistic pluralism and respect for diversity within their borders.

On the other hand, the realities of a multilingual Europe have led to an increasing linguistic imbalance in which an exclusive subset of languages have become de facto *lingua francas* within EU institutions and beyond, as in the recent adoption of English, French, and German as the only working languages of the European commission. English, above all, continues to hold a place of uncontested supremacy. Judge (2000:44) contends that although few like to admit it, “it is probably the case that most ‘national’ languages in Europe... are in a subservient position to English.” According to the European Union, in 2001 40% of Europeans spoke English as a non-native language, which made it the most widely-spoken language in Europe and spoken by more European citizens as a foreign language than every other major European language combined. English was also found to be taught in more European schools than any other foreign language with more than 40% of primary and 90% of secondary non-Anglophone students learning it (European Commission 2002). Moreover, English was rated the most useful language to know by 75% of Europeans, far ahead of second-place French (40%) and third place German (23%) (European Commission 2001).

The extent to which the European Union has, could, or even should involve itself in language matters, and particularly minority language matters, is a matter of ongoing debate. Currently the only true language policy at the European level concerns the use of all eleven member state languages as official and working languages within the EU institutions. This itself has been derived from a rather modest declaration in the 1957 Treaty of Rome that the four different language versions of the Treaty were equally authentic. This policy has proven extremely unwieldy and outrageously expensive, however there has been no successful bid to reform it, and since the Treaty of Rome there not been a provision which explicitly deals with EU regulation of language, though that has not stopped various institutions from dealing with language questions at various times.

The advocacy of minority languages has been primarily the responsibility of two institutions, the Parliament and the Commission. At the political level there have been a series of Resolutions passed in 1981, 1983, 1987, 1994 and 2001 drafted by the Parliament which have recommended increased support and promotion of regional and minority languages in areas such as culture, education, media, and public policy. None of these Resolutions, however, have had the force of law within the European Union; they have simply been an invitation to the Commission and to states to promote regional culture and languages. Apart from these resolutions, there has been funding and support provided for organisations like the European Bureau for Lesser-Used

Languages and the Mercator minority languages information network, and two large studies of the linguistic geography of Europe published in 1986 and 1996².

Although this is certainly not a track record of ignorance and neglect of minority language issues, it is a legitimate question to ask why the European Union has failed to do more. The missing element that has been most often identified is some force of law behind EU support. In 1993, when the Treaty on European Union officially included culture within the remit of the EU, it seemed that a legal basis had finally been achieved for the work carried out to promote and safeguard regional and minority languages. That same article, however contained a stipulation that in the realm of cultural policy, it is not within the EU's power to harmonize laws across member states in effect precluding any Europe-wide language policy for the foreseeable future (Nic Shuibhne 2002). There was renewed hope when the European Charter for Fundamental Rights, drafted in 2000, for the first time explicitly stated that the Union will respect linguistic diversity; however the Charter never achieved the status of a legally-binding document and has yet to serve more than a symbolic function in the policy arena. Furthermore, there have been serious consequences as a result of this legislative weakness: in 1998 the Commission was forced by the Court of Justice to discontinue its multiannual budget line for minority language projects because they could refer to no specific legal basis in any of the treaties for this expenditure. Thus as things currently stand in the EU there has been some activity to provide support infrastructures and increase awareness of regional and minority languages, but there is still little the EU can do if a member state chooses not to uphold its recommendations on respecting linguistic diversity.

3. SURVEY DATA

I would like to move away from these considerations on a theoretical level in order to address the perspective of minority-language speakers on these issues. To this end I would like to present some data recently collected from a survey conducted among speakers of Galician, which is spoken in the Autonomous Community of Galicia in northwest Spain. The survey has attempted to solicit opinions about the perceptions of the Galician people toward the current vitality of their language, the amount of support they believe it receives from the European Union and the effectiveness of these support measures.

Galicia has a population of 2.7 million people, and within the political confines of the autonomous community Galician enjoys a considerable amount of institutional support. The Galician Autonomy Statute of 1981 conferred on Galician the status of an official language alongside Castilian Spanish. The Statute granted all citizens the right to know and use Galician, and stipulated that the Galician Government must guarantee its use in all areas of activity and promote knowledge of it. The Galician Linguistic Standardization Act of 1983 declared Galician to be the official language of the regional administration, and it contained provisions relating to the use of the

² For a more comprehensive analysis of the EU's activities in support of minority languages, see Wright (2000) Chapter 8; also Ó Riagáin (2002) found at: <http://cultura.gencat.es/llengcat/noves/noticies/donall.doc>

language in many spheres, including that Galician be taught as a compulsory subject at all levels of education, with an equal number of hours given to Galician and Spanish.

My survey was administered entirely via the internet over a three month period in early 2003, and was directed at anyone who has lived in and is familiar with the linguistic situation in Galicia. To date more than 1,000 surveys have been returned. Of course there are inherent limitations in using the internet as a medium. Essentially, it is impossible to collect a truly random population sample for two reasons: first, the nature of soliciting voluntary participation means that it is likely that only those who are particularly interested in or concerned by the topic will spend the time to respond, and second, the internet necessarily discriminates against those who do not own the equipment to access it, in other words, favouring responses from people at the higher end of the socio-economic spectrum. Despite these drawbacks, I believe the data are valuable first because the sheer number of responses precludes an extremely unrepresentative sample, and second because Spain is an economically privileged country in which the gap between the classes will not necessarily correlate with access to information technology. Recent data on internet connectivity (Nielsen/Netratings 2002) support this claim, indicating that 54% of the population in Spain aged 16 and over has access to the internet. This figure is on a par with that of other European countries like France (54%) and Italy (56%), and not far behind the two largest internet markets in Europe, Germany (63%) and the UK (68%).

I have done an analysis on a sample of 300 responses (160 male and 140 female). Of those 84% of the respondents were born in Galicia, and the same percentage lives there currently, although these two groups do not completely overlap. Much of the data as shown in Table 1 confirms the validity of the sample by echoing statistics found elsewhere: the population of Galicia is highly competent in the Galician language in that more than 90% of the respondents claim to be able to speak Galician perfectly or well, and 56% report that it is their mother tongue (both statistics are comparable to Fernandez Rodriguez and Rodriguez 1994, 1995, the European Commission's 1996 *Euromosaic* study, and Consello de Vigo 2002). One significant difference, however, is the high literacy rates reported for the population as a whole. If the sample is indeed representative, literacy in Galician has reached an almost universal level, which is a remarkable increase from previous decades³. With regards to language use, of those respondents who live in Galicia, 42% claim to use Galician as their primary medium of communication in the home, with the number rising to nearly 70% if any habitual home use is included. If the data for 16-25 year olds are separated from the rest (this being the age group born and schooled after Franco's death) the picture is very encouraging, with numbers equal to or higher than the average in every area except in speaking ability and habitual home use (however chi-squared tests performed on the differentials between these two groups show them not to be significant⁴)⁵.

³ In contrast, the numbers published a decade ago in the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (Fernandez Rodriguez and Rodriguez 1994, 1995) indicated that less than one-half of the population (45.1%) considered their ability to read Galician to be 'good' or 'quite good' and little more than one-quarter (27.1%) considered their writing ability to be so. More recently however, the Consello de Vigo (2002) has published results of a localised study which approach my own: 92.7% of their respondents said they have 'no' or 'some' difficulty to read Galician and 86.5% have 'no' or 'some' difficulty to write it.

⁴ Speaking ability $\chi^2=2.5$, 2df, $p>0.1$; home language $\chi^2=3.65$, 2df, $p>0.1$.

⁵ In fact a 1997 study carried out by the University of Vigo found that students on average have fewer difficulties to speak Galician in comparison with the University's teaching and administrative staff (8% of students having 'great difficulty' as opposed to 20% and 13% respectively) (Lorenzo et al. 1997)

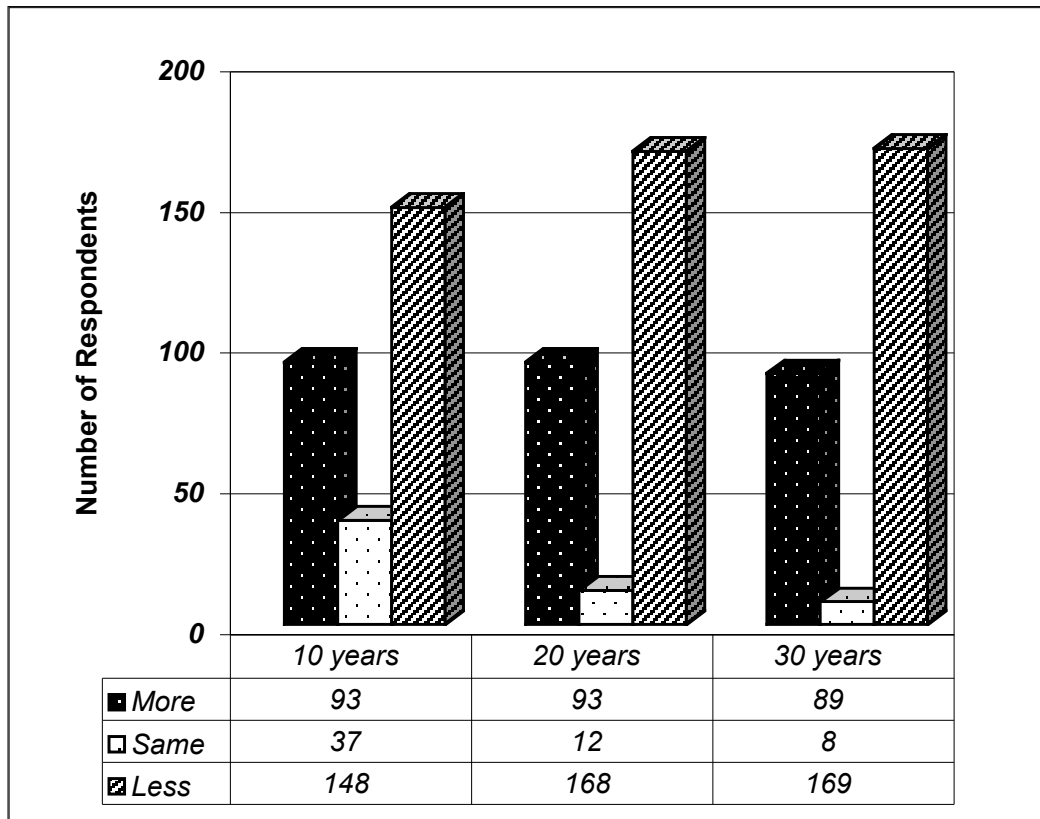
Table 1. *Linguistic proficiency in Galician.* Statistics calculated for respondents currently living in Galicia.

	Overall %(N)*	16-25 year olds %(N)‡
<i>Mother tongue Galician</i>	55.8% (140)	62.7% (42)
<i>Speaking ability</i>		
Perfect or very good	91.6% (230)	89.6% (60)
Some or little	7.2% (18)	10.4% (7)
None	1.2% (3)	0% (0)
<i>Comprehension</i>		
Perfect or very good	99.2% (249)	100% (67)
Some or little	0.8% (2)	0% (0)
None	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Reading ability</i>		
Perfect or very good	98.0% (246)	98.5% (66)
Some or little	2.0% (5)	1.5% (1)
None	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Writing ability</i>		
Perfect or very good	90.8% (228)	97.0% (65)
Some or little	8.0% (20)	3.0% (2)
None	1.2% (3)	0% (0)
<i>Home language</i>		
Galician	41.8% (105)	37.3% (25)
Spanish	30.7% (77)	35.9% (24)
Both	25.9% (65)	26.9% (18)
<i>Home language as child</i>		
Galician	22.3% (56)	22.4% (15)
Spanish	59.4% (149)	62.7% (42)
Both	14.7% (37)	14.9% (10)

*Total number=251. ‡Total number=67.

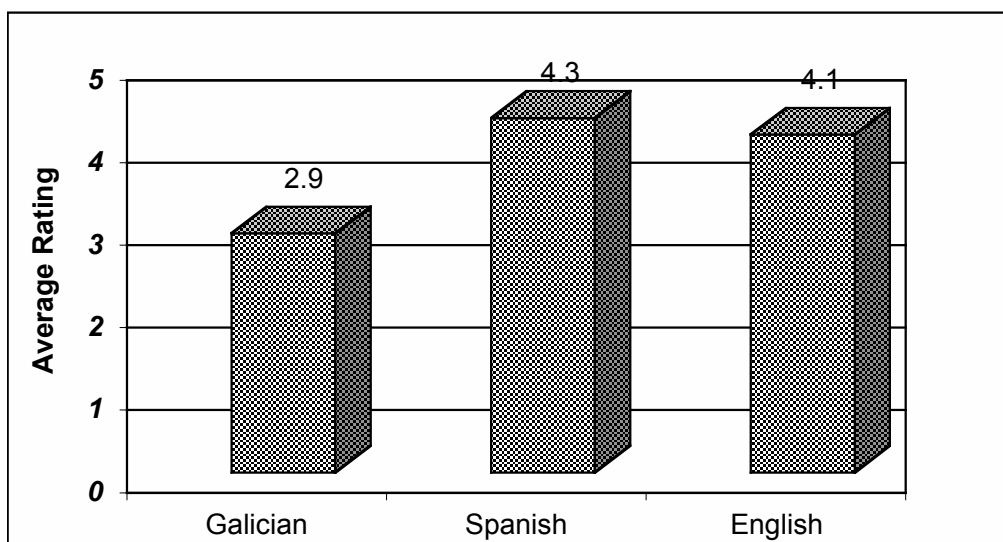
The survey also aimed to solicit subjective vitality indicators, which were formulated to ask about the three domains central to language vitality, namely *demography*, *status* or *prestige* and *institutional support* (see Giles et al 1977; Bourhis et al 1982; Giles and Coupland 1991; Allard and Landry 1992). When questioned directly about their perceptions of demographic trends, the picture that emerges is considerably less optimistic for Galician. A significant majority of respondents reported that they believe the language is in decline, and that there exist fewer native speakers today than either ten, twenty, or thirty years ago (Figure 1). This marked perception of decline is at odds with the high levels of competence reported in the preceding table. This may in fact reflect a more accurate picture of language use in Galicia than the direct self-reporting does, since especially in an ideologically-charged language situation people are likely to exaggerate accounts of their behaviour to align with what they feel they *should* be doing. In any case, even if there is very high level of language competence in the community, we can assume that there is probably a significant disparity between passive (i.e. school-acquired) and active (i.e. daily life) competence, which means that in the long term the number of native speakers is likely to continue to decline.

Figure 1. *How many native speakers of Galician do you think there are today compared to 10/20/30 years ago?*



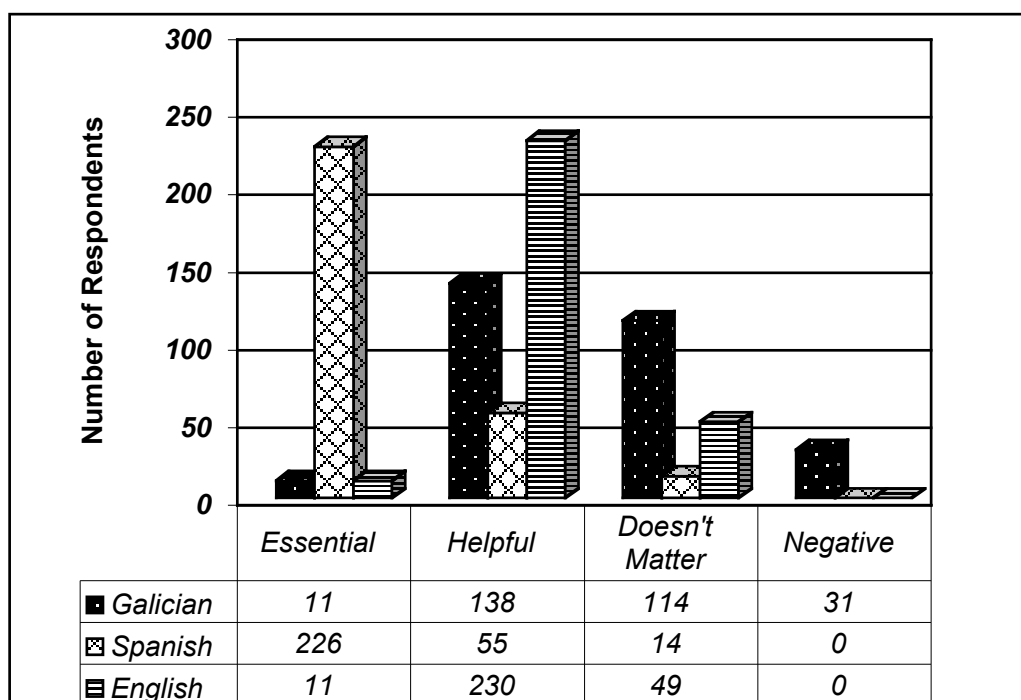
With regards to status or prestige, I solicited perceptions to the general societal prestige accorded to three languages in Galicia: Galician, Spanish and English. The results are shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2. *In your opinion, how prestigious are the following languages in Galicia?*



On this five-point scale, where 0 represents no prestige and 5 represents very high prestige, we can see a marked difference between Galician and the other two languages. The connection between the Galician language and low-prestige attributes is a common thread in research done on the language – Hermida (2001), for example, explains that there is a deeply-entrenched perception that speaking Galician implies attributes such as a lack of education, low economic status, and a rural upbringing. This was echoed in the comments of many of my respondents, who indicated that there is still a considerable amount of stigma attached to speaking Galician in certain circles, particularly those at both extremes of the socioeconomic spectrum; others commented on the fact that many people are still influenced by the mistaken belief (popularised by Franco) that Galician is not a language but a dialect of Castilian. What is also noteworthy in these results is that English is generally thought to have nearly as much prestige in Galician society as Spanish, despite the fact that it is neither an official language nor widely used in Spain. I interpret this high score to indicate the perceived economic benefit of competence in English as a second language. A later question addressed this issue directly by asking respondents to rate the usefulness of all three of these languages for finding a job in Galicia (Figure 3).

Figure 3. *How important is knowledge of Galician/Spanish/English to find work in Galicia?*

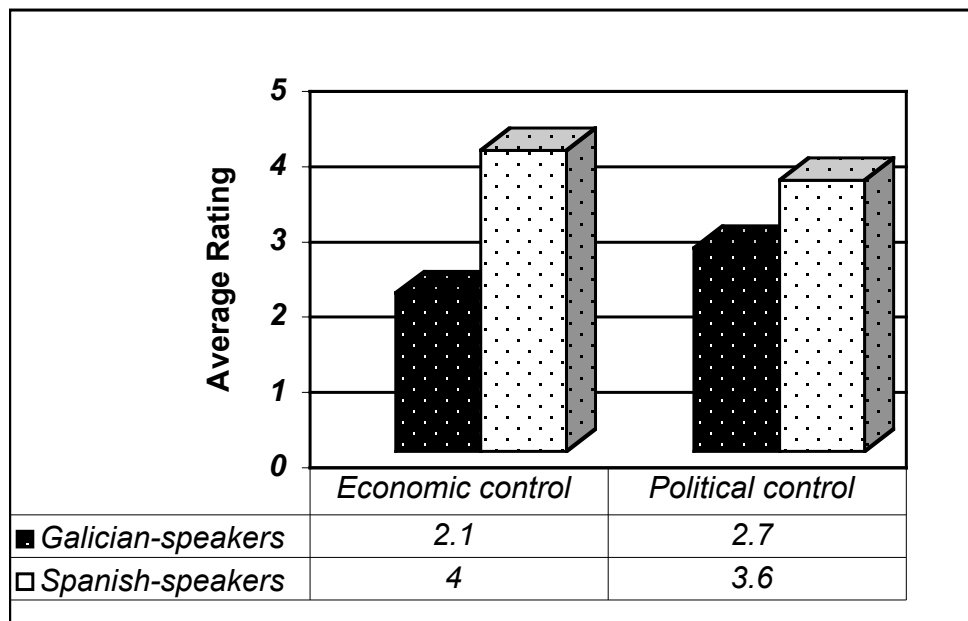


As we can see in this figure, Spanish not surprisingly was deemed the only language that is really essential to know in order to compete for a job. However it is interesting that considerably more people indicated that English will help in finding a job in Galicia than Galician will. In fact there were nearly as many people who feel that it does not have any impact to know Galician than there were people who believe that it helps to know it. This is surprising considering the fact that Galician, apart from being an official language in Galicia, has a compulsory presence in education and administration, and therefore should be perceived as essential to many jobs. Also significant, I believe, is that more than 10 percent think that being a speaker of

Galician will actually harm one's chances of finding work. In a region in which Galician is a co-official language this is an even more surprising perception, but may be explainable in terms of an interpretation of the question as referring to someone who speaks *only* Galician (though in that case we might expect to see the same numbers for English in the negative category, which we do not).

I also posed a question designed to solicit information about the perceived relationship between language and distribution of power, in both political and economic spheres (Figure 4):

Figure 4. *How much control over economic and business institutions/political matters do you think the following groups have in Galicia?*



Galicians perceive that habitual Spanish-speakers have more power than Galician-speakers in both spheres, with average scores on the five-point scale significantly higher for Spanish-speakers in both domains. Most people attributed the low score for Galician-speakers in the economic realm to the fact that large corporations tend to be either state-owned (and thus Spanish-dominated), or multinational (most commonly Spanish or English-dominated), whereas small family-owned businesses tend to be run by Galician-speakers. The differential in the political sphere is less, but still noteworthy. Many people claimed that although politicians make a point of speaking Galician during election campaigns, these politicians tend to be habitual Spanish-users who only use Galician to 'get the votes'. Thus the idea that Spanish-speakers hold the upper hand in politics is apparently prevalent, despite the fact that these politicians' livelihoods are apparently linked to their ability to speak Galician. One factor which complicates the interpretation of the above data, however, is the complexity of assigning people in Galicia to one language category, due to the high degree of bilingualism. Many respondents commented on the difficulty in clearly dividing the access to power of the two groups based on language alone, but the consistency of the scores indicates that there is probably a significant amount of truth in these perceptions.

To solicit information about the degree and nature of institutional support, I posed identical questions about the perceived actions and orientations of both the central Spanish government and the European Union. Many people reminded me that the regional government of Galicia holds most of the responsibility for language policy and implementation, yet nearly everyone had strong opinions on both the Spanish government's and the European Union's response to minority language matters. When asked about prevailing attitudes (Table 2), more than three-quarters (77%) said they believe that the Spanish government is either a little negative, quite negative, or very negative toward the Galician language, with the highest single percentage believing that the attitude is very negative (33%). On the European level, 39% feel that the European Union holds a slightly, somewhat or very negative attitude towards Galician while 21% feel that it is to some degree positive. This difference is rather less marked unless we add the largest category 'neutral' to the negative side of the balance, at which point the percentage rises to 78%. Since we are concerned with the effectiveness of support measures, a rating of neutral would indicate that at the very least no support is being perceived on the European level.

Table 2. *In your opinion, which of the following best describes the attitude of the Spanish Government/ the European Union towards Galician?*

	Spanish Government %(N)	European Union %(N)
<i>Attitude</i>		
Very positive	0% (0)	1% (2)
Somewhat positive	2% (5)	5% (12)
Little positive	4% (12)	15% (34)
Neutral	17% (48)	40% (87)
Little negative	22% (62)	11% (24)
Somewhat negative	23% (65)	15% (34)
Very negative	32% (96)	13% (29)

In addition, respondents were asked to judge the amount of tangible support they believe various institutions give to minority languages, whether social, financial or political (Table 3). None of the institutions scored very highly here, with the highest predictably being the autonomous government of Galicia with 2.5 out of a possible 5. The Spanish government was estimated to provide very little support (0.9), which is not surprising considering the historically strong tensions over language issues between Galicia and Madrid. What is more surprising is that the EU was also perceived to be offering very little, with its score of 1.2 only marginally higher than that given to the Spanish government.

Table 3. *How much support (financial, social, political) do you believe the following institutions give to Galician and other minority languages in Europe?*

	<i>Score out of 5</i>
<i>Institution</i>	
European Union	1.2
Spanish Government	0.9
Galician Autonomous Government	2.5

4. DISCUSSION

The Galicians' perception of the EU seems to touch right at the heart of the weaknesses in EU language politics. Many respondents elaborated on their responses to these questions by expressing frustration with the EU, claiming that it, "talks about the protection of minority languages in general, but there is a great disregard and very little concrete action"; "only comes up with words, not deeds"; "has basically forgotten about its minority languages"; and "doesn't give the people of Galicia any kind of European representation that doesn't pass through the filters of the Spanish government". "The Union has an ambiguous attitude," according to one respondent, "which on the surface seems to reflect a concern about the situation of Galician and other minority languages, but at the same time doesn't translate into effective measures or put pressure on those member states with discriminatory practices, which is just about all of them."⁶ People in Galicia also speak of being 'ignored and forgotten' on the 'peripheries of Europe' with the interests of the European Union very geographically and substantially distant from the needs of the people of Galicia. Many complained that the general hostility of the Spanish state is neither being addressed nor penetrated by the activities of the European Union in support of minority language speakers, and several voiced frustration over the fact that the Union does not allow Galicia's regional autonomous political and linguistic status to be translated into a distinct personality on the European stage. While they have been accorded a comparatively large amount of power by the Spanish government for making and implementing their own language planning, they feel that they are lacking resources, infrastructure and logistical support they need to make this planning effective, which, significantly, they feel they should be getting from the European Union. A caveat I would like to add, however, is that there seems to be a tendency to view the EU as some kind of linguistic saviour, which is a considerable overestimation of its capabilities, and many speakers of Galician seem to be rather silent on the responsibility they themselves shoulder in creating conditions favourable to the maintenance of the language.

The EU will never be able to single-handedly rescue languages like Galician. Nevertheless, the role the EU is currently playing is clearly not adequate if it is truly committed to upholding Europe's linguistic diversity. It is also clear that at the moment the EU has neither a blank check nor unlimited legislative power to devote to minority language protection. Yet even given the present configuration, there are steps the European Union could take to solidify its commitment to minority languages. To illustrate a few possibilities I have briefly outlined some ways I believe the EU might consolidate its power over language issues and move towards a more equitable language policy where minority languages are concerned:

- *Clarification of rights and obligations.* Simply stating that the European Union will respect linguistic diversity is not enough – a detailed description of both individual rights and a breakdown of Member State obligations toward upholding this diversity are needed in a treaty context, as is an inclusion of language in the Constitution's non-discrimination clause. This is the only way to ensure an adequate and enforceable system of minority language protection.

⁶ My translations.

- *Working-language policy reform.* The EU would benefit in many ways from a reform of the current working languages policy to align more with the de facto reality of only a few *lingua francas*, especially as the number of working languages will expand to 21 following enlargement. A reform could free up an enormous amount of funds which might be used in affirmative action schemes (or as Nelde 2001 calls it, positive discrimination) to provide minority language communities with increased resources to fund projects that advance language normalisation and encourage language use.
- *Structured involvement in state language affairs.* The EU should develop its role as minority language policy advisor and coordinator for its member states, which would avoid the roadblock of policy non-harmonisation yet help achieve measures for the protection and promotion of minority languages that are appropriate to each community's needs (see Nic Shuibhne 2002). This could include the creation of an official body concerned with overseeing the implementation of state policy measures and coordinating minority language projects generally⁷.
- *Official recognition of all European languages.* It would be both practical and feasible to grant some official status to regional and minority languages within the European Union framework, not at the level of a working language but as part of a multi-tiered system of recognition, whereby the EU would acknowledge the communicative legitimacy of these languages and provide an amount of interpretation and translation commensurate with the demand. This would also supply a much-needed status boost to dozens of languages struggling with limited domains of use.

5. CONCLUSIONS

So, has the EU failed in its support for minority languages? I would say no, but as the primary instigator of integration and a major force behind language shift in Europe, the role the EU has created for itself in language matters is far from adequate. It is clear at the moment that minority languages in Europe are facing enormous pressure as a result of both integration and global trends. It should also be clear that the European Union, which itself is in a unique position as both a contributor to and deterrent to these forces, has an enormous responsibility to help swing the linguistic pendulum in the right direction and to prevent its own actions from further eroding the diversity upon which it has been built. Especially now, on the threshold of enlargement and the imminent incorporation of dozens of new minorities, a coherent language policy which promotes Europe's plurilingual identity and establishes enforceable standards of protection is needed more than ever. The data from Galicia presented here reinforce the fact that the EU must not side-step the responsibility it shoulders in the integration process if it truly wishes to see Europe's linguistic diversity flourish.

⁷ The creation of an EU agency dealing with linguistic diversity has been proposed by MEP Michl Ebner in a 'Resolution on Linguistic Diversity and Lesser-used Languages' passed by the European Parliament on 4/9/03 (see http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/doc/official/keydoc/actlang/act_lang_en.pdf). The extent to which the Resolution will be put into practice is ultimately up to the Commission, however, whose history of reluctance in this area indicates that the fulfilment of this provision may be doubtful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allard, Real, and Landry, Rodrigue. (1992). Ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs and language maintenance and loss. In Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert, and Sjaak Kroon (eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bourhis, Richard, Howard Giles and Doreen Rosenthal (eds.) 1982. Notes on the construction of a 'subjective vitality questionnaire' for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 2/2:145-55.
- Concello de Vigo (2002). *Estudio sociolingüístico sobre a situación da lingua galega no Concello de Vigo*. Vigo: Servicio de Normalización Lingüística do Concello de Vigo.
- Giles, Howard, Richard Bourhis and Donald Taylor (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In Howard Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London : Academic Press for the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology.
- Giles, Howard and Coupland, Nikolas. (1991). *Language: Contexts and Consequences*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- European Commission (1996). *Euromosaic: The Production and Reproduction of Minority Language Groups in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission (2001). *Eurobarometer Report 54: 'Europeans and Languages'*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission (2002). *Key Data on Language and Education in the European Union – 2002*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M.A. and Rodríguez Neira, M. A. (1994). *Usos Lingüísticos en Galicia*. Santiago: Seminario de Sociolingüística, Real Academia Galega.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M.A. and Rodríguez Neira, M. A. (1995). *Addenda a Lingua Inicial e Competencia Lingüística en Galicia*. Santiago: Seminario de Sociolingüística, Real Academia Galega.
- Hermida, Carme (2001). The Galician speech community. In M. Teresa Turell (ed.) *Multilingualism in Spain*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Judge, Ann (2000). France: 'One state, one nation, one language?' In Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (eds.), *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lorenzo, A., R. Luaces, X.M. Pin, Patricio Sánchez, Antonio Vaamonde and Luz Varela (1997). *Estudio Sociolingüístico da Universidade de Vigo: Profesores, PAS e estudantes*. Vigo: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade.
- Nelde, Peter (2000). Prerequisites for a new European language policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21/5:442-50.
- Nic Shuibhne, Niamh (2002). *EC Law and Minority Language Policy: Culture, Citizenship and Fundamental Rights*. London: Kluwer Law International.
- Ó Riagáin, Donall (2002). The lesser-used languages of Europe and their participation in the programmes of the European Union. Paper presented to the *Europa Diversa Expert Meeting*, Barcelona, 30 May–1 June 2002.
- Wright, Sue (2000). *Community and Communication: The Role of Language in Nation State Building and European Integration*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.