



Rules and incentives in language policy and planning: Economic, legal, and sociolinguistic approaches

An interdisciplinary symposium of the

RESEARCH GROUP “ECONOMICS, POLICY ANALYSIS, AND LANGUAGE” – REAL

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CHAIR OF PUBLIC ECONOMICS

and

NEMZETI KÖZSZOLGÁLATI EGYETEM – LUDOVIKA
(UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE – LUDOVIKA)

in cooperation with

ULSTER UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL AND POLICY SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

and

INŠTITUT ZA NARODNOSTNA VPRAŠANJA
(INSTITUTE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES), LJUBLJANA

2022-06-15 – 2022-06-17



Andrássy-Universität
Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem
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LOCAL ARRANGEMENT COMMITTEE

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François Vaillancourt	Université de Montréal, REAL

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Ainoa Aparicio Fenoll	Dipartimento di Scienze economico-sociali e matematico-statistiche, Università degli Studi di Torino and Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin
Fernand de Varennes	United Nations Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, Adjunct Professor at Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh – OÉ Gaillimh/National University of Ireland Galway – NUI Galway, and Visiting Professor at Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas – VDU, Teisės fakultetas (Vytautas Magnus University – VMU, Faculty of Law), Kaunas

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to thank Tünde Bokor for her assistance.

SPONSORS

We thank the following institutions for their generous support of the symposium:



Andrassy-Universität Budapest



Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja
(Institute for ethnic studies), Ljubljana



Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung



Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem
(University of Public Service)



Observatoire Économie-Langues-Formation
Université de Genève

PRACTICAL INFORMATION

TRANSPORT

Airport

To get to the center of Budapest, you can go by taxi (about HUF 7 500) or bus (HUF 900).

A taxi can be ordered at the taxi stand just outside the terminal and the price is guaranteed. Avoid the offers from some people inside the terminal building; they are often not very serious and can be overpriced.

The bus 100E stops outside the terminal and takes you directly to Kálvin tér and Deák tér in the city center. Andrassy-Universität is a five minute walk from Kálvin tér (see below).

Train stations

Coming to Budapest by train, you will probably arrive either at the eastern station (Keleti pu.), at the southern station (Déli pu.), or at Kelenföld station. Keleti and Déli are connected by metro line M2, which has a stop at Deák tér. Keleti and Kelenföld are connected by line M4 with a stop at Kálvin tér.

Public transport in general

Public transport is generally very good in Budapest with several tram, bus and metro lines. You can buy single tickets or tickets for a certain time period at automatic ticket machines at most stops, including the one at the airport. If you are an EU citizen and aged 65 or older, you travel for free (also on local trains); you have to show a passport or identity card proving your citizenship and age.

VENUE

Andrassy-Universität, AUB

AUB is located in a city *palais* around the corner from Kálvin tér and easily reached by foot. (The building is often rented for weddings or by film makers.) The lunch restaurant is located between AUB and Kálvin tér. The congress dinner takes place in a *csárda* on the south side of Budapest, and we will be taken there by bus.

Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem (University of Public Service), NKE

The NKE is located in a new modern campus “Ludovika” a bit outside of the center on the way to the airport. It is easily reached from Kálvin tér with metro line M3 and located between metro stops *Klinikák* and *Nagyvárad tér*. (At the moment M3 north of Kálvin tér is served by replacement buses due to construction, so if you start your journey north of Kálvin tér you will have to look for a bus with M3 written on it and change to the metro at Kálvin tér). The lunch and the farewell reception take place on campus.

ACCOMODATION

There are many hotels in all price categories close to Andrásy-Universität, which can be booked through the various providers online. Hotel Museum, which can be booked through Andrásy-Universität, is located at Trefort utca 2, a four minute walk from the university.

GENERAL ORIENTATION

The center of Budapest is divided by the Danube into the western part *Buda* and the eastern part *Pest*.

The Castle Hill with the Hungarian National Museum, the residences of the president and prime minister, *Mátyás Templom* (Matthias church), *Halászbástya* (Fisherman's bastion), and any number of boutiques and restaurants is in Buda and can be reached by bus from Széll Kálmán tér. (If you ask for directions, be aware that some people might still use the old name "Moszkva tér".)

In Pest you find the main cultural institutions (operas, concert halls, museums, theaters), *Szent István Bazilika* (St. Stephen's basilica), the Dohány street synagogue, and the magnificent parliament building. Shopping and night life mostly take place in Pest.

Of the two most famous baths, Gellert is in Buda, directly on the Danube, and the Széchenyi thermal bath is in Pest at Hősök tere (Heroes' square), where also the Museum of Fine Arts is located. You reach Hősök tere by metro M1, the third oldest metro line in the world (only preceded by London and Liverpool).

CONTACT

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PROGRAM OVERVIEW

Wednesday 2022-06-15	Andrássy-Universität 1088 Budapest, Pollack Mihály tér 3
18.00 – 20.30	Book presentation and welcome reception
Thursday 2022-06-16	Andrássy-Universität 1088 Budapest, Pollack Mihály tér 3
09.00 – 09.30	Welcome addresses
09.30 – 10.30	Session 1: Keynote address
10.30 – 10.45	Coffee break
10.45 – 12.30	Session 2: Contributed papers
12.30 – 14.00	Lunch break
14.00 – 15.45	Session 3: Contributed papers
15.45 – 16.00	Coffee break
16.00 – 17.45	Session 4: Contributed papers
18.00 – 22.30	Congress dinner
Friday 2022-06-17	Nemzeti Közszerológálati Egyetem (University of Public Service) 1083 Budapest, Ludovika tér 2
09.30 – 11.15	Session 5: Contributed papers
11.15 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.30	Session 6: Keynote address
12.30 – 13.45	Lunch break
13.45 – 15.30	Session 7: Contributed papers
15.30 – 15.45	Coffee break
15.45 – 17.30	Session 8: Contributed papers
17.30 – 18.00	Summing up
18.00 – 18.15	Preprandial salutation
18.15 – 20.00	Farewell reception

DETAILED PROGRAM

- Wednesday**
2022-06-15 **Andrássy-Universität**
1088 Budapest, Pollack Mihály tér 3
- 18.00 – 20.30** Chair: BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM
- Book presentation and welcome reception**
- FRANÇOIS GRIN, *Université de Genève*
Presentation of the new book:
- GRIN, FRANÇOIS, LÁSZLÓ MARÁCZ, and NIKE K. POKORN, editors (2022).
Advances in interdisciplinary language policy. Studies in world language problems (WLP) 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. ISBN: 978 90 272 1015 9. DOI: doi.org/10.1075/wlp. URL: <https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027258274>.
- followed by an informal get-together in the courtyard of Andrássy-Universität.
- Thursday**
2022-06-16 **Andrássy-Universität**
1088 Budapest, Pollack Mihály tér 3
- 09.00 – 09.30** Chair: BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM
- Welcome addresses**
- ZOLTÁN TIBOR PÁLLINGER, *Rector of Andrássy-Universität*
BALÁZS VIZI, *Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem (University of Public Service)*
- 09.30 – 10.30** Chair: BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM
- Session 1: Keynote address**
- AINOA APARICIO FENOLL, *Dipartimento di Scienze economico-sociali e matematico-statistiche, Università degli Studi di Torino & Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin*
Migration and language policy in education
- 10.30 – 10.45** **Coffee break**

10.45 – 12.30 Chair: MICHELE GAZZOLA

Session 2: Managing linguistic diversity

MATTIA ZEBBA, *Institute for minority rights, Europäische Akademie Bozen / Accademia Europea di Bolzano / Accademia Europeica Bulsan*

Plurilingual practices vs monolingual biases: An inclusive perspective on migration-induced linguistic diversity

MARIA SIMONIELLO, *Università degli Studi “Guglielmo Marconi”, Rome*

New language policies for new linguistic minorities: The treatment of immigrant languages of origin. The case of Italy

EVA MARKOWSKY, FRIDOLIN WOLF, and MARIE SCHÄFER, *Universität Hamburg*

Immigrant bilingualism in the German labour market: Between human capital, social networks, and ethnic marginalisation

KONSTANTIN ZAMYATIN, *Helsingin yliopisto / Helsingfors universitet*

The change in Russian language legislation and support for the maintenance of linguistic diversity

12.30 – 14.00 **Lunch break**

Lunch will be served in “Muzikum Klub & Bisztró”, Múzeum utca 7, a three minute walk from Andrásy-Universität

14.00 – 15.45 Chair: NOÉMI NAGY

Session 3: Language policy and incentives

DANIELE MAZZACANI and MICHELE GAZZOLA, *REAL – Research group “Economics, policy analysis, and language” and Ulster University, Belfast & REAL – Research group “Economics, policy analysis, and language”*

Can multilingualism in the public administration be promoted with economic incentives? A comparative analysis

SONJA NOVAK LUKANOVIČ and ATTILA KOVÁCS, *Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja (Institute for ethnic studies), Ljubljana & Department of comparative and general linguistics, Faculty of arts, Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia. Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja (Institute for ethnic studies), Ljubljana, Slovenia*

Bilingualism bonus and language policy in the two ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia

ILARIA MASIERO AND FRANÇOIS GRIN, *Observatoire Économie-Langues-Formation (ÉLF), Université de Genève*

Exploring the language-use incentives of non-language policies in Switzerland

15.45 – 16.00 **Coffee break**

16.00 – 17.45 Chair: BALÁZS VIZI

Session 4: The politics of language

BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM, *Andrássy-Universität Budapest & REAL – Research group “Economics, policy analysis, and language”*

Optimal and politically opportune language policies for the vitality of minority languages

SIEGFRIED F. FRANKE, *Andrássy-Universität Budapest*

Gender-sensitive language: Some theses on intentions and consequences

SERGI MORALES-GÁLVEZ, *Department of Politics and Public Administration / Roinn Polaitíochta agus Riarcháin Poiblí, University of Limerick / Ollscoil Luimnigh*

Authority and linguistic justice

ZSOMBOR CSATA, AMY H. LIU, and ROMAN HLATKY, *Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont, Kisebbségkutató Intézet, Budapest (Centre for social sciences, Institute for minority studies) & Universitatea “Babeş-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca / Babeş–Bolyai Tudományegyetem, Kolozsvár; Babeş-Bolyai-Universität, Klausenburg; University of Texas, Austin; and University of Texas, Austin*

Ethnic polarization and human development: The conditional effects of minority language recognition

18.00 – 22.30 **Congress dinner**

The congress dinner takes place in “Krapaj Csárda” in 2049 Diósd, Balatoni út 2/b, about 30 minutes from the center of Budapest. A bus will leave at 18.00 from Andrássy-Universität.

- Friday**
2022-06-17
- Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem (University of Public Service)**
1083 Budapest, Ludovika tér 2
- 09.30 – 11.15** Chair: BALÁZS VIZI
- Session 5: Language policy and languages in the making: Analytical methodology**
- RHIANWEN DANIEL, *School of Law and Politics, Cardiff University / Prifysgol Caerdydd*
The role of language standardization in preventing extinction: Herder’s contemporary relevance
- MAXIMO RAFAEL SALABERRY, *Rice University, Houston, Texas*
Languaging and translanguaging: Spreading the burden of legitimizing multilingual practices
- MIRIAM TESCHL, *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) & Aix-Marseille School of Economics (AMSE)*
Assessing multilingualism through Amartya Sen’s “Capability Approach”
- JOAN COSTA-CARRERAS, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona*
What ideological factors are relevant to analyse language variation management for Catalan?
- 11.15 – 11.30** **Coffee break**
- 11.30 – 12.30** Chair: NOÉMI NAGY
- Session 6: Keynote address**
- FERNAND DE VARENNES, *United Nations Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, Adjunct Professor at Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh – OÉ Gaillimh/ National University of Ireland Galway – NUI Galway, & Visiting Professor at Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas – VDU, Teisės fakultetas (Vytautas Magnus university – VMU, Faculty of law), Kaunas*
International and legal approaches to linguistic diversity and human rights: Undermining or incentives?
- 12.30 – 13.45** **Lunch break**

13.45 – 15.30 Chair: ANNELIESE RIEGER

**Session 7: Language policy in education and in public administration:
Country studies**

MICHELE GAZZOLA, RENÉ HOULE, and FRANÇOIS VAILLANCOURT, *Ulster University, Belfast & REAL – Research group “Economics, policy analysis, and language”*; *Statistics Canada / Statistique Canada, Ottawa*; and *Université de Montréal & REAL – Research group “Economics, policy analysis, and language”*

Better in the mother tongue? Job satisfaction and use of official languages on the workplace: Evidence from the federal civil service of Canada

MNEESHA GELLMAN, *Emerson College, Boston, Massachusetts*

Culture kids: Education and language politics in Mexico and the United States

NOUR MALAS and JAMES WALKER, *Université Lumière, Lyon 2*

Language-education policy in Qatar

NICOLE MARINARO, *Ulster University, Belfast*

Language policy and public healthcare: The management of communication in the medical field

15.30 – 15.45 **Coffee break**

- 15.45 – 17.30** Chair: BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM
- Session 8: To recognize or not to recognize: Language rights, minorities, and the quest for justice**
- ANNELIESE RIEGER, *Andrássy-Universität Budapest*
The struggle for recognition of Austrian German: The exercise of soft power by means of language policies
- PATRICIA GUBITOSI and PAOLA MEDINA GONZÁLEZ, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
Being minority among minorities: The case of Asturian language in Asturias, Spain
- FANNI KORPICS, *Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem (University of Public Service), Budapest*
Language rights of minorities within minorities: How regionalisation influences them
- CSONGOR ISTVÁN NAGY, *Szegedi Tudományegyetem (University of Szeged), Eötvös Loránd Kutatási Hálózat (ELKH), Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont (Eötvös Loránd research network, Center for social sciences) Budapest & Central European University, Vienna*
Can anti-discrimination law be discriminatory? Language rights and the idea of the mono-lingual nation-state
- 17.30 – 18.00** Chair: MICHELE GAZZOLA
- Summing up**
- 18.00 – 18.15** Chair: NOÉMI NAGY
- Preprandial salutation**
- GERGELY DELI, *Rector of Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem (University of Public Service)*
- 18.15 – 20.00** **Farewell reception**

Abstracts

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

AINOA APARICIO FENOLL

*Dipartimento di Scienze economico-sociali e matematico-statistiche, Università degli Studi di
Torino*

&

Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin

Migration and language policy in education

There are many dimensions in which migration and language economics interact. Immigrant's proficiency in the language of the host country is an important determinant of immigrant's labor market success and social integration (BLEAKLEY and CHIN, 2004 and BLEAKLEY and CHIN, 2010). Language proficiency also influences the migration decision itself. Studying a foreign language during compulsory education increases the number of individuals that move to countries where this language is official (APARICIO-FENOLL and KUEHN, 2016). In a joint paper with Zoe Kuehn, we show that foreign language proficiency also influences immigrants' choice of destination country. We test whether immigrants who are proficient in English choose to move to countries where many or few individuals speak English. We use the introduction of English classes into compulsory school curricula as an exogenous determinant for English proficiency of migrants of different ages, and we consider cohort data on migration among 29 European countries, where English is not the official language and where labor mobility is essentially free. Our estimation strategy consists of refined comparisons of cohorts, and we control for all variables traditionally included in international migration models. We find that immigrants who are proficient in English move to countries where fewer individuals speak English, and where hence their skills are scarce.

Our result thus can be interpreted in the context of previous studies, indicating that better language skills not only foster migration but that they also redirect migration towards countries where those skills are scarce. Our main application is limited to English-language proficiency, a particular type of skill which is highly comparable across countries. Given that English language skills are complementary to many other labor market skills, it seems natural that the propensity of individuals to migrate to countries where English-language skills are scarce would apply to other types of labor market skills as well. In line with this observation, we find evidence that our results extend to general skills obtained during compulsory education.

Literature

APARICIO-FENOLL, AINHOA and ZOË KUEHN (2016). "Does foreign language proficiency foster migration of young individuals within the European Union?" In: *The economics of language policy*. Edited by MICHELE GAZZOLA and BENGT-ARNE WICKSTRÖM. Cambridge: MIT Press. Chapter 10: 331–356.

- BLEAKLEY, HOYT and AIMEE CHIN (2004). “Language skills and earnings: Evidence from childhood immigrants”. In: *The Review of Economics and Statistics* **82.2**: 481–496.
- (2010). “Age at arrival, English proficiency, and social assimilation among US immigrants”. In: *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **2.1**: 165–192.

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**International and legal approaches to linguistic diversity and human rights:
Undermining or incentives?**

While some European and international instruments seeming to protect language rights and linguistic diversity were adopted in the 1990s, their interpretation and implementation has for many less than was hoped for. There has been an increase in the reduction in the use of minority languages as medium of instruction in a number of countries in Europe, and even in some cases outright banning. These highlight the need for stronger, clearer standards and addressing the weaknesses of instruments currently in place. Furthermore, principles promoting multilingualism are being “instrumentalized” to also reduce teaching in minority languages, and been selectively applied as to not apply to education in a state’s official language or to majority populations.

CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

JOAN COSTA-CARRERAS

Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

What ideological factors are relevant to analyse language variation management for Catalan?

I am working on the analysis of language variation management for Catalan, and I am concerned with the fact that papers dealing with this issue (like MUHR, 2019 and AUER, 2021) reach conclusions which are not applicable to the Catalan case. They use the concepts of “nation” and “centre” which are not suitable for the Catalan situation. As for “centres”, Catalan has:

- (a) Two official “centres” working on explicit, formal, codification and implementation. But their scope are very different: the Institute for Catalan Studies (IEC) focuses on the whole territory; the Valencian Academy of Language (AVL), just on the Valencian Country.
- (b) Several “centres” where implicit, informal, implementation is carried out; among them the two official ones.

The adjective national, meaning “of a nation-state”, is not appropriate to talk about variation in Catalan:

- (a) The only Catalan-speaker nation-state is Andorra.
- (b) A strong nationalist feeling is majority in Catalonia.
- (c) A strong nationalist feeling is minority in the Balearic Islands, the Valencian Country, North Catalonia, the Aragonese Strip, Alghero and El Carxe
- (d) A strong nationalist feeling taking the language territory as a “nation” is minority in all the regions.

Besides, they do not consider the role of the political agents’ ideologies when managing language variation (neither does COSTA-CARRERAS, 2020). Nor do they consider what COOPER (1989: 35) claims:

Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of nonlinguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange [...] I agree with KARAM (1974: 108) that “[...] in nearly all the cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation.” [...] language planning [...] is typically, perhaps always, directed ultimately towards nonlinguistic ends. [...]

So, for example, the AVL's¹, IEC's² and UIB's official statements about political questions³, like laws, the need for Catalonia's independence, etc., have not been explored in depth. Therefore, this presentation will analyse the official statements on non-strict language matters issued by, among others, these three official bodies.

Once this is done, a relationship between these ideologies and the IEC's and UIB's "compositional monocentrism" and the AVL's "convergent pluricentrism" could be set out.

Literature

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MUHR, RUDOLF (2019). "European pluricentric languages in contact and conflict – An overview". In: *European Pluricentric Languages in Contact and Conflict*, edited by RUDOLF MUHR, JOSEP ÀNGEL MAS CASTELLS, and JACK RUETER. Österreichisches Deutsch – Sprache der Gegenwart 21. Berlin: Peter Lang: 11–64. ISBN: 9783631802977.

¹ www.avl.gva.es/documents/31983/0/Nom+i+entitat+del+valenci%C3%A0/e26b6081-681e-415d-8b62-f46bdc196d51

² www.iec.cat/institucio/entrada.asp?c_epigraf_num=1005

³ <https://diari.uib.cat/Hemeroteca/Declaracio-del-Departament-de-Filologia-Catalana-i.cid489735>

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Babeş-Bolyai-Universität, Klausenburg*

University of Texas, Austin

and

University of Texas, Austin

**Ethnic polarization and human development:
The conditional effects of minority language recognition**

The literature suggests ethnic diversity has a negative effect on development. Yet, we also know that government policies – e.g., recognizing multiple languages in minority-sizable areas – can attenuate these effects. In this paper, we ask: What are the socioeconomic implications of minority language recognition? We leverage a legal stipulation in Romania as a quasi-experiment: Minority languages are recognized as official in areas where the minority constitutes more than 20% of the population. We argue the recognition of minority languages builds social trust and facilitates efficiency in economic exchanges – mollifying the otherwise detrimental consequences of diversity. Using data at the municipality level, we find that in areas where only Romanian is recognized, ethnic diversity has a negative effect on development – a result consistent with the literature. This effect, however, is absent in areas where a minority language is recognized. The implications suggest that lowering the threshold for language recognition could promote even further development.

RHIANWEN DANIEL

*School of Law and Politics, Cardiff University / Prifysgol Caerdydd***The role of language standardization in preventing extinction:
Herder's contemporary relevance**

A significant measure for preventing the extinction of minoritized languages is the development of language technologies in conjunction with language standardization. In an age of accelerated globalization with communication increasingly transferred to virtual space, the need for language technologies to adapt has become all the more pronounced. Professional and educational software are increasingly needed for securing the continued use of minority languages. For this to be successful, language planning must involve sustained attempts by lexicographers and terminologists to coin words for new and emerging concepts in order to fill the lexical gaps.

To avoid being superseded by neighbouring dominant languages, there is a practical need for minoritized language communities to resist excessive translingual borrowing, especially loan words and loan translations. For the alternative is the increased code-switching between the minoritized and neighbouring dominant languages, which in turn creates or reinforces the perception that the minoritized language lacks technical, academic, or official feasibility. Given this, language communities facing marginalization endangerment typically put greater effort into coining new words derived from their own indigenous roots (D. PRYS, ANDREWS, and G. PRYS, 2020). Somewhat problematically, however, this practice has often been referred to by linguists as “linguistic purism” (e.g. THOMAS, 1991; HANSEN, WYPYCH, BAŃKO, and BILEWICZ, 2018). This framing, unless treated with caution, can conjure connotations of cultural chauvinism or reactionary attitudes among the minoritized language community.

Against this background, this paper articulates the relevance of the historical philosophical precedents for the resistance to translingual borrowings found in the works of J.G. Herder and J.G. Fichte. First, the Herderian notion of linguistic relativity, i.e. the view that language mirrors its users' cultural particularities and influences their thought processes, enables us to better understand the mechanism whereby language, culture, and thought are interconnected. This, I argue, provides an additional identity-based justification for the relative resistance to translingual borrowing among minoritized language communities.

Second, FICHTE'S (1922) [1808] arguments against liberally adopting loan words warrant further examination in the context of language revitalization debates. Specifically, Fichte's analysis of the etymological opacity and linguistic confusions caused by coining neologisms using non-indigenous roots can be used as a further justification for resisting excessive translingual borrowing, again on identity-based (cultural) grounds. For in addition to exacerbating language shifts, excessive translingual borrowing also compromises the degree to which language reflects the speakers' indigenous culture, thereby jeopardizing the integrity of their “life-worlds”, to use DE SCHUTTER'S (2020) and DE SCHUTTER'S (2022) recent coinage. However, it must be

emphasised that caution is needed to thoroughly detach these Fichtean distinctions from their historical context of Francophobic national chauvinism.

The upshot of articulating the contemporary relevance of these two related arguments is twofold. First, it reinforces the rationale for turning increased attention to the main historical influences informing much of the sociolinguistic and linguistic justice aspects of language policy debates today. Second, it suggests that linguists' common characterization of the resistance to translingual borrowing as an ideology of linguistic "purism" needs to be recalibrated if language standardization is to fulfil its potential as a mitigator of language minoritization and endangerment.

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SIEGFRIED F. FRANKE

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Gender-sensitive language: Some theses on intentions and consequences

Do we need a new Martin Luther?

Martin Luther is known to many not only as a religious reformer, but also as the creator of the written German language and numerous powerful and pictorial expressions. He merged the numerous and very different German dialects into one language, which served as the basis for his translation of the Bible into German, which is still readable today.

Could he ever have dreamed that some five hundred years later his own Protestant church would come around the corner with an ostensibly gender-appropriate translation of the Bible? But the Catholic Church is also running after the *Zeitgeist* and wants to gender biblical texts and religious pronouncements.

Some examples

Some things can hardly be translated into English because, for reasons of linguistic history, German has masculine, feminine, and neuter articles. However, to connect biological assignments with these articles is in most cases mistaken. *Die Sonne* (the sun), of course, is not a biological woman, just as little as *der Mond* (the moon) is not a biological man. As is well known, in French it is just the other way around.

When the masculine form is used in the plural, linked with the feminine article (the so-called generic masculine), it always refers to the totality of all, e.g., the employees. The gender-correct recommendation is now to say *der:die:Mitarbeiter:in* (the:the:employee).

Likewise, *G*tt* is to be written and said to overcome the idea that God is male. With the best will in the world, you can hardly read that, let alone pronounce it.

Gender-sensitive language – what does this term actually mean?

The German word *gerecht* means “fair” in English. How can a language be “fair”? I think that the English translation “gender-sensitive language” more accurately reflects what is meant.

Some time ago there were more and more progressive voices who thought that the use of the generic masculine excluded women. Politicians and many others began to add the feminine plural form to the generic masculine in public appearances. Because time is short, especially on television and radio, the feminine plural form often came across in a rather mumbling manner. Sometimes it seemed as if the generic masculine was spoken twice. Quite strange to consider that “gender-appropriate”.

Recently, it has been argued that there are not only “men” and “women” but numerous other genders. Just think of Facebook. There you can choose between dozens of genders. Even more,

you can choose whether you are satisfied with the midwife's findings (it's a boy; it's a girl) or whether you want to choose a completely different gender.

To accommodate all the supposedly different genders, a capital *I*, an underscore, or a colon began to be inserted in writing between the masculine stem of a word and the feminine ending (*I*, *_*, *:*). When speaking, a short pause, the so-called glottal stop, should be inserted. This is hardly legible or speakable and drives simultaneous interpreters to despair.

Prevent Exclusion?

This way of speaking and writing is not meant to exclude anyone. That is wishful thinking at best. I don't think all the genders that are meant to be addressed can be found in a pause or any punctuation mark. Instead, speech impaired people as well as foreigners who want or need to learn German are excluded. And aren't most of us excluded when it comes to specialized languages (math, medicine, engineering, etc.)? Shouldn't these be reformulated into easy language and gender appropriate?

Re-education: Revaluation of values

I believe that quite a few subscribe to this nonsense because they want to be modern and progressive. However, the intelligent know very well about the function of the generic masculine, they are more concerned with the revaluation of previous culturally, historically, and religiously conditioned values. The secret motto is: Confuse people and you can direct them better.

The so-called double-speak contributes to the confusion. Thus, one can hear from prominent leaders of a party that they do not want a language police, while their party friends issue binding instructions on the use of gender-equitable language for their subordinate employees in the administration and in institutions.

Anyone who argues against the re-education that comes along under the guise of gender-appropriate language is sweepingly labelled a reactionary. However, the reverse is true, as Hungarian Zsuzsa Breier points out. As under socialism, the language innovators, who think they are progressive, insult anyone who criticizes them as reactionaries in a totalitarian manner.

The Revaluation of Values is not harmless

The spirit of the times is not harmless. It is only necessary to point out that there are already possibilities for minors to undergo sex reassignment surgery. It would be better to give them help to overcome adolescent problems.

George Orwell 1984: Double speak, Verifiers, and Ministry of truth

Who does not remember George Orwell's vision of the future in this context? There, selected employees (Verifiers) in the Truth ministry are busy reinterpreting conventional expressions: Double speak.

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Better in the mother tongue?

**Job satisfaction and use of official languages on the workplace:
Evidence from the federal civil service of Canada**

There is a vast literature on the determinants of job satisfaction for various type of employees including civil servants. We add an examination of the conditional correlation between civil servant’s job satisfaction and the use of one’s preferred language (usually one’s native language) on the workplace in the Canadian federal public administration. Canada is a federation with two major language groups, and it has language policies that can vary between the federal, provincial/territorial and local governments. We focus on the federal civil service whose language regime is set by the Official Languages Act which was adopted in 1969, and reformed in 1988. It gives English and French the status of official languages. We use data released by the federal government in 2017 in the *Public Service Employee Survey*, which is as a census of all federal employees but with voluntary participation. A total of 174,500 employees in 86 federal departments and agencies responded to the survey, for a response rate of 61.3%. We focus on a subset of 137,700 respondents who are permanent employees and who account for 85% of the respondents. The survey contains three questions about employees’ job satisfaction, that is, “I get a sense of satisfaction from my work-model”, “I am satisfied with the quality of supervision I receive”, and “I am satisfied with my department or agency”. The survey also contains questions about whether the employee feels free to use the official language of his/her choice when the employee prepares written materials, during meetings, and when he/she communicates with the immediate supervisor. Using multivariate analysis and a broad set of control variables, we show that the more the respondents agree that they are able to use their first official language on the workplace, the more they are satisfied with one or another dimension of their job.

MNEESHA GELLMAN

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**Culture kids:
Education and language politics in Mexico and the United States**

Public school classrooms around the world have the power to shape and transform youth culture and identity. *Culture Kids* examines how high school-level Indigenous language classes in Mexico and the United States affect the identity formation of Indigenous students as well as those from non-Indigenous backgrounds. The book argues that access to Indigenous languages encourages resistance to culturecide, meaning the killing of culture, by strengthening Indigenous students' self-esteem and expanding the spectrum of youth engagement—including civic, cultural, and political participation. Indigenous language access foments identity-based agency for Indigenous youth that allows them to better resist settler colonial narratives, while youth from other backgrounds are able to become allies in Indigenous survival.

Through collaborative methodology that engages stakeholders in multiple stages of research design, *Culture Kids* draws on a mixed methods toolkit, including political ethnography, qualitative interviews, focus groups, and surveys. Working comparatively across four high schools, two in Oaxaca, Mexico, and two in Northern California, *Culture Kids* documents Indigenous language access as a form of daily resistance to the contemporary culturecide embedded in state agendas and educational curriculum. The ways in which young people resist culturecide offers lessons about what is at stake for pluriethnic democratic coexistence.

PATRICIA GUBITOSI and PAOLA MEDINA GONZÁLEZ

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**Being minority among minorities:
The case of Asturian language in Asturias, Spain**

Linguistic landscape (henceforth, *LL*) has become an excellent instrument not only to depict, but also to examine and decipher how languages are used in public spaces, and to uncover power relationships in any community. *LL* allows researchers to identify which languages appear or not in a single place, and what the vitality of any of these languages is. We concur with Shohamy (2006) that the presence or absence of a language in the public space carries a message that directly and indirectly reveal their centrality versus their marginality in the community.

The present study analyzes language used in the *LL* of three major cities (Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés) of Asturias, Spain, where Spanish is the majority language and Asturian is the regional language. While Asturian is present in some of the official street signs, people's awareness regarding their language highlights the low esteem that Asturian inhabitants have towards their language. Moreover, when businesses' owners and customers were asked about the importance of including Asturian on the *LL* of their neighborhoods, they replied that Asturian was not as useful as Spanish and, therefore, its presence on the store's signages was not important. Nevertheless, there is a difference among participants' responses from the three cities.

Using a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach, this presentation analyzes the language policy among Spanish, Asturian and other languages such as English used on the *LL* of different neighborhoods in Oviedo, Gijón and Avilés of the Principality of Asturias. Results reveal the low value Asturian has among speakers of this community and the low support it receives from the government, even though it is protected by the law that establishes "The Principality of Asturias will promote its use, dissemination and teaching" (PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS, 1998: 3411).

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**Language rights of minorities within minorities:
How regionalisation influences them**

Minorities within minorities are an interesting phenomenon in minority studies research. Normally these communities are best characterised by their distinctive language and culture. They are likely to be situated in countries where a certain degree of regionalisation has already been implemented and therefore decentralised regions acquired a certain amount of authority in the regulation of language policies. The question is however, whether in those regions where a minority represents a majority and has obtained capacities in making decisions on language policies, are these minorities inclined to protect the language rights of those fragile language groups that live in their region and that literature calls minorities within minorities?

Regionalisation as a process most European states have already started grants additional capacities to entities within the state, this way creating new administrative units. This can lead to a more effective governance and implements the principle of subsidiarity. Regionalisation can equally be realised in unitary and in federal systems as long as the regions are defined as administrative units exercising power over at least a few policy areas. Typically, these areas include language policies, especially in countries where regions have historical relevance and are home to different minority groups. In my presentation I would like to use the example of two specific regions of two different countries: Trentino – Alto Adige in Italy and Catalonia in Spain, and show briefly how they implemented regionalisation in their very different administrative systems and what kind of language policy powers they granted to the regions created there. All of these countries underwent a process of regionalisation starting from the 20th century but continuing up to date. In addition, they also all created regions where several minorities are present, yet one of the minorities stands out either in number, in visibility or in relevance. This is the common ground for comparison. What is different in them is the basis they created their regions on, varying from political, through economic, to historical justifications. The other difference presents itself in the extent powers were granted for these administrative levels and also the ways the regions used the authority in protecting the language rights of other communities living on their territory.

The objective of my presentation would be to show how differently the logic of regionalisation can be interpreted in given countries and how the national level's interpretation of decentralisation influences that of the regional level's. Therefore, we cannot straightforwardly claim that regionalisation necessarily leads to the improvement of the language rights of a community, especially when it is in a status best described as: minority within minority.

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Bilingualism bonus and language policy in the two ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia

Language policy in the two ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia seeks to increase the vitality of Italian and Hungarian. Effective language policy, based on bilingualism bonus and education, encourages the development of an individual's ability to master two languages. It must also create opportunities for their use and improve the attitudes of the minority and the majority toward bilingualism by promoting the use of two languages in public administration. The bilingualism bonus programme in the ethnically mixed areas is more than just a "performance bonus" – it systematically affects the vitality of the language of the national community.

The presentation will focus on the presentation of selected research data of the online survey among public administration employees in the ethnically mixed areas in Slovene Istria and in Prekmurje. First the data regarding the level of knowledge of the Italian and Hungarian language among public administration employees will be presented. We will present also data how employees entitled to the bilingualism bonus use Italian or Hungarian in the interaction with their clients and whether there are differences in the frequency of language use between those who receive the bonus and those who do not receive it. The presentation will focus also on some results of the views of users – residents of the ethnically mixed area (online survey) to confirm or to reject the hypothesis about effectiveness or ineffectiveness of instruments of language policy in ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia.

NOUR MALAS and JAMES WALKER

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Language-education policy in Qatar

Language education policy in Qatar is a complex combination of practices, conventions, and beliefs. Qatar is distinguished by a unique socio-economic system which involves religious and linguistic variations despite its appearance as homogenous. Qatar's language policy must be viewed in the context of the country's historical colonial control, with a traditional rejection of colonialism and foreign interference, and a desire to preserve the national language, identity, and culture. In particular, there is a lack of a clear language planning strategy based on adequate socio-economic, ideological, and intellectual reasons. This issue has resulted in an inconsistency in education between various levels – high schools and universities. Moreover, even though language is a critical topic at all levels of education in a multilingual society, language planning and policy processes in Qatari higher education institutions have been subjected to sudden changes – moving to English as a medium of instruction then back to Arabic as a medium of instruction in 2012. These sudden movements create hurdles for the students in Qatar, especially at Qatar University.

Qatar is attempting to remain true to its values, traditions, religion, culture, identity and language. Thus, Qatari policymakers moved back to Arabic as a medium of instruction. However, how will Qatar maintain a balance and remain faithful to its culture, tradition, and language while being open to the world and embracing internationalism? This paper aims to discuss language policy and language planning in Qatar higher education- a microcosm of a big society- and fill the gap by investigating students at Qatar University and the effect of going back to Arabic as a medium of instruction on the students in particular and on the success of Qatar in maintaining its culture, language and identity, from the viewpoints of goals, outcomes, and underlying ideologies. It will also study if a language and cultural preservation policy is compatible with an education system that calls for a great need for English and openness. Accordingly, linguistic cohesiveness and multi-linguistic policies are necessary to adopt a multilingual strategy in language planning policy in Qatar.

NICOLE MARINARO

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**Language policy and public healthcare:
The management of communication in the medical field**

The proposed presentation outlines some preliminary findings of an analysis of policies targeting language barriers in the medical field, in the wider framework of an interdisciplinary study aimed at evaluating the management of communication towards autochthonous and allochthonous minority language speakers in the public healthcare sector of selected European States. A rich body of literature deals with the potentially detrimental consequences of ineffective communication in healthcare, and, in contrast, with the benefits of effective communication (cfr., among others, FLORES, 2005 and KARLINER, JACOBS, CHEN, and MUTHA, 2007). The current COVID-19 health crisis represents but an example of the vital importance of taking into consideration minority languages in the dissemination of information (see e.g. ZHANG, LI, and PILLER, 2020; CIVICO, 2021).

In the short term, the latter can be ensured through the provision of professional translation and interpretation services (so-called “supplementary inclusion measures”; SHORTEN, 2022) or the employment of bilingual medical staff. Nonetheless, generally speaking, in Europe there is no clear set of rules in place to ensure the needs of allophone patients are met “in a comprehensive and equitable manner” (DUNBAR, 2006: 198). International and European legislation either applies only to specific minority groups, has not been widely adopted by states or is not binding (PHELAN, 2012); given this absence, “people are dependent on regional and national laws or on local provision” (PHELAN, 2012: 18). National laws are frequently limited to general frameworks of non-discrimination, often focusing on ethnicity rather than language. As DUNBAR and MCKELVEY (2018: 95) state, existing measures mostly “represent ad hoc responses to linguistic realities”; this is problematic because “the absence of a statutory framework or comprehensive binding policy creates the conditions for inconsistency in provision”.

In this presentation I focus on a deeper analysis of the rules put into place at international, national and local level. An aspect of significant importance to consider in this respect is the status of the minorities targeted by the different language policies, with distinctions to be drawn between the rights accorded to autochthonous vis-à-vis allochthonous minorities, as well as between EU citizens and third-country nationals.

The methodology to be employed draws on the framework of policy analysis, such as that outlined, for instance, by GRIN and GAZZOLA (2013); the study involves the analysis of relevant policy papers, census data, surveys, reports, courts’ decisions and academic publications. A key concept to employ in the analysis of existing policies is that of “linguistic unease”, defined as “a situation in which speakers feel that their pragmatic linguistic competence is not fitting the communicative requirements of the linguistic act they are about to perform – or even that

the symbolic value of their speech acts is perceived as misplaced” (IANNÀCCARO, GOBBO, and DELL’AQUILA, 2018: 367). Adopting this conceptual lens has the potential to connect linguistic justice to the sociolinguistic context in which the speaker live, therefore allowing to consider, alongside the general (and abstract) rules, also the consequences for the actors affected by the implementation of the policies.

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EVA MARKOWSKY, FRIDOLIN WOLF, and MARIE SCHÄFER

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**Immigrant bilingualism in the German labour market:
Between human capital, social networks, and ethnic marginalisation**

We compare the earnings of monolingual and competent bilingual immigrants in Germany. Competent bilingualism is defined as fluency in both German and the heritage language; monolinguals report to speak only German. A joint discussion of language skills as human capital or social capital and theories of ethnic marginalisation leads us to expect heterogeneous returns to bilingualism. To track this potential divergence, we differentiate effects by gender, language group, immigrant density in respondents' areas of residence, and communication intensity of their occupations. Doing so reveals sizeable differences in the returns to bilingualism. We find positive effects for the largest immigrant community in Germany, the Turkish population, while other language groups do not seem to benefit from retaining their heritage language. Individuals with a Turkish migration background have higher earnings when proficient in their heritage language and German. We discuss how the size of the immigrant community and the bilingualism premium might be related and pursue two alternative mechanisms: Specialised labour demand due to the wide dissemination of the Turkish-speaking population in Germany and ethnic social networks that are open only to those with proficiency in the heritage language. Our data indicate that both are important but operate in gender-specific ways. Turkish bilingual men experience an earnings premium only in occupations with high communication intensity, while there is no statistical relationship for women. The social capital channel is also much more potent for men, while bilingual German-Turkish women do not seem to profit from heritagelanguage networks for labour market success to the same degree. We discuss differences by gender in activating social capital and cultural influences as drivers of this gender gap.

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Exploring the language-use incentives of non-language policies in Switzerland

Language pervades social life. Therefore, it is often the case that policies which are not aimed at affecting the linguistic domain do nonetheless have a language dimension. This implies that there are some variables within the policymaker toolkit which appear unrelated to language issues but may in fact affect the context in which language policy is implemented and exert an influence on the effects of language policy. This paper uses data from a large survey on language use in Switzerland to investigate the link between individuals’ language practices and variables that can be influenced by the policymaker.

One example of such “policy-actionable” variables is the set of rules for applying for and obtaining Swiss citizenship. Becoming a Swiss citizen is a long, complex, and costly process. As a consequence, many immigrant residents end up keeping their foreigner status. This implies that, at least at the legal level, the link with the country of origin remains intact and relevant. We hypothesize that strict citizenship rules generate a hidden incentive for immigrants to keep “more connected” to their country of origin, in particular through the frequent use of their origin language. We use data on about 3,000 immigrants in Switzerland and analyze immigrants’ likelihood of using their language of origin on a daily basis. The independent variable of interest is whether the individual has a Swiss citizenship. We also include a wide array of controls, such as age, sex, years of migration, etc. Results show that having a Swiss passport leads to a significant decrease in the predicted probability of using the origin language daily. The dependent variable is also negatively and significantly correlated with having a Swiss partner and with the years of migration.

While the results of our empirical analysis cannot be interpreted in a causal fashion, we argue that the significant associations we find call for further investigation into the hidden language-use incentives of non-language policies. For example, while there is a clear positive side to maintaining a strong link with the country of origin (a goal endorsed by Switzerland’s official discourse about migration policy after the country explicitly moved away from assimilationist policies), the patterns of language use associated with the maintenance of skills in one’s “heritage language” may complexify other social processes, such as the development of a sense of belonging and connection with the country where one resides.

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**Can multilingualism in the public administration be promoted with economic incentives?
A comparative analysis**

This paper discusses the functioning of the bilingualism bonus programme in Belgium, Canada, and Italy in a comparative perspective. By “bilingualism bonus” programme we mean a system of economic incentives aimed at promoting the acquisition and the use of languages by the members of staff employed in the public administration of officially multilingual countries/regions. In practice, the bilingualism bonus is either a permanent lump-sum increase in staff annual gross salary or a percentage one. Historically, the bilingualism bonus has been designed to promote equity among public servants belonging to the different linguistic groups making up a country, and to support the inclusion of linguistic minorities. This paper presents a comparative analysis of the bilingualism bonus programme in the three countries, and it discusses its implementation in the light of the literature on performance-related pay or pay for performance schemes in the public sector. After examining the nature of public employees’ motivation, and their connection to incentive theories, the paper highlights the conditions under which the bilingualism bonus programme can provide an effective scheme of incentives for personnel to learn, maintain and use a second language. The results of the analysis show that in the countries examined the bilingualism bonus programme is not likely to effectively promote multilingualism. The main reason for this is that the bilingualism bonus programme rewards individuals’ language skills but not the collective use of language. Further, the language skills of the beneficiaries of the bilingualism bonus are usually tested only once, and there are no mechanisms to regularly monitor them.

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Authority and linguistic justice

The majority of scholars working on linguistic justice within political theory deal with questions of distributive justice, but not who should have the legitimate authority to decide over linguistic rules and language policy. This paper pretends to argue why this approach is incomplete, assuming the idea that a full-fledged theory of linguistic justice ought to be able to explain both which language policies are just and who should have the authority to decide over linguistic matters. The distribution of power in a given community is a relevant issue. This is so because unfair distributions of power might situate some (vulnerable) groups at the mercy of other (dominant) groups when discussing on questions that situate some in the position of being a perpetual minority within a particular state. This would be the case of language groups, and this unfair distribution grounding imbalances of power might lead to promote instances of domination. In this regard, I will address the problem of (linguistic) domination. That is, the idea that some groups might be at the mercy of the arbitrarily will of others. My fundamental argument is that the justice-based problem of linguistic domination cannot be addressed without including the authority question into the equation. I claim that authority is a necessary tool to satisfy the moral background conditions for justice understood as non-domination.

In this regard, the paper pretends to explore the relationship between current mainstream theories of linguistic justice – namely defenders of

1. the territoriality principle
2. the personality principle
3. state-wide monolingualism – and linguistic domination at the state level

In particular, asking how does linguistic domination work at the state level, I test whether mainstream theories of linguistic justice are able to address it. My point is that their strong distinction between questions of justice (substance) and authority, open the door to problems of legitimacy and, specially, problems of justice.

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**Can anti-discrimination law be discriminatory?
Language rights and the idea of the mono-lingual nation-state**

The paper presents the European law's attitude to language rights and demonstrates that, notwithstanding the phraseological surface, it bends to the idea of monolingual nation-state. Language and ethnicity are protected identities and, as such, are supposed to have an equal rank to religion, gender and sexual orientation. What is more, they are (at least formally) subject to enhanced legal guarantees that go beyond baseline human rights protection (such as the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities). In reality, however, European law appears to have side-lined language rights and the protection of ethnic identity.

The paper demonstrates that the judicial practice of the European Court of Human Rights and the EU policy on language rights reveal two important internal contradictions. First, there is a stark contrast between what European institution claim and what they actually do in terms of protecting language rights. Second, there is a salient difference between the treatment of language and other types of protected identities, such as religion, gender and sexual orientation. EU institutions treat language and ethnicity-based discrimination much more leniently and are much more deferential in accepting states' justifications than cases concerning gay rights and religious freedom. The paper argues that these contradictions suggest that European legal thinking has failed to overcome the idea of the mono-ethnic and mono-lingual nation-state

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**The struggle for recognition of Austrian German:
The exercise of soft power by means of language policies**

As a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language, Austrian German outside of Austria is bestowed on little recognition in teaching practises of German as a foreign language and is only marginally represented in media. While this being the case in varying degrees – depending on more or less existent cultural and historical ties between Austria and the other nation state –, the struggle for recognition of Austrian German is an important factor for intercultural dialogue and reflects the exercise of soft power as part of bilateral relations.

By representing the case of Austrian German in struggle for global recognition, I aim to analyse the interdependence of language policies and recognition both in theory and with its practical implications. First, I'll examine the cognitive side of mutual recognition. How does the level of knowledge regarding language varieties, of its speakers, their historical and cultural background shape the contact with Austrian German? Second, concerning the self-perception and self-presentation of speakers of a language variety, what kind of role does cultural imprint play? Third, examples of language violence and language benefaction are to be discussed. Fourth, I'll argue cases of authenticity and inventiveness as a result of language politics and language policies. And fifth, I'll depict the visibility of language policies and its effects on the public sphere.

Within this framework, the social and economic factors in relation to the promotion of language varieties, such as prestige and financial aspects of cultural institutions (Goethe Institutes, Austrian Centers, etc.) and exchange programmes (DAAD, OeAD) are core. Hence, the accessibility and distribution of culturally imprinted media reflects the soft power put into action by nation states. For instance, an investigation of the working conditions of Austrian and German lecturers sent to teach to non-German speaking universities shows a clear distinction in social prestige and economical potency between Austria and Germany, which has an impact on the perception of each language variety by students. Furthermore, the content of media mostly used for teaching purposes (text books, audio files, films, newspaper) reiterates the status quo of the overwhelming dominance of German German. Although, small shifts towards a more Austrian German inclusive approach can be seen as results of the ongoing struggle for recognition. I'll conclude with suggestions of language policy guidelines in order to potentially better the perception of Austrian German as an equally valuable variety of the German language.

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**Languaging and translanguaging:
Spreading the burden of legitimizing multilingual practices**

Both the implementation of language policies (at an institutional level) and the promotion of multilingual practices (at an individual level) are affected by educational frameworks and pedagogical practices (e.g., DEGRAFF and STUMP, 2018; MAKONI and ALSTAIR PENNYCOOK, 2005; MENDOZA, 2021; ALASTAIR PENNYCOOK, 2002). In this regard, heteroglossic perspectives on language use (e.g., translanguaging, polylinguaging) have had enormous influence in the contexts of bilingual and multilingual education (e.g., BLACKLEDGE and CREESE, 2014: 199–216; CANAGARAJAH, 2011; GARCÍA and KLEYN, 2016; MØLLER, 2019). JASPERS (2018, 2019), however has challenged two central tenets of these approaches. First, he claims that the need to help learners develop their own non-standard repertoires, while asking them to develop the standard variety of languages that is the goal of a monoglossic approach creates a paradoxical situation that cannot be resolved by the educational system alone. Second, and as a consequence of the previous constraint, the change in language perspective of heteroglossic approaches can be best pursued by non-educational governmental institutions.

In the present paper, I argue that both of Jasper's critiques are unfounded. First, I substantiate that heteroglossic approaches, by definition, constitute an integrated view of language practices oriented toward the development of both fixed and fluid components of the construct of language use. Second, and more importantly, the intended change in perspective (from a monoglossic to a heteroglossic one) must be pursued by both educational institutions as well as non-education ones, because the development of literacy represents a critical entry point towards the development of metalinguistic and metadiscursive awareness that is necessary to develop a heteroglossic perspective.

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**New language policies for new linguistic minorities:
The treatment of immigrant languages of origin. The case of Italy**

It is a common assumption in the related Italian literature that immigrant linguistic groups may not be classed as linguistic minorities. This does not simply constitute a terminological issue: The exclusion of this subject from the “linguistic minority” notion results in its exclusion from the corresponding protection framework. However, if they are not minorities, what are they? Has this new plurilingualism a higher social impact than the one generally assumed for historical minorities? And more: Is the current institutional action in support of these languages – if a specific one is identifiable – adequate to reflect their situation and improve their social status?

This paper aims at extending the theoretical debate on these questions by proposing an analyses focused on Italian position regarding immigrants’ languages of origin.

Reference framework: New plurilingualism and (old) language policies in Italy

Among other implications, immigration phenomena in Italy has determined the development of an unprecedented plurilingualism, often referred to as new plurilingualism (BAGNA, BARNI, and VEDOVELLI, 2007) consisting of new linguistic minorities (DE MAURO, 1977). This designation would seem to suggest the existence of a substantial continuum with the historical linguistic plurality – represented by Italian dialects and the other minority languages historically present within Italian boundaries – and the consequent access to similar forms of promotion. De facto, however, migrants’ languages of origin are not deemed to meet the requirements needed for the official recognition of minority status under the terms assumed by art. 6 of the Italian Constitution and interpreted in a restrictive way by law n. 482/1999 – in line with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages – and further juridical decisions. As a result, no measures have been adopted in order to enhance the linguistic and cultural features of migrant groups, in contrast with a general celebration of plurilingualism in the education and the intercultural integration.

Our proposal: theoretical analyses of Italian linguistic ideology and a reflection on the need of innovation

By revising the existing bibliography on this subject, we aim to discuss the interpretation of the minority language notion in the Italian framework and the reason of the resulting exclusion of migrants’ communities from the access to policies of linguistic promotion. Furthermore, we focus on the different applications of the plurilingualism notion in the education system and the cultural environment. We describe and analyze the linguistic ideology underpinning

the limitations mentioned above, in order to individuate a possible way to overcome them and define the terms of a possible (and necessary) innovation.

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Assessing multilingualism through Amartya Sen’s “Capability Approach”

Speaking several languages has become increasingly important over recent years even in European countries that in the past have cherished a mono-linguistic culture and marginalised minority languages (e.g. Austria, Germany, France, etc.). However, a multilingual policy often means to foster a nation’s main language for immigrants plus English for local people. Without denigrating the value of English as a “global” language as well as the necessity to speak a country’s main language, there is a potential of other languages that may be spoken in many countries. This is simply because local minority languages and other immigration languages are spoken in a growing number of households that live in the respective country given people’s mobility and migration. One question therefore is how we can increase the value of those languages and thus raise the interest for people to learn and practice languages spoken by their neighbours and co-citizens, but also why we should do so?

In this presentation I will advance the idea that instead of creating a particular top-down incentive scheme that may be responding to some particular, not necessarily clearly specified interest of some political decision makers, citizens and residents in a particular country need a clear understanding of the advantages of multilingual education and practice. Realising those advantages may trigger an intrinsic interest in learning and practicing several languages instead of responding instrumentally or mechanistically to extrinsic incentives.

To assess advantages, I propose to consider multilingual education and practice through the lens of the capability approach, first developed by Amartya Sen and also Martha Nussbaum. The capability approach measures advantages in terms of the functionings, the beings and doings a person has achieved, and the capabilities, the combination of beings and doings a person has the freedom to achieve. The potential benefits in particular of early exposure of children to different languages are well known and widely studied. Studies in education sciences and psychology show that if languages are taught well, children can gain not only in their language competencies, but also in other cognitive dimensions as well as in broader and more open frames of mind. Taking account of the availability of languages of local and migrated minorities in a particular country would have the advantage of real exposures and exchanges on a possibly daily level, a key factor in learning a language. The purpose of this paper thus is to interpret the scientific evidence but also the potential local practice of multilingualism in terms of functionings and capabilities and thus to point out the competencies and mind-sets that multilingual education, which includes multicultural education, brings with it. However, I will also point out the flipside of the current underinvestment in multilingualism and describe it in terms of missing

functionings and capabilities, which should raise the awareness of current inefficiencies in many European countries with respect to linguistic policies.

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Optimal and politically opportune language policies for the vitality of minority languages

Language policies for the purpose of (re)vitalizing a minority language are analyzed as a dynamic cost-effectiveness problem. We focus on policy measures with two types of cost structures: costs largely proportional to the number of beneficiaries (a rival measure) and costs independent of the number of beneficiaries (a non-rival measure). An examples of the former is for instance home nursing in the minority language and an example of the latter is street signs in the minority language. Both types of measures are assumed to contribute positively to the vitality of the minority language. We stylize the analysis, letting the rival measure have an immediate direct effect on the vitality and the non-rival one an indirect effect over the language's status, generated by the policy measure.

Two problems are addressed. Firstly, we study how the optimal combination of the two types of measure changes as the policy is implemented and the vitality of the minority language increases and show that a policy with fixed budget shares as a rule is sub-optimal. Secondly, we compare the opportune policy of a policy maker planning with a fixed time horizon with the optimal policy when the time horizon is infinite. The policy maker has incentives to plan for a sub-optimal policy at the beginning of the planning period and at times close to the time horizon.

All effects are illustrated in numeric examples.

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The change in Russian language legislation and support for the maintenance of linguistic diversity

The Russian legislation proclaimed the equality of all languages of the peoples of Russia and guarantees of their preservation and development. It also not only secured the right to freely use these languages, but also introduced the status of the state languages of Russia and the republics. In recent years, there have been tendencies, on the one hand, of the priority support for the Russian language as the state language and the "language of the state-forming people", and on the other hand, of the weakening of the position of other languages of Russia and, as a consequence, an increase in the demands for guarantees of the preservation of linguistic diversity. In my presentation, I will analyze legal acts and political documents in order to trace the main trends in the development of the current situation and determine the place of linguistic diversity in legal and political discourses, as well as the existing possibilities for its preservation in the framework of institutions and informal practices within the Russian legal and political system. The Russian legislation envisages the approval of governmental programs on the maintenance and development of the languages of Russia but no federal program was ever passed on the issue. Yet, in one of the 2020 Russian constitutional amendments Russia once more emphasised its commitment to the preservation of ethnocultural and linguistic diversity, which became a bargaining chip in the game with the Russian nationalists. The respective program's development got the presidential go-ahead, which created a window of opportunity to pass the program. In conclusion, I will touch on the issue of measures aimed at supporting the preservation of diversity that are being carried out at the federal level within the framework of current legislation, as well as amendments to the current language legislation necessary to expand the political and legal space of linguistic diversity.

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**Plurilingual practices vs monolingual biases:
An inclusive perspective on migration-induced linguistic diversity**

The phenomenon of international migration impacts receiving countries at different levels, while posing challenges and questions to the whole society. In particular, the resulting increase in plurilingual practices and multicultural belongings has a deep effect on the education sector. Accordingly, it has long been debated how, for instance, children of immigrants may learn the language of the receiving society while also maintaining their mother tongue (or heritage language). However, such issue has been so far mainly approached with both a monolingual bias and the assumption that migrants will eventually return to their countries of origin. Instead, the prevalent long-term nature of migratory projects and the dynamics of transnational labour migration require a rethinking of both existing conceptual and categorical divisions and language maintenance policies.

Against this background, this paper has a twofold aim. On the one hand, it criticizes the strict dichotomies often used when designing “mother tongue education”. It does so from an interdisciplinary perspective by combining a hybrid view of language with an adaptative approach to heritage language maintenance arrangements. This means going beyond static divisions such as those between home/host societies, immigrant/heritage/majority language, and territoriality/personality to recognise multilingualism as the norm. On the other hand, it identifies the main challenges and obstacles faced in the implementation of heritage language policies by analysing a small set of “significant practices” drawn from existing minority and heritage language arrangements adopted in Europe.

The final aim of the paper is to indicate a path of inclusion that accounts for the complexities inherent to international migration and the resulting increase in linguistic diversity with a long-term perspective.

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