

LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY: SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GREECE

Summary of the report



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**LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY:
SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GREECE**

Summary of the report

**Miquel Siguan
University of Barcelona
XII-1988**

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Introduction

In 1980, in response to the interest shown by the European Parliament in the defence of minority languages within the Community, the European Commission entrusted the Italian Institute with the task of preparing a detailed report on the situation of these minorities in the member countries of the EEC. The report was finished in 1983. As agreed, the report covers the linguistic minorities in all member countries except Greece, because the writers felt that the available information was insufficient to permit a proper treatment of the latter country. In addition, since the report was commissioned, two more countries, Spain and Portugal, have joined the EEC. In view of these facts the Commission decided that a second report was needed to complement the first, dealing with the situation of linguistic minorities in these three countries : Spain, Portugal and Greece. The new report was commissioned from Prof. Miquel Siguan of the Institute of Educational Sciences of the University of Barcelona in July 1987, for completion in September 1988.

Once the report had been completed and delivered, the author considered that, given its length (two typed volumes : 334 pages of text, 200 pages of documentation), it would be advisable to produce a summary offering a general impression of the contents of the report, which could serve as an introduction or an encouragement to read it. The following pages constitute that summary.

The summary relates exclusively to the central objective of the report : the description of the situation of linguistic minorities. The full report also contains a methodological introduction which has been omitted from the summary. Here it need only be said that the terms of the report did not include carrying out new studies, which would not have been possible in the time available, but rather the collection and systematization of the available information. The conceptual chapter, in which the main ideas implicit in the text are discussed, and the documentary appendices (bibliography and legal texts), which make up the second part of the report, have also been omitted from consideration in this summary.

Although the terms of the report refer exclusively to the various linguistic minorities, the author has considered it worthwhile to preface the

description of these minorities with a general introduction to each of the States involved, which attempts to show the historical and political setting, and of course the sociopolitical and sociolinguistic contexts within which the different minorities exist.

I — Spain

A general overview

Spanish or Castilian (the two names will be used interchangeably in this report) is not only the official language of the Spanish State, but also the official language common to most of the countries of the Americas, and can therefore be considered one of the great international languages. Within Spain, in turn, it is the first language of a large part of the population. But it is far from being the only language. Different languages have been spoken for centuries in the territories which now constitute Spain.

Leaving aside the exceptional case of Basque or Euskera, one of the oldest languages in Europe, which predates the settlement of the Celtic and Iberian peoples, the linguistic diversity of Spain derives from the diffusion of Latin through the Roman occupation, and its subsequent decomposition, which gave rise to the various neo-Latin languages. The Arab invasion in the tenth century influenced this process: those who resisted the invasion were forced to take refuge in the mountains in the north of the Peninsula, and it was in this northern zone that the new linguistic nuclei crystallized. These nuclei were basically, from west to east: Galaico or Gallego (later Galaic-Portuguese), Asturian (Asturian-Leonese), Castilian, Aragonese and Catalan. Castilian soon blocked the development of its neighbours Asturian and Aragonese, and there remained three major languages which continued to extend southwards as the reconquest of Arab-occupied territories advanced. Galician advanced through Galicia and then through what is now Portugal; Catalan through Catalonia and then through Valencia and the Balearic Islands; and Castilian through the whole centre of the Peninsula and then the south (Andalusia). Basque, in contrast, not being linked to a political structure of its own, did not participate in this expansion, but remained within its ancient limits on both sides of the frontier with France, isolated and gradually retreating.

In the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, as the three languages (Galician, Catalan and Castilian) were expanding, they underwent a brilliant literary development. This was confined in practice to lyric poetry in the case of Galician, but covered all fields of literature and general culture in the case of Catalan and Castilian. In the 15th century there was a process of unification

in Spain, centred on the union of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom with that of Castille, and as a consequence of this Castilian assumed a dominant position while Catalan went into decline. The same thing happened in Galicia with Galician, although with the independence of Portugal, the Galaic-Portuguese variety became a new literary language and the language of an overseas empire. In the following centuries, in the 18th and 19th, Spain advanced in the direction of a centralized and uniform nation State. Not only did this reinforce the prestige of Castilian, now identified as "Spanish", but an attempt was made to impose its use as a symbol of national unity. In those territories where a language other than Castilian was spoken, the language of that territory was relegated to everyday uses, and diglossia became generalized.

In the mid-19th century however, in Spain as in much of Europe, the diffusion of Romantic ideas brought about a renaissance of the languages and cultures which had been "cast aside by history". The linguistic and literary renaissance was especially intense in the case of Catalan in Catalonia. It coincided with a process of industrialization and modernization which turned Catalonia into an advanced region relative to the rest of Spain, and gave rise to a political consciousness in the form of demands for autonomy. These soon led to expressions of nationalism, whose first recognition came in 1912 (Mancomunitat de Catalunya). Concurrently with these political developments, the language was being codified, with a dictionary and formalized grammatical and orthographical rules.

In the Balearic Islands and Valencia where Catalan is also spoken, with local variations, the revival movement was much weaker. It was confined to literature in the Balearic Islands, and scarcely existed in Valencia.

The Basque Country had never had a political structure of its own. The language had no important literary tradition, and had survived only because of its isolation. But here, as in Catalonia, considerable industrial and economic development took place, and in parallel with this there were political demands which soon took a nationalistic form.

Galicia, in contrast, experienced no modernization process in the 19th century, and continued to be one of the poorest regions in Spain. The linguistic situation continued to be a typical one of diglossia, with Castilian as the prestige language and Galician linked to rural life and poverty. In this situation, the movement towards a literary revival and increased political consciousness could only be very weak.

The Republican regime which came to power in 1931 tried to provide

some response to these demands for linguistic pluralism and political autonomy. In 1933 it gave a Statute of Autonomy to Catalonia and steps were taken towards the concession of similar statutes to Galicia and the Basque Country. The Civil War and the victory of General Franco cut short this trend. In the name of the unity of Spain, political uniformity and monolingualism were imposed, so that for many years the public use of languages other than Spanish was eliminated.

The installation of a democratic regime in Spain has meant a complete change from this policy. The present Spanish Constitution, which dates from 1978, recognizes the cultural and linguistic diversity of Spain for the first time. Furthermore, under this Constitution, the Spanish State is organized into a set of Communities, which have a certain amount of autonomy. This has meant that Communities where a language other than Spanish is spoken have been able not only to recognize and protect this language, but to give it co-official status within the Community. The table below shows the Autonomous Communities whose Statute of Autonomy gives co-official status to a language other than Castilian throughout the Community's territory or, as in the case of Navarra, in part of its territory.

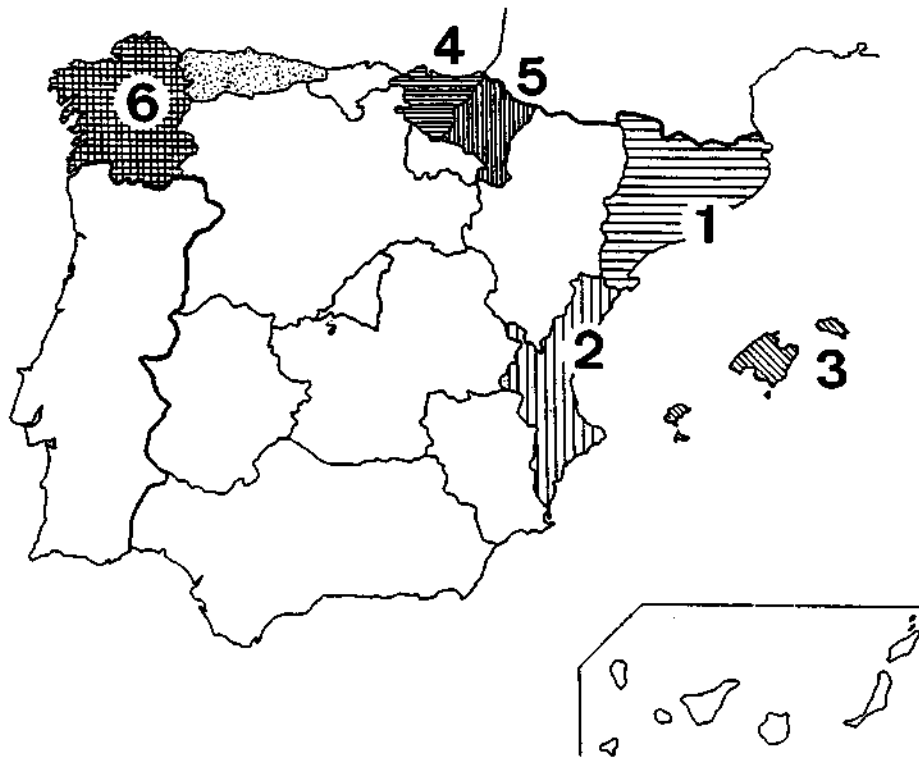
Spain : Autonomous Communities

Name	Area	Population	Language
Catalunya	31,930	5,978,638	Catalan
Islas Baleares	5,014	680,933	Catalan
Valencia	23,305	3,732,682	Valencian (Catalan)
País Vasco	7,261	2,136,100	Euskera
Navarra	10,421	515,900	Biscayan, Euskera, Castilian
Galicia	29,434	2,844,472	Galician
Asturias	10,565	1,112,186	
Aragón	47,650	1,184,295	
Cantabria	5,289	522,664	
Rioja	5,034	260,024	
Castilla y León	94,193	2,582,327	
Castilla-La Mancha	79,230	1,675,715	
Extremadura	41,602	1,086,420	
Murcia	11,317	1,006,788	
Andalucia		6,789,772	
Islas Canarias	7,242	1,466,391	
Madrid	7,995	4,780,572	
Spain	504,750 km ²	38,473,418	

Autonomous Communities which make up the Spanish State

Communities which have and promote a language different from Castilian of Spanish :

1. Catalonia
2. Valencia
3. Balearic Islands
4. Basque Country
5. Navarra
6. Galicia



The various Autonomous Communities differ in their degree of autonomy, which is greater in the case of the so-called "historic" ones: Catalonia and the Basque Country. All of them however have their own government and a parliament which legislates within the limits laid down by the Constitution and by the respective Statutes of Autonomy. All the Communities which have their own language have made use of these powers to pass laws which define and regulate their linguistic policy.

These laws concerning linguistic policy have been given different names in different places, but they all have a similar structure which can be summed up as follows:

- They affirm a desire to promote the knowledge and use of the language so as to ensure that it can be used in any situation. At the same time, they guarantee that nobody will be discriminated against for using one or other of the official languages.

- Provisions are made for the language to be used in the various departments of the public administration.

- Provisions are made regarding the role the language is to play in the educational system: as a taught subject or as the medium of teaching.

- Provisions are made regarding the use of the language in the communications media: press, radio, and television.

Within the common framework described here, the different Autonomous Communities differ enormously both in their sociolinguistic situation and in the linguistic policy which they apply.

Regarding the sociolinguistic situation, the first set of data to be considered is the number and proportion of the inhabitants who know the language and are able to use it in oral or written form. The table on the following page shows this data for the different Communities. The figures marked (*) have been calculated from the linguistic census which accompanied the Population Census of 1986. The rest have been calculated from other surveys or estimates, and therefore offer less guarantee of accuracy.

The political differences between the Communities are no less marked than the sociolinguistic ones. At the time of writing, the nationalist parties hold an absolute majority in the parliaments of Catalonia and the Basque Country, and this is reflected in the composition of the governments of these Communities. In Valencia the majority belongs to the socialists, and in Galicia and Navarra there are different coalition governments dominated by the socialists. Finally, in the Balearic Islands the government is conservative. The political composition of the government affects the

social and economic policy it applies, as well as the ease of its relationship with the central State government, which at the moment is uniformly socialist. We should note however that it also affects the cultural and linguistic policies which are applied. Nationalistic governments (Catalonia and Basque Country) are those with the greatest commitment to their languages, while those of different political tendencies are more lukewarm in this respect.

Knowledge and use of local language in the different Autonomous Communities — Data from 1986 census and estimates

	Population over 2 years old	Native speakers		Speak the language		Understand the language		Do not understand the language	
Catalonia	5,856,425	2,986,776	51.00%	* 3,747,813	64.00%	* 5,287,200	90.28%	* 550,878	9.40%
Valencia	3,677,957	1,471,182	40.00%	* 1,802,198	49.00%	* 2,734,928	74.36%	* 943,029	25.64%
Balearic Islands	663,485	424,630	64.00%	* 469,880	70.82%	* 593,620	89.47%	* 69,865	10.53%
Basque Country	2,089,995	* 508,543	23.80%	* 513,824	24.58%	* 877,940	42.00%	* 1,212,055	58.00%
Navarra	501,506	49,741	9.90%	* 60,180	12.00%	* 75,225	15.00%	* 426,281	85.00%
Galicia	2,726,294	1,499,461	55.00%	2,453,664	90.00%	2,562,716	94.00%	163,578	6.00%
All Communities with own language	15,470,867	6,940,333	44.80%	9,047,559	58.50%	11,341,529	71.90%	3,384,033	21.80%
All Spain	37,280,743								

The first Statutes of Autonomy only came into effect in 1978, and so too little time has passed for predictions to be made about their fate. It cannot be denied that tensions exist. There is an abundance of nationalist parties who

feel that the right to self-determination of its peoples should be guaranteed. From the opposite perspective, others believe that the "State of Autonomous Communities" is endangering the unity of Spain and its collective future. In the strictly linguistic domain, many people in different Communities consider that despite the changes that have been taken place, languages other than Spanish continue to have an inferior position; but there are also those who believe that the promotion of the Communities' so-called "own languages" is an attack against Spanish and those who speak it.

In Spite of these conflicting opinions, the important thing to emphasize is that a change of this magnitude has come about in Spain virtually without conflict, with the single exception of the terrorism of ETA. Even allowing for this unfortunate exception, there seems to be a generalized consensus that the change which has occurred is irreversible, that the recognition of Spain's linguistic and political diversity will remain, and that the role and use of languages other than Spanish will continue to increase.

Catalan

In the first chapter, reference was made to the origin and development of the Catalan language. Today it is spoken in three Autonomous Communities within the Spanish State — Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands — and in Roussillon (Pyrénées-Orientales) in the south of France and in the city of Alghero on the island of Sardinia (Italy). At the present time, about 9 million people live in the areas where Catalan is spoken, for some 6 million of whom it is their mother tongue.

As with all languages, Catalan shows dialectical variations. These fall into two main groups : western and eastern. The western dialects are spoken in the province of Gerona and in the Balearic Islands (Mallorcan, Menorcan and Ibizan) and the eastern dialects in the province of Lerida and the old kingdom of Valencia (Valencian). The Catalan of Barcelona occupies a position between the two, and has most prestige as the metropolitan dialect.

The differences between the various dialects are in reality quite small, and linguists have never doubted the unity of the language, which dates back to the Middle Ages. The only objections have been raised by those who claim that the language spoken in Valencia is not derived from Catalan but is the result of an independent evolution. These objections are motivated more by political than by scientific factors, in particular by the suspicion on the part of certain social groups that recognition of the unity of the language called "Catalan" implies some type of dependence on Catalonia.

At the beginning of the 20th century, coinciding with the literary and political revival of Catalan, the distinguished linguist Pompeu Fabra carried out a codification of the Catalan language with two objectives : to ensure the unity of the language and to enable it to be used for all kinds of function in contemporary society. Fabra's proposals were accepted virtually without argument, and have constituted a solid base for the modern linguistic revival. The renaissance of Catalan literature which was begun in the 19th century has continued since then and today is stronger than ever.

Beside its use in literature, Catalan is used in teaching and in scientific work, and in the written and audiovisual communications media, although in different ways in the different Communities in which it is spoken. It even has a certain international presence, as shown by the number of universities in the world where it is possible to study it. Recently the Parliament of Catalonia has asked the European Parliament for Catalan to be proposed for consideration as one of the official languages of the EEC, on the grounds that it is an official language in Catalonia.

CATALONIA

General information

Catalonia (31,930 km²; 5,800,000 inhabitants) in the extreme north-east of the Iberian Peninsula, bordered by France and the Mediterranean Sea, is a highly developed region dominated by transformation and service industries. More than half the population are concentrated in the capital, Barcelona, and the broad industrial area surrounding it. Because of its geographical situation, Catalonia has always been a gateway between Spain and Europe, and these close contacts have been strengthened with Spain's entry into the EEC.

The Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia was passed in 1978. Under this Statute Catalonia has its own parliament and a government with wide powers called the Generalitat de Catalunya.

The spectrum of political parties represented in the parliament of Catalonia is roughly similar to that of any European parliament, but with a large proportion of nationalism. The majority party (CIU, 72 deputies) is an explicitly nationalist, centre or centre-right party, which could be labelled liberal or christian democrat. The second party in number of votes is the Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC, 41 deputies), allied to the Spanish Socialist Party but professing Catalinism. Similarly the Catalan Communist Party (PSUC, 4 deputies) declares itself to be nationalist, as does Esquerra Republicana, the left-wing nationalist party (ER, 5 deputies). Only the Popular Alliance, a conservative party (AP, 11 deputies) refuses to speak of nationalism in relation to Catalonia, and there are still other radical nationalist groups which are not represented in parliament.

For most of the political parties, nationalism means calling for greater political autonomy for Catalonia or else for a federal structure for Spain; and in any case for greater protection for the Catalan language and culture. For the radical nationalist parties, however, nationalism means the right of peoples to self-determination (independence).

Sociolinguistic situation

Regarding the situation of the Catalan language, it has already been noted

in the introduction that despite the pressures towards unification and the practice of diglossia, the use of the language within the family has continued uninterrupted and that in the last century a revival began.

Alongside these favourable circumstances, other more adverse ones must be mentioned. The first and most important of these is that while industrial development brought a good deal of economic prosperity to Catalonia it also caused massive immigration from the rest of Spain, especially from the south, so that at the present time about half of the inhabitants of Catalonia were born outside Catalonia, and a significant proportion of those born in Catalonia have parents who were born outside it.

Immigration on such a scale could not fail to have linguistic consequences. Although exact figures are not available, it seems that currently Castilian is the mother tongue of about half the inhabitants of Catalonia, even though a large number of these people also understand and speak Catalan.

A second factor to be taken into account is that since Catalan was absent from education for more than thirty years, many Catalans who normally speak the language are not used to reading it and have difficulty in writing it.

Since 1978 however, Catalan has been used in education, and this is bringing about an important change in the situation. The number of people in Catalonia who are able to understand and speak Catalan is rising steadily, and the number who say that they can write it correctly is also increasing.

In the general introduction, table 2 recorded the figures of knowledge of Catalan according to the 1986 census. Here they are transformed into percentages in order to demonstrate this change.

Province	Population over 2 years old	No answer	Do not understand	Understand	Understand and speak	Understand speak and read	Understand speak, read and write
Barcelona	4,522,334	0.3%	10.7%	80.3%	59.8%	58.2%	30.1%
Girona	478,338	0.4%	4.5%	95.1%	80.1%	70.7%	39.3%
Lleida	354,239	0.8%	2.9%	96.3%	82.8%	71.6%	37.1%
Tarragona	514,506	0.4%	6.8%	92.8%	72.9%	63.7%	32.0%
Whole of Catalonia	5,860,414	0.3%	9.4%	90.3%	64.0%	60.5%	31.5%

Linguistic policy

The Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia states explicitly that Catalan is the language belonging to Catalonia, and at the same time that in Catalonia both Catalan and Castilian, the official language of the Spanish State, have the status of official languages.

Article 3

1. The language belonging to Catalonia is Catalan.
2. The Catalan language is the official language of Catalonia, as also is Castilian, which is official throughout the Spanish State.
3. The Generalitat will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will adopt the measures necessary to ensure knowledge of them, and will create the conditions which permit them to achieve full equality in relation to the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia.

It is significant, and indicative of the prestige of Catalan, that although in parliamentary sessions the deputies can in theory express themselves in either of the official languages, in practice all of them speak exclusively in Catalan.

In May 1983 the Parliament of Catalonia passed a "Linguistic

Normalization Act", to encourage and spread the knowledge and use of Catalan, and to make its official use more effective. This Act was passed unanimously, and so with the support of all the political parties. The government of Catalonia had previously created an administrative body, the General Directorate of Linguistic Policy, to put into effect the linguistic policy expressed in the Act.

Among the main provisions of the Act is the one which states that as Catalan is the language which belongs to Catalonia, it should also be the normal language of operation of its public administration. This does not affect the right of any citizen to use Castilian in his dealings with the administration; and communications between the public administration of Catalonia and the central administration of the State must also still be carried out in Castilian. What this means, among other things, is that laws and legal instruments passed in Catalonia have to be produced in two versions.

The statements in the Act concerning the use of the language in the Administration should be understood as an objective to be attained. Given that the Administration had been operating only with Castilian, and that the Generalitat inherited many of the existing departments and the civil servants who worked in them, it can be seen that a change in the main language used could only happen gradually. The results which have been achieved in barely ten years are nevertheless remarkable. Much the same could be said of the operation of many town and city councils.

However there are also services belonging to the public administration which are still controlled, and whose language of operation is Castilian, although in theory they should be able to deal with the public in Catalan. The bodies where Catalan has made least progress are the army and the police, although at least in theory citizens can use Catalan in their dealings with the police.

The law says nothing about non-governmental institutions, whether public or private, and the situation is so varied that it is difficult to sum up in a few words. The Church in Catalonia has accepted Catalan in general terms as its main language, although Castilian is also used in many religious ceremonies. As far as businesses are concerned, the language used in face to face dealings with the public commonly depends on the customer's choice, and in written publicity material the preference is for Castilian, although there is a growing tendency to use Catalan as well. On the other hand, in internal written communications (accounting, documentation, etc.) Castilian still predominates.

Education

The Statute of Autonomy gives the Catalan government full powers in the field of education. This enables it to legislate with complete autonomy on linguistic aspects. The objectives established by the Normalization Act in this respect can be summed up as follows :

- i) Catalan is to be the normal language of education at all levels, and is also to be the normal language used in the operation of the centres.
- ii) Notwithstanding, the right of parents for their children to have the first years of their general education in Castilian will be respected, if this is the language used in their family.
- iii) In any case, at the end of the period of Basic General Education (14 years) all pupils should be in a position to use both languages without any difficulty.

Given that for a long time only Castilian had been used in education, and that most teachers were not able to teach Catalan, nor to teach in Catalan, the change had to be gradual, and had to be based on a large number of complementary actions.

The first objective to be set was the establishment of a minimum number of hours in the curriculum for Catalan, which was set at five hours per week at all levels, divided between the teaching of Catalan and the teaching of another school subject in Catalan.

In parallel with this demand, which by now is complied with in all centres, encouragement and help have been given to those schools which have decided to make Catalan the language of their teaching. Normally this decision implies the agreement of the teachers and the parents' association. At the present time over 30 % of schoolchildren in Catalonia go to schools where teaching is in Catalan, and the percentage is rising gradually every year.

As far as higher education is concerned, the statutes of the three Catalan universities state that the language of the university is Catalan, but add that any teacher or student at the university has the right to use either of the two languages. In practice this means, among other things, that every teacher can use the language he prefers, taking it for granted that the students are competent in both. And conversely, any student can address any teacher in either of the languages taking it for granted that he understands both.

There are no official data, but it can be said that something over half the classes are given in Catalan, although the differences in this respect between different departments and faculties are very large.

Publication of books

Since the 1960s, when the volume of books published in Catalan began to be significant, the number has increased every year. In 1965, 360 titles were published, and 4,145 in 1987, which is equivalent to over 10 % of the titles published in Spain. The average number of copies of each title printed is about 2,000, but considerably larger if reprints are taken into account. Some best-sellers have reached sales of 100,000. Figures of this relative importance show the vitality, not just of Catalan literature, but of publishing in Catalan. Other proofs of this vitality are the publication of the "Great Catalan Encyclopedia" in 24 volumes, the series of dictionaries of a dozen different languages, or the different collections of ancient and modern classics brought out in Catalan.

Newspapers

Three daily newspapers are currently published in Catalonia which exclusively use Catalan ("Avui", "Diari de Barcelona" and "Punt Diari"). Their circulation is equivalent to about 25 % of the daily press sold in Barcelona. In addition to these newspapers there are a large number of magazines and other types of periodical.

Radio

Radio in Catalan has an important tradition which goes back to the first installations in Barcelona. There are currently several stations which broadcast only in Catalan, two which are run by the Generalitat government. Commercial stations based in Catalonia broadcast in both languages, though more in Castilian, and the same is true of national (Spanish) broadcasting systems. There are also a lot of small local stations, most of which broadcast in Catalan. According to audience surveys, the audience of the Catalan stations represents about 30 % of the total audience.

Television

The situation of television is more favourable to Catalan. The Spanish national network (TVE) has two channels, one exclusively in Spanish which broadcasts to the whole country, and the other with regional centres : the centre in Catalonia broadcasts mainly in Catalan. The Catalan government controls a third channel (TV3) exclusively in Catalan. Audience surveys indicate that the audience for programmes in Catalan represents more than 40 % of the total audience in Catalonia. And the Catalan government intends to start a new channel (TV4) also in Catalan. The situation is fluid however, and may change significantly when, in the near future, private television stations are permitted in Spain, and when satellite television becomes widespread.

VALENCIA (COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA)

The old Kingdom of Valencia, known today as the Valencian country, or simply as Valencia from the name of its capital, spreads along the Mediterranean coast just south of Catalonia. Its area is 23,305 km² and it has a population of 3,732,000.

The Valencian economy has traditionally been agricultural. Its agriculture has been prosperous since ancient times and especially since the Arab occupation. Its principal products today are rice and citrus fruit (oranges) but there is important industrial development taking place and the region as a whole is expanding economically.

Political regime

The Statute of Autonomy of the Community of Valencia (1981) set up a parliament (Cortes) and a government (Generalitat Valenciana). At the moment the composition of the parliament is as follows : PSOE (socialist), 42 deputies; AP (conservative), 22; UCD (centre), 11; UV (Valencian regionalists), 8; EU (communists), 4; UPV (left-wing nationalists), 2; out of a

total of 89 deputies.

As a result of this composition the government of the Community is clearly socialist-dominated.

In spite of the fact that most of the parties represented in the Valencian Parliament are branches of the respective Spanish parties, Valencian political life has been dominated ever since the establishment of the autonomous regime by a concern to establish Valencia's own collective personality, and by the attitudes adopted in relation to this. For some, the fact that Valencia was reconquered from the Arabs by a Catalan king and that since then Catalan has been spoken in Valencia means that Valencia's personality can only be established in the context of a common political project for all the Catalan-speaking territories. For others this constitutes a proposal to dissolve Valencia's own identity and turn it into an annex of Catalonia, and they feel that Valencia's personality can better be secured in a relationship with Spain as a whole than with Catalonia. A third position, more or less clearly implied, recognizes the identity of language and similarity of culture with Catalonia but still seeks to establish a separate identity for Valencia. In practice the different positions are more complex and mixed than this schema suggests, but the conflicts are no less intense for all that. Partly to escape these controversies the name Valencian has become widely used to describe the variety of Catalan spoken in Valencia, a name which affirms its individual characteristics without questioning the unity of the language.

Sociolinguistic situation

It has already been indicated in relation to the situation of the language in Valencia that the linguistic revival of the last century was very weak and that the diglossic situation continued almost unchanged, with the local language reduced to the family context and everyday uses. It should also be borne in mind that the reconquest from the Arabs was carried out jointly by Catalan-speakers from Catalonia and by Castilian-speaking Aragonese, and that since then the western strip of Valencian territory has been Castilian-speaking.

The 1986 census showed the following data concerning knowledge of the language :

Valencian Community — Knowledge of Valencian / Catalan
Data gathered from 1986 census

Population over 6 years old	Do not understand	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
3,598,528	823,451	2,775,077	1,780,741	876,625	252,947
100%	22.88%	77.12%	49.47%	24.36%	7.02%

Linguistic policy

The Statute of Autonomy of Valencian Community says in Article 7 that :

1. The official languages of the Autonomous Community are Valencian and Castilian. All people have the right to know and to use them.
2. The Generalitat Valenciana will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and will adopt the measures necessary to ensure knowledge of them.
3. No person shall be discriminated against by reason of his language.
4. Special respect and protection will be given to the revival of Valencian.

These principles are similar to those which appear in the statutes of the other autonomous communities with their own language. To develop and apply them, in 1983 the Cortes Valencianas passed a "Use and Teaching of Valencian Act" which states explicitly that Valencian is the community's own language with the exception referred to above of the Castilian-speaking zone which is precisely defined in the law. It provides that citizens may use Valencian in their dealings with the public administration, and it also contains provisions to encourage the use of Valencian in the social communications media.

Although the structure of the law is similar to the one in Catalonia, its content is manifestly less ambitious. What matters, too, more than the text is the way in which it is applied. For several years the first autonomous

government, hostile to the identification between Valencian and Catalan, tried to promote a separate codification of the Valencian language. This effort never came to fruition because it did not find support in academic and general intellectual circles, but for a long time it blocked the application of the law and therefore the promotion of the language. The present government has adopted a more realistic attitude, maintaining the name Valencian, but recognizing that it refers to a variant of Catalan, and that the norms of this language can be accepted, with specific alterations for the characteristics of the Valencian dialect. On the basis of this recognition it has taken up the defence and promotion of the language as provided for in the law, allowing for the fact that it is not a nationalist government and that the language question is not one of its main priorities.

It should also be realised that the promotion of Valencian presents particular difficulties as a result of the low social value traditionally attached to it.

In these conditions, the result achieved so far have been limited. The Valencian public administration uses Valencian, alone or together with Castilian, in its external projection: signposting, public information, propaganda, publication, etc., and has undertaken some prestige operations on behalf of the language. But little use is made of Valencian in internal functioning and it is limited to certain services. In private institutions, such as commercial firms and banks, the role of Valencian is even more limited and is confined to oral exchanges and occasionally some kinds of publicity.

The parliamentary sessions are revealing in relation to the low public use of Valencian. It is taken for granted that all deputies understand both languages and express themselves in the one they prefer, but nevertheless the same parliament which passed the law on the use and teaching of Valencian shows a complete predominance of Castilian. Only the two deputies of the UPV (nationalist), some of the EU (communist) and UV (regionalist) and some of the PSOE (socialist), in total no more than ten or twelve deputies, systematically express themselves in Valencian, while some others do so sporadically.

The language in education

Following the years of confusion referred to above, while the model of the language to be taught was being argued about, the presence of Valencian in the educational system has been increasing uninterruptedly. At present, according to data provided by the Consejería de Cultura y Educación, the

legal obligation to teach the language at least four hours a week at all educational levels, which dates from the Bilingualism Decrees of 1978, is being met in all teaching centres in the Valencian-speaking zone, and in a certain number of those in the Castilian-speaking zone. Valencian is also used as the language of teaching in all or most subjects in 140 out of 1,730 basic education centres in the Valencian region (8 %).

As far as higher education is concerned, the statutes of the University of Valencia establish that Catalan and Castilian are both official languages and that university members may use either of them in any circumstances. There are no official figures, but classes delivered in Catalan probably make up nearly 20 %, with great differences between the faculties. Other universities in the Valencian community (Polytechnic University) have not adopted such clear attitudes in favour of Catalan.

Statistics on books published in Catalan do not distinguish place of publication and therefore it is not possible to say how many are published in Valencia. But there are certainly some very active Catalan publishing houses in Valencia, and in particular there are Catalan periodicals of high quality published in Valencia which have a wide circulation even in Catalonia. These publications are the result of the existence in Valencia of groups of intellectuals with a strong commitment to the defence of the language. In fact the task of spreading the language and raising its prestige has fallen even more upon these groups than on the public institutions.

Audiovisual media

Valencian has so far had a fairly limited presence in radio and television. The regional channels of two national radio stations, Radio Cadena and Radio Nacional 4, broadcast in Valencian most of the time. The regional station of Spanish television channel TV2 broadcasts ninety minutes a day (from 1.30 to 3.00) in Valencian.

At the moment there are discussions about Valencia opening a television station of its own, in which Valencian would have an important role, although exactly what role remains to be decided. However, thanks to a network of booster stations set up privately, the broadcasts of Catalan television can now be received in most of Valencian territory, and this is already having an effect on attitudes towards the language.

BALEARIC ISLANDS

The Balearic Islands : Mallorca, Menorca and Ibiza, which together have an area of 5,014 km² and a population of 681,000, are situated in the Mediterranean Sea to the south of Catalonia and to the east of Valencia. They were conquered from the Arabs in the 12th century by the Catalans and were later incorporated into Spain. They are currently in a period of economic prosperity as result of the tourist boom.

Political regime

The Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands was passed in 1986. The Balearic parliament is made up of 59 seats, which are currently distributed as follows : AP (conservative), 25; PSOE (socialist), 21; CDS (liberal), 5; UM (regionalist), 4. As a result of this composition, the Islands are governed at present by a conservative coalition. It should be added that, for historical and sociological reasons, the three islands show different political preferences, with the consevative party dominating in Ibiza, the socialists dominating in Menorca and a balance between the parties in Mallorca, the largest and most populous island, where the parliament and government are situated. Besides these different political tendencies, tensions exist between the islands, as in many achipelagos, especially between the smaller ones and the island where the capital is.

Sociolinguistic situation

Sheltered within a traditional society, Catalan maintained its position until the present day, although subordinate to the greater public prestige of Castilian, the language of the State an administration. In any case there was never complete diglossia in the Balearic Islands; monolingualism in Catalan existed in the rural areas, and its literary use was maintained in educated circles. It is only today, as a result of the overwhelming growth of tourism, that the use of the language is beginning to be seriously threatened. Economic prosperity has brought a substantial immigrant population to the Islands, who speak Castilian and who come from the poor areas of the Peninsula, especially from the South. At the same time the massive presence of tourists from other countries gives an immediate importance to knowledge of foreign languages as a means of improving job opportunities.

Here is a summary of data from the 1986 census :

Balearic Community — Knowledge of Catalan
Data gathered in 1986 census

	Population over 6 years old	Do not understand	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Mallorca	509,251	49,548	456,697	358,713	236,587	81,507
Menorca	54,978	2,521	51,992	46,538	33,211	14,507
Ibiza	62,727	10,129	52,296	47,547	18,722	7,757

Linguistic policy

In contrast to the abundant arguments in Valencia about whether the language spoken there can be identified with Catalan and what it should be called, in the Balearic Islands there has never been any question, at least in informed circles, that the language spoken in the Islands is Catalan, albeit with local variations in each of the islands, so that Mallorcan, Menorcan and Ibizan can be regarded as different dialects of Catalan.

But this acceptance of the unity of the language has not implied any recognition of a common reality or a common political project. The powerful controversies in Valencia for or against the idea of the Catalan Countries as a political ideal have found little echo in the Balearic Islands.

Article 3 of the Statute of Autonomy states that Catalan is the language belonging to the Balearic Islands and that Catalan has equal official status with Castilian in the territory. To build on these principles, in April 1986 the Balearic parliament passed a "Linguistic Normalization Act" whose explicit objectives are :

(a) To progressively bring about the normal use of Catalan in the official and administrative fields.

(b) To progressively ensure knowledge of Catalan and its use as a vehicle for teaching.

(c) To encourage the use of Catalan in all fields of social communication.

(d) To create social awareness of the importance of knowledge and use of Catalan.

The specific provisions of the law are similar to those found in the linguistic laws of other Communities, although the Balearic Law is perhaps the most ambitious and the most explicit in its proposals.

One point in the law which is worth highlighting is the specification of the academic institution with authority in linguistic questions. Article 2 states that "the language belonging to the Balearic Islands is Catalan", and goes on to say that "the particular forms of Catalan used in the Islands will be the object of study and of protection, without prejudice to the unity of the language". In its final provisions it establishes that "the University of the Balearic Islands will be the institution to be consulted in all questions relating to the language" and adds that "the University may collaborate in a future institution designed to safeguard the unity of Catalan which may be formed by collaboration between those Autonomous Communities which recognize Catalan as a co-official language".

Ambitious though the Balearic law is in its proposals, the results achieved so far have been rather modest. It is true that in external matters such as signposting, public information and publications the Balearic government makes a use of Catalan, and that it sponsors literary prizes and other activities on behalf of the language. It is also true that in sessions of the Balearic parliament, most of the interventions are in Catalan, and that Catalan is used in many "face to face" contacts within organizations and even in many meetings. But the presence of Catalan in the internal working of the public administration in written form is slight, and even more so in most private businesses of all types.

More significant still is the situation in education. According to data offered by the Balearic government, all teaching centres in the Balearic Islands comply with the requirements of the 1978 Bilingualism Decree to devote a minimum of four hours a week to the teaching of the local language, in this case Catalan. However a survey carried out recently by university researchers seems to show that only half the centres fully comply with this requirement, while the others fulfil it only in part or not at all. And as far as the use of Catalan as a vehicle for teaching is concerned, the number of teaching centres in the Islands which make use of this possibility does not exceed three or four.

The University of the Balearic Islands, in contrast, like those in Catalonia and Valencia, has written into its statutes the co-official status of the two

languages and although there are no data on the number of courses which are taught in Catalan, it is probably somewhere between 20 and 30 %.

There are two or three small publishing companies which publish in Catalan, some local newspapers publish articles in Catalan, and the regional broadcasting station of Spanish television also devotes some time to broadcasts in Catalan. But in general, despite the existence of a very active intellectual minority with an important literary output, public and private use of Catalan do not seem to have made much progress in the years since the granting of autonomy. While in Valencia, despite the grave controversies that have occurred, the use of the language seems to be making continual progress, in the Balearic Islands the impression is rather one of stagnation. As has been indicated, one important reason is tourism, which not only makes the learning of foreign languages a priority, but attracts to the Islands an immigrant population who do not know the local language.

Euskera

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Basque language, known to the Basques themselves as "Euskera", is a very ancient language. As far as is known it has no links to any other modern language. It has remained isolated over the centuries and has been in progressive decline until recently. Now it has become the symbol of the identity of the Basque people and, spurred by nationalistic feeling, it has begun a spectacular revival. The geographical limits of Euskera today include the Basque Country and Navarra, and extend over the Pyrenees to the French Basque Country, although in all of these territories only a part of the population can speak the language. The total number of Euskaldunas (speakers of Euskera) is around 600,000, of whom about 500,000 live in the Spanish Basque Country.

Like all languages which have not been codified and have survived in oral use, Euskera has gradually disintegrated into dialects. Seven major ones can be identified today, and between some of them intercommunication is difficult. To turn the language into a common means of communication among the Basque people, and for it to be used in education and in other modern functions, it was necessary for it to be codified. This was an arduous task, whose result was never likely to satisfy everybody, but it was unavoidable. The philologist Koldo Michelena was in large part responsible for carrying out this task, and the result is known as "Euskera Batua" (common Euskera).

When we are comparing the efforts to spread the knowledge and use of Euskera with those made in Catalonia or Galicia in respect of their languages, we should bear in mind that the distance between Catalan or Galician and Castilian is relatively small, so that the acquisition of one of them from the other requires relatively little effort, while with Euskera the situation is exactly the opposite.

BASQUE COUNTRY

The Basque Country is the name given to the Autonomous Community constituted by the three provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa and Alava. Its area is 7,261 km² and its population is 2,081,000 according to the 1981 Census.

The name Euzkadi is sometimes used to refer to the Basque Country, but to Basque nationalists Euzkadi means the Basque nation as a whole, which also includes Navarra and the French Basque Country.

The Basque Country is situated on the Cantabrian Sea, on the border with France. The region is both coastal and mountainous, and its inhabitants have traditionally engaged in fishing and livestock farming, but since the last century it has also become a highly developed industrialised area, with steel works and transformation industries.

The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country was passed in 1978. The Statute gives full autonomy to the Basque Country, strengthened by the fact that, in accordance with a traditional privilege ("fueros") going back to the Middle Ages, the Basque Country and Navarra have control of their own finances.

Basque political life is dominated by the nationalist question, and all the Basque political parties have to define themselves in relation to it. The explicitly nationalist parties have a considerable majority at the elections, but they in turn are divided among themselves. Some do not take up their seats in Parliament despite the votes they get, and defend radical options more or less closely related to the organization ETA and the so-called "KAS alternative" : self-determination for Euzkadi and recognition that Navarra forms part of Euzkadi.

The three provincial capitals are Vitoria (Gazteiz), capital of Alava (Alaba), Bilbao (Bilbo), capital of Vizcaya (Biscaya) and San Sebastian (Donostia), capital of Guipúzcoa. The Statute establishes Vitoria as the seat of the Basque parliament and government, but given the proximity of the three cities the departments of government and the faculties of the university are divided between them.

The Basque parliament is made up of 75 seats. They are currently distributed as follows : PSOE (Spanish Socialist Party), 19 seats; PNV (nationalist), 17; EA (offshoot of PNV), 13; EE (left-wing nationalists), 9; HB (radical nationalists, who do not participate in activities of parliament), 13; CDS (non-nationalist centrists), 2; AP (non-nationalist conservatives), 2.

Knowledge of the language

The linguistic census which accompanied the population census of 1986 distinguished between : Erdaldumes, people with no knowledge of Euskera;

semi-Euskaldunes, who have some knowledge of the language; and Euskaldunes, who can understand and speak Euskera with no difficulty. The overall results are set out below.

Basque Country — Knowledge of Euskera
Population Census 1986 — Population over 2 years

Territory	Population	Erdaldun do not understand	Semi- Euskaldun	Euskaldun understand and speak
Alava	262,407 (100%)	198,609 (75.68%)	34,017 (12.96%)	17,681 (6.72%)
Vizcaya	1,153,844 (100%)	734,556 (63.67%)	215,679 (18.69%)	203,509 (17.63%)
Guipúzcoa	675,654 (100%)	262,429 (38.84%)	119,679 (17.71%)	293,546 (43.44%)
Whole of Basque Country	2,091,905 (100%)	1,195,694 (57.15%)	380,375 (18.18%)	515,836 (24.65%)

These data show firstly that the number of speakers of Euskera is relatively low, less than that of Catalan in Catalonia or of Galician in Galicia, and secondly that they are very unevenly distributed between the different areas of the Basque Country. Examination of other data from the survey, not shown here, and comparison with the results of other surveys give us a more detailed picture of the situation.

Euskera has traditionally been maintained in certain closely defined local areas, transmitted orally within the family and within a community that uses the language almost exclusively. With some exaggeration it could be said that the Basque Country is divided between monolinguals or near-monolinguals in Euskera in a few areas, and monolinguals in Castilian in the rest. Now that the effort to recover a Basque national identity has been

identified with the revival of the use of Euskera, the situation is changing, and it has been changing more markedly since the gaining of autonomy. The number of speakers of the language (Euskaldunes) has increased considerably, and the new speakers are more geographically dispersed. These people generally began as Castilian speakers and started to learn Euskera either at school or at adult classes. Some learnt to speak it well, others at least to understand something of it. Thus the number of bilinguals, which traditionally was very small, has been increasing. In particular there is now a group, practically non-existent before, of Euskera speakers whose first language is Castilian. With these developments the level of knowledge of Euskera among the population has increased considerably, but at the same time Euskera has come into intimate contact with Castilian for the first time, and this contact is certain to influence its evolution in some way.

Not only knowledge but also use of the language has increased, and in particular it has acquired new functions. As a result of the policy of promoting the language, the public, written and formal uses of Euskera have increased even more than the private, oral use.

Linguistic policy

The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country states explicitly that Euskera is the language belonging to the Basque Country, and that both Euskera and Castilian are official languages there. To implement and develop these assertions, in November 1982 the Basque parliament passed the "Act for the Normalization of the Use of Euskera".

In the preamble, the Act states that Euskera is the most visible and objective sign of the identity of the Basque Country and that it should become an instrument for the full integration of the community.

The provisions of the Basque law are parallel to those we have looked at in the case of other Autonomous Communities, and it is not necessary to repeat them. However, it may be noted that the low level of knowledge of the language and the difficulty of acquiring it make the process of normalization more difficult than in other places, and this difficulty is reflected in the content of the Act itself. For example it says that all regulations and resolutions must be adopted and published in both languages, and that the government will determine for which posts in the administration a knowledge of Euskera is indispensable, and it provides for the creation of a translation service within the administration itself.

Under the Normalization Act, following the example of Catalonia, the Basque government has created a Directorate General of Linguistic Policy to assess and coordinate the use of Euskera in the administration and to encourage knowledge and use of the language within Basque society as a whole.

In spite of the objective difficulties referred to above, Euskera has not only begun to be used in the Administration, but has already reached important levels, especially in the areas of public information and the external projection of the administration, which are always carried out in both languages. In most cases, any citizen who wishes to deal with the administration in Euskera can now do so. On the other hand, the objective of making Euskera the normal working language of the public administration is still very far from being realised, although attempts are being made in some sectors of the administration.

To understand the difficulty of achieving this, we could take as an example the working of the Basque parliament itself. It is taken for granted in the parliaments of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands that all the deputies know both Catalan and Castilian, and in the Galician parliament that all of them know both Galician and Castilian. Any deputy in these parliaments can speak in whichever language he prefers, although there is a growing tendency to use the language belonging to the Community. In the Basque parliament this cannot be taken for granted, despite the preponderance of nationalist deputies. At present, those deputies who are capable of making a more or less fluent speech in Euskera make up no more than a third of the total while no more than half are capable of understanding it without difficulty. The parliament has a simultaneous interpretation service to enable those deputies who wish to do so to make their speeches in Euskera.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the major thrust of linguistic policy is directed at improving knowledge of the language. The policy is aimed in two directions: at children in the school system, and at adults. For adults the Basque government has created an institution, heavily endowed with resources, to organize the teaching of Euskera and to support and subsidise initiatives in the same direction by other institutions, both public and private. In practice, for political reasons there are many initiatives on behalf of the language which originate outside the government sector.

As far as the school system is concerned, the first "ikastolas" (Euskera schools) were set up in the Franco period. In these schools Euskera is the vehicle of teaching from the first day of school onwards. The ikastolas were

created and supported by a cooperative movement, and their growth was rapid up to 1980, since when they have maintained a stable position. Following the Bilingualism Decrees of 1978, all teaching institutions in the Basque Country were obliged to teach Euskera at all levels, and the position of Euskera in schools was systematically reinforced by the Statute of Autonomy, which gave the Basque government full autonomy in the educational sphere.

Currently the Basque Directorate of Education distinguishes the following types of teaching institution :

— Model "C" : Teaching is given in Euskera, with Castilian taught (at least 3 hours a week) at all levels.

— Model "B" : Teaching is given in Castilian, with Euskera taught (at least 3 hours a week), and in addition Euskera used for teaching in one or more school subjects.

— Model "A" : Teaching is given in Castilian. Euskera is taught (minimum 3 hours a week).

At the time of writing it is considered that 12 to 15 % of school pupils in the Basque Country receive their education basically in Euskera (Model C). From 18 to 20 % are taught in Castilian and partly in Euskera (Model B). The rest, between 65 and 70 %, are taught in Castilian, with Euskera taught as one subject.

University teaching

In higher education too, the first step has been to spread knowledge of Euskera among students and lecturers. But at the same time an attempt has been made to start university courses taught in Euskera parallel to those taught in Castilian. It is currently possible to complete the teacher training course entirely in Euskera. In other faculties the possibilities are confined to the first year, or to a few isolated lecture courses.

Books, newspapers and magazines

The current production of books in Euskera is around 600-700 titles a year, of which a significant proportion are accounted for by literary works and children's books and by teaching texts. Two daily newspapers of

nationalist tendency publish part of their content in Euskera. There are about twenty periodicals on different subjects which are exclusively in Euskera.

Radio and television

There is one radio station which broadcasts only in Euskera; but the most important fact in this area is the establishment by the Basque government of a television station, which in 1987 broadcast for 3,700 hours, mostly in Euskera. At the moment the possibility of opening another public television station in Euskera is being studied. The intensive use of Euskera on television is a major factor in the process of riviving the language.

NAVARRA

The territory of Navarra stretches from the western part of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Ebro. Navarra, with an area of 10,420 km² and a population of 512,512, is a region with a strong personality and a brilliant past. Traditional forms of farming are combined there with a progressive agriculture which gives it a relatively high standard of living. Almost uniquely within the Spanish State, it has managed to retain over the centuries certain administrative peculiarities ("fueros"), which are the basis of its modern autonomy. Significantly, its Statute of Autonomy is not called that — it is called the "Organic Law for the Reintegration and Improvement of the Foral Regime of Navarra". But in its collective self-consciousness and in the defence of its autonomy, Navarra is divided by an internal conflict which affects the whole of its political life. For some, the Navarrese identity has to be looked for within Navarra itself, while for others it can only be found through full identification with the Basque nation.

Under the Statute (in Euskera: "Nafarroa"), Navarra has its own parliament and government. The parliament is presently made up of 50 deputies distributed as follows: PSOE (socialist), 15; UPN (Navarrese autonomist), 14; HB (radical Basque nationalists), 7; CDS (centre), 4; EA

(Basque nationalists), 4; UDF (liberals), 3; AP (conservative), 2; EE (left-wing nationalists), 1. The government of Navarra is a coalition between the socialist party and the Navarrese autonomists.

Sociolinguistic situation

At the time of the Roman conquest it is possible that Euskera was spoken in the whole of the modern territory of Navarra, but by the 13th century its area had already been considerably reduced, and it continued reducing over time until there remained only a narrow strip in the north of the territory where the language was spoken. From a sociolinguistic point of view it is possible to distinguish three clearly differentiated zones in Navarra today, although their limits are difficult to define exactly : a fully Basque-speaking zone, a transitional zone with some Euskera spoken, and a Castilianized zone where only Castilian is used. It might also be added that Pamplona, the capital, has its own characteristics, since it contains immigrants from all parts of Navarra.

Here are the results of a survey carried out in 1978 on knowledge of Euskera in the different zones :

Zone	Total population	Know Euskera	Proportion
Euskera zone	35,531	30,485	85 %
Contact zone	31,366	7,855	25 %
Castilian zone	251,695	—	—
Pamplona (Iruña)	165,277	15,100	9 %
Whole of Navarra	483,867	53,440	11 %

The population census of 1986 was accompanied by a linguistic census parallel to that carried out in the Basque Country which gave the following overall results :

Level of knowledge of Euskera	Number	Proportion
No knowledge	434,594	84.80 %
Some knowledge	26,810	5.23 %
Comprehension and production	51,108	9.95 %

The 1986 census data can also be analysed by zones, and although these results are not reproduced here, a comparison of them with the 1978 results shows that there are two opposite processes at work in Navarra, similar to what we saw in the Basque Country. In the poor, isolated rural areas where Basque has traditionally been spoken, the language is declining; among other things because of growing emigration. However in the rest of Navarra — the transition zone, the Castilian zone and especially the capital — knowledge of Euskera is increasing, in part for ideological reasons, and in part because of the effect that its presence in education is beginning to have. For Navarra as a whole therefore it can be said that knowledge of Euskera is increasing, and that there is a simultaneous increase in its geographical dispersion and in the social level of the people who speak it.

Linguistic policy

In the field of language, the Statute of Navarra establishes in article 9 that :

1. Castilian is the official language of Navarra.
2. Basque also has official status in the Basque-speaking zones. A law will determine the limits of these zones.

To develop this principles, the Navarrese parliament passed the "Basque Language Law" in 1986, six years after the Statute. The delay in adopting this law reveals the difficulties encountered in drafting it, and even so it was not adopted unanimously, since the Basque nationalists in parliament considered it insufficient and abstained.

As provided for in the Statute, the Law delimits those municipalities which fall into each of the three linguistic areas, and sets out norms to enable Euskera to be used for official purposes in the Basque-speaking areas, and for some purposes in the other areas. It also contains recommendations for spreading knowledge and use of the language, and provides that the daily report of sessions in parliament as well as all decisions and resolutions

of the government will be published in both languages. It gives the Academy of the Basque language the status of consultative institution in linguistic questions, which amounts to a formal recognition that the language spoken in Navarra is the same as that spoken in Euzkadi as a whole.

For several years, the controversy between Navarrese autonomists and Basque nationalists had blocked the adoption of any measures on behalf of Euskera. Since the Law was passed, the Navarrese government has adopted a more favourable attitude to Euskera, and has created an "Euskera Teaching Service" and an "Euskera Translation Service" within the Administration. Given the small number of people who know the language in most of the Community, its presence in the workings of the administration, outside the Basque zone, is little more than symbolic. All that is provided is the possibility for any citizen who so wishes to use Euskera in dealing with the administration, making use of the Translation Service if necessary, and encouraging or supporting initiatives in favour of the language. Support for educational initiatives will be dealt with in the next section.

The language in education

The first ikastolas (Basque schools) appeared in Navarra in the 1960s, at the same time as in the Basque Country, and inspired by the same nationalist movement. There are now 40, with over 5,000 pupils. In Navarra, the public educational system is still dependent on the central government and the Spanish Ministry of Education, but as we have seen, the Community of Navarra has set up an "Euskera Teaching Service". On the one hand this service subsidises an important part of the cost of maintaining the ikastolas, and on the other hand it offers teaching of Euskera in all the schools of the Basque zone and in other schools in the rest of Navarra where the teaching staff and the parents' association ask for it. The situation at present can be summed up as follows :

Presence of Euskera in Basic General Education
6 to 14 years old — Navarra Community

Language used for teaching	Number of pupils				
	Public schools	Private schools	Ikastolas	Total	%
Castilian, no Euskera taught	28,728	24,802	—	53,894	83
Castilian, Euskera taught	4,509	—	—	4,509	7
Euskera	1,866	—	4,201	6,067	9
Totals	35,467	24,802	4,201	64,470	

The above data refer to Basic General Education. There is only one ikastola at secondary level where it is possible to study the entire course in Euskera.

Information and communications media

The number of books in Euskera published in Navarra is very small, as is the space devoted in local newspapers to the language. But those readers who want to obtain information in Euskera have easy access to the books and press published in the neighbouring Basque Country.

The same could be said regarding the audiovisual media. The amount of Euskera used on local radio stations and regional Spanish television is minimal, but broadcasts from the Basque Country can be received without difficulty.

Galician

It has already been noted, in the chapter concerned with Spain as a whole, that in the extreme north-west of the Peninsula — modern Galicia — a neo-Latin language emerged which spread southwards over the following centuries, and that by the 12th and 13th centuries it had a brilliant literary culture.

With the separation of Portugal from the kingdom of Spain, the Galaic-Portuguese language became first the language of a State and later that of an overseas empire, at the same time that its literature was reaching its greatest splendours. Portuguese has been codified and modernized to take account of present-day needs, and is today one of the great world languages. While this was taking place, the language spoken in Galicia was being reduced to the means of communication in a rural society where Castilian increasingly occupied the dominant position. In these difficult circumstances it pursued an independent evolution. When interest in the language revived in the last century, the literati used the language as they found it in the speech of the population. However as the linguistic revival advanced, and political and social objectives were proposed, requiring the language to be used in very varied contexts, the necessity of modernizing and codifying it was increasingly realised. Thus the conflict arose between those who wanted an independent norm for Galician ("isolationists") and those who wanted the Portuguese norm to be accepted for Galician ("reintegrationists").

A lively controversy has continued, although from a strictly linguistic point of view the two positions are not very different from each other. Both agree that the basic structures of the languages are the same, but that significant differences have arisen between them over time. The disagreement, then, focuses on the importance of these differences. As so often happens, the most heated arguments concern orthography, in many ways the most superficial, though also the most visible aspect or linguistic codification.

The discussion goes beyond linguistic questions to include what we could call sociolinguistic questions which in turn are closely tied to political motivations. From one perspective, the adoption of an independent norm seems to assure the identity and autonomy of the language and of the people who speak it. From the opposite perspective, accepting the Portuguese norm means identifying Galician with an international

language and thus ending its minority language status. At the present time the independent norm is being supported by the government and the academic institutions, while radical nationalists and some prestigious writers and intellectuals support an adaptation of the Portuguese norm.

GALICIA

General information

Galicia, in the extreme north-west of the Iberian Peninsula, has an area of 29,400 km² and a population of 2,753,000 according to the census of 1986. It has retained a very individual personality over the centuries in which features of the Celtic heritage can be noted. But it has also traditionally been a poor region with dispersed population and with a high level of emigration. This very unfavourable situation seems to have begun to change recently, a change which should be stimulated by autonomous government.

Political regime

The Statute of Autonomy of the Community of Galicia was passed in 1982. It gives Galicia its own parliament and a government ("Xunta") with different departments. Galicia consists of four provinces : Coruña, Lugo, Orense and Pontevedra. With the coming of autonomy, the city of Santiago de Compostela, a university town and a pilgrimage centre since the Middle Ages, was chosen as the capital of Galicia and the seat of the parliament and the Xunta.

The Galician parliament contains 71 deputies. Their distribution between the parties is currently : Popular Alliance (conservatives), 29; Socialist Party of Galicia (a section of the Spanish Socialist Party), 22; Galician Coalition (regionalists), 11; Galician Left, 3; Galician Nationalist Party, 3; Galician Nationalist Block (radical nationalists), 1; independents, 2. The Popular Alliance formed the government from the start of autonomy until 1986, but since that time it has been formed by a coalition made up of the Socialist

Party (PSOE), Galician Coalition and the Galician Nationalist Party under the presidency of the PSOE.

In the first years of the autonomous regime the Galician government, controlled by a conservative party, showed very little interest in the language. Demands on behalf of Galician were confined to more or less radical nationalist groups. But the conviction slowly gained ground that the defence and promotion of the language was an aspiration shared by many sectors of the society, and the Galician government started to take steps in this direction. This led to the "Linguistic Normalization Act" and the creation of the Directorate of Linguistic Policy. When in 1986 the Popular Alliance government was replaced by a coalition in which nationalist parties participated, the level of commitment increased.

Sociolinguistic situation

The population censuses in Galicia have not so far been accompanied by linguistic censuses so that it is not possible to give reliable data relating to the population as a whole. A survey carried out in 1986 on a fairly representative sample gave the following results :

Knowledge of Galician among the population of Galicia

Percentage who can understand Galician

Not at all	6 %
With difficulty	33 %
Without difficulty	61 %

Percentage who can speak Galician

Not at all	8 %
With difficulty	36 %
Without difficulty	55 %

Percentage who can write Galician

Not at all	38 %
With difficulty	44 %
Without difficulty	18 %

Even if we only regard these figures as approximations, they show that the level of knowledge of Galician is high — higher than that of Euskera in the Basque Country, or even that of Catalan in Catalonia. But this positive impression should be tempered by other data which show us the markedly diglossic situation which Galician occupies. A large number of surveys have demonstrated that knowledge and use of Galician is related (a) to place of residence, i.e. it is greater in villages than in towns and cities; (b) to social level, being greater at lower social levels; and (c) to professional status, being greater among farmers than among the prestigious professions. In addition, the higher the social level and professional status, the more likely it is that use of Galician is limited to the family circle and informal contacts, while in formal situations only Castilian is used.

In the case of Euskera, the principal difficulty in promoting the language lies in the difficulty of acquiring it. In the case of Galician this difficulty does not exist, because the linguistic distance between it and Castilian is very small and there is no great difficulty in acquiring one from the other. The traditional difficulty in promoting Galician has been the low social value given to it, which excludes it from educated uses and those connected with the power structure, in favour of Castilian. However it must be said that this situation is now changing. The use of Galician in public institutions such as the government, parliament or university, not to mention its use in advertising or on television is having a significant effect on the social prestige of the language.

Linguistic policy

As in the other Communities we have considered, the Galician Statute of Autonomy establishes that Galician is the language belonging to Galicia, and that both Galician and Castilian are to be considered official languages in Galicia. On the basis of these principles, the Galician parliament passed a "Linguistic Normalization Act" in 1983, whose aims and provisions are similar to those we have already seen in other Communities with their own language. As in Catalonia or the Basque Country, the government of Galicia has set up a Directorate General of Linguistic Policy to put into practice the aims set out in the Act.

A good example of the growing tendency to use Galician as the language of the government and administration is the Galician parliament. It is taken for granted that all the deputies understand both languages and that contributions may therefore be made in either of the two languages. In practice, though, Galician is used almost exclusively, and even more so now

than in the first years of autonomy.

The progress of Galician within the autonomous administration has been much more modest. It is true that all the regulations and public information put out by the administration is presented in both languages, and that all citizens who wish to can use Galician with the services of the public administration. But within the administration, although the use of Galician in oral contacts is frequent and even the rule, its use in writing and documentation is still scarce.

Galician is used even less within private organizations and businesses, and is usually limited to oral contacts between staff or with those customers who prefer it.

The language in education

The position regarding education has been rather similar to that described for linguistic policy as a whole. For some years little progress was made. The Galician government was not very interested in the subject, and when some teachers started teaching in Galician on their own initiative, they met with resistance from the parents themselves. The situation has gradually changed and now the Education Council actively promotes initiatives in favour of the language in education. Whereas before it merely required compliance with the bilingualism Decrees of 1978, which make the teaching of the language compulsory at all levels, now it has been made obligatory for at least one subject to be taught in Galician at all levels, both primary and secondary.

According to the latest data published by the Education Council, the obligation to teach Galician at all levels is now being complied with in all the teaching institutions in Galicia, while the proportion of centres which comply the obligation to teach at least one subject in Galician at every level is 67 % in primary education and 30 % in secondary. But this proportion is expected to increase every year, and there is also some increase in the number of schools which use Galician as the language of their internal functioning and external relations.

The Statutes of the University of Santiago make Galician the joint official language of the university together with Castilian. At the time the Statutes were adopted, this affirmation was nothing more than an expression of a wish, since only a few groups of nationalist intellectuals and students were demanding the use of Galician in university teaching, but in the time since

then the situation has changed considerably. Much of the information given by the university is presented in both languages, and some only in Galician. In all formal and informal meetings Galician is used just as naturally as Castilian, taking it for granted that all participants at least understand the language. About 20 % of the university courses are taught in Galician. Since 1986 the university entrance examination includes a demonstration of competence in Galician.

Production of books

In 1987 about 500 books were published in Galician. The number has been gradually increasing since the 1960s. The quantities printed are small, 1,000 or 2,000 copies, although in the case of educational books used in schools they are much larger. Apart from these school books most of the titles published are literary works, or books for children and young people.

The language in the communications media

The local newspapers publish sections in Galician and there are also a certain number of literary and other magazines written in Galician. The local station of one of the national radio networks (Radio 4) broadcasts in Galician much of the time. But probably the most important factor in the fields of the communications media has been the establishment of a Galician television station (TVG), most of whose programmes are in Galician.

Bable (Asturias)

It will be recalled from the general introduction to the linguistic situation in Spain that among the linguistic nuclei being formed in the north of the peninsula at the beginning of the Middle Ages was Asturian or Asturian-Leonese, which never came to constitute a full language because its expansion was absorbed by its neighbour nucleus Castilian. Nevertheless, the primitive Asturian language is still spoken in rural areas, highly intermingled with Castilian and fragmented in turn into dialectal varieties.

This exclusively rural use, and the lack of prestige that that implies, account for the fact that there was no literary renaissance of the language in the last century, nor did it serve as the basis for a movement for political autonomy. Apart from isolated exceptions it was not until the last years of the Franco regime that active groups started to emerge seeking a revival of Bable. They did not achieve enough political influence to determine the drafting of the Statute of Autonomy.

The Statute of Autonomy of Asturias says in article 4: "Bable, the language specific to Asturias, will enjoy complete protection. Its use will be promoted in the communications media and in education, respecting local varieties and the wishes of citizens regarding learning it."

Article 10 says: "The Principality of Asturias is responsible for the promotion and protection of the different forms of Bable as they are used in the different districts of Asturian territory."

These statements in the Statute imply a positive attitude to Bable and an encouragement to promote its use. However, if we compare its text with those of other Statutes, we can see that the Asturian document does not consecrate Bable as an official language. It does not even consider it as a unified or unifiable language.

This fact is really the greatest problem of Bable. In 1980, on the basis of earlier precedents, the "Academy of the Asturian Language" was created. Among its objectives was the establishment of a norm for Asturian, and the first fruit of this was the proposal, in 1981, of an orthographic norm. Efforts to unify the different dialects, however, are still highly controversial."

A recent survey (1984) indicates that of a total of 1,112,000 inhabitants of Asturias, 51 % understand Bable, 26 % can speak it and 32 % can read it.

In response to the petitions of interested groups following the indications in the Statute, the Asturian government has created an "Office of Linguistic

Policy” with the aim of supporting initiatives for the promotion and diffusion of Bable, from the carrying out of surveys to the giving of subsidies, particularly in the field of education.

The Office organizes intensive training courses for teachers and assists the introduction of the teaching of Bable in schools. According to the latest published data (1985-1986), 14 % of pupils in primary education receive such classes.

Aranese / Val d'Aran

The Aran Valley (Val d'Aran) is a Pyrenean valley on the French-Spanish border, which is an administrative part of Catalonia, and therefore of the Spanish State, although geographically it is oriented towards France. It is the source of the Garonne river which thereafter runs through French territory.

The language of the Val d'Aran is Aranese, a dialect of Gascon, the language of Gascony, which in turn is a dialect of the Occitan group of languages. A recent survey indicates that 80 % of the 5,000 inhabitants of the valley speak Aranese and of the rest a considerable number understand it. About 60 % consider that Aranese is their habitual language. At the same time, since the valley forms part of the Spanish State, practically all of them know Spanish, the official language and the language used in education. Between 10 and 20 % know Catalan.

The establishment of an autonomous regime in Catalonia, giving Catalan the status of official language alongside Castilian, has made it necessary for special provisions to be adopted for the Val d'Aran. The "Linguistic Normalization Act" passed by the Parliament of Catalonia in May 1983 devotes chapter 5 to the "normalization of Aranese" and says among other things that :

1. Aranese is the language belonging to the Val d'Aran. The Aranese have the right to know it and to express themselves in it in their interactions and in public acts in the territory.

2. The Generalitat, together with the Aranese institutions must take the measures necessary to guarantee knowledge of Aranese and its normal use in the Val d'Aran, and to hasten the process of normalization.

3. The Executive Council of the Generalitat must provide the resources to guarantee the teaching and use of Aranese in the schools of the Val d'Aran.

One of the first results of this policy has been the undertaking of a survey, referred to above, to serve as a basis for future actions. A commission to codify Aranese has been created, and has already agreed on an orthographic norm. A book of readings in Aranese for schools has been published.

The most important change has been the introduction of Aranese in schools. Under the new regulations, teaching is still in Castilian except for 9 hours a week at all levels of teaching of and in Aranese. It has been recommended that, when the teachers know Aranese, the introduction to education in the pre-school period and first year of school should take place in Aranese.

Other linguistic peculiarities

To complete the picture of the linguistic diversity of Spain the following facts may be taken into account :

Compared with other languages, Spanish or Castilian is remarkably uniform, with few dialectal differences. Within Spain itself, the only important difference is between the north of the peninsula and the south (Andalusia). It has traditionally been considered that the forms used in the north (Old Castille) are the most correct, and the Andalusian forms have been looked down on. Nowadays the educational authorities in Andalusia recognise those teachers who respect and value the use of these forms. However, various attempts to systematize these forms into a so-called "Andalusian language" have produced very little response.

Just as it has been said that the ancient Asturian linguistic nucleus survives in Bable, so too the Aragonese nucleus survives in the valleys of the central Pyrenees, although it is less widely spoken than Bable and like the latter is heavily mixed with Castilian and fragmented into local varieties. On the basis of the survival some have tried to modernize and spread an "Aragonese language", although so far with very little success.

It should also be borne in mind that the limits between the different languages of the Peninsula do not always coincide with administrative divisions, and are sometimes not clear and precise so that interferences and transition zones occur.

In previous chapters the zones of different languages in Navarra and Valencia have been mentioned. It could be added that in Aragon there is a small Catalan-speaking zone ("Franja de Ponent") recognized by the government of Aragon, which has enable the teaching of Catalan to be offered in schools in this zone.

Between Galicia an Asturias there are transition zones with intermediate dialectal forms that are difficult to define. In León and Salamanca there are local varieties of Castilian though to be influenced by Asturian, and in the part of Murcia that borders on Valencia a local dialect (Panocho) recalls the former presence of Catalan in this area. Furthermore, on the frontier with Portugal there are several villages where Portuguese is spoken (Olivenza, and other smaller villages in the province of Salamanca).

Finally in the Spanish cities of the north African coast — Ceuta (65,150 inhabitants) and Melilla (52,500 inhabitants) — there is an Arab (Moroccan) minority to whom teaching in Arabic has for some time been offered in Spanish public schools.

II — Portugal

Portugal is probably the most linguistically uniform country in the whole of the EEC, and even in the whole of Western Europe. In speaking of the linguistic history of Spain, and in particular of Galicia, we referred to the Galaic nucleus, later Galaic-Portuguese, formed from the decomposition of Latin in the mountains of Galicia, and how this nucleus spread southwards through what is now Portugal as the reconquest of Arab-occupied territories advanced.

At the end of the Middle Ages this Galaic-Portuguese language began the blossom when it was the language of poetry, not only in Galicia and north of present-day Portugal but even in the court of Castille itself. But as it spread further south, the language spoken in Portugal started to separate from the early Galaic for two reasons. One was that the territories abandoned by the Arabs were not left uninhabited. Many of the inhabitants who had formerly lived there with the Arabs remained. They spoke either Arabic or Latin, which had evolved there too, and as they adopted the language from the north they gave new forms to it, especially phonetic ones, whether due to Arab influences or as a consequence of a linguistic substratum prior even to the Roman occupation.

The second factor which was decisive in constituting Portuguese as an independent language was of course the separation of Portugal from the kingdom of Castille and its consolidation as an independent State. From that moment on, Portuguese followed its own course of evolution, driven by its own cultural and political centres and different from that of the Galician which continued to be spoken in Galicia.

The evolution of Portuguese has been determined partly by the existence since the Renaissance of a highly cultivated literary tradition, and at the same time by Portugal's overseas expansion which acquired the form of an empire. Although this empire no longer exists, it has made Portuguese an international language.

In spite of this geographical dispersion, Portuguese has remained remarkably unified, and particularly within its own territory. As in the case of Spain, Portuguese is sharply differentiated between north and south. This difference, as we have noted, may be due to the greater contact of the

southern population with Arabic, or more probably to a pre-Roman phonetic substratum. In any case this differentiation poses no threat to the unity of the language.

The linguistic uniformity of Portugal, in addition to the fact of its having been derived from a single original nucleus, could be explained by its "protected" geographical situation. Lying on the extreme edge of Europe, Portugal has never been a buffer State, and even its frontier has been remarkably stable since it was established : perhaps the oldest and most stable in Europe.

Almost the only exception that can be found to this uniformity is Mirandes, a linguistic variety related to Asturian-Leonese which has been spoken of in connection with linguistic minorities in Spain. Mirandes is spoken in a small area on the frontier with Spain, made up of the villages of Conselho (Ayuntamiento), Miranda del Duero and a few neighbouring villages. The total population of the area is 15,000. The use of the language is purely oral and no measures to protect or promote it exist.

III — Greece

General overview

In order to describe the different linguistic minorities in modern Greece, it will be useful to begin by giving some basic information about Greek history and the way in which the Greek State came into being. This history dates back to the classical era, an era of which we Europeans all to some extent consider ourselves the heirs, but of which modern Greeks consider themselves direct descendants. Classical Greece however did not constitute a nation in the modern sense of the word, but rather a conglomeration of independent cities. Moreover the limits of the Hellenic world were very wide, extending along both coasts of the Mediterranean, but they were vague and difficult to define.

A lot of water has passed under the bridge since Philip of Macedonia tried to integrate the Greek cities into a political unit in the fourth century BC and the history of the Hellenic peninsula has been extraordinarily eventful. In fact several events took place: their incorporation into the Roman empire, Christianization, the separation of the Church of Constantinople (Orthodox) from that of Rome (Catholic), the crusades of the West against Islam in which Greece was both a way-station and an object of conquest, and finally the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the 19th century the rebellion against Turkish rule began, and it was in the course of this long struggle that a Greek national identity was forged which led to the creation, in 1830, of an independent Greek State. This new State covered scarcely a third of the area of modern Greece. The fight for independence continued until the beginning of this century, while in other parts of the Balkan Peninsula, other nationalist movements were also fighting against the Turks. This period of bloodshed finished in 1913 with the Treaty of Bucharest, which fixed the political map of the Balkans including the frontiers between Greece and its northern neighbours: Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. As a result of this delimiting of frontiers, massive population movements took place, and hundreds of thousands of Slavs left the part of Macedonia awarded to Greece and headed north, while a large number of Greeks left Bulgaria and other countries and settled in the interior of Greece.

The newly independent Greek State had accepted borders in Macedonia but it was not willing to give up its claim to Western part of Asia Minor,

which had been a pillar of Greek culture in the classical period, and which was still largely inhabited by Greeks. The First World War seemed to offer the possibility of a reconquest, but the attempt ended in tragedy. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 regulated the new mass migrations which were carried out in often dramatic conditions. 1,221,000 Greeks left Asia Minor to settle on the Hellenic peninsula, while 354,617 Turks migrated from Greece to Turkey.

These treaties and migrations, and the subsequent incorporation of the Dodecanese (1947) obliged Greece to put an end to its period of geographical expansion. At the same time that it gave up its claims on new territories, it decided to create within its borders a unified country with a single race, language and culture. However within the territory of Greece there are still linguistic minorities and although they are not very numerous and have little influence, their existence cannot be denied.

The Greek population census of 1951 gave the following classification of the inhabitants according to mother tongue :

Turkish-speaking	92,443 (of which 86,633 in Western Thrace)
Slav-speaking	41,017
Vlachs	39,855
Arvanites	22,736
Pomaks	18,671

The census counted some other languages (less than 10,000 speakers). The total number of Greek citizens according to census was about 7,600,000.

The accuracy of these official figures has often been questioned by some various migrant groups. Furthermore they are now nearly forty years old. More important than their intrinsic value is the fact that these are the only available figures of an official nature. Indeed, subsequent censuses did not take ethnic or linguistic peculiarities into account, and there are no other official or semi-official sources of data on the subject. It seems as if there had been a political will not to carry out a census of the different groups, something evidently related to unification project already referred to. The explanation for this attitude must lie in the fact that all the minority languages mentioned can be related to languages spoken in neighbouring countries, countries with which Greece has tense and often hostile relations. There is a general historical memory of the independence struggle and of certain episodes in the last world war where a part of the Greek territory was occupied by neighbouring countries which tried to annex them with the excuse of historical or ethnical revendications.

One important limitation must be added to this generalization. The Treaty of Lausanne which ended the war and regulated the movements of population between Greece and Turkey also authorized the continued presence of an Orthodox minority in Turkey and a Muslim minority in Greece, in Western Thrace. Articles 37 to 44 of the Treaty govern the rights of the non-Muslim (for which we can read Orthodox) minority in Turkey. Thus article 40 says : "Turkish citizens belonging to non-Muslim minorities will enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees in practice and in law as other Turkish citizens. They will have the right to create, manage and maintain at their expense any charitable, religious or social institutions as well as schools and other teaching and educational establishments, with the right freely to use their own language and freely to practise their own religion."

Article 45 lays down that : "The rights recognized by the stipulations of the present section in respect of non-Muslim minorities in Turkey, are also recognized by Greece in respect of the Muslim minority settled in its territory."

The text of these articles suggests some comments : "The first minority whose rights are regulated is that settled in Turkish territory, and thereafter the rights of Muslims in Greece are defined as being identical to those of the Greek orthodox population. If one remembers that Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, is the residence of the Patriarch, the supreme authority of the Greek Orthodox Church, it is legitimate to suppose that it was the Greeks' insistence on maintaining the Patriarchy in its traditional seat, in spite of the massive expulsion of Greeks from Turkey, that motivated the safeguards for this minority orthodox in Turkey and as a counterpart, the recognition of similar rights for the muslims in Greece. So, on the basis of reciprocity Greece should guarantee rights of the muslim's minority and Turkey should guarantee those of the Greek's minority.

Whatever the reasons may have been, the fact is that the Treaty of Lausanne guarantees the existence of a mostly Turkish-speaking minority in Western Thrace (the Muslim minority also includes Pomaks and Gypsies, as we shall shortly see) and defines their rights, something that is not true of the other linguistic minorities found in Greece. Important consequences derive from this difference. Indeed, while the majority opinion in most of Greek society and among those who govern it is that members of other linguistic minorities are really Greeks, and therefore that their differences, including the linguistic ones, are not important, the Turkish-speaking minority, although they are Greek citizens, are seen as foreign to the Greek race and culture, and no demands are made for their

collective Hellenization only on an individual basis. The fact that the race and culture of a minority group coincide with those of a neighbouring country with whom Greece has traditionally had tense relations helps to strengthen this attitude.

Although the linguistic policy of Greece could be defined as saying that only Greek is recognised as the language of Greece, it is worth recalling that the controversy over which form of Greek should be recognised as the "normal" and "official" language have fuelled a real linguistic war lasting many years between supporters of "Katharevousa", the formal written language, and those of "demotiki", the popular language.

The distinction may go back to classical times when different dialects were spoken in the different Hellenic regions, of which the one spoken in Attica (in Athens) was considered the most prestigious and suited to learned uses, while the needs of commerce and the community produced a "koine" or common language. Later the Orthodox Church took up and developed the educated language, and kept it alive during the centuries of Ottoman occupation. When independence arrived, the language of the Church, identified as a symbol of nationhood and as a holy language, a national language and a language of learning, became the official language of the new State — that is, the language of the laws, literature and educated discourse, and the language of teaching.

However, during the centuries that had passed the language spoken by the Greeks had evolved considerably, just as Latin, for example, in similar circumstances had lost some of its declensions. Thus the distance between the popular language and the educated language used by the church had become immense. This had grave social consequences, increasing the distance between classes, and soon it began to be questioned. Writers interested in "naturalism" began to use the popular language in their work, and they were followed by popular politicians in their speeches, so that the question took on a political significance. In any case, the task of putting the popular language in a condition to be used for all literate purposes required a great effort which needed a lot of time and could not be improvised and which was supported at length until the 60s, when the replacement seemed imminent. The colonels regime blocked this process for a time and it was not until 1977 that popular Greek, "demotiki" or neo-elleniki was declared the official language and its use obligatory.

Turkish-speaking

Thrace is a region situated in the extreme north-east of the Hellenic peninsula. Politically it is divided in two: Western Thrace which forms part of Greece, and Eastern Thrace which forms part of Turkey. They are separated by the river Evros (Maritza) which forms the frontier between the two countries.

Western Thrace, where the Muslim minority protected by the Treaty of Lausanne is found, has an area of 8,587 km² and a population of 329,582 according to the 1971 census. Administratively it is divided into three prefectures: Xanthi, Rodhopi and Evros. The region is mainly agricultural where the ground is fertile and sparsely populated.

When the Treaty was signed in 1923 the population of Western Thrace was mostly Muslim of which an important part was Turkish-speaking. Since then, significant migration has taken place to Turkey, to the interior of Greece in much smaller numbers, and in recent years to Germany. In parallel with this, Greeks went to Thrace to settle, especially in the first year after the Treaty mainly refugees from Asia Minor.

According to the most recent estimates, the Evros prefecture is composed of 144,000 Christians and 11,000 Muslims, among whom 2,000 are Turkish-speaking, 2,000 are Pomaks and 7,000 are Gypsies. In the prefecture of Rhodopi there are 67,000 Muslims among which 46,000 are Turkish-speaking, 12,000 are Pomaks and 9,000 are Gypsies. The Christian population is of about 51,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, the prefecture of Xanthi is composed of 42,000 Muslims, among whom 11,000 are Turkish-speaking, 25,000 are Pomaks and 6,000 Gypsies. The Christian population of Xanthi is of 46,800 inhabitants.

In accordance with the Treaty the Muslims of Thrace maintain their own religious institutions. In fact, according to the available data, there are 250 mosques in the region with their servants and 3 muftis — religious authorities who under Islamic law (servat) arbitrate in marriage agreements and separations and all other questions of civil law — who are very influential in the minority.

In the region there are now for the Muslim population and paid by the Greek State, 163 schools with 474 teachers and 10,945 pupils. Around half of the subjects are taught in Turkish. There are also some newspapers and weekly magazines in Turkish and the local radio programmes include news broadcasting in Turkish. And also members of the Greek Parliament are Muslims who come from this area.

Although within the region there are some areas where Greeks predominate and others where the majority are Muslims, in most of them members of both communities live side by side, and thus it is common to find mosques and Orthodox temples, Greek schools and Muslim schools, within the same local area. However the two communities are clearly distinct, in their customs and tradition, in their language and religion. Mixed marriages are practically unknown. This is probably a result of the isolation within this society of the Turkish-speaking minority, who not only maintains its beliefs, but whose level of religious adherence is notably higher than that in Turkey, which is its cultural model.

Despite such differentiation, relations between the two communities do not give rise to serious problems, and at local level conflicts are rare.

There are, however, some complaints at local level, sometimes they are made to the Parliament or they come from outside Turkey. More recently, complaints come also from groups of immigrants in Western Europe. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that out of the 240,000 strong Greek minority in Istanbul in 1923, there are only 4,000 old people left.

Pomaks

As has already been indicated when we mentioned the Turkish-speaking minority, there is a population known as Pomaks, with a Slavic language and Muslims by religion, who live together with the Turkish-speaking people in Western Thrace and who, like them, are protected by the Treaty of Lausanne. In 1971 the number of Pomaks living in Western Thrace was estimated at 27,000, 20,000 of them in the prefecture of Xanthi and the rest in Rhodopi in Western Thrace, and these figures have changed very little since then. The Pomaks are a small minority in absolute terms and also relatively, since they make up only 7 % of the total population of Western Thrace and 35 % of the Muslim population. In addition to this, they live scattered over a hundred or so villages and hamlets in most of which they are in a majority.

The historical origin of the Pomaks is not clear. The most widely held opinion, is that they are descendants of a people who were settled in the Balkans, who acquired a Slavic language as a result of the Slavic invasions, and later acquired the Muslim faith (17th century). In any case, during the Ottoman Empire the Pomaks enjoyed a certain autonomy. Despite this they participated actively in the wars of independence against the Turks, and even managed to establish an ephemeral "Pomak republic", but their aspirations were never realized since when the frontiers of the new States were fixed, most of them were included in Bulgarian territory, and the most southerly were included into Greece.

Since it was founded, the Bulgarian State considered the language spoken by the Pomaks to be a dialect of Bulgarian, and carried out a policy of "bulgarization" of the Pomaks, a policy which on several occasions brought protests and caused violent incidents, and even emigrations to Turkey.

The Pomaks have a cultural history of their own of which they have maintained at least the language, which is thus their principal sign of identity and cohesive bond. Since they are citizens of a country whose language is Greek, they have to know this language and use it in dealing with the Administration and in all formal circumstances in general. Apart from this, Greek is the language of most of the communications media (press, radio, television). And because they are members of a religious community whose main language is Turkish, they have to know this language too — not only that, but Turkish is the language in which they are taught in schools, and in which they receive what little information does not come to them in Greek. Thus the Pomaks own language is used

exclusively within the family or for colloquial interaction with friends and acquaintances.

Slav-speaking

Although the massive resettlements of population which followed the end of the Balkan War provoked the exodus of no less than a quarter of a million Slav-speaking people from what had become Greek Macedonia, there were also a certain number who preferred or managed to remain in their places of origin. As we have seen, the 1951 census put this figure at something around 40,000. Probably at the time of the census the real figure was much higher, but since then it must certainly have diminished, since these were inhabitants of rural and mountain areas which have seen heavy emigration to the cities, with the consequent abandonment of their language.

For those who continue to live in their original places the situation of their language is extremely precarious. It has no official recognition, neither in theory nor in practice. Education and religious ceremonies are both carried out exclusively in Greek, and the same is true of the communications media, so that the language remains used only within the family, and even there the children and young people today tend to prefer Greek.

The only possibility of compensating for this would involve some help from the Greek authorities. Indeed, as has been noted from the beginning, the question of linguistic minorities touches a sensitive nerve in Greece, and in the case of Macedonia this sensitivity is extreme.

In the last century, during the struggles with Turkey that were to shape the modern political map of the Balkans, the aspirations of several emerging nations converged on the vast region known as Macedonia. Finally the Macedonian territory, whose boundaries were never clear, was divided between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, which inherited Serbian aspirations. Between the wars, Bulgaria considered itself the natural protector of all the southern Slavs, and so of the Slavs-Macedonians, and the Communist International included in its plans for the Balkans the creation of a Macedonian State. This plan was finally abandoned, but it had some influence on Tito's decision to give the name of Macedonia to the southern territory of Yugoslavia, now a federal republic. From the Greek point of view the fact that the Yugoslav government chose to adopt the geographical names Macedonia, Macedonians (Greek names since Antiquity) to identify exclusively a Yugoslav republic, its slavonic people and their language, is a denial of Greek cultural heritage in Macedonia and, by implication, a harbinger of long-term irredentism vis-à-vis Greek Macedonia.

Aromounes (Vlach)

The Valacos or Aromounes as they are also known, are the modern descendants of a population probably settled in the Balkans in very ancient times. They were Romanized, and acquired the Latin languages, from which evolved a neo-Latin language different from, but related to Rumanian. For a time in the low Middle Ages the Valacos had powerful independent kingdoms, and in the years of Turkish rule they enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. However when the new Balkan States came into being, despite having been promised respect for their identity, they emerged in practice with no political structures of their own. Most Vlachs in the Ottoman held provinces had endorsed Greek political, educational and cultural causes. Between the two great wars Rumania, considering that the language was clearly related to Rumanian, exercised a policy of attraction towards the Aromounes, establishing teaching institutions where young Aromounes could learn the Rumanian language. This policy was later abandoned in practice, but the memory of it still arouses suspicion in Greece, because during the Second World War Rumanians tried to appropriate part of Greek territory by establishing a Vlach principality, administered by Rumanian oriented Vlachs.

There are no reliable estimates of the current number of Valacos in Greece who still know and use their language alongside Greek. The 1951 census lists 40,000 Vlach speakers. The Greek Valacos are found scattered across Thessaly, Pindus and Ipiros, that is, in the mountainous regions of the Hellenic peninsula. There are also Vlachs in Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. This is not fortuitous. The reason the Valacos managed to resist Slavs and Turks for so long and retain their own identity is that they took refuge in the mountains, where they specialized in pastoralism. But though this isolation has been enough over the centuries until now to ensure the survival of their language, nowadays it no longer suffices. The educational system, the church and television use Greek exclusively. Valaco is confined to family and colloquial use and is even beginning to be looked down on by young people in favour of Greek, which is linked to modern urban life. In these conditions its disappearance seems inevitable.

There are however some positive factors. Emigration has been very heavy, but not only at the lowest social level. A certain number of Valacos have managed to make their way in Greek society. Furthermore, bonds of solidarity have emerged between Valaco emigrants in the cities, and associations have appeared, some of which try to keep up the language and improve its status.

The recent year interest in the Vlachs in Greece is attested by numerous articles in the press, radio programs, and even four doctoral dissertations in Greek universities. It is possible to imagine that the combination of these efforts with a margin of tolerance and support by the Greek government could ensure the survival of this group.

Arvanites

The arvanite language is a branch of the great Indo-Germanic language which has survived thanks to centuries of isolation of the populations who speak it in certain regions of the Balkans, primarily in Albania and in certain parts of Yugoslavia, but also in isolated parts of Greece and Italy. Among the Greek there are descendants of those who emigrated from Albania at the end of the Middle Ages. A similar emigration explains the presence today of Arvanite villages in the south of Italy. It is very difficult to decide how far the language spoken in these places has maintained its unity, or whether it has fragmented into many dialects which are mutually intelligible.

Like the other minority languages referred to here, Arvanite enjoys no official recognition nor public presence. The Arvanite consider themselves the original inhabitants of Greece and make a great show of their patriotism.

According to the 1951 census, the number of Arvanite-speaking people was of about 23,000, while the number of those who declare themselves of Arvanite origine might be clearly larger (100,000-400,000). The ambiguity of these figures indicates the need to carry out more systematic analyses.

The Arvanite live in isolated places scattered over a very wide geographical area which includes mainly the central and southern part of Greece. Even when they form the majority in a village, their language is used only within the family and between neighbours.

While the rural agricultural society in which the Arvanites lived kept its traditional characteristics, isolation ensured the preservation of their language, but nowadays this isolation is diminishing. Schools and education, as well as written and audiovisual communication media, are becoming more and more influential.

In such conditions, the future of the language seems very bleak. It could certainly be improved by some measure of collective awareness, but the fact that the Arvanite live in small isolated populations widely separated from each other makes it difficult for any kind of collective feeling to appear. Nor do there seem to be associative movements among emigrants to the cities, as has happened among the Vlachs.

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