2004–2010

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA: 2004–2010

Latviešu valodas aģentūra

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Authors: *Pauls Balodis, Māris Baltiņš, Vineta Ernstsone, Valts Ernštreits, Gunta Kļava, Dite Liepa, Kristīne Motivāne, Inese Muhka, Jānis Oga, Evija Papule, Jānis Valdmanis, Anna Vulāne*

Scientific editor: Dr. habil. philol. *Ina Druviete*
Managing editors: *Gunta Kļava, Inita Vītola*
Reviewer: *Ilmārs Mežs*

Translated into English by *Anita Grauduma*

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LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA: 2004–2010

"If a spiritually healthy person, being fully aware that once he will have to part with this world, is still taking care of his own health as long as it is possible, why should a nation deliberately plunge into depression, a nation whose life is as strong and indestructible as the lives of many other life forms, certainly in case this nation definitely demonstrates a healthy spirit, if it honours its own life and is not blindly and hastily selling or exchanging its real life for that of an alien shadow. The core and the kernel of a nation is its language."

Kārlis Mīlenbahs, 1881

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Foreword

Regular investigation of language situation is the only way how to evaluate the results of the language policy and how to plan its forthcoming tasks. To trace the development of the language situation in Latvia, a study of the situation has been carried out for the period from 2004 up to 2010. The research work not only states what has already been achieved but also gathers information about the main problems in the implementation of language policy and in strengthening the competitive capacity of Latvian as the state language.

The results show that the use of the state language in everyday life, in service sector (transport, trade, etc.) is insufficient. In this regard the private entrepreneurship is a really "troublesome child". In real life the fact that private entrepreneurship is not the same as one's personal life is often ignored, since the target of this type of business is mainly to provide services for the community, and they must be available in the state language. At least two questions arise in this context. What is our own Latvian linguistic behaviour, namely, how often we use the Latvian language when addressing non-Latvian residents? And what is the attitude of non-Latvian residents towards everyday usage of the official language? The attitude of every single individual and every social group towards the use of a certain language directly influences the choice of communication language.

Undeniably, one of the main and still lasting problem situations is the division of the information space according to the language. And there is no doubt that the existence of two information spaces hinders social integration and in the long run substantially imperils the state language (and not only the language).

In connection with the two information spaces the topical question is whether those public persons — politicians, heads of state institutions, state officials — who choose other than the only state language for public communication, realize what a destructive effect it causes upon the prestige of the state language?

This research work provides data and facts about the complicate language situation in Latvia and gives answers to the above-mentioned and many other questions.

Jānis Valdmanis
Director of the Latvian Language Agency
Professor of the University of Latvia

Abbreviations

ATLLLCH – Association of Teachers of Latgalian Language, Literature and Cultural History
BISS – Baltic Institute of Social Sciences
CM – Cabinet of Ministers
CEEPS – Centre for East European Policy Studies
CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning
CSB – Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia
DGI – Directorate-General for Interpretation
EC – European Commission
EFNIL – European Federation of National Institutions of Language
EU – European Union
ILFS – The International Liv Friends' Society
IATE – Inter Active Terminology for Europe
IE LAS – Institute of Economics, Latvian Academy of Sciences
ILL UL – Institute of Latvian Language, University of Latvia
IMCS UL – Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, University of Latvia
Language 2007 – BISS. Language: report, August–September 2007
Language 2008 – BISS. Language: report, March–April 2008
LCS – The Liv Culture Society
LF – The Liv Foundation
LLA – The Latvian Language Agency
LLA Opinion poll 2009 – Data Serviss. Sociolinguistic Research of the Latvian language situation: survey of the research work. 2009
LLA interviews 2009 – Fieldex. Sociolinguistic Research of the language situation: report of the research results. Riga, 2009
LLASA – Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency (until 1 July 2009)
LLC – Latvian Literature Centre
LU – The Liv Union
MES – Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia
NCE – National Centre for Education
NLL – National Library of Latvia
OCMA – Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs
SLA – State Language Agency (until 1 July 2009)
SLA Opinion poll 2004 – Data Serviss. Problems of development and use of the Latvian language. Riga, 2004
SLC – State Language Centre
SSAMSI – Secretariat of the Special Assignment Minister for Social Integration (liquidated in 2009)
TC LAS – Terminology Commission, Latvian Academy of Sciences
TTC – Translation and Terminology Centre (until 1 July 2009)
UN – The United Nations
WFFL – The World Federation of Free Latvians

Introduction

"The Latvian language is the state language in the Republic of Latvia and the language of the integration of society; it is the basis for the national identity and part of the varied cultural heritage of the world. That is why the state of Latvia is both responsible to the society of Latvia and the present and future generations of the world for preservation and development of the Latvian language. This is the competence and responsibility of the state of Latvia, since Latvia is the only country in the world which can assume responsibility for the preservation of the Latvian language."

(Valsts valodas politikas pamatnostādnes 2005.–2014. gadam [*Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014*]. Rīga, 2007, 21. lpp.)

Investigation of language situation is the basis for evaluation of the results of language policy and for setting up tasks, as the challenge of the language policy is, on the one hand, to specify the direction for the development of language situation and, on the other hand, it must be strongly grounded on the real language situation.[1] On request of the Latvian Language Agency (LLA) the opinion poll of the inhabitants and in-depth interviews with experts[2] were conducted, in order to clarify the dynamics of the language situation in Latvia in the period from 2004 up to 2010, based on the analysis of the results of the state language policy determined in the Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014.[3] This has been an essentially eventful period in Latvian politics and in the development of the language situation:

- since 1 May 2004, Latvia is a Member State of the European Union (this ensures the development of the Latvian language, guarantees the official status of the language of the European Union (EU), favours the development of terminology and the growth of the volume of translations, expands the movement of manpower thus both directly and indirectly influencing the development and usage of the language);

[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 15. lpp.

[2] Data Serviss. *Latvijas valodas situācijas sociolingvistiskā izpēte*: pārskats par pētījumu [Sociolinguistic research of the Latvian language situation: survey of the research work]. LVA. Rīga, 2009; Fieldex. *Valodas situācijas sociolingvistiskā izpēte: pētījuma rezultātu ziņojums* (dziļās intervijas) [Sociolinguistic research of the language situation: report of the research results (in-depth interviews)]. Rīga, 2009.

[3] *Valsts valodas politikas pamatnostādnes 2005.–2014. gadam* [Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014]. Rīga, 2007, 30. lpp.

- reform of minority education has been carried out: since 1 September 2004, secondary schools have started to implement the minority education programme with enlarged specific weight of the Latvian language, respectively, bilingual education has been introduced and unified education ensured in all the schools of Latvia;
- at the end of 2003, the State Language Agency (SLA) (from 1 July 2009 called Latvian Language Agency[1]) was created aimed to strengthen the state language status and to further its sustainable development while carrying out sociolinguistic research works, advising the society of Latvia for the state language questions, implementing different other support actions for sustainable development of the Latvian language;
- since 2004, the project administration unit of the state programme for Latvian language acquisition has become a state agency (Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency (LLASA), but after 1 July 2009, Latvian Language Agency (LLA)), thus proceeding with the initiative of the UN for implementation of state language policy;
- since 2004, the Latvian Language Agency is a member of the European Federation of National Institutions of Language (EFNIL)[2];
- in 2006, the Department of State Language Policy (since 29 December 2008, State Language Policy Division) was created as part of the Ministry of Education and Science (MES) with the aim to ensure the function of state language policy creation;
- as a result of institutional reforms caused by the world and Latvian financial crisis, in 2009, the Latvian Language Agency was created, combining the SLA and the LLASA, as already mentioned, and the Translation and Terminology Centre (TTC) was combined with the State Language Centre creating the State Language Centre (SLC)

EFNIL
European Federation of National Institutions for Language

Latviešu valodas aģentūra

VALSTS VALODAS CENTRS

[1] In accordance with the State Administration Structure Law (Section 15, paragraph 3, point 2) and the Public Agencies Law (Section 8, paragraph 1), the state agency "Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency" and the state agency "State Language Agency" were merged and on 1 July 2009 a new state establishment — the state agency "Latvian Language Agency" — was created under the supervision of the Minister of Education and Science (Reg. No. 249 of the Cabinet of Ministers from 24 April 2009 "On the reorganisation of the state agency 'Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency' and the state agency 'State Language Agency'").

[2] The Federation unites organizations of the EU Member States and the countries of the European economical zone and its target is to achieve the competitiveness of all the official state languages, especially the small and medium ones.

under the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice.[1] Certain changes have taken place in the institutions enforcing public integration, which are closely connected with the state language policy: to ensure the integration function in 2009, the Department of Public Integration under the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice (from 2011, Ministry of Culture) was created, replacing the liquidated Secretariat of the Special Assignments Minister for Social Integration (SSAMSI). Thus, with a maximum decrease of institutional support to enactment of language policy, state language development and the control mechanism of the State Language Law is still provided for, and further interference in the system of state language policy may negatively affect the implementation of language policy in the country;

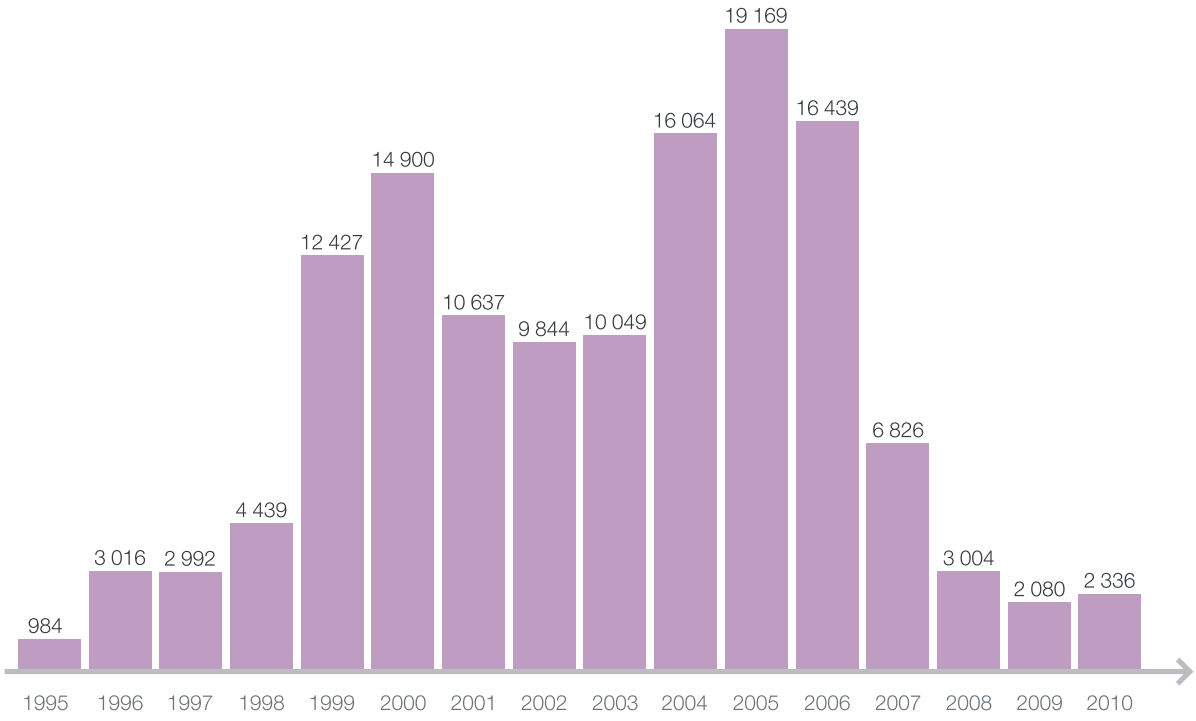


Fig. 1. **Number of persons having acquired Latvian citizenship through naturalization in 1995–2010.**
Source: OCMA

[1] In accordance with the State Administration Structure Law (Section 15, paragraph 3, point 1) and the Public Agencies Law (Section 8, paragraph 1), the state agency "Translation and Terminology Centre" has to be reorganized and combined with the direct administrative authority "State Language Centre" under the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice till 1 July 2009 (Reg. No. 192 of the Cabinet of Ministers from 12 March 2009 "On Reorganization of the State Agency 'Translation and Terminology Centre'").

- the period from 2004 up to 2006 has seen the largest number of persons (51 672 in total) during a 15-year period having acquired Latvian citizenship through naturalisation (see Fig. 1)[1];
- based on the State Language Law, several essential regulations and legal acts of the Cabinet of Ministers have been issued, e.g.:
  - Reg. No. 114 of the CM from 2 March 2004, "Regulation on Spelling and Use of Names in the Latvian Language and Their Identification";
  - Guidelines of the State Language Politics for 2005–2014 adopted on 2 March 2005;
  - The State Language Policy Programme for 2006–2010 adopted in 2006 (lost validity with the Reg. No. 470 of the Cabinet of Ministers from 11 August 2010);
  - Reg. No. 130 of the CM from 15 February 2005, "Regulations Regarding Use of Languages in Information";
  - Reg. No. 733 of the CM from 7 July 2009, "Regulation Regarding the Extent of Official Language Knowledge and the Procedures for Testing Fluency of the Language for the Performance of Professional and Official Duties, for the Receipt of the Long-term Residence Permit and for the Acquisition of the Status of a Long-term Resident of the European Community and State Fee for Testing Fluency of the Official Language";
- a limited use of the Latvian language in private business activities is one of the negative tendencies in the development of the language situation in the period from 2004 up to 2010, specifically in the service sector — the use of Latvian in everyday life is decreasing (in the shops, at the hair-dressers', etc.), linguistic discrimination of Latvians is growing as knowledge of Russian is being demanded in positions that do not require it (see Chapter 4.3);
- questions of public integration are still topical, especially in public environment where politicized and biased opinions, hindering successful public integration process, are being voiced, e.g. the division of information space in Latvian and Russian languages intensified by the accessibility of diverse new technologies (cable

[1] *Statistika: naturalizācija* [Statistics: naturalisation]. Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (15.09.2010). Available at: http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/Naturalizacija.html;jsessionid=886CA55BFDD407E0DB5162B3BAE89ABF.

TV, satellite TV, etc.) and the offered possibilities of information attainability, etc. (see Chapter 4.4 and 4.5) are still a threat to Latvian;

- in the period from 2004 up to 2010, print-runs for books and brochures in Latvian have decreased from 4.4 million copies in 2004 to 3.1 million in 2010 (in 1990 it was 13 million)[1];
- the number of higher educational establishments where one can learn Latvian as a foreign language has grown — there is a possibility to learn Latvian and also use it for research in 24 establishments of 13 world countries (see Chapter 7.2);
- an active language research and cultivation of the Latvian language has been carried out, dozens of local and international conferences organized, books, compilations, monographs and other research works on the Latvian have been printed. In 2005, the state programme "LETONIKA: Research on History, Language and Culture" was started, implementing programmes, organizing conferences, building data-basis, publishing books and research works about the Latvian language, culture and history.[2]

Language situation is a complete set of circumstances of language functionality, characterising the positions of languages used by a definite society in a definite moment: how many and what languages are being used in the given area, how many people speak the language under definite circumstances, what is the attitude of a certain community towards these languages, etc.[3] The specific situation of a language is determined by linguistic, historical, demographic, economic, political and cultural factors.[4]

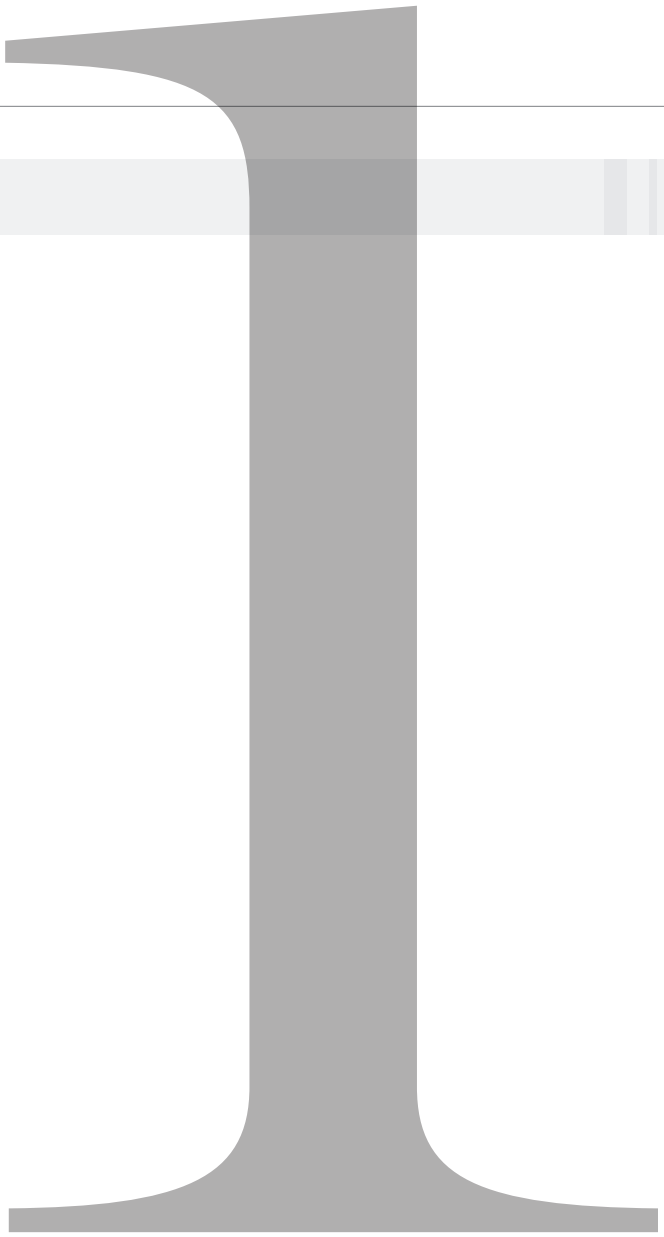
To find out the language situation and the results of the language policy as well as to define further tasks in its implementation, the research was based on opinion polls and in-depth interviews of the inhabitants of Latvia carried out by experts in 2004–2010:

- in 2004, Data Serviss carried out the opinion poll of the inhabitants of Latvia (Data Serviss. *Development and Problems of Use of the Latvian Language*. Riga, 2004) interrogating 1006 respondents between the ages of 18 and 74 in 11 different regions (further, SLA poll 2004);

[1] *Iedzīvotāji un sociālie procesi. Kultūra* [Population and Social Processes. Culture]. Central Statistical Bureau (12.12.2010). Available at: http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/statistikas-datubazes-28270.html-0.
[2] Information about the programme in Latvian is available also at the homepage www.letonikasprogramma.lv.
[3] *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca* [Explanatory dictionary of basic linguistic vocabulary]. Atb. red. V. Skujiņa. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 423. lpp.
[4] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 15. lpp.

- research "Language" ordered by the Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency and conducted by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (BISS). The results of this research-work were compared with the data of previous polls starting from June 1996. Opinion polls of 2007 and 2008 carried out by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (BISS. Language: Report. August–September, 2007, BISS. Language: Report. March–April, 2008) when 2000 respondents aged between 15 and 74 in the whole territory of Latvia were interviewed (further Language 2007 and Language 2008);
- in 2009, Data Serviss conducted the opinion poll (Data Serviss. *Sociolinguistic Research of the Latvian Language Situation*: survey of the research work. 2009) (further, LLA poll 2009), when 924 respondents aged between 17 and 74 in 19 different areas and cities were interviewed;
- in 2009, SIA "Fieldex" conducted in-depth interviews (Fieldex. *Sociolinguistic Research of the Language Situation*: report of the research results. Riga, 2009) (further, LLA 2009 interviews) clarifying evaluation of language situation by 25 language policy and education specialists and politicians.

To describe diverse components of the language situation, additional research-works and polls were used, documents and normative deeds analyzed, with references in the given part of the research-work.



LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

1 LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

As the state enacted a complex of measures for preservation of functional grouping of spoken languages, for determination of collective and individual speakers' rights, for investigation and development of languages, language policy is important in any country. Language policy is one of the main directions of home policy.

After the renewal of independence of the Republic of Latvia, language policy has become a well-considered and motivated branch of home policy. Language policy in Latvia was developed on a strict basis of the sociolinguistic theory, bearing in mind the experience of many foreign countries and with the participation of foreign experts, and thus it has won international approval.[1] The target of Latvian language policy is consolidation of the priority of Latvian in socially important spheres, at the same time guaranteeing the rights of minority languages.[2] Language policy in Latvia is closely connected with the social integration policy.

Fundamental principles of language policy

The fundamental principles of Latvian language policy, already since 1989 — also included in the Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014 — are the following:

- the Latvian language is the state language in Latvia;
- the state guarantees the opportunity to preserve, develop and use in certain functions the languages of minorities of Latvia.

These basic principles comprise the idea on coexistence of hierarchy of languages with the priority of the state language.

The official language(-es) is usually determined by the constitutions, laws, Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers or other state administrative documents, and in connection with other languages used in the state territory it enjoys special privileges.[3] It is the state language that has an important role in the promotion and maintenance of political unity.[4]

Insight into the history of the status of the official language

In the initial stage of the retrieval of national independence, also called the Third Awakening, the status of the official language was firstly attributed to

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[1] Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika* [View. Language, society, politics]. Rīga, LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 169. lpp.; see also *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State Language Law: history and topicality]. Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008.

[2] *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State Language Law: history and topicality]. Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga, Zinātne, 2008, 19. lpp.

[3] Spolsky, B. *Language Policy. Key Topics in Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 11.

[4] Nahir, M. Language Planning Goals: A Classification. In: *Sociolinguistics. The Essential Readings.* Ed. by Ch. B. Paulson, G. R. Tucker. Blackwell Publishing, 2006, p. 431.

Latvian by the **Language Law**, coming into force on 5 May 1989.[1] Modifications and amendments to the Language Law adopted on 31 March 1992 displayed the changes in the legal status of Latvia and strengthened the legal hierarchy of languages, respectively, determining the priority of Latvian as the state language. In 1998, Article 4 declaring Latvian to be the official state language was included in the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia.

Since during the last ten years the language situation had changed under the influence of different political, economical and other circumstances, there was a need for a new law encouraging strengthening of the status of the Latvian language in all sociolinguistic spheres.

On 9 December 1999, the new **Official Language Law** was adopted and it came into force on 1 September 2000. Section 3(1) states that the official language in the Republic of Latvia is the Latvian language. This implies the priority status of the Latvian language and also determines its use, namely, the state or the official language is the public communication language in the whole territory of the country. The state or the official language in Latvia is the language of the indigenous nation, like it is in many other countries.

As indicated in research-works and school-books, in the course of centuries Latvian has become a rich and cultivated language, developing the literary language as the most significant variety of the national language and the nation-wide means of communication both spoken and written, at the same time maintaining other language varieties and dialects.[2]

"Literary language is spoken in culture and administrative establishments irrespective of the location; books, magazines and newspapers, read by all layers of the society, are written and published in the literary language. Literary language is a cultivated variety of language. … In present circumstances language as a, means of communication is not to be regionally or socially restricted: everybody happens to talk with representatives of other counties and other professions. … Vernacular is a variety of language spoken in a small area but dialect is a cluster of vernaculars. Its main difference from the literary language is that it is a territorially limited variety of folk language."[3]

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[1] *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [The State Language Law: history and topicality]. Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 43. lpp.

[2] Rudzīte, M. *Ievads latviešu dialektoloģijā* [Introduction into Latvian dialectology]. From: Rudzīte, M. *Darbi latviešu dialektoloģijā*. Atb. red. L. Leikuma, A. Andronovs. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2005, 15. lpp.; Rudzīte, M. *Latviešu literārā valoda* [Latvian literary language]. From: *Latviešu valoda 10.–12. klasei*: mācību grām. J. Kušķis, A. Laua, I. Lokmane u.c. Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 1998, 4., 10. lpp.

[3] Rudzīte, M. Latviešu literārā valoda [Latvian literary language]. From: *Latviešu valoda 10.–12. klasei*: mācību grām. J. Kušķis, A. Laua, I. Lokmane u.c. Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 1998, 4., 10. lpp.

1 LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

Historically the Latvian literary language developed as a written language based on the Central dialect. From the functional point of view, the Latvian literary language, which today is the state or official language of the Republic of Latvia, has been and still is the common communication language for representatives of various dialects and vernaculars, and also minorities.

In the 18th century, one more written language was derived from the dialect of the eastern part of Latvia — to be more precise, from Southern Latgalian vernaculars.[1] Section 3(4) of the Official Language Law stipulates maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as a historic variant of the Latvian language. In order to facilitate the development of this historical dialect in addition to different activities of research and non-governmental institutions, the Sub-commission of Latgalian Orthography of the SLC Expert Commission of the Latvian language has approved the codified standards of written Latgalian — the rules of Latgalian orthography[2] (see Chapter 5).

The Liv language as the language of the indigenous population of Latvia

Another treasure and integral part of Latvian culture and history is the Liv language and their cultural and historic heritage. Section 4 of the Official Language Law determines maintenance, protection and development of the Liv language as the language of the indigenous (autochthon) population of Latvia (see also Chapter 6).

In the context of the policy of minority and foreign languages in Latvia

The Official Language Law defines the use of the Latvian language without regulating the use of minority or foreign languages, and, which is characteristic of Latvia, the mentioned concepts overlap each other, e.g. Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, etc. languages correspond to both minority and foreign language criteria.[3] That is why the concept of a foreign language is generalized in the law indicating the hierarchic relationship of Latvian and any other language. Latvian language policy is directed towards the development of an integrated society, which guarantees the possibility to maintain, develop and use the minority languages of Latvia in certain sociolinguistic functions and secures the competitive capacity of the Latvian language and protection of the linguistic human rights of its speakers.[4]

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[1] Breidaks, A. Latgalīšu rokstu volūtas sōkūtne un atteisteiba [Beginning and decelopment of the Latgalian written language. Grām.: Breidaks, A. *Darbu izlase. 2. daļa*. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts; Daugavpils Universitāte, 2007, 476. lpp.; Rudzīte, M. Latviešu literārā valoda. Grām.: *Latviešu valoda 10.–12. klasei*: mācību grām. J. Kušķis, A. Laua, I. Lokmane u.c. Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 1998, 4., 55. lpp.

[2] Valsts valodas centra Latviešu valodas ekspertu komisijas Latgaliešu ortogrāfijas apakškomisijas 2007. g. 28. septembra lēmums Nr. 1 — Par latgaliešu rakstības noteikumiem" [Orthography sub-commission of the SLC. Decision No. 1. On the rules of the Latgalian written language]. *Latvijas Vēstnesis*, 2007, 18. okt., 168 (3744).

[3] *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State Language Law: history and topicality.) Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 56. lpp.

[4] *Ibid.*, 68. lpp.

Directions of language policy and basic elements of language status

The main directions of enactment of language policy are essential for successful realization of the targets and formulations of language policy, namely:

1) judicial (consolidation of the status of the official language in laws and other normative deeds),
2) pedagogical (teaching Latvian to Latvians and to minorities living in Latvia),
3) linguistic (scientific research, standardization of the Latvian language, publication of the sources of norms and informative literature).[1]

While carrying out the language policy in Latvia it is important to work with all the three directions. If any of these aspects is ignored and their activities are not coordinated, no positive result is to be expected in language policy.

In order to reach the targets of language policy in Latvia and to provide for a coordinated operation of its basic directions, on 2 March 2005, the Cabinet of Ministers accepted the **Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014.** These guidelines comprise all the three basic elements of the real state language status.[2] At present we have to realize that to ensure a full-value state language status we need to avert the tendency of knowing but not using the state language. We should not allow violation of Latvian linguistic rights, though Latvians themselves are passive and too tolerant in the choice of communication language, thus hindering public integration processes.

The Guidelines declare the directions and tasks of the language policy:

- to guarantee the linguistic quality and competitiveness of the Latvian language,
- to ensure the functioning of the state language,
- to preserve, protect and develop the traditional environment of the language,
- to preserve the comprehensive study of language and scientifically grounded standardisation of literary language and codification of norms,
- to foster development and distribution of scientific and popular science materials about the Latvian language and language policy in Latvia.[3]

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[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 35. lpp. Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika* [View. Language, society, politics]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 115. lpp.

[2] *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State Language Law: history and topicality]. Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 197. lpp.

[3] *Valsts valodas politikas pamatnostādnes 2005.–2014. gadam* [Guidelines of the State Language Policy for 2005–2014]. Rīga, 2007, 5. lpp.

1 LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

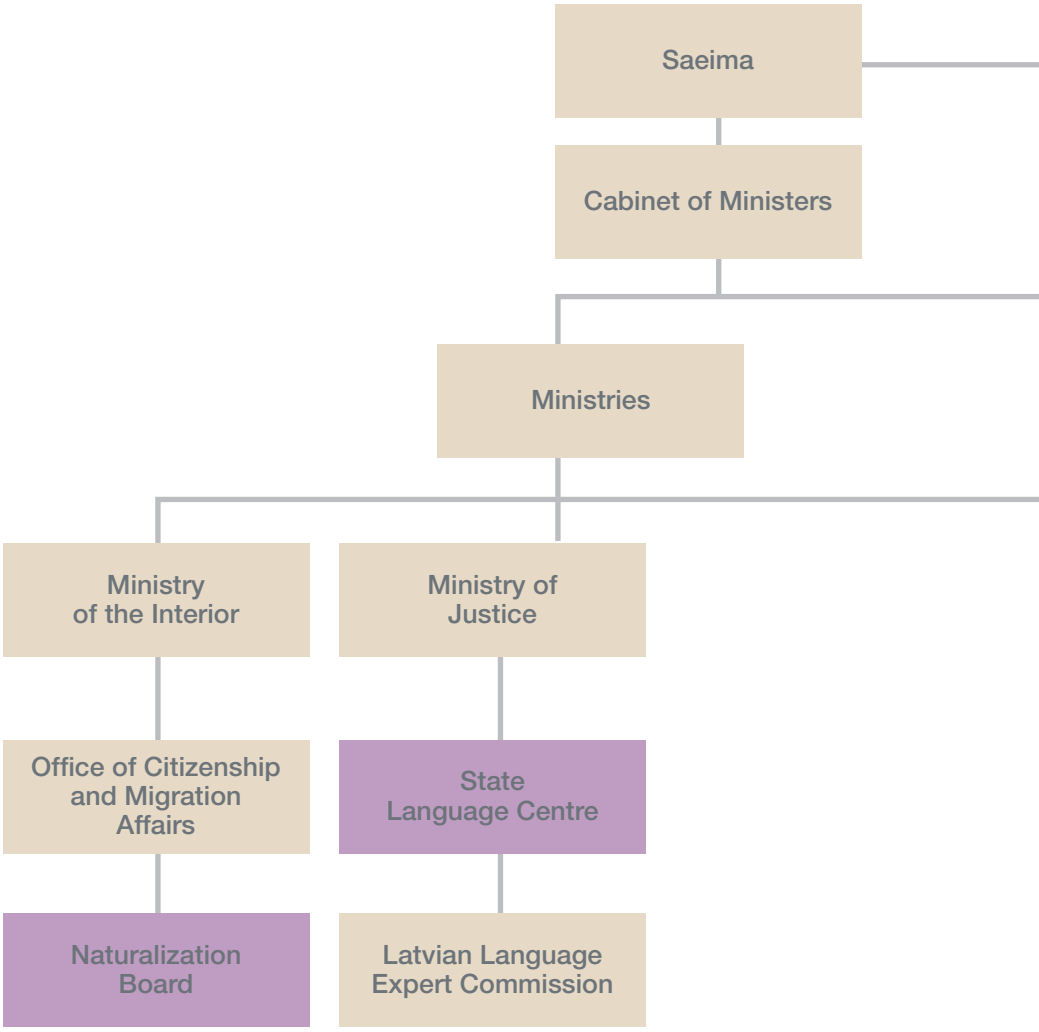
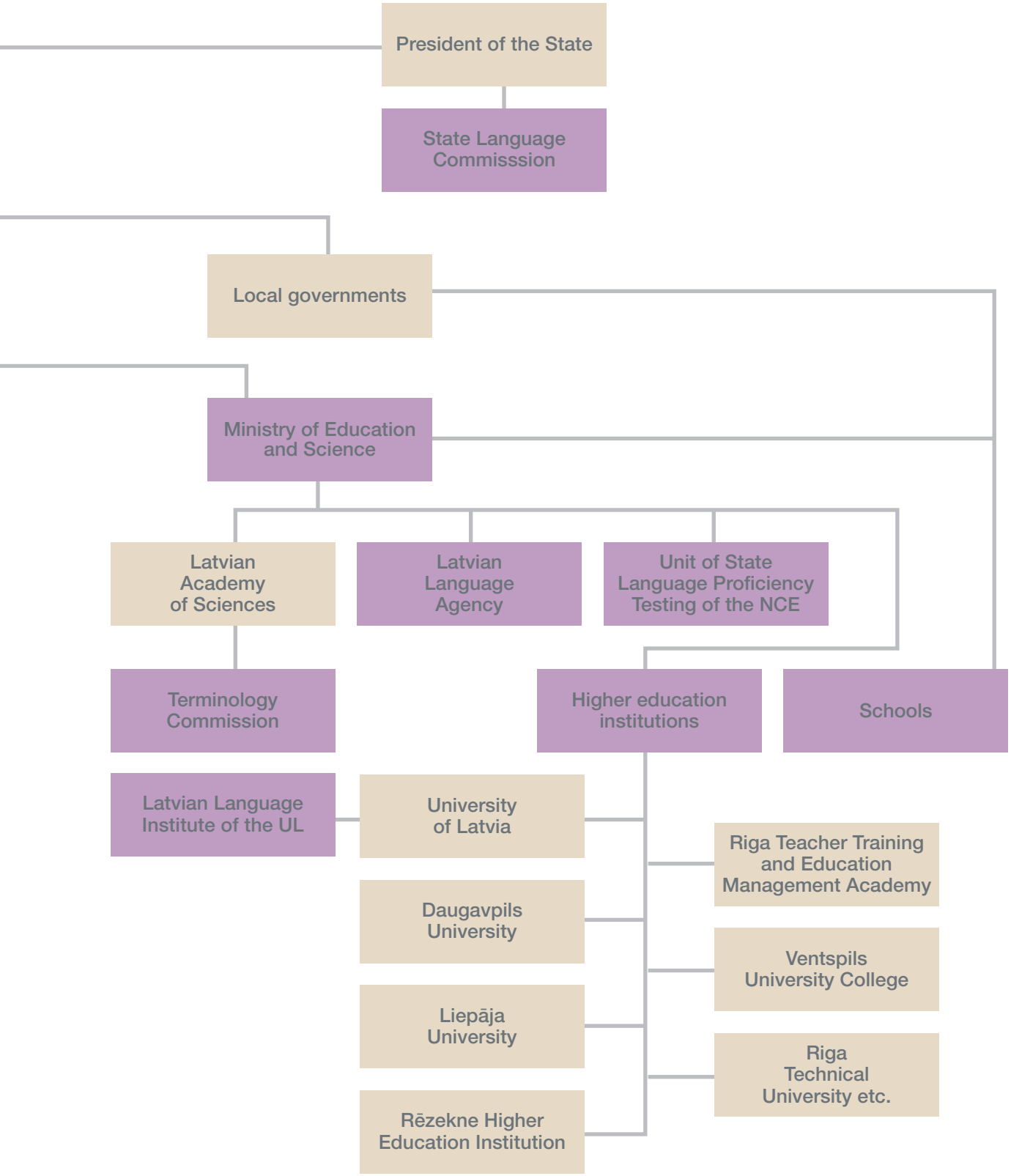


Fig. 2. Structural scheme of the language policy institutions in Latvia

"To ensure normal functioning of a state, all the socially and economically active inhabitants must know the state language. ... **If the state language speaker can use his language in all sociolinguistic spheres and the minority language speaker has the access to literature, mass media, cultural events, basic education in his native language, not to speak of free language choice within the family and informal contacts — the language rights and thus also the linguistic human rights of the speakers of this language are observed** [LLA emphasis]. The legislation of the Republic of Latvia has established a stable basis for the enactment of this norm."

(Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 127. lpp.)


President of the State
State Language Commisssion
Local governments
Ministry of Education and Science
Latvian Academy of Sciences
Latvian Language Agency
Unit of State Language Proficiency Testing of the NCE
Terminology Commission
Higher education institutions
Schools
Latvian Language Institute of the UL
University of Latvia
Riga Teacher Training and Education Management Academy
Daugavpils University
Ventspils University College
Liepāja University
Riga Technical University etc.
Rēzekne Higher Education Institution

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Since 2004, the Latvian language is one of the official languages of the European Union whose multilingual character is always being stressed when speaking of its linguistic identity.[1]

There are 23 official languages in the European Union and more than 60 regional and minority languages, but the amount of spoken languages is still increasing due to ever growing migration processes. The target of the EU language policy is to protect the language diversity and to promote language skills.

The EU policy of multi-lingualism

"The EU language policy promotes the linguistic diversity and its goal is to enable each citizen to be fluent in at least two languages in addition to his mother tongue. That is why in March 2002 at the meeting of the EC in Barcelona the heads of the EU member states called for 'further action to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular, by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age'."

Directorate-General for Education and Culture. *EU language policy*. 23 October 2009. Available at: *http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/eu-language-policy/index_lv.htm* (last accessed 14.11.2010).

Coexistence of many languages in Europe clearly symbolizes the EU efforts and one of the basic principles — to be united in diversity. The term "multilingualism" refers both to the situation in which several languages are spoken in a certain geographical area and to one's ability to master several languages. Multilingualism is a key feature of Europe in all senses of the term. The three core aims of the European Commission's multilingualism policy are, to encourage language learning, to promote a healthy multilingual economy and to give all EU citizens access to the Union's legislation, procedures and information in their native language.[2] That is why the EU languages are the symbol of national identity and a categorical value, at the same time creating the multilingual environment of the EU. This means development, protection and use of national languages of the EU states in all spheres, as well as the protection and development of the EU regional and minority languages.

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[1] Druviete, I. Mūsu valoda — Latvijas vai Eiropas Savienības identitātes daļa? [Our language — part of Latvian or EU identity?] *Lauku Avīze*, 2004, 11. okt., 10. lpp. From: Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika* [View. Language, society, politics]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 157. lpp.

[2] EUROBAROMETER 24: *Europeans and their Languages: Summary*. 2006, p. 1. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_special_260_240_en.htm.

Fig. 3. **Sign at the entrance of the European Parliament building in Brussels written in all official languages of EU.**

Languages in the European Union are divided into the following hierarchic groups:

1) Official and working languages (23);
2) Language with a special status in programmes (Luxembourgish);
3) Regional or minority languages (more than 60);
4) Non-territorial languages (Yiddish, Romani language);
5) Diaspora and immigrant languages.[1]

The Latvian language is an official EU language. It also means the possibility to communicate with the EU institutions in Latvian (interpretation of the official sessions and meetings into Latvian, etc.). In order to implement the EU operational guideline "United in diversity" and the equivalence of all the official languages, the EU is investing considerable ways and means in interpretation and translation every year, thus fulfilling the targets of the EU language policy and fostering the development of each official language, taking into a particular consideration the so-called competitiveness of the small EU languages.

Translation and term creation

To ensure that Latvian as the Latvian state language and a EU official language is capable of meeting all sociolinguistic functions, a unified and targeted state language policy is being created and implemented. One of its basic directions is the development and standardization of language, where the translation and term creation processes is of a special importance (presently at least 80% of the new words appear through the translations of fiction, official and business texts[2]). And it means that Latvia must prepare a sufficient amount of interpreters and translators and also be able to ensure a valuable and targeted process of term creation.

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[1] Directorate-General for Education and Culture. *European languages*. (07.12.2010). Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-of-europe/index_lv.htm; Druviete, I. Latvijas valodas politikas pamatnostādnes Eiropas Savienības kontekstā. *Letonikas pirmais kongress:* plenārsēžu materiāli. Rīga: Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmija, 2005, 19.–34. lpp. From: Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 170. lpp.

[2] Druviete, I. Latvijas valodas politikas pamatnostādnes Eiropas Savienības kontekstā [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. *Letonikas pirmais kongress:* plenārsēžu materiāli. Rīga: Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmija, 2005, 19.–34. lpp. From: Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 174. lpp.

The fact that, for instance, more than 8 million terms and 500 000 abbreviations are available in the terminology database IATE (Inter Active Terminology for Europe) of all the EU establishments, is indicative of truly large-scale translation and term creation processes.[1] Translation (written and oral) costs in all the EU institutions is about 1% of the total annual budget of the European Union which makes approximately 2 EUR per head of population.[2]

Translation work in the EU institutions is divided in two directions: written translation (responsible institution: Directorate-General for Translation (DGT)) and oral translation (responsible institution: Directorate-General for Interpretation (DGI)). The Directorate-General for Interpretation is employing 500 staff interpreters and also from 300 up to 400 hundred freelance interpreters

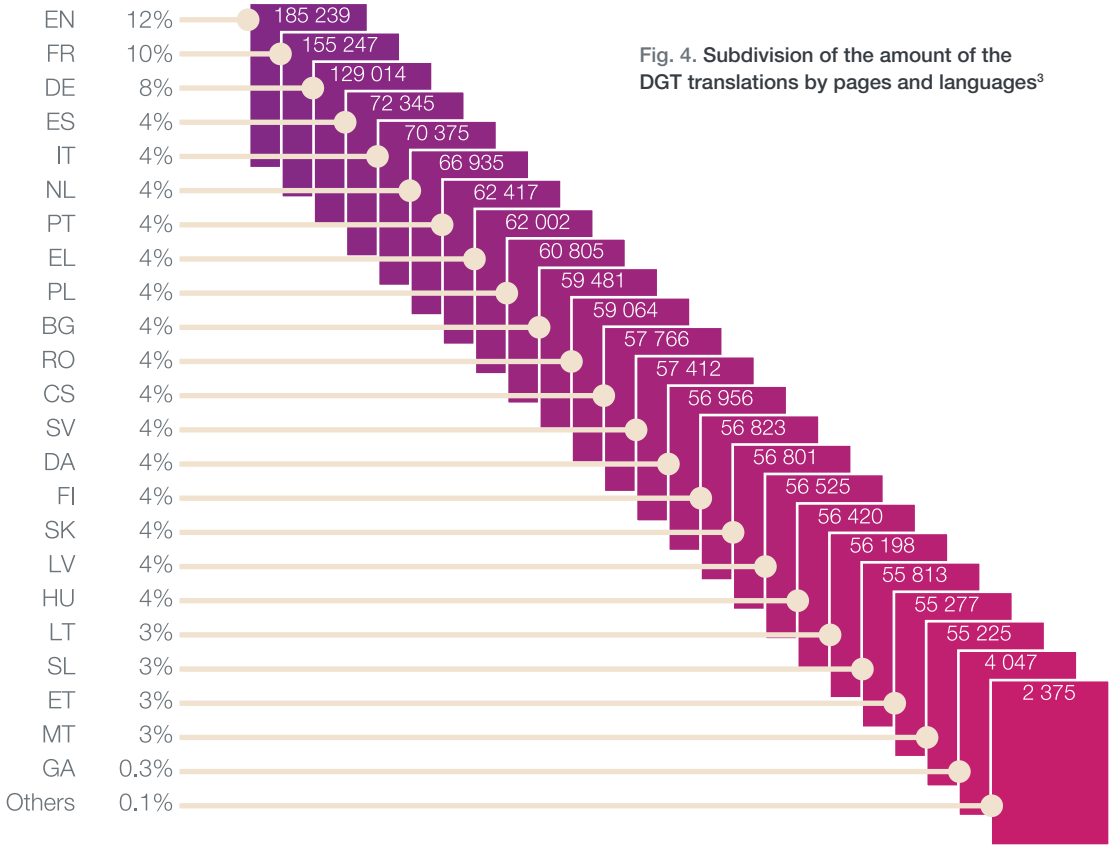

Fig. 4. **Subdivision of the amount of the DGT translations by pages and languages**[3]

[1] *Studies on translation and multilingualism. The size of the language industry in the EU*. European Commission Directorate-General for Translation, 1/2009, p. 47.
[2] European Commission. *Translation at the European Commission — a history*. European Commission, 2010, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*

daily, but totally there are 2700 accredited interpreters.[1] Directorate-General for Translation employs more than 1700 translators and linguists (totally 2336 employees), 69 of them from Latvia.[2] The number of translated pages testify the growing volume of the translations. It has increased from 38 655 pages in 1953 to approximately 1.7 million pages in 2009.[3] The DGT translations in the Latvian language comprised 4% or 56 525 pages of all the translated pages (Fig. 4).

The State Language Centre

The State Language Centre (SLC; this function was taken over from the Translation and Terminology Centre in 2009) is an establishment responsible for translations of official documents issued by the state and international organizations, as well as for the use of co-ordinated terminology in legislation and its translations. One of its main tasks is to furnish the society and the state administrative establishments with valuable and precise Latvian translations of binding international legislation, as well as to satisfy the growing needs of Latvian society, state establishments and the employees of the DGT's Latvian translation unit for precise branch terminology.

To provide for the functioning of the Latvian language the SLC fulfils the following tasks:

- To encourage full-value functioning of the Latvian language in EU institutions;
- To make official Latvian translations of international agreements, conventions and documents connected with the adaptation of the EU normative deeds;
- To translate legislation of the Republic of Latvia into the languages of EU member states;
- To translate into Latvian documents connected with activities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO);
- To prepare proposals for the use of a unified terminology in legislation, corresponding to the norms of the Latvian language.[4]

Table 1 shows the results of the TTC activities for 2009.

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[1] Directorate-General for Interpretation. *DG Interpretation in key figures*. 14 June 2010. Available at: http://scic.ec.europa.eu/europa/jcms/c_6636/what-we-do.

[2] European Commission. *Translation at the European Commission — a history*. 2010, p. 60; *The European Commission's in-house translation service*. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/whoweare/index_en.htm.

[3] *Studies on translation and multilingualism. The size of the language industry in the EU*. European Commission Directorate-General for Translation, 1/2009, p. 36; *Translation tools and workflow*. European Commission. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2009, p. 3.

[4] The State Language Centre. Available in Latvian at: http://www.vvc.gov.lv/advantagecms/LV/par/par.html.

Translations into Latvian	Translations into the languages of EU member states	Terms
19 781 pages	2217 pages	31 077

Table 1. **Translations and terms published in databases in 2009**[1]

Language skills

One of the essential aspects of the common EU language policy is promoting language skills of the inhabitants. Extended mobility within the borders of the EU, common market, migration flows and globalization — these are the reasons why the inhabitants daily face increasing language diversity. The EU has declared a specific aim for promoting multilingualism — the so-called Barcelona principle: every EU citizen should know his native tongue and at least two foreign languages (namely, multilingualism is being encouraged on an individual level). Besides, it is essential not only to learn the language superficially but to master it profoundly. As stressed by the President of EFNIL Gerhard Stickel[2], presently the dominating is, for example, a German or an Italian with minor skills of English, thus the majority of Europeans speak one and a half languages, which is not enough. In order to ensure individual, economical and cultural development of the whole EU, language skills should be functional.

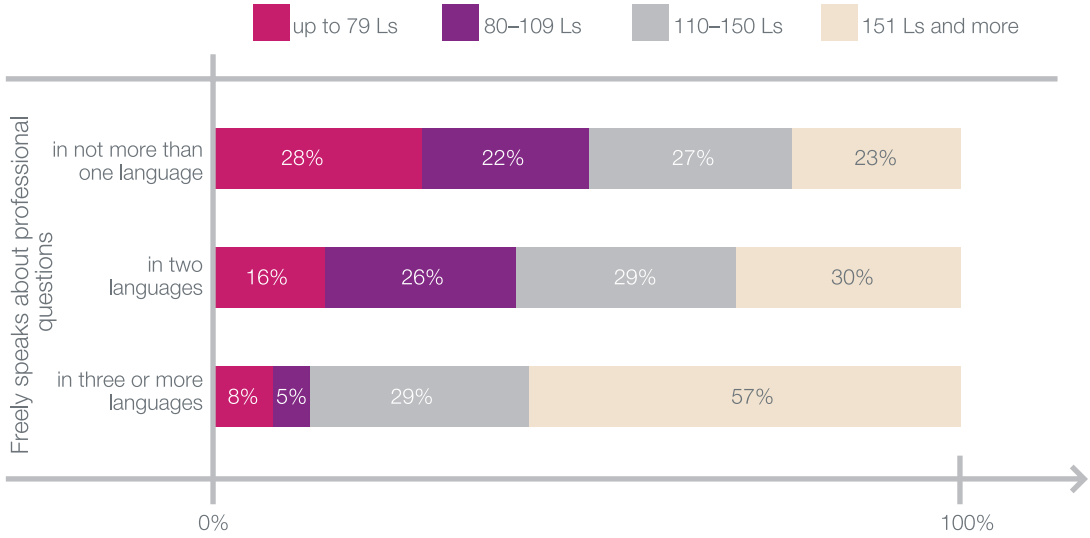

Fig. 5. **Language skills in professional questions and monthly income per family member (2005)**
Data: **Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti.* Rīga, 2005**

[1] VVC. *Publiskais pārskats par Valsts valodas centra darbību 2009. gadā* [Public survey of the work of the State Language Centre in 2009]. Available at: http://www.vvc.gov.lv/advantagecms/LV/par/vvc_parskati.html.
[2] Jauce, S. Daudzvalodība kā Eiropas resurss [Multilingualism as a European resource]. Intervija ar *EFNIL* prezidentu G. Štikelu [Interview with G. Stickel, President of EFNIL]. *Latvija Eiropas Savienībā* Nr. 8, 2007. gada decembris, 6. lpp.

Since Latvia joined the EU, the demand for language skills as well as their need among the inhabitants has grown. As seen from the research works about the significance of language skills carried out in Latvia, these skills improve individual development and provide higher quality of life (see Fig. 5).[1]

The year 2006 Eurobarometer surveys[2] about Europeans and their language skills have clarified the fact that the best knowledge of foreign languages is in Luxembourg where 99% — in Slovakia 97% and in Latvia 95% — of the inhabitants know at least one foreign language. But in the case of Latvia these data should be regarded from two aspects. The EU guidelines anticipate acquisition of other EU languages first and only then — of other foreign languages. If to compare, for example, Luxembourgian and Latvian language skills, we come to the conclusion that people in Luxemburg know French, German and/or English but in Latvia — Russian and English. These languages are the biggest competitors of Latvian. Besides, the skills of the English language do not directly influence the usage of the state language and for the present does not form a real English-speaking environment while the self-sufficiency of Russian and the environment cause threats to the functioning of Latvian as of the state language.

Implementation of the mentioned Barcelona principle in the EU is not easy. It is connected with financial investments, complicated consolidation of public motivation and popularization of the idea. As concluded in the Eurobarometer surveys for 2006, the showings of the language skills of the EU citizens have improved and the attitude towards learning has become better, namely, knowledge of foreign languages is considered useful (83% of the respondents in 2005 compared with 77% in 2001 find that knowing foreign languages is useful).[3]

Compared with the rest of the EU nations, the most active language learners are to be found in Sweden (32%), Latvia (28%) and Finland (28%), whereas those with the strongest intentions to improve their language skills reside in Latvia (39%), Slovakia (36%) and the Czech Republic (33%).[4]

The EU has faced several problems that influence the situation of its member states already now. Free movement of the labour force and changes caused by inner and outer migration in the language are the most essential challenges. Migration in the EU is regarded as a means of regional development supporting

[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga: 1998, 128. lpp.; *Latviešu valodas attīstība un lietojums*. Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja. SKDS, 2003, 14. lpp.; Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti:* sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums. Rīga, 2006, 7. lpp.

[2] EUROBAROMETER 24: *Europeans and their Languages: Summary*. 2006, p. 1. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_special_260_240_en.htm.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[4] *Europeans and their Languages. Special Eurobarometer 243*. European Commission, 2006, p. 25.

growth of the level of employment and productivity while immigrants substitute the lacking workforce. Thus, the entrepreneurs are provided with the necessary access to labour resources and the structure of the inhabitants is balanced as well. Nevertheless, the reality is that migration as a means of improvement on well-being in Europe encounters obstacles: differences in languages, culture, traditions, etc., which often serve as the basis of various conflicts. It has served as the grounds for the conclusion that successful immigration is based on integration but the main clue to it is good command of the language spoken in the host country.[1]

The common tendencies of the EU member states are indicative of radicalization risks and other challenges caused by the immigration process and, as the result, more and more Western European countries have started implementing demands of language skills for the immigrants, thus willing to advance the integration process. The present situation in Germany, the Netherlands, France, Norway, Finland and other countries show that integration exams and testing of the immigrants become a standard procedure in European countries.

Immigration and language environment in Latvia

Taking into consideration the specific role of language in the migration policy of Latvia, issues of immigrant integration are closely associated with the acquisition and skills of the official language. Today the Latvian and Russian languages fulfil the most significant sociolinguistic functions in Latvia. The role of English is constantly growing. There are several interconnected factors determining the significance of these languages — language skills of the inhabitants, actual sociolinguistic functions of the languages, linguistic attitude and the status of the official language.[2] Thinking about the future expansion of the Latvian language environment and observing the immigration tendencies one should keep in mind the fact that a great number of Latvian immigrants come from the former republics of the USSR. Having a very good command of Russian this group of immigrants is enlarging the Russian language environment in the country (see also Chapter 7.5).

Latvians in emigration

The formation of a new Latvian community in the EU countries (particularly in Ireland, Great Britain, etc.) is one of the results of the free workforce movement and the mobility of the EU citizens. Representatives of Latvian diaspora had been concentrating in the USA, Canada, Australia and other countries of the world already since the Second World War. They have created stable organizations for maintenance of Latvian culture and for preservation, acquisi-

[1] *Migrācijas ietekme uz valodas vidi Latvijā* [The influence of migration upon the language environment in Latvia]. R. Apinis, M. Baltiņš, Dz. Hirša u.c. Latviešu valodas aģentūra. Rīga: Zinātne, 2009, 32. lpp.
[2] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 85. lpp.

tion and cultivation of the Latvian language[1] compiling tutorials of Latvian, organizing camps, educating teachers, etc. With the entering into the EU in 2004, the so-called new wave of emigration started. This time the departure bears economic motivation. Besides, in this situation negative attitude towards the country and government is dominating.[2] Latvians abroad do not comprise a compact formation. There are manifold communities and groups of individuals that have sprung up in different countries and in different circumstances, but it is the Latvian language and culture that unites Latvians in the whole world. There are centres and schools for Latvian children created in the so-called new Latvian diaspora in Ireland, Great Britain and other European countries and lots of other activities carried out for preservation of the Latvian language and Latvian identity (see also Chapter 7.2).

Acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language in other countries

Participation in the common EU educational environment has encouraged acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language also beyond the borders of Latvia. At the beginning of the 1990s, study programmes for the Latvian language and culture were opened in several European universities. Today there is a possibility to master Latvian in more than twenty higher educational establishments of Europe[3], and interest about it is growing in the whole word (see Chapter 7.2). The EU education programmes encouraged the exchange flow of students in Latvian higher education institutions and consequently there occurred a need for a new content of educational programmes along with the need to develop a formerly unknown line of educational science — methodology for acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language.[4]

The role of Latvian has increased since the retrieval of independence. The existence of an independent state and EU membership offers the Latvian language full-scale functioning as of a modern up-to-date language. But the enactment of this possibility demands state investments in all spheres of realization of the language policy: juridical — determining the state language policy, its direction, goals, and implementation in laws and normative deeds; pedagogical — ensuring the acquisition of Latvian on all levels of expertise; and linguistic — providing scientific research, standardization and rating, as well as purposeful and systematic development of the Latvian language.

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[1] More precise information at: www.pbla.lv (homepage of the World Federation of Free Latvians).

[2] Kļava, G., Motivāne, K. *Valodas lietojums diasporā: citu valstu prakse un Latvijas rīcībpolitikas izvērtējums* [Language use in the diaspora: experience of other states and evaluation of Latvian action policy]. Rīga: Latviešu valodas aģentūra, 2009, 74., 81. lpp.

[3] *Latviešu valodas kā svešvalodas apguve Eiropas augstskolās* [Acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language in European universities]. Rīga: Valsts valodas aģentūra, 2008, 5. lpp.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

3

LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

Various data from the research-works, opinion polls and interviews in the period from 2004 up to 2010 show a dynamically developing language situation in Latvia. The most essential of the positive showings in this period is the improvement of inhabitants' state language skills, facilitated by the reform of contents of minority education and by the achievements of bilingual education, as well as by the internationally recognized Latvian language policy built on the basis of a strong sociolinguistic theory. Nevertheless, some aspects of the implementation of language policy will need special attention in future.

Modern world tendencies of globalization and the rapid development of information society have strongly influenced the position of the Latvian language. The explicit competition of languages, migration-caused changes in the language, the linguistic attitude and behavioural peculiarities of Latvians impede strengthening of the state language position in all spheres of life. The above factors mark a dangerous tendency: the presently high state language skills in Latvia do not conform to the use of the state language. And that, in its turn, promotes an increase in the sociolinguistic function of Russian and the linguistic self-sufficiency of the Russian speaking community, burdening the integration process enacted on the basis of the Latvian language.

3.1. Situation of the Latvian language from the ethno-demographic viewpoint

One of the factors that essentially influence the language situation is the number of its users, which is very significant for securing language competitiveness. Among the approximately 7000 world languages, Latvian is in the position between the 150th and 200th, according to the number of speakers.[1] The number of speakers, the quality of the Latvian language and the status of the state language can provide stable language positions though the modern globalization processes, and the language competition together with the negative indications of the demographic situation in Latvia create risks for sustainability of Latvian which can be lessened by conscious language policy.[2]

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[1] Druviete, I. Aiz kokiem vajag saredzēt mežu [It is necessary to see the forest behind the trees]. *Karogs. Literatūras mēnešraksts,* 2009, Nr. 10, 177.–184. lpp. From: Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 232. lpp.

[2] Druviete, I. Latviešu valoda kā valsts valoda: simbols, saziņas līdzeklis vai valstiskuma pamats? [Latvian as the state language: symbol, means of communication or basis of statehood?] From: *Latvija un latviskais. Nācija un valsts idejās, tēlos un simbolos*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2010, 149. lpp.

Evaluating the language situation in Latvia the decreasing growth of population and changes in the national composition of inhabitants should be taken into consideration, namely, the ethno-demographical and linguistic structure, as well as emigration and immigration problems that have become topical after Latvia entered the European Union in 2004.

On January 2004, there were 2 million 319 thousand inhabitants in Latvia but on 1 January 2010, the population size had decreased to 2 million 248 thousand people. Changes in the national composition are displayed by comparison of the structure of inhabitants in 2004 and in 2010 (Fig. 6).

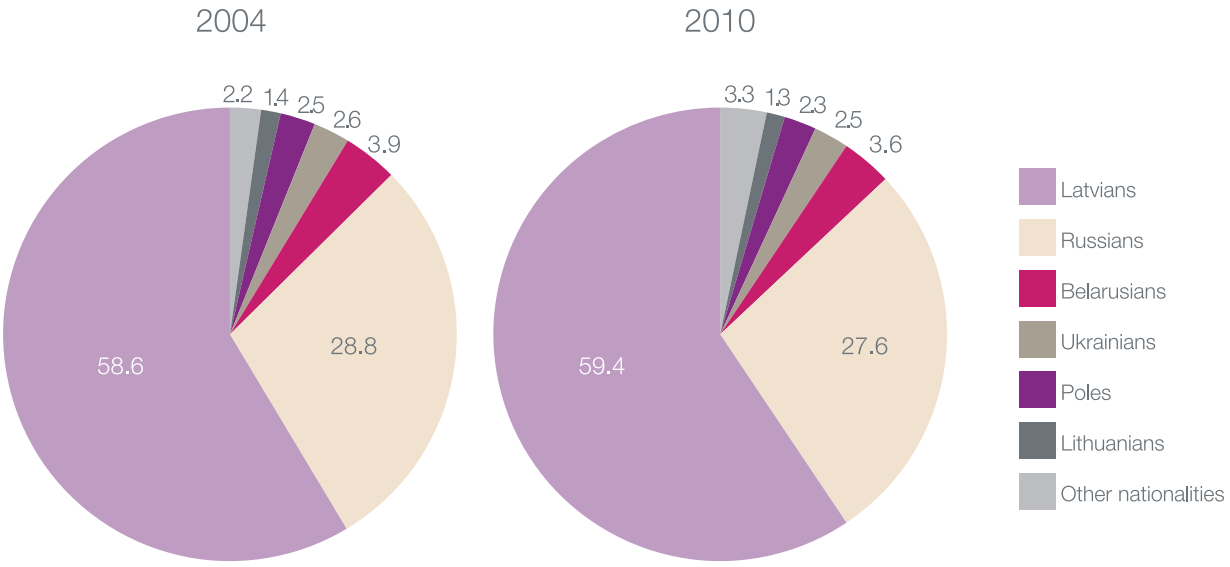

Fig. 6. **National composition of the inhabitants of Latvia at the beginning of 2004 and 2010 (%). Data: Centrālās statistikas pārvalde. *Statistikas datubāzes: Iedzīvotāji: skaits un tā izmaiņas.* Available at:** http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/statistikas-datubazes-28270.html-0

Due to a negative birth-rate and high emigration level, the dynamics of Latvia's population is descending. The natural growth of population in 2004 was 11 690, but in 2010 — 8220 people. It follows that in five years the number of inhabitants in Latvia has decreased by 59 thousand (or 2.6%) while the death-rate outnumbers the birth-rate (Fig. 7).

The number of emigrants in Latvia is growing with each year. It has been affected by the economical hardships of the state and the modern-world globalization tendencies which open vast capabilities to those who look for better life conditions. Data of the Central Statistical Bureau show that in 2008, in comparison with 2007, the emigration to Ireland has grown 6.5 times, to Great

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

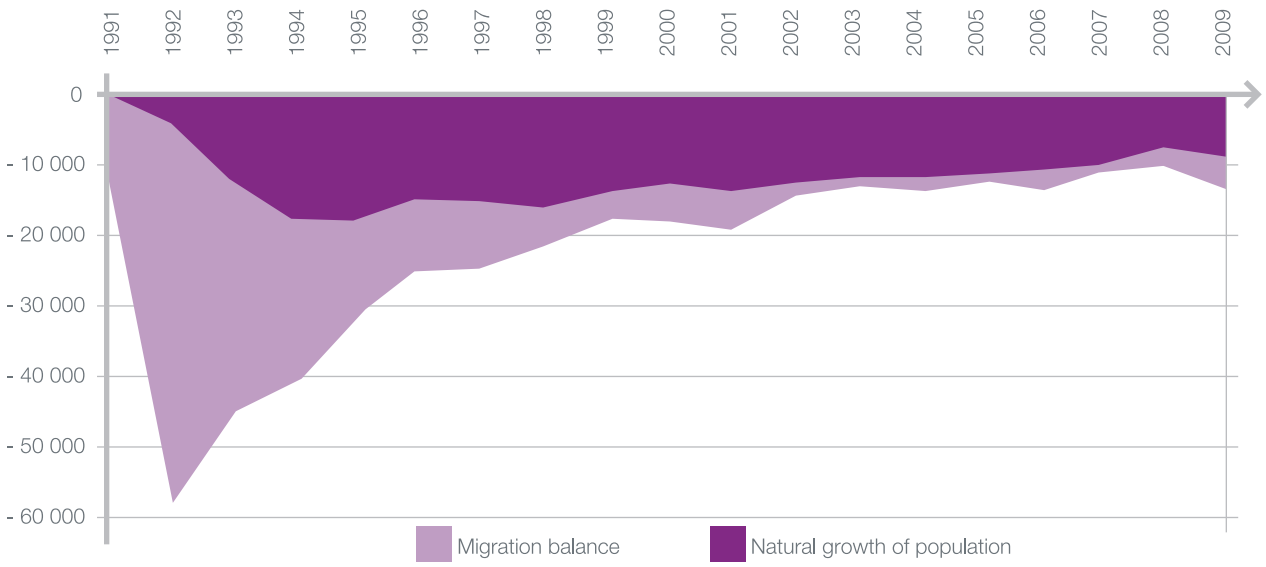

Fig. 7. **Changes in the number of Latvia's population and factors influencing it in the 1991–2009 period. Data: Centrālās statistikas pārvalde. *Demogrāfiskās statistikas galvenie rādītāji 2009. gadā: Informatīvais apskats.* 2010, 1. lpp. Available at:** http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/informativie-apskati-28307.html

Britain — 1.7 times, to Germany — 1.4 and to Ukraine — 1.2 times. However, in 2009, in light of the global and European economical situation, the emigration of our people to e.g. Ireland has diminished. It should be added that the majority of emigrants do not register the fact of their departure and remain registered in their local government. It follows that the Central Statistical Bureau add them to the files of Latvia's inhabitants although in reality they are living abroad for many years already. According to CSB data, only 356 persons have left Latvia for Ireland in the period from 2000 to 2006[1] but the data of Irish population census for 2006 prove that there are 13 319 Latvians living in Ireland.[2] In general the data aggregated beginning with 2005 show that the emigration of Latvian people to other countries is still growing (Table 2).

[1] Centrālā statistikas pārvalde. *2007. gada informatīvie apskati*: *Demogrāfiskās statistikas galvenie rādītāji 2006. gadā: informatīvais apskats* [Informative surveys, 2007: Key indicators of demographical statistics in 2006]. 2006. Available at: http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/2007gada-informativie-apskati-28310.html.

[2] *Census 2006 — Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland*. Available at: http://cso.ie/releasespublications/non-irishnationals.htm (last accessed 10.11.2010).

Emigration					
Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Number	2450	5252	4183	6007	7388

Table 2. **Emigration of Latvian population to other countries of the world in the period from 2005 to 2009. Data: Centrālā statistikas pārvalde, Demogrāfiskās statistikas galvenie rādītāji 2009. gadā: Informatīvais apskats. 2010. Available:** http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/informativie-apskati-28307.html

As concluded by the demographer academician Pēteris Zvidriņš, the amount of Latvians in their homeland is decreasing systematically although the proportion of Latvians in Latvia is slightly growing with each year (these are the lowest relative showings of the indigenous population). According to the 1989 census, there were 1.39 million Latvians, in 2000 — 1.37 million but in 2007 — only 1.35 million. Consequently, the number of Latvians has decreased by more than 52 thousand persons.[1]

Some important aspects are to be observed for evaluation of the situation of the Latvian language in the context of demographical data:

- on the one hand, the proportion of Latvians in Latvia is increasingly growing, although to a minimum extent, which could be regarded as a positive tendency of the expansion of the use of the Latvian language;
- on the other hand, the number of Latvians in their motherland is still systematically decreasing (in the estimated period — by 24 thousand or almost 2% of the total number). Thus we cannot state that the Latvian language environment is expanding and its threats reducing;
- negative birth-rates and increasing emigration are the reasons for a decreasing in the number of Latvian speakers and for changes in language environment causing augmentation of the role of the competitor languages (Russian and English);
- continuously growing emigration and improvement of the economical well-being of the state in the nearest future will also produce growing immigration thus creating new challenges for the language situation in Latvia considering the former immigration

[1] Zvidriņš, P. Paaudžu nomaiņa un migrācija Latvijā [Generation change and migration in Latvia]. From: *Politikas gadagrāmata. Latvija 2007*. Stratēģiskās komisijas analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 61. lpp.

tendencies when the majority of newcomers had arrived from the SU countries and the Russian language proficiency was one of the most essential motivations for choosing Latvia as their host country.

3.2. Language proficiency of the inhabitants of Latvia

As already mentioned before, the official language status is a special status in the country. It fulfils the function of all public communication and is the basis of society integration in Latvia.

State language skills

According to the results of the 2008 study "Language", the results of language policy are: Latvian language proficiency of foreigners is still gradually improving. Data of the language study reveal that 57% of foreigners had good skills of the Latvian language in 2008 (in 2004 — 47%). The group of people who do not know Latvian at all is reducing (in 2004 it was 10% but in 2008 — 7%). The best improvement has been reached in speaking skills: according to the self-appraisal, 69% of foreigners were able to speak Latvian freely in 2008.

In the survey of the LLA for 2009 the younger respondents whose native tongue is Russian more often acknowledged good skills of Latvian than the older respondents, namely, young Russian-speaking people in the group between 17 and 25 years of age had better knowledge of Latvian: 64% had good command, 31% moderate level, and 5% had not ranked their skills. A larger number of people possessing skills of Latvian is found in the regions with suitable language environment (namely, Vidzeme and Kurzeme where there are less Russian speakers). The survey also shows that people with a higher income have better knowledge of the Latvian language.

According to the study "Language" of 2008, the most radical change in the acquisition of Latvian has taken place among the younger generation. The number of those who have a good command of Latvian has significantly increased. In 2004, 65% of the young people between 15 and 34 years of age marked their Latvian language skills as good (23% highest and 43% moderate level), while in 2008 is, the proportion was already 73% (34% highest and 39% moderate level). For other age groups changes are not so explicit although they also testify to the improvement of state language skills.

The study also shows that the number of Russian speakers among Latvians is decreasing with each year. In 2004, 73% of the respondents estimated their skills as good, but in 2008 the proportion was 69%. Knowledge of the Russian language

is poor in the category of young people (between 15 and 34 years of age) — 54% have good command of Russian, 38% low and 8% have no knowledge.

According to the LLA survey of 2009, the older respondents whose native tongue is Latvian have better skills of Russian. Latvian younger generation between 17 and 25 years of age have a lower level of this knowledge (Fig. 8). There is a lower self-appraisal of Russian language proficiency among rural population, namely, the inhabitants of Kurzeme and Vidzeme, i.e., areas with a high proportion of Latvians.

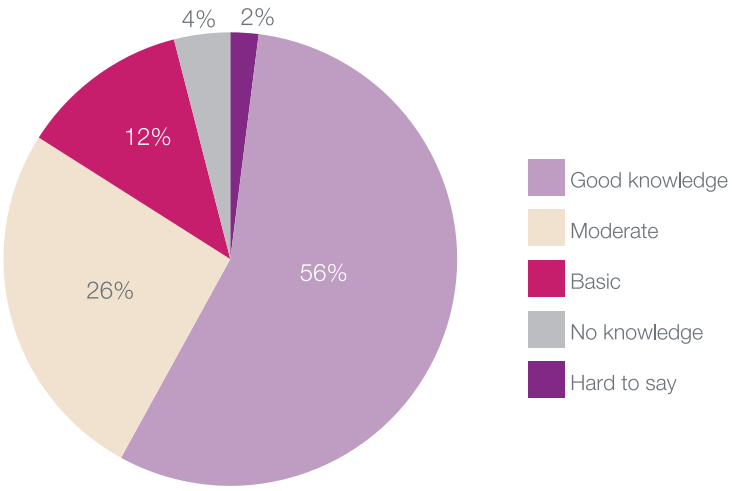

Fig. 8. **Russian language proficiency of Latvian youths (between 17 and 25 years of age)** (LLA 2009 survey)

In general the respondents with the native tongue of Latvian, in the 2009 survey, estimate their Russian language skills much higher than the ones with Russian as their native tongue estimate their knowledge of Latvian (Figs. 9 and 10). It follows that the proportion of Latvian and Russian speakers in Latvia is asymmetrical — the proportion of Latvian speakers (92%) in Latvia is still lower than that of the Russian speakers (98%). Moreover, 1% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian do not know Russian while 8% Russian speakers do not know the official language.

Expert replies to LLA interviews in 2009 demonstrate ambiguous estimation of Russian as of one the languages known by the inhabitants of Latvia. The active spread of Russian and the aggressive expansion of Russian information environment in Latvia are often estimated as the tendency intensifying the negative aspect. Some of the experts have pointed out that although the role of the language has not essentially changed in recent years, further development

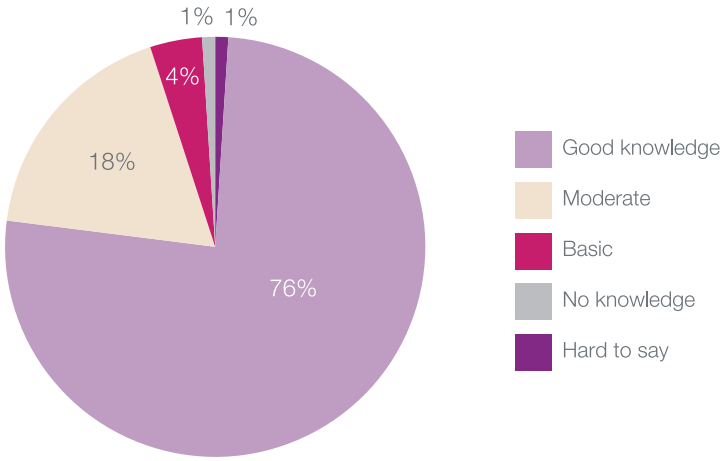

Fig. 9. **Russian language proficiency of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian** (LLA 2009 survey)

of Latvian will be determined by a number of factors: elaboration and adoption of the laws on electronic media and higher education institutions, the influence of the free workforce (including illegal workers) upon the Latvian language in the long term, as well as the decision about the juridical and practical use of Russian.

"The attack of the Russian language is tangible. And the present debate about the election rights to non-citizens — practically it means consolidation of Russian. If the non-citizens can vote at the municipal elections, it means that Russian is returning to municipalities, and that in its turn to a certain extent means a status of the official language to Russian." (LLA 2009 Interviews)[1]

As the data of the 2009 LLA survey show, 76% of Latvians have a good command of Russian but 48% of foreigners — a good command of Latvian (Fig. 10).

From the view-point of language use positive tendencies can be seen in the age group between 17 and 25 years where the dissymmetry is different as 64% of Russian-speaking youths know the Latvian language well (Fig. 11) and 56% of Latvian youths know the Russian language well (Fig. 8). It should be stressed as an especially positive indication that no one of the polled Russian-speaking youth had chosen the responses "Basic knowledge" or "No knowledge", namely we may consider that almost all Russian-speaking youths at the age between 17 and 25 years more or less know the official language.

[1] Here and further the quotations of the interviewed experts are given.

English, Russian, German and French are the most popular foreign languages taught in comprehensive schools of Latvia. As testified by the data of the Ministry of Education and Science, in the school-year 2008/2009, 82.8% of the pupils were learning English, 1,6% French, 35,3% Russian and 12.9% German. In the greatest part of EU states almost 90% of schoolchildren learn English, approximately 40% — German, 30% — French and less than 20% — Spanish. In Latvia, like in the rest of the Baltic States, the 2nd most popular foreign language is Russian (in schools practising the minority programmes Russian is taught as the native language) but in the rest of the EU states it is taught very little or not at all.[1]

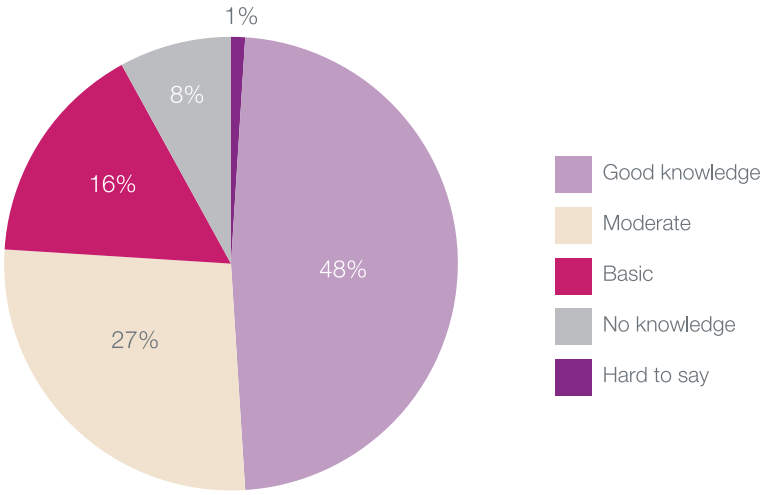

Fig. 10. **Latvian language proficiency of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian** (LLA 2009 survey)

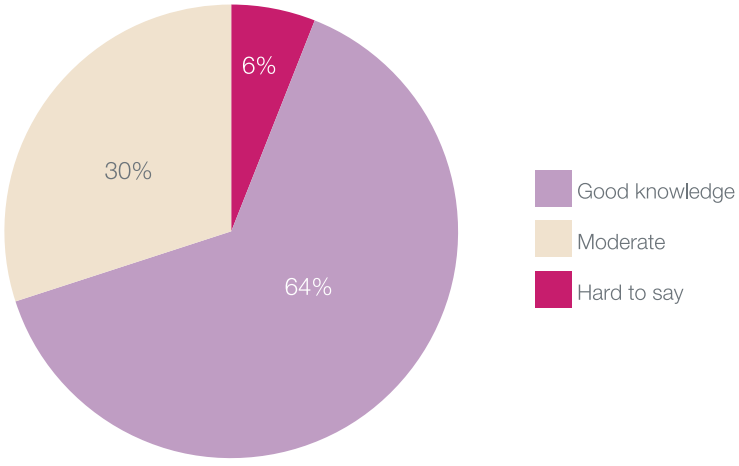

Fig. 11. **Latvian language proficiency of the Russian-speaking youths (from 17 up to 25 years)** (LLA 2009 survey)

[1] *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe. 2008 Edition*. Eurydice Network, Brussels, 2008, p. 69.

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

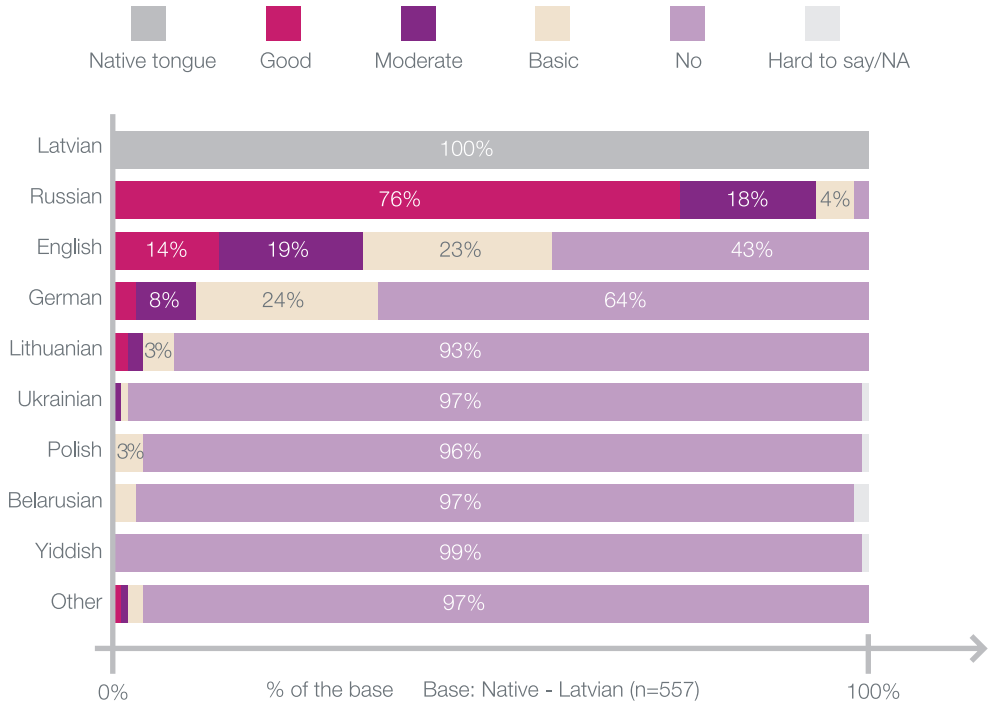

Fig. 12. **Language skills of the inhabitants of Latvia whose native tongue is Latvian** (LLA 2009 survey)

The results of the 2008 LLA survey demonstrate that the self-appraisal of the English language skills for both groups, Latvians and Russian-speakers[1], is similar: 14% respondents with Latvian native tongue and 16% of Russian have a good command of English, 19% of Latvian-speakers and 21% of Russian-speakers — moderate knowledge but 23% of Latvian-speakers and 16% of Russian-speakers have basic knowledge of English (Figs. 12 and 13).

Irrespective of the native tongue better skills of English are marked by the inhabitants of Riga, younger respondents and also by the respondents with a higher level of education and income. We find more people with German language skills among those with Latvian native tongue than among the Russian-speaking inhabitants.

Analyzing the situation of language teaching at schools in the Baltic States we come to the conclusion that there is a greater percentage of schoolchildren learning German and French in Estonia and Lithuania while in Latvia the proportion of English learners is a little bigger.[2]

[1] Participants of the LLA 2009 survey representing different ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Poles, Bielorussians, Jews, etc.) have mentioned Russian as their native tongue.

[2] *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe. 2008 Edition*. Eurydice network, Brussels, 2008, p. 74.

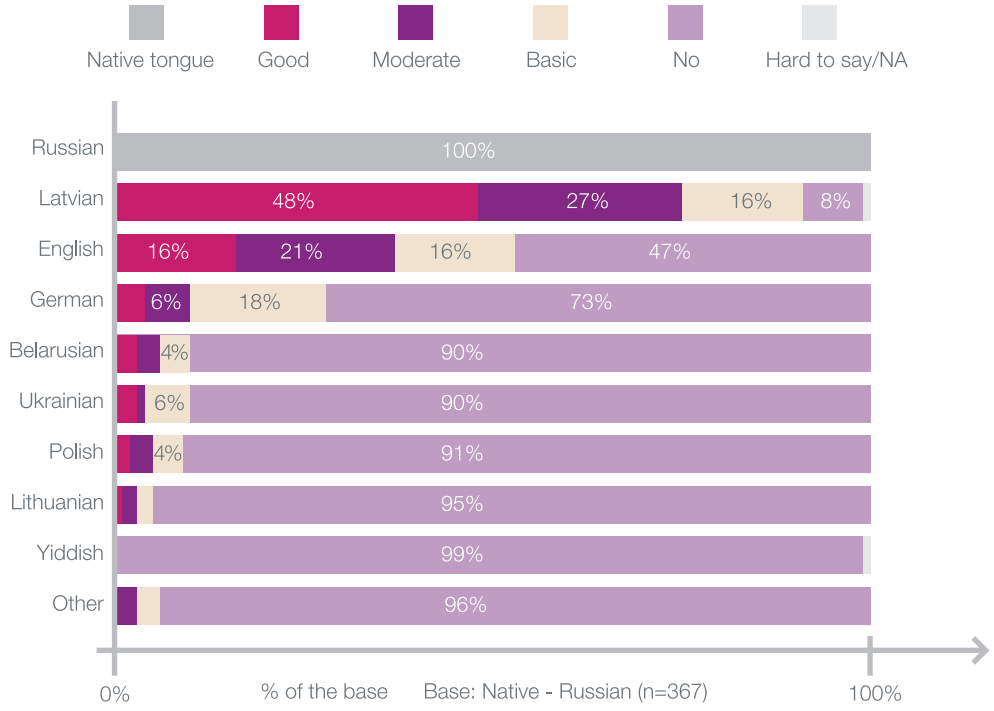

Fig. 13. **Language skills of the inhabitants of Latvia whose native tongue is Russian** (LLA 2009 survey)

The answers of the respondents with Latvian native tongue to the question of the LLA 2009 survey, what languages children should learn at school, are traditional: English, Russian, German and more seldom — French (Fig. 14).

The Eurobarometer research[1] has cleared up the opinion of the inhabitants of EU member states about two languages which children should be taught apart from their native tongue. The poll shows that English is much more often mentioned as the preferred foreign language to be taught at schools (77%). The following foreign languages to be taught to their children according to the opinion of the EU citizens are French (33%), German (28%) and Spanish (19%). The conclusion is that unlike it is in other EU member states the second most popular foreign language to be taught at schools in the Baltic States is Russian (in Latvia — 45%, in Estonia — 47% and in Lithuania — 43%). But unlike the EU in total where every third respondent holds the view that children should learn French (33%) this interest in the Baltics is smaller and approximately only every twentieth respondent think that children should be taught French (6% in the whole Baltics).

[1] *Bērniem jāapgūst angļu valoda* [Children must learn English]. TNS Latvia, 15.03.2006. Available at: http://www.tns.lv.?lang=lv&fullarticle=true&category=showuid&id=2353.

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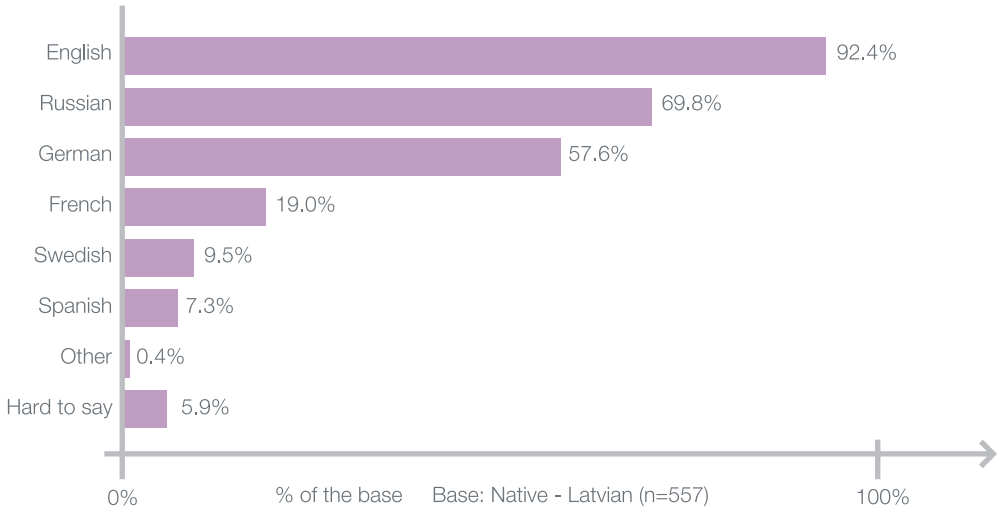

Fig. 14. **Opinion of the respondents about the foreign languages to be taught (compulsory or optional) at schools** (LLA 2009 survey)

The majority of respondents (92%) mark the necessity to teach English at schools, less people (70%) acknowledge the necessity of Russian. It is typical that people with a higher level of education more often mark the necessity to teach English,

German and French at schools but less frequently — Russian. Acquisition of English is more important for younger respondents than for older people.

According to the data of the 2008, study „Language", 78% of the population of Latvia acknowledge the necessity of English knowledge and here the opinion of both Latvian and Russian-speaking groups coincide. In recent years the number of those who consider that it is important for all the inhabitants of Latvia to know Russian has gradually increased: in 2008, it was 74% (in 2004 — 68%) of Latvians, 96% (in 2004 — 87%) of Russians and 87% (in 2004 — 87%) of other nationalities acknowledge that every inhabitant of Latvia should have a good command of Russian.

Evaluating the choice of foreign language acquisition at schools almost all the experts of the LLA 2009 interviews point out that Russian as a foreign language can be regarded as significant as English, German or other languages though some of the experts consider stimulation of Russian learning as a potential threat to Latvian in its status of the official language and to its role in general.

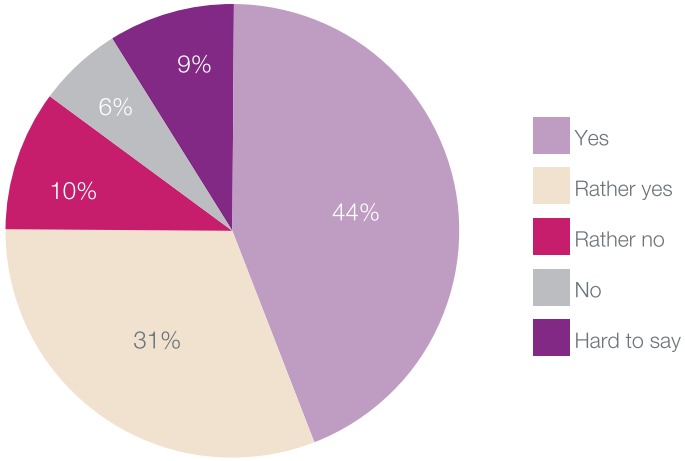

Fig. 15. **Answers of Latvian respondents to the question „Does the knowledge of Latvian in your opinion encourage loyalty of non-Latvians to the state of Latvia?** (LLA 2009 survey)

„The greatest focus should be on all the European languages. It should be made a norm that numerically small European nations know their native language and at least two of the big European languages — English and French or English and German. And Russian should certainly be added as its knowledge is very useful in the competitive labour market of Latvia and offers possibilities to acquire the world heritage of culture and science." (LLA interviews 2009)

Official language skills and loyalty to the state

The LLA 2009 survey shows that Latvians have a tendency to intertwine loyalty to the state and the language proficiency and 75% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian agree that the language skills of the non-Latvians encourage their loyalty to the state (Fig. 15). This opinion is mostly held by the inhabitants of Riga („I agree" is marked more often than „rather agree").

This tendency to intertwine loyalty and language skills is characteristic of the former language policy. But changes in loyalty most probably come even slower than changes in language use because there is a number of other factors that influence the society's loyalty towards the state.

It is significant that the opinion of the population about the necessity of the knowledge of Latvian has not crucially changed since the adoption of the Official Language Law in 1999. The sociolinguistic study of the Institute of Latvian Language of the UL[1] has found that 93.6% of the Russian-

[1] *Latvijas valodas situācijas dinamika (1995–2000)* [Dynamics of the Latvian language situation]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 1999/2000.

speaking respondents have regarded knowledge of Latvian as compulsory for permanent residents. The results of the opinion poll of the research centre SKDS of 2003[1] show that the majority of Latvian population (97.4% of citizens and 89.1% of non-citizens) hold the view that the inhabitants of Latvia must know the Latvian language.

Attention should be paid to the fact that during the LLA survey of 2009, 81% of the respondents with Russian as their native tongue gave an affirmative answer to the question about the need to know Latvian (Fig. 16) and only 6% gave a negative answer. In the LLA 2009 survey such answers are characteristic of the respondents living in the territories where the number of Latvians is larger (countryside, Kurzeme, Zemgale).

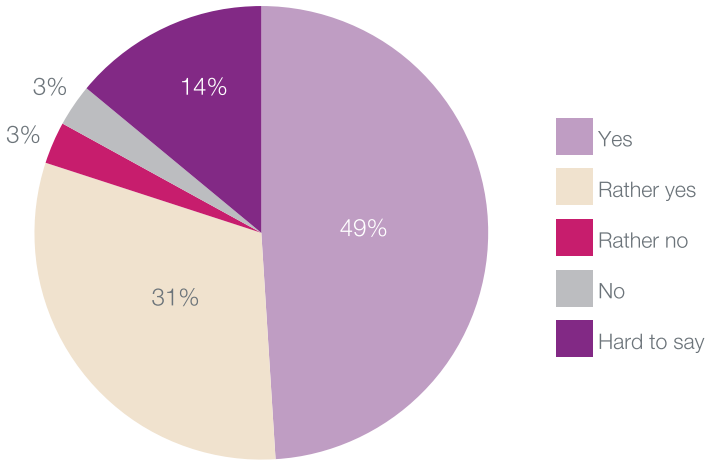

Fig. 16. **Answers of the Russian-speaking respondents to the question „Should the residents of Latvia know the Latvian language?** (LLA survey 2009)

Results of the state languge proficiency test

The data of the study "Language" also show the opinion that the official language should be known by all inhabitants of Latvia: 97% of the population (100% Latvians, 94% Russians and 96% representatives of other minorities) consider that every inhabitant should freely use the Latvian language. During the hot discussions about the reform of the minority educational programmes in 2004, the majority of Latvian population — 98% Latvians, 87% Russians and 88% representatives of other minorities — held the view that all the inhabitants must know the official language.

[1] *Latviešu valodas attīstība un lietojums.* Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja [Development and use of the Latvian language. Latvian population poll]. SKDS. Rīga, 2003.

The majority of experts interviewed in the LLA survey of 2009 hold the view that all the people living in Latvia should know the official language. Some experts point out that the levels of proficiency could be different and based on application needs but all the inhabitants should know the official language on the conversational level.

According to the experts the main reasons why people should know the official language are:

- practical necessity to communicate in everyday life,
- full-fledged participation in public processes,
- the need for one communication language known by all inhabitants of the state,
- demonstration of respect for the state of residence, etc.

At the same time some of the experts hold the view that the choice of the communication language should be a voluntary decision although the state has to motivate and stimulate the use of the official language. It is also pointed out that the state should provide equal possibilities of language acquisition to all who want it.

The data of the LLA survey of 2009 show that approximately 61% of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian have proved their Latvian language skills passing the official state language proficiency examinations: centralised examination in the Latvian language and literature of minority educational programmes or the state language proficiency testing. 10% of the Russian-speaking respondents point out that they have finished the secondary school with Latvian language of instruction. But 54% of the respondents who have not finished the secondary school with Latvian language of instruction or 36% of all the respondents whose native tongue is Russian indicated that they have taken the state language proficiency testing.

48% of respondents out of the 51% whose language proficiency is proved by the result of the examination or test (certification) have passed it on the highest level[1] (Fig. 17).

The results of the centralized examination in secondary schools have a positive impact on the rate of average level of language proficiency as the results of the state language proficiency testing are lower: advanced level of language proficiency — 45.3%, intermediate — 37.5%, basic — 16.6%, hard to say — 0.6% (see Fig. 18).

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[1] Levels of the state language proficiency: basic or A level, intermediate or B level, advanced or C level. There are two degrees for each level: 1 – lowest, 2 – highest. More information at: VISC. *Valsts valodas prasmes pārbaude*. Available at: http://visc.gov.lv/eksameni/valval/prasmesparb.shtml

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

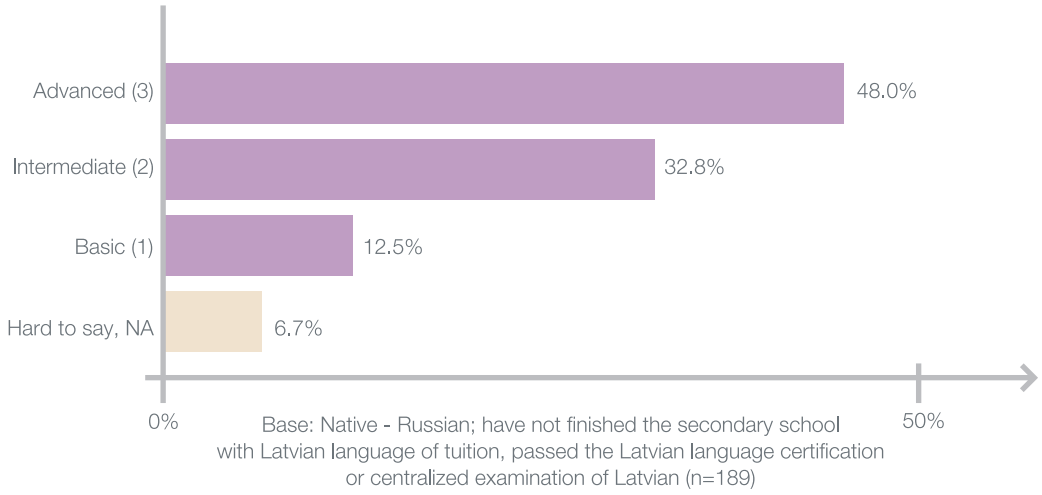

Fig. 17. **Level of Latvian language proficiency of Russian-speaking inhabitants (showings of the state language certification and compulsory centralized examination of the Latvian language and literature)** (LLA survey 2009)

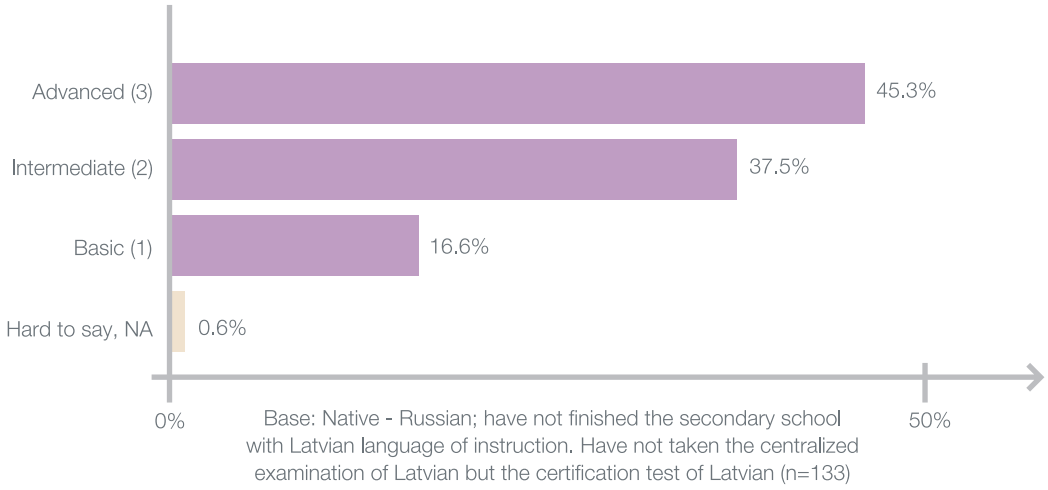

Fig. 18. **Level of Latvian language proficiency of Russian-speaking inhabitants (showings of the state language certification or language proficiency testing)** (LLA 2009 survey)

Women, people with a higher level of education and income, people before the age of pension, inhabitants of Riga, county centres and rural areas (not villages) take the advanced level testing of language proficiency.

Surveys show that the level of language proficiency acquired at the examination or testing match the self-appraisal of the Russian-speaking respondents. The language proficiency level of older-age people often is lower than that of younger respondents. As already mentioned, younger respondents and those with a higher level of education demonstrate better skills of Latvian.

The data of LLA 2009 survey testify that people with insufficient language proficiency presently encounter communication difficulties which increase alongside the growth of the level of officialization of communication. As the number of those who do not understand the Latvian language at all has decreased and is quite small today (according to data of LLA survey — 8%), using quantitative surveys this group of Russian-speakers at a representative level is not accessible. Detailed investigation of this group demands qualitative research methods. The majority of respondents who have pointed that they do not know Latvian feel certain difficulties caused by this inability — most often in communication with state and local government institutions (Fig. 19).

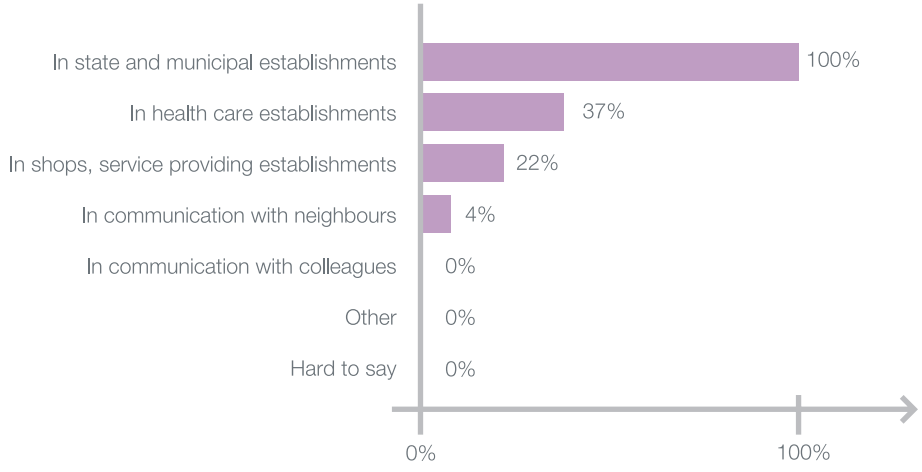

Fig. 19. **Answers of the Russian-speaking respondents who do not know Latvian to the question „In which spheres do you encounter difficulties caused by the inability to speak Latvian?"**
(LLA 2009 survey)

While the formal nature of communication is diminishing the communication difficulties for those who do not know Latvian are lessening as well. A great part of Latvians and representatives of minorities still know the Russian language and use it in communication with Russian speakers and the representatives of other minorities. Thus the self-sufficiency of Russian is still

strengthening in various sociolinguistic fields and hindering the consolidation of the state language in Latvia.[1]

On 7 July 2009, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia adopted regulations No. 733 „On the scale of the official language proficiency and the procedure of the official language proficiency testing for the performance of professional and positional duties, receipt of the residence permit and the status of the EU permanent resident, and the state duty for the official language proficiency testing" [2] that are put in a new edition. Some essential changes are made to adjust the levels of official language proficiency to the demands stipulated in Europe and to enlarge the list of professions with identified official language skills:

1) the scale of official language proficiency is set in three levels anticipating two degrees for each level: highest and lowest. Listening skills are included in the writing section (until now laws and regulations envisaged testing of speaking, reading and writing skills);
2) the levels of proficiency and designations of degrees have been changed and coordinated with the designations of proficiency levels recognized in Europe;
3) Appendixes 1 and 2 of the Regulations of the CM No. 296 have been specified and supplemented in accordance with the Classification of Occupations, etc.[3]

While clarifying the awareness of the Russian-speaking respondents of the state language proficiency level demanded for the execution of professional duties, the majority of respondents of the LLA 2009 survey affirm that they know what level is needed for their profession (Fig. 20). Young and middle-aged (from 36 up to 45 years) respondents, as well as respondents with a higher level of education and income, are better informed.

Improvement of the state language skills of the representatives of minorities is an essential achievement of the language policy of Latvia but, in the future, more attention should be paid to the increase of the state language use and consolidation of the status of the state language.

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[1] Poriņa, V. *Valsts valoda daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā* [The state language in multilingual society: individual and social bilingualism of Latvia]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2009, 167. lpp.

[2] On the amendments of Regulations Nr. 733 of the Cabinet of Ministers see: http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=194735&from=off

[3] On the amendments of Regulations Nr. 733 of the Cabinet of Ministers see also: http://www.vvc.gov.lv/advantagecms/LV/aktualitates/14072009.html

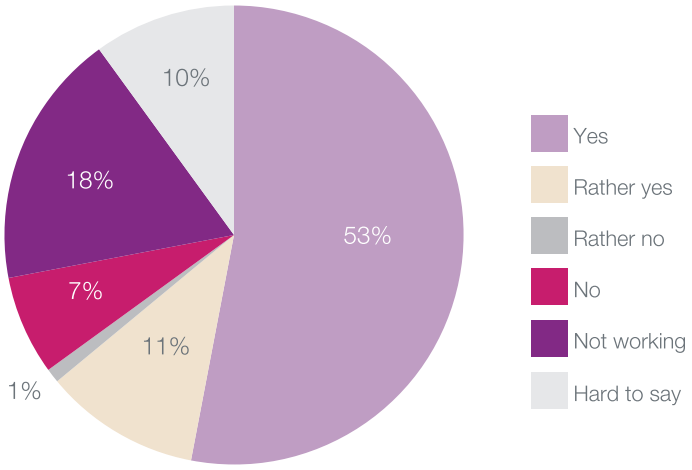

Fig. 20. **Awareness of the Russian-speaking respondents of the Latvian language proficiency level needed for the execution of professional duties** (LLA 2009 survey)

"… the existing system of bilingual education is strengthening the Latvian language acquisition already now. Whereas the real use of the language is provided by totally different factors — economical value of the languages or the stereotypes about it, different models of linguistic behaviour based on traditions and/or mentality of Latvian and Russian collective bodies."
(Druviete, I. Latviešu valoda kā valsts valoda: simbols, saziņas līdzeklis vai valstiskuma pamats? [The Latvian language as the state language: symbol, means of communication or basis of statehood?]. From: *Latvija un latviskais. Nācija un valsts idejās, tēlos un simbolos*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2010, 150. lpp.)

3.3. Linguistic attitude and linguistic behaviour of the inhabitants of Latvia

To understand the linguistic behaviour of the collective language body it is important to analyze linguistic attitudes. **Linguistic attitudes** are a complex of subjective factors of various ethnic and social groups or individuals — peculiarities of language perception, attitude towards different languages and mechanisms regulating the language situation.[1] The concept of linguistic attitudes comprises several elements: attitude to one's own language and other languages rooted in the historical experience, subjective ideas or stereotypes of

[1] *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca* [Explanatory dictionary of the key terms of linguistics]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 219. lpp.

the nations, ethnic mentality, the given linguistic environment and situation, namely, these attitudes have a social origin that may have an essential impact on the behaviour and sustainability of language.[1]

One can observe that the factor of nationality and native language markedly influences the attitude towards the state language proficiency, the necessity of language acquisition and its use and it comes to light not only in the population polls but also through the answers of the experts during the LLA 2009 interviews.

The respondents of the LLA 2009 survey and the SLA 2004 survey pointed at what in their opinion defined belonging to a nation. Variants of the answers of the 2004 and 2009 polls were slightly different, and therefore, the results cannot be precisely compared (Fig. 21). In 2009, the most frequently chosen answer was nationality of parents which was not offered in 2004, but the native language was indicated as an essential factor in all surveys and by all groups of the respondents.

Native language and nationality

Comparing the answers of Latvian and Russian-speaking respondents we can see one main difference: Latvians link native language with nationality to a much larger degree. In this respect the situation has not essentially changed since 2004. The link of the native language with nationality is more characteristic of Latvian respondents living in rural areas (LLA survey 2009), whereas the Russian speakers with a lower level of education more often link nationality with birth-place.

Investigating the connection of native language and nationality (Fig. 22) we see that 97% of those whose native tongue is Latvian consider themselves to be Latvians.

But in case the native tongue is Russian, 86% consider themselves to be Russians. These differences are caused by two basic reasons — when the minority groups were assimilating in the Russian community, the first generations retained their nationality; and in the independent Latvia the nationality "Latvian" seems to be more attractive due to political reasons and is kept although the native tongue is Russian.

According to the data of the year 2000 population census, 73% Belarusians, 68% Ukrainians, 58% Poles and 79% Jews consider Russian as their native tongue.[2] For comparison purpose: results of the study "Language 2008"

[1] Trudgill, P. *Introducing Language and Society*. Penguin English, 1992, p. 44; Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā*. Rīga, 1998, 100. lpp.

[2] Mežs, I. *Latviešu valoda statistikas spogulī* [Latvian language as reflected in statistics]. Rīga: Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta, 2004, 16. lpp.

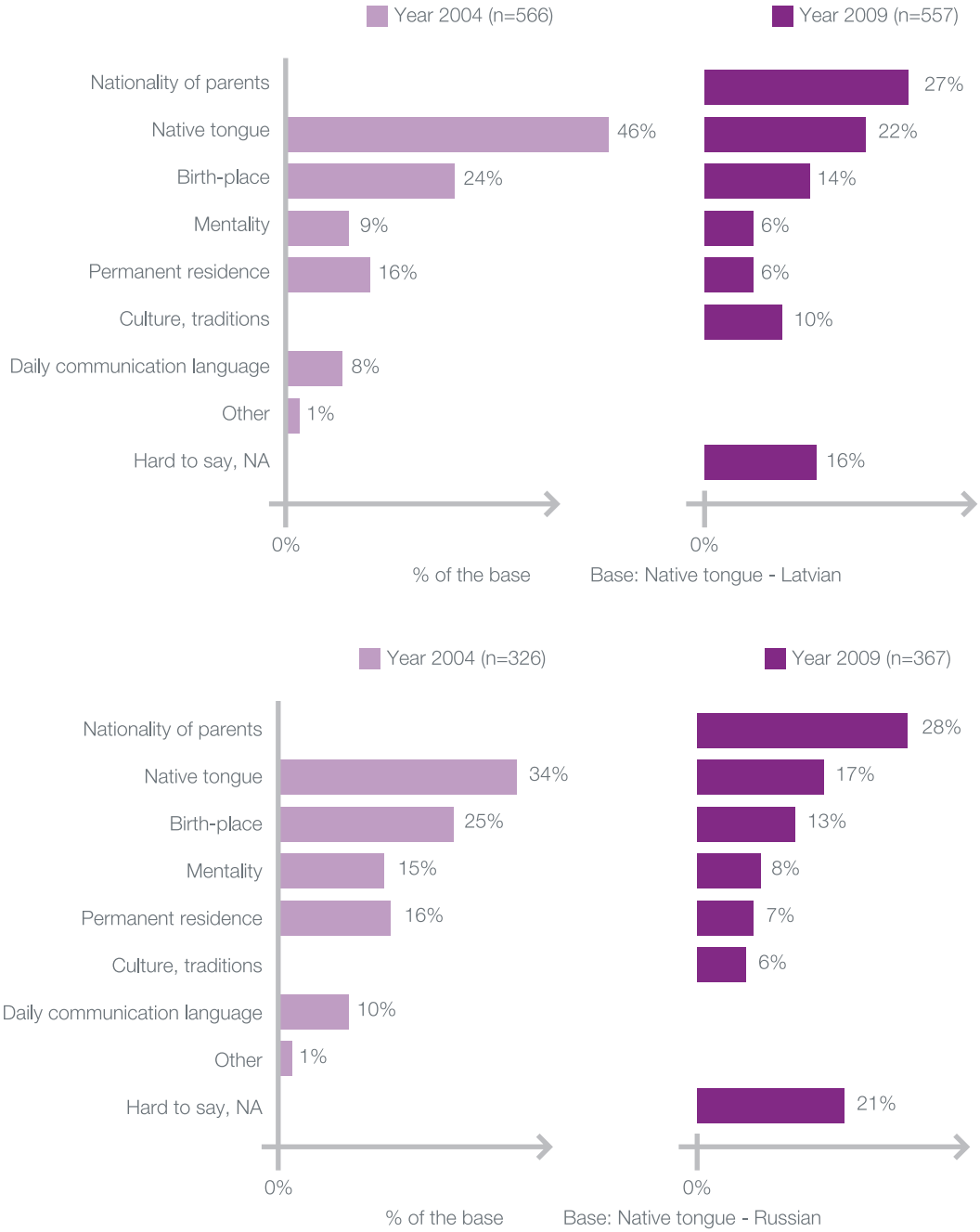

Fig. 21. Answers of the respondents to the question "What from the mentioned in your opinion determines belonging to nationality?"[1] (LLA 2009 survey)

[1] The huge number of unanswered cases is caused by a faulty interpretation of the question; namely, here we can find also the answers of the respondents who have marked two and more options of the answers.

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

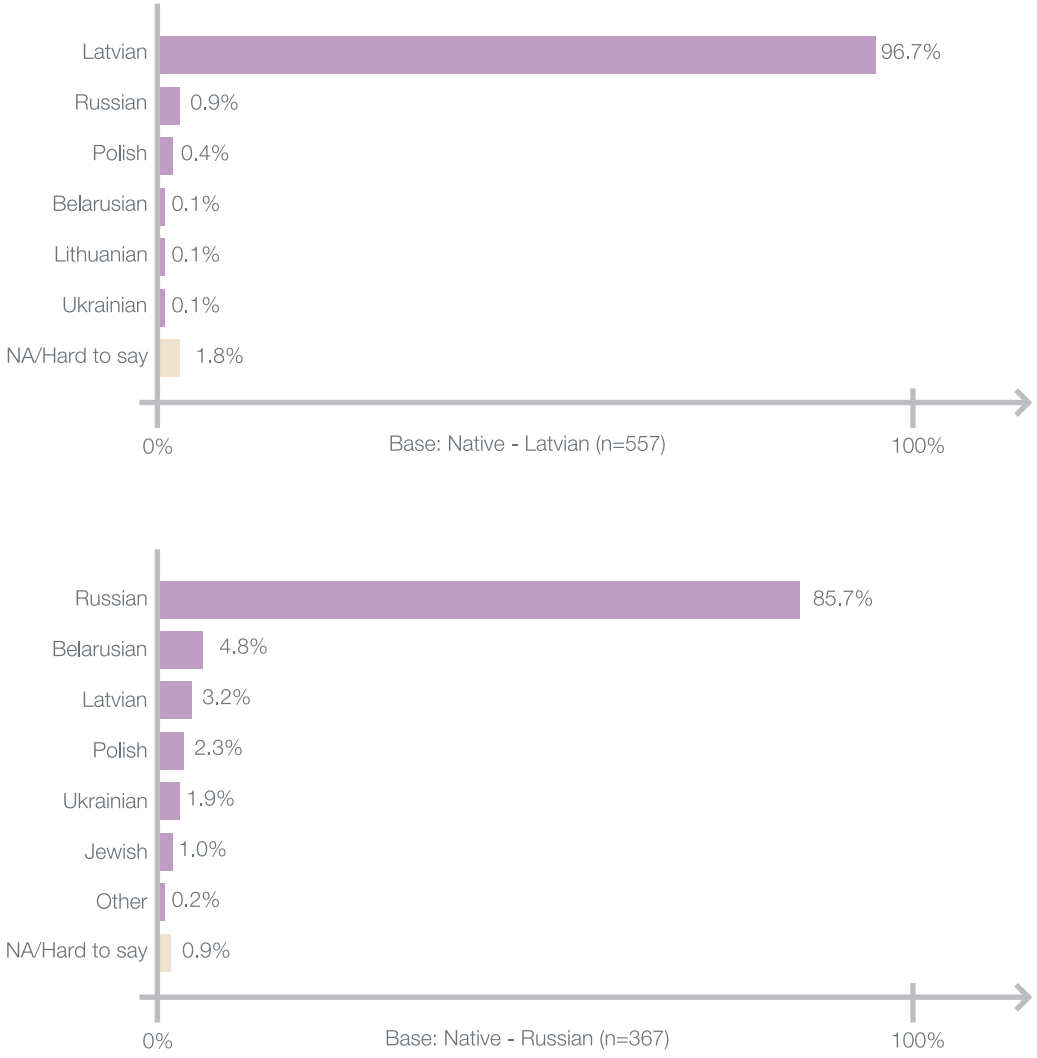

Fig. 22. **Nationality of the respondents** (LLA survey 2009)

testify that for 97% of the polled Latvians and 99% of Russians ethnic belonging and native language coincide. The situation with the representatives of minorities is different: 14% of them, i.e. respondents who are neither Latvians nor Russians, have marked that their native tongue is Latvian, 43.6% — Russian but 42.6% named another language (Language 2008).

Since the turn of the century, awareness of the native language among the representatives of minorities is changing — the number of respondents who consider Russian as their native tongue is decreasing but the number of those who consider another language as their native tongue is growing (Language 2008).

The study "Language" where the opinion polls took place every second year in the period from 1996 up to 2004, but in 1997 and 1998 even twice a year, show that the ethnopolitical context, political discussions and implemented activities play a significant role in the formation of attitude towards the state language. Thus, for example, in 2004, when the minority education reform encountered a severe opposition, discussions about the targets and means of the reform were extremely hot, the attitude of non-Latvians towards the use of Latvian had become sharply negative, as seen from the press publications of that period (see Chapter 4.5). But with the gradual introduction of the reform (reaching a compromise about the proportions of languages of instruction in secondary schools, providing preparation of tutorials and guidance manuals, organizing different courses of professional perfection and the Latvian language for teachers as well as other supportive activities) it was no longer received as a threat and the attitude towards the use of Latvian in every-day life became more favourable (Language 2008).

Evaluating the dynamics of the results of the study “Language” the researchers emphasize a succession of positive changes testifying strengthening of the Latvian language status among the minorities: the state language proficiency has improved, the use of the Latvian language in public space has increased, the attitude towards the use of Latvian has become more favourable. That is a positively evaluated result of the implementation of state language policy.

At the same time, it is obvious that the state language has been stabilized in the formal environment where its use is determined by the law but in the situations when the choice of language depends upon the individuals themselves preference is given to the native tongue. This gives rise to the idea that the language policy is not so successful in the context of public integration, since the attitude of minorities towards the state language is more instrumental in regard of its usefulness but concerning the integrative capabilities of language — i.e., to promote understanding and free communication — today this is a considerably weaker stimulus for the acquisition and use of the Latvian language (Language 2008).

The Russian respondents who know Latvian and are older than 35 years of age were asked if their attitude towards the Latvian language had improved during the years of independence. The majority answered that it had not improved, however, one-third pointed out that it had improved (Fig. 23).

The long-term study “Language” discloses an inconsistent tendency: in the first years of the current millennium the number of those whom the use of Latvian had given positive emotions increased but later decreased.

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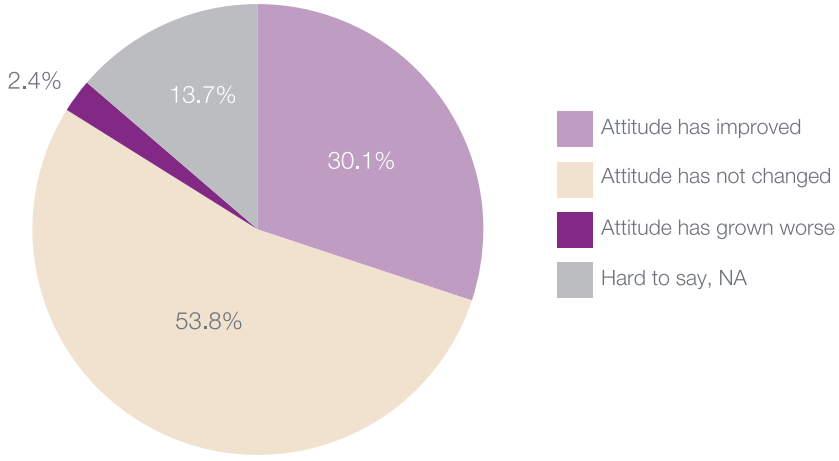

Base: Native tongue - Russian; good knowledge of Latvian, older than 35 years of age (n=88)

Fig. 23. **Answers of the respondents to the question „How has your attitude towards the Latvian language changed during the years of independence of Latvia?"** (LLA survey 2009)

The year 2008 survey shows that, if to compare with year 2000, the number of those who willingly speak Latvian has increased (37% in 2008 and 29% in 2000), whereas the number of those who have a neutral attitude towards Latvian has decreased: 38% in 2008 and 45% in 2000. Explicitly negative attitude towards Latvian since 2000 has been marked by: 8% in 2008, 11% in 2004 and 7% in 2000. Traditionally negative attitude is characteristic of older and less educated people.

Significance of the Latvian language

In the LLA 2009 survey, answering the question "Has the significance of the Latvian language changed during the last 5 or 6 years?" one-third or 34% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian point that it has grown (Fig. 24). It is only half of the number of respondents (70%) who had noticed the growth of the significance of Latvian in 2004 (LLA 2004 survey). Nevertheless, 41% of the Latvian respondents of the LLA 2009 survey consider that the significance of the Latvian language has not changed, 17% answer that during the last five or six years it has decreased but 8% could not answer the question.

Analyzing the change of the role of Latvian during the last five to ten years experts of the LLA 2009 survey express different opinions — one part of them consider that it has grown, the other — that it has decreased and another part that the role of the official language has not essentially changed. But almost all of the interviewed have stated that this is an important period for the develop-

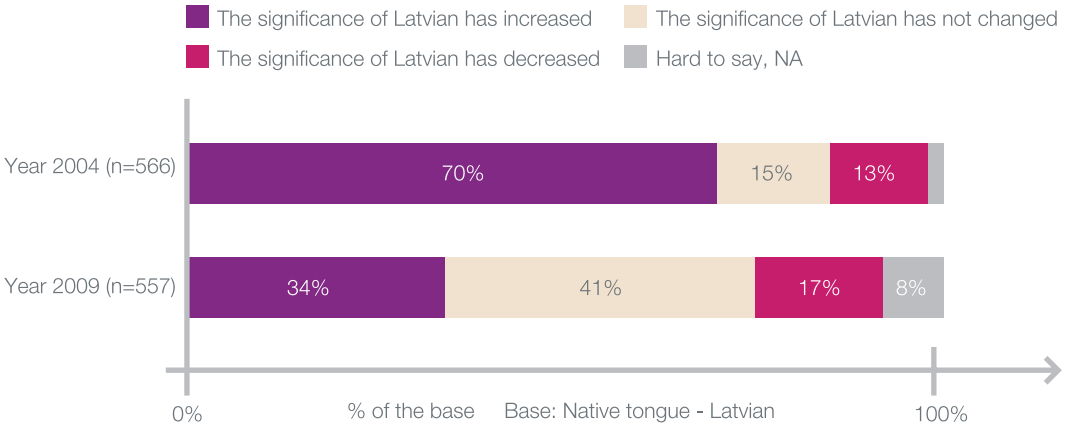

Fig. 24. **Answers of the respondents to the question "Has the significance of the Latvian language changed during the last 5 or 6 years?"** (LLA survey 2009)

ment of the state in general because several crucial questions influencing the status and role of the official language are to be solved.

"In 1990, the Latvian language was used but not in all the spheres. Then a rather targeted language policy followed, strengthened by laws and regulations, well-weighed documentation system of the action plan and by the institutions created for the implementation of this policy. Nevertheless, today the world and Latvia is facing a different context and different challenges in both the language policy and the state education policy, which means: changes are indispensable. Latvia itself has to strictly put forward future tasks of its state policy." (LLA interviews 2009)

Factors that influence the use of the Latvian language

Among the main achievements of the former development of the Latvian language, experts of the LLA interviews 2009 name, firstly, the adoption of the Official Language Law and the reform of the minority education content, and secondly, the consequential increase of everyday use of the Latvian language by the minorities. The development of the role of Latvian in education is considered as particularly essential.

"Consolidation of the status of the Latvian language in education is essential. Transition to the condition that the bulk of the education content and materials are in Latvian. … play an exceedingly positive role as **the segregation according to the language principle in the younger generation is vanishing** [LLA emphasis], at least as far as I encounter it working with students the knowledge of Latvian among the non-Latvian students has improved to a great extent. This is an amazing achievement." (LLA interviews 2009)

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Those experts who consider that the role of Latvian has increased most often refer to:

- consolidation of the legal status of the language,
- acquisition of the status of the EU official language,
- introduction of bilingual education,
- education policy in general, providing acquisition and use of the Latvian language for the minority target groups and encouraging comparatively positive attitude towards the state language and its use.

"The turning point to a great extent was the reform of education in 2004. It was the turning point in the, pedagogical aspect but the other aspect was missing, i.e. enlightening of the society. If the official language is not functioning completely in all the spheres, is not fulfilling all the functions Latvians themselves have to take responsibility for the present situation." (LLA interviews 2009)
"A lot has been done to develop the language: firstly, tutorials created for Latvian as the second language. … Secondly, bilingual education has been beneficial because children not only have seen the language as the subject. … but also the way how the language is used in other subjects — mathematics, physics, and biology. They have seen a living and working language." (LLA interviews 2009)

Evaluating the dynamics of the results of the study "Language" the researchers stress the positive changes that prove the consolidation of the status of Latvian among the minorities:

- the knowledge of the state language has improved and the amount of users has enlarged,
- use of the Latvian language (especially by younger generation) has increased in various spheres of life,
- the attitude towards speaking Latvian has become more favourable.

The LLA survey and interviews of 2009 testify earlier observations that up to the present time the acquisition of language has been facilitated mainly by the administrative system, i.e. legislation and activities of education policy closely connected with the activities of the official language policy and determined by the documents planning the state language policy. However, in the linguistic situation of Latvia completion of language proficiency as the only activity of the implementation of language policy cannot ensure full value use of the Latvian language in the society.

Those experts of the LLA interviews 2009 who declared that the role of Latvian had decreased mentioned different causes:

- insufficient use of Latvian in daily communications,
- problems of legal order for the state language use in private business activities,
- further expansion of English.

"The expansion and consolidation of the Latvian language has decreased. The first acceleration was ten years after the retrieval of independence. I concede that presently the use of Latvian is even diminishing." (LLA interviews 2009)

In the study "Language 2008" respondents representing the minorities state that they use Latvian if they are addressed in Latvian and in case the companion does not speak Russian. This fact proves that Latvians can facilitate the distribution of the Latvian language intensifying the use of Latvian in conversations with the Russian speakers. Approximately half (49%) of the representatives of minorities speak Latvian in state establishments, 40% speak Latvian when surrounded mainly by Latvians. 27% of them use Latvian also if there is a Latvian present among other persons but 24% speak Latvian for practice. If to compare the data of 2008 with the indications of the turn of the century, we see that the frequency of use of the Latvian language has increased in all earlier described situations.

The respondents of the study of the State Language Agency, "Linguistic attitude and language use of Latvian speaking inhabitants of Latvia", most often mention that the ever growing need to use Latvian is the factor that facilitates the state language use, and it is marked by half of the respondents. Quite often other factors are mentioned like: the Official Language Law, the Latvian language testing for acquisition of citizenship, the state language proficiency testing. Not so frequently they mention the Education Law (see further the section "Role of education") and also the extensive possibilities to learn Latvian.

In 2009, the Latvian language testing for the acquisition of citizenship, the status of Latvian as of the sole official language, the official records management in the state language, etc., are still mentioned as the essential factors that ensure gradual increase of the role of the Latvian language. In the LLA survey 2009, Latvians unequivocally support further use of these norms and the increase of the role of Latvian, and there are no differences between generations.

Role of education

As seen in Figure 27, in 2004 only one fourth (25%) have marked the Education Law as one of the factors essentially influencing the use of the Latvian language. Probably in public space the former order of Latvian learning at schools with Russian language of instruction has been comparatively little

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

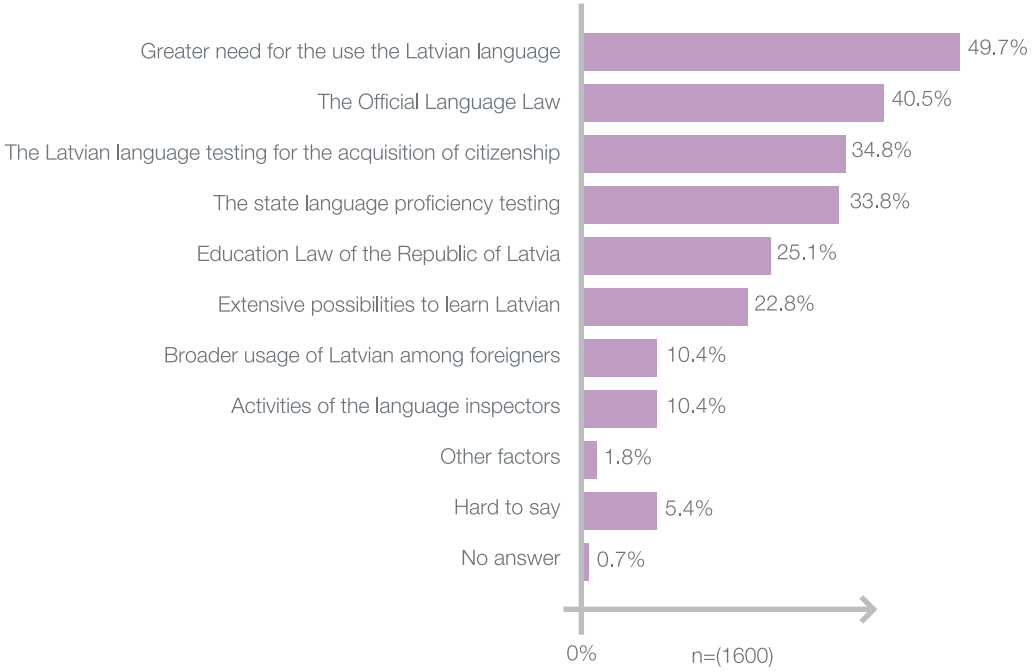

Fig. 25. **Factors facilitating the use of the Latvian language as marked by the respondents** (LLA survey 2004)

discussed, at least less than the other mentioned factors. Thus we can see the link between the topicality of the factor and the evaluation of its influence. According to the summary of the opinion poll of 2004 ordered by the SLA[1], it was forecasted that the estimation of the influence of Education Law would rise in the following years, which was indeed proved by later polls and studies. The majority of experts questioned during the LLA interviews 2009 hold the opinion that it is the system of education and mass media that influence the situation of the Latvian language most essentially. And speaking about the last five to ten years the interviewed experts gave a positive estimation to the reform of education contents that has served as the stimulus for acquisition of Latvian and dissemination of its use.

Preparing competitive youth for the labour market, schools and universities lately furthers acquisition of Latvian, Russian and English. In the study of 2005, "The influence of the language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active inhabitants"[2], the young people have given the highest estimation to their language skills:

[1] Data Serviss. *Latviešu valodas attīstības un lietojuma problēmas* [Problems of development and use of the Latvian language]. Rīga, 2004. 86. lpp.

[2] Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti: sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums* [The influence of language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active inhabitants: summary of a sociolinguistic study]. VVA. Rīga, 2006. 11. lpp.

- in the group between 18 and 25 years of age 19% can read job information in three and more languages without difficulties,
- 10.4% can do it in the group between 26 and 35,
- only 2.4% — in the group between 36 and 45,
- 8.5% in the group between 46 and 60,
- and 6% in the group above 60 years of age.

The conclusion of the study says that the quality of language teaching in Latvia has been inconsistent in the course of time and it has been the lowest for the inhabitants in the group between 36 and 45 years of age. It is hard to master the missing language skills in the following working life. We can say that it is only now that the society is beginning to value the role of education in language mastering and provision of its use.

3.4. Linguistic environment: language use and dynamics of the use of Latvian

The economic necessity of the Latvian language skills and the aspect of language use is a significant indicator reflecting the real language hierarchy and its dynamics in Latvia. As testified by the data of the LLA survey 2009 (Fig. 26) the use of the Latvian language in 2009 in certain spheres has slightly increased, in comparison to 2004, according to Latvian respondents.

Choice of communication language

In 2004, 70% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian, basically have been using (chosen answers *always* or *almost always*, *often and rather often*) the Latvian language in work but 53% — in communication with clients (to be compared with already 66% in 2009). Latvian is *always* or *almost always*, *often* and *rather often* used in state institutions (90% in 2004 and 94% in 2009) and local governments (92% in 2009). One-fourth (23%) of Latvians in general do not use Latvian when addressing representatives of other nationalities (use it *rather seldom*, *very seldom* or *never*). Similar data (25%) was obtained in 2004. Besides, the amount of Latvians who *always* or *almost always*, *often* and *rather often* use Latvian in communication with the representatives of other nationalities has increased by 10 per cent (from 65% in 2004 to 75% in 2009).

Data of the study "Language" testify that 93% (in 2004 and 2008) respondents whose native tongue is Latvian *mainly or only speak Latvian* and *speak Latvian more than Russian* in their working-places. The number of Russian-speaking respondents who speak mainly Latvian in their working-places has slightly increased. Language use of these respondents in their working-places

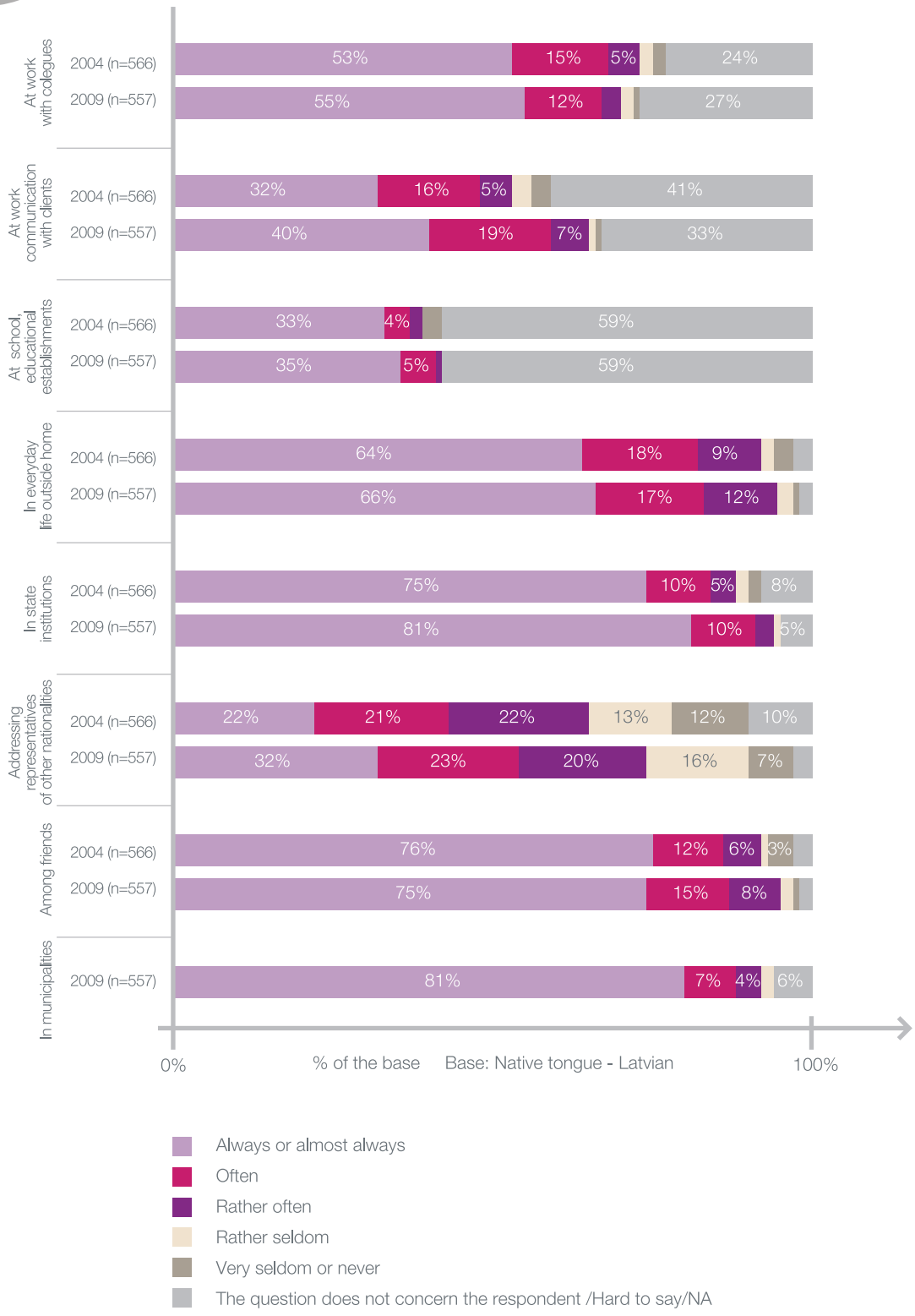

Fig. 26. **Answers of the respondents to the question "How often you use Latvian in the given situations?"** (LLA survey 2009)

has changed to the advantage of Latvian for ten per cent on average. In 2004, 22% of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian *were mainly or only speaking Latvian* and *speaking Latvian more than Russian* in their working-places but in 2008 — 32%. In 2004, in its turn, 76% of respondents whose native tongue is Russian were communicating *more in Russian than in Latvian* and *mainly or only in Russian* but in 2008 — only 66%. The number of those native Russian-speakers who *quite often* and *very often* hear the Latvian language in their working-places has increased (from 54% in 2004 to 69% in 2008).

Choice of language for informal communication

Recently the language use of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian has slightly changed in the streets and shops. 94% in 2004 and 96% in 2008 were *mainly or only speaking the Latvian language* and *Latvian more than Russian*. During the last five years, changes in language use can be observed in the group of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian. While in 2004 85% of the respondents of this group were speaking *more Russian than Latvian* and *mainly or only Russian* in the streets, then in 2008 the proportion was 71%. Namely, the use of Latvian in the streets and shops by the respondents whose native tongue is Russian has respectively increased — in 2004, 15% were speaking *mainly or only Latvian* and *Latvian more than Russian* but in 2008 — already 26%.

The amount of Russian-speaking respondents who hear *quite a lot* and *very much* of Latvian in social life, in the streets has only a bit increased (from 64% in 2004 to 70% in 2008). The number of respondents comprising this group who hear Latvian quite a lot and very much has increased in other situations as well — on television (from 49% in 2004 to 59% in 2008) and radio (from 36% in 2004 to 48% in 2008). At the same time, the number of those who hear *rather little* and *very little or no* Latvian in social life, in the streets has decreased (from 36% in 2004 to 28% in 2008).

Analysis of the data of LLA 2009 survey allows forecasting that in case the proportion of Russians having good knowledge of the Latvian language is increasing as the result of natural movement of the population but the proportion of Latvians who have a good knowledge of Russian is decreasing in future we may occur in the situation when the proportion of Russians having good knowledge of the Latvian language is exceeding the number of Latvians having good knowledge of Russian. That would automatically mean that people of Russian nationality have a higher competitiveness in labour market due to their language skills (this process has already started in the group of youth). It should be mentioned that the conclusion of the year 2005 study "Influence of language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active population" is

that "it will be difficult for economically active people from Latvian rural areas to integrate in metropolitan labour market where the Russian language skills are still needed."[1]

Latvian language skills are obligatory for all economically active inhabitants, namely, the priority of the official language in all spheres in the territory of Latvia (for both the private and the public service providers) is axiomatic. In the recent years, we can see a tendency to demand mandatory Russian skills, especially in the private sector (usually also in enterprises having no connections with Russian partners that might serve as an explanation for the demand) and it should be treated as a violation of the linguistic rights of Latvians and of the inhabitants with other foreign language skills.[2]

The Latvian language use encounters its biggest problems in public spheres, like shops, social events, etc. Situations when Latvians do not get answers to their questions in Latvian (Fig. 27) in state, municipal, medical care and educational establishments are rare and can be observed only in Latgale and Riga. These situations can be seen more often in public events, transport and trade (in Riga and in Latgale, not so often elsewhere in Latvia).

Frequency of the Latvian language use

A slight increase of the frequency of Latvian use in the group of inhabitants whose native tongue is Russian and a constantly stable frequency of Latvian use in the group with Latvian as a native tongue in the period from 2004 till 2010 show the results achieved by the state language policy and the integration policy, including the increasing Latvian language skills among the minorities and gradual strengthening of Latvian as the means of communication of the population.

In 2004, Latvian respondents pointed out increasing frequency of Latvian use in comparison with 1998 and 1999 but in 2009 they much more often recognize that there are no changes if to compare with years 2003 and 2004. Stabilization of the situation does not mean that Latvian enjoys all the full-value priorities of the official language. We can still encounter the competition of languages and the economical values that prevail over ethical values of our modern pragmatic world, and we also have to solve the problems caused to the language situation during the occupation years.

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[1] Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti: sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums* [The influence of language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active inhabitants: summary of a sociolinguistic study]. VVA. Rīga, 2006, 11. lpp.

[2] See also Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika* [View: Language, Society, Politics]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 234. lpp.; Poriņa, V. *Valsts valoda daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā* [The state language in multilingual society: individual and social bilingualism of Latvia]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2009, 75.–85. lpp.

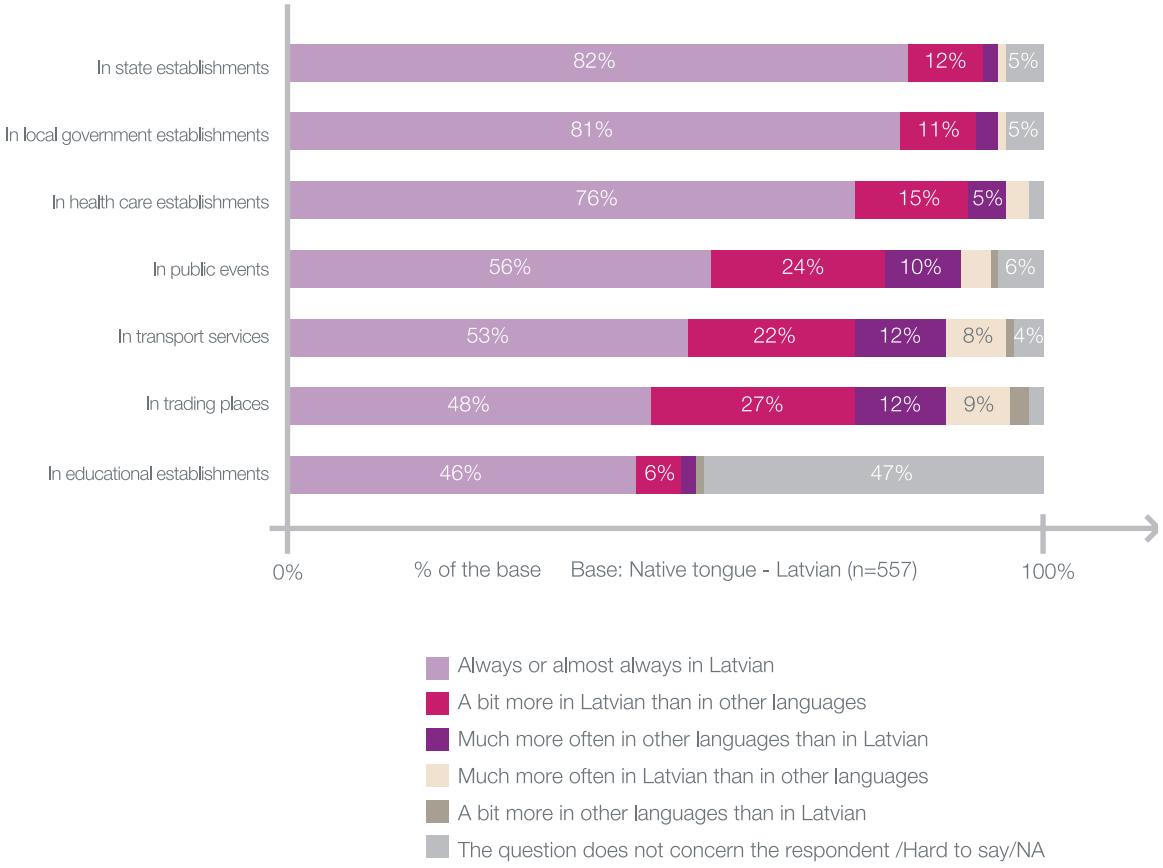

Fig. 27. **Answers of the respondents to the question „In what language you get answers to your question or request in Latvian?"** (LLA survey 2009)

In 2009, 38% of the respondents point out that in their places of residence Latvian is being used *considerably more often* or *a bit more often* in comparison with the situation five or six years ago — it is less than in 2004 (51%). But in 2009, the number of Latvians who marked that the frequency rate of the language use had not changed reached 50%, thus, it follows that the frequency rate is stable as the Latvian language is being used as often as five or six years ago (for comparison, in 2004, 39% had indicated consistency of the situation).

As observed in previous years, the consistency is proportionally growing at the expense of the growing frequency rate of the language use. At the same time it has not been observed that the number of inhabitants who have noticed less frequent use of Latvian than five or six years ago would proportionally grow (in 2004, 2% of Latvians considered that Latvian was being used a bit less frequently and 2% — that considerably less frequent, but in 2009, 5% considered that Latvian was used a bit less frequently). Growth of the role of the Latvian language was felt by those Latvians who reside in Latgale and Zemgale.

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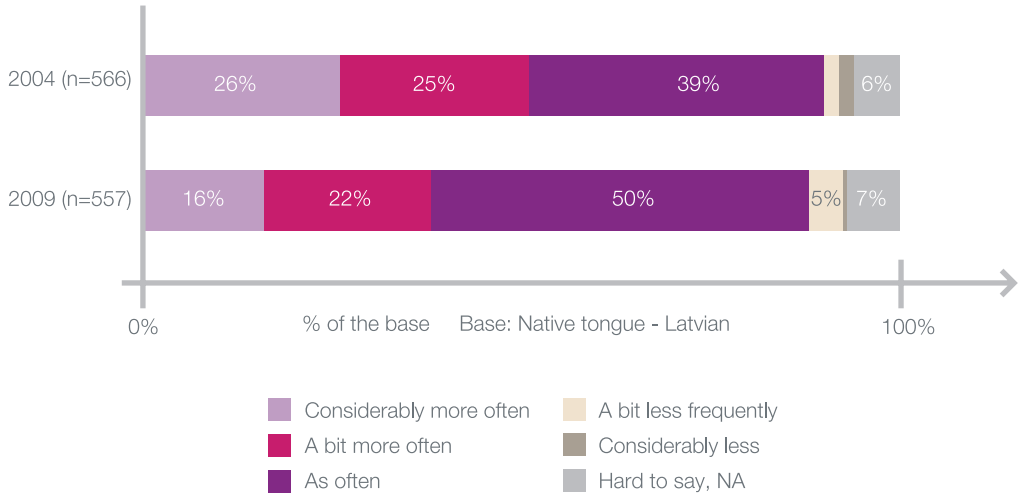

Fig. 28. **Use of Latvian in the places of residence (villages, dwelling areas and the like) in comparison with the situation five or six years ago** (LLA survey 2009)

The data of the SLA study in 2005 testify "that in daily communication there is an obliging attitude towards those who do not know the language and the people who have better language skills usually align with the capabilities of the people who do not know Latvian or Russian. There is an opinion that this alignment makes communication easier and is timesaving."[1] In the linguistic space of Latvia Latvians are usually those who adapt themselves to Russian-speaking interlocutors and today this tendency is one of the topical problems of the enlargement of the Latvian language use.

Evaluating the use of Latvian in diverse spheres (Fig. 29) not more than 27% of Russian respondents point out that *Russian is prevailing* and or *everything is solely in Russian* (these are the answers about language use in shops, service providing sphere). However, the responses that everything is solely in Latvian are not exceeding 47% (not a half even!) and it is about the language use in state institutions and local governments. Thus, like in the case of the data analysis of Latvian respondents, we can see that in the perception of Russian respondents the Latvian language in general dominates but its positions are not exclusive enough to exclude communication in Russian.

[1] Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti: sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums* [The influence of language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active inhabitants: summary of a sociolinguistic study]. Rīga, 2006, 12. lpp.

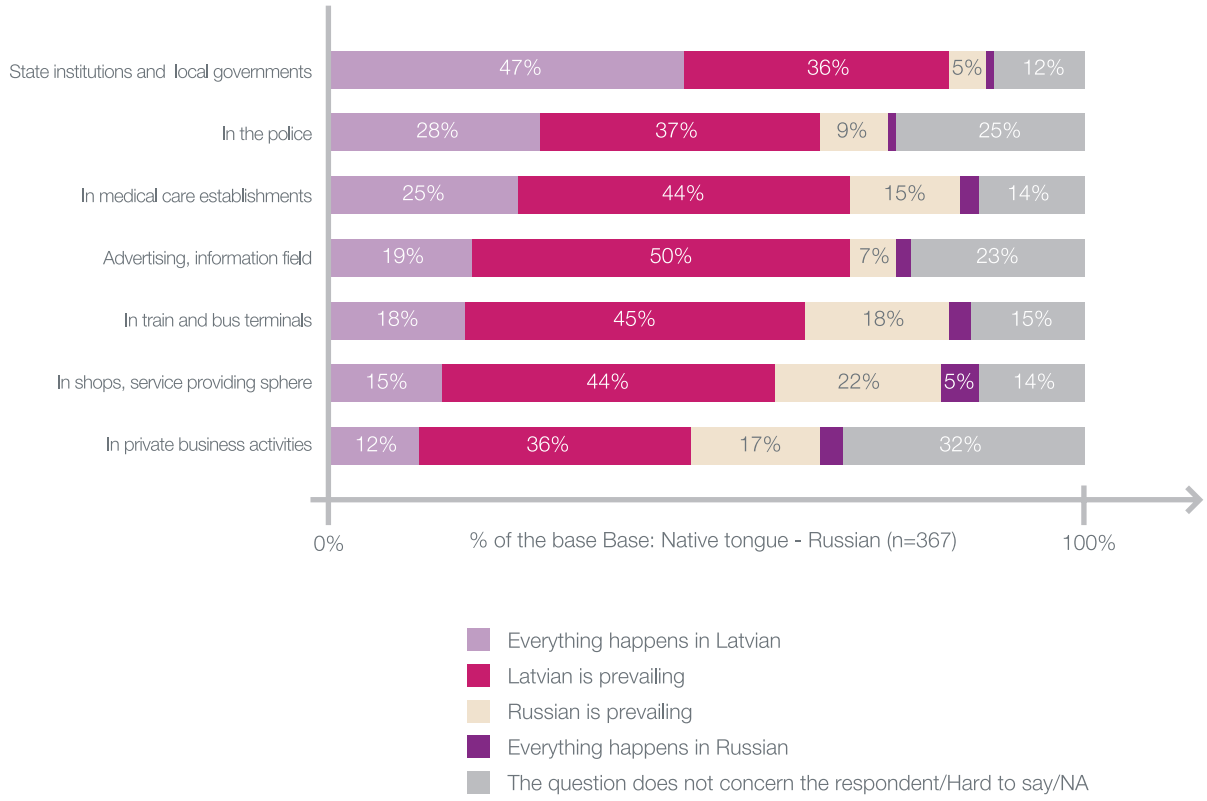

Fig. 29. **Opinion of Russian-speaking respondents about the present language use in the city where (or near to) they reside** (LLA survey 2009)

In the LLA survey of 2009 the respondents with Russian native tongue more often than Latvians could not answer the question concerning the change of language use. Largely it is due to the fact that this group of the respondents do not use Latvian at all and thus cannot evaluate the changes. Much more often these are old age respondents, pensioners, inhabitants of Riga — representatives of the sociodemographic group with the biggest amount of people lacking knowledge of Latvia — who cannot answer the question.

62 per cent of Russian-speaking respondents indicate that during the last five or six years they have never encountered the situation when they had not been served in Russian (Fig. 30). People with higher income more often indicate that they have not been served in Russian than those with lower income. And more often these are the inhabitants of Riga and Kurzeme.

Data of the survey offer the possibility to calculate the part of Russian-speakers for whom the Russian language is self-sufficient (namely, they do not

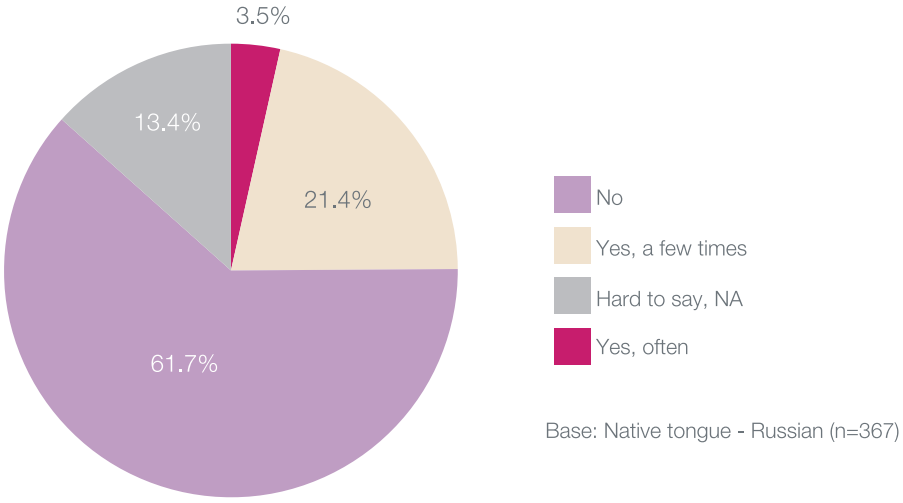

Fig. 30. **Answers of the respondents to the question "During the last 5 or 6 years have you encountered the situation that you were not served in Russian in a certain establishment, shop or other places when addressing the staff in Russian?"** (LLA survey 2009)

speak Latvian at all) for realization of their daily needs. The study „Language", for example, shows that the part of population which is using only Russian in public communication area is decreasing: in 2004, one-third (31%) of working non-Latvians (more often inhabitants of cities and those with lower income and level of education) used only Russian in public communication space (at work, with friends, in the streets, in the shop). It means that for one-third of the working non-Latvians the Russian language has been self-sufficient. Data of the 2008 survey testify that only one-fifth (20%) of the working Russian-speakers use only Russian in public communication space. Decrease of the self-sufficiency of the minority language comes to be regarded as a significant proof of the strengthening of the majority language status. But data of the LLA 2009 survey, in its turn, show that the role of the Russian language is still a large one in public space.

Commenting on language use experts express the following views:

- a quick development and quantitative growth of the role of Latvian is no more possible today;

"… now … everything is more or less in order with the Latvian language, it does not need special care, Latvian is all by itself and that is why certain dangerous tendencies appear." (LLA interviews 2009)

- beginning with the 2004/2005 school year, the transition to proportional division of the language of instruction has been started in secondary schools practicing minority educational programmes — 60% of the content is acquired in Latvian and 40% — in the minority language. In 2004, when vast discussions concerning the reform of the contents were opening in the society and in mass media the attitude of the minorities towards the use of Latvian was strictly negative.[1] Due to gradualness and theoretical groundedness of its implementation the reform was picked up as a stable and positive process and in 2009 it does not raise any discussions. To some extent it created the impression that there is no development in language and educational processes;

"As we know, 2004 was an important year for schools in regard of the new standards for primary schools. The foundations of the system of bilingual education were cemented and it encouraged acquisition of the official language. I think the speed of development was increasing until 2004 and I should say that after 2004 a seeming self-contentment on the side of the implementers of language policy set in." (LLA 2009 interviews)

- during the time when the country faces economical problems and part of the inhabitants are leaving the state searching for work and better life the indifferent attitude of the population towards language issues arouses concern. It gives the impression that the Latvian language has no economical value and it loses the strong competitor-languages.

"… It is our own emotional attitude. In 2004, we still had not lost the dose of patriotism, which seems to be lost now. That is why we were enthusiastic about the Latvian language in 2004." (LLA 2009 interviews)

„Today other languages are present in economic life — not only Russian but also English. Probably the situation has thus changed in the period of five years and Latvian linguists certainly raise the alarm. And it is not because Latvian is collapsing but because the competitors obviously are strong." (LLA 2009 interviews)

[1] Liepa, D. 2004. gada izglītības reformas atspoguļojums Latvijas presē sociolingvistiskā skatījumā [Sociolinguistic reflection of the education reform in Latvian printed media]. From: *Linguistica Lettica 14*. Rīga: Latviešu valodas institūts, 2005, 215.–233. lpp.

3 LANGUAGES IN LATVIA: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, USAGE AND LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

The experts who recognize that the role of the Latvian language has not changed in the latest years, as the reason, mention the fact that presently the status of the official language is legally enshrined and that the language use has reasonably broadened in comparison with the period 15 or 20 years ago.

„As the role of the Latvian language so strongly increased entering the official communication, becoming the state language, I think that now we cannot expect a huge leap." (LLA interviews 2009)
„There are no changes. In the aspect of of inter-ethnic conflict, the language situation is comparatively calm. This is good. **If we were nationally a bit more demanding concerning the language it would largely stimulate language acquisition among the broadest layers of non-Latvians and then this mutual competition of the languages would have been much easier for the Latvian language**. [LLA emphasis] And the other problem is that we don't have any targets in the strategic information space as the ruling information space and communication means in Latvia are basically Russian." (LLA 2009 interviews).

The results of the surveys show etiological processes in the society resulting from the enactment of language policy and mark further tendencies of development. In such a context, implementation of the status of Latvian can be ensured applying legislative acts corresponding to the language situation, encouraging the development of positive public opinion towards the use of Latvian and strengthening administrative and financial support for acquisition, investigation and popularisation of Latvian.

4

USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

Different spheres of language use demonstrate the real language situation and the problems caused by historical, socio-political and other circumstances which are disclosed in the results of the surveys, and they still exist.

The concept „official language" is understood as:

1) the language which is functioning in all socio-linguistic functions;
2) guaranteed citizens' rights to use this language in all the territory;
3) language proficiency in order to work in definite professions and to hold definite positions;
4) the language with state-guaranteed protection.[1]

As seen from the LLA 2009 survey and the results of the LLA interviews of 2009 that were analysed in the previous chapter, today we encounter a few problems in each group of the mentioned official language features.

The conclusion is that the lack of Latvian knowledge is one of the most essential factors for successful job finding and the development of one's carrier and that not knowing the language a person can get a lower qualification and not so well-paid job.[2] Analyzing the ethnic proportion of the unemployed it follows that there are more Russians than Latvians[3] among them and one of the essential reasons for this is the lack of official language proficiency.[4] It should be marked that the State Employment Agency offers all the unemployed to learn and develop Latvian language skills. In 2010, acquisition of the official language turned into one of the priorities of the unemployed tuition, with an additional financing, therefore, the declarations that the state does not provide for the acquisition of the Latvian language are to be rejected.

Factors that influence the use of the Latvian language

The development and discussion of the draft Law on Higher Education and Electronic Mass Media had a significant role in language policy in the period between 2004 and 2010. The Law on Electronic Mass Media was adopted on 12 July 2010 and has been in force since 11 August 2010. The draft Law on Higher Education was passed over to Saeima on 10 July 2008 and accepted in its first reading on 16 October 2008. In the context of the language policy this

[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 38. lpp.
[2] *Sabiedrības integrācija un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts* [Integration of the society and entrepreneurship: the ethnic aspect]. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2004, 18. lpp.
[3] *Ibid.*, 44. lpp.
[4] *Bezdarba un sociālās atstumtības iemesli un ilgums* [Reasons and duration of unemployment and social exclusion]. Rīga: LU Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts, Baltic International Centre for Economic Policy Studies, SIA „Socioloģisko pētījumu institūts", 2007, 209. lpp.

law would create preconditions for studies in EU languages and at the same time provide competitiveness of the official language.[1]

The role of the system of education in the implementation of language policy

Characterising the processes, institutions and circumstances that influence the use of the Latvian language the experts mention the role of educational establishments as the most essential one; namely, they emphasize the meaning of the system of education. The educational establishments, to a great extent, are responsible for the scale and quality of Latvian used by the youth.

"At present I see great risks for the language situation connected with all the current tendencies concerning language use in higher education. If any changes restricting the use of language are following, the situation will be dangerous and critical. The present talks about the need to export higher education and lecture in other languages, not naming them but clearly meaning the students of Eastern European who should be accepted and taught in Russian, is an extremely huge risk." (LLA interviews 2009)

"The most essential [institution] is a school and a higher educational establishment. It is very important that the school reform has a very positive influence [upon the language situation]." (LLA interviews 2009)

"It has a great influence because the number of Latvian speakers is enlarging and the language policy through educational institutions has encouraged this." (LLA interviews 2009)

„The scale of the use of Latvian in educational institutions determines further use of Latvian by 70 per cent." (LLA interviews 2009).

The role of mass media in the implementation of language policy

The position of mass media and the quality of language use is the second most mentioned influencing factor. Experts see it as a field affecting the competitiveness of the Latvian language in Latvia both today and in the long run. Mass media form the attitude of inhabitants towards the state language policy and its activities and also activate, or on the contrary — ignore the problems of language policy.

"The situation is worse with television. There are really many Russian language channels. Besides, there are telecasts where two Latvians are speaking Russian, for example, about fishing. It is ridiculous." (LLA interviews 2009)

"We need more high-quality, interesting telecasts in Latvian. It should be the question of public procurement policy." (LLA interviews 2009)

[1] More about the situation of the Latvian language in higher education in the study: LLA studies in 2010, "Latvian language proficiency and use in higher education institutions: results of the minority education content reform". Available at: http://valoda.lv/Petijumi/Valodas_situacijas_izpete/mid_510

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

The world globalization tendencies and language situation

According to experts, globalization entering the European Union and other international structures imply important events and processes influencing the use and development of the official language. The data of the LLA 2009 survey show that 76% of Latvian respondents who acknowledge that the Latvian language is imperilled name the influence of globalization as its reason, 50.6% of all the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian have answered *yes* or *rather yes* to the question if Latvian is imperilled (Fig. 31).

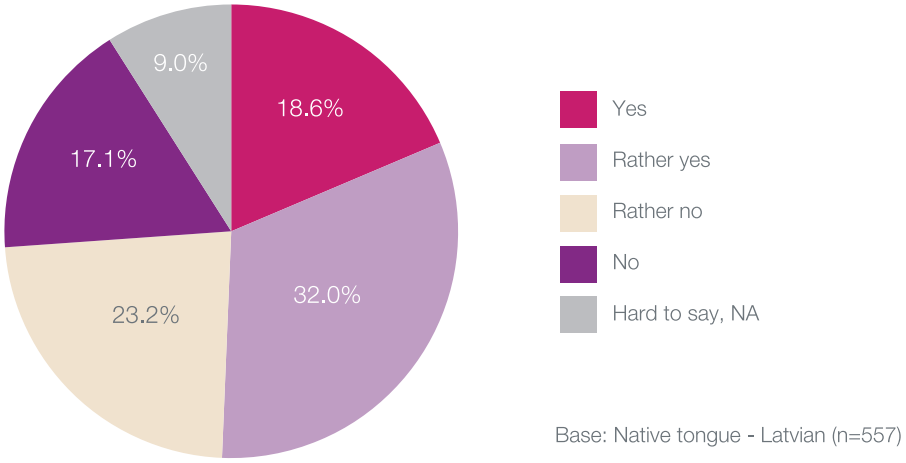

Fig. 31. **Answers of the respondents to the question "Do you think that the Latvian language is in danger?"** (LLA 2009 survey)

Globalization processes are connected with other processes that are essential for the development of Latvian — influence of foreign languages and migration. For example, experts point out the influence of the English language (upon Latvian terminology of the new mass media and technologies, also upon common conversational language) and mark the influence of migration (both in and out of the country), new technologies and other processes of the development of our modern global world.

"I think that this is happening and we cannot escape, we have to consider it. New immigrants are coming and they will lack Latvian language skill. I think that there will be a constant danger for Latvian and we must be watchful. In case the immigration is for a long time we have to provide for integration and language acquisition." (LLA interviews 2009)

"Yes, to a certain extent, because of the possible influence of English. The question is — how much we can rely on this influence. On the one hand, it is an constant process. We live in the epoch of information when there are two perils — new technologies and the intensive time when movement of goods has greatly increased. Either we want it or not, the language cannot follow with the creation of the necessary new words. This is life, we acquire new words either we wish it or not, and that is a danger. I do not want to say that we have to fight it but we must try to make Latvian words as much as possible otherwise the Latvian language would become the language of family and culture only. If we cannot follow in step with the new technologies the situation is very tough." (LLA interviews 2009)

"There are always certain perils, and dinosaurs died out because they could not adapt themselves to the new global environment. **We should know the precise meaning of it. We must be capable of reacting to new challenges. Globalization will not wipe out the Latvian language, we will sooner do it ourselves** [LLA emphasis]." (LLA interviews 2009)

According to expert opinion, the situation of Latvian today and in the nearest future is actively influenced by migration processes, and especially we should talk about the newcoming workers from Russia and former Soviet countries because their communication language is and will be Russian both among themselves and with the inhabitants of Latvia. In case the newcomers are many it will directly influence the daily use of the Latvian language.

"… migration and we pretend not to see. One part arrives from the former Soviet Union and is working illegally. The communication language uniting them with the local people is Russian. And these people are more aggressive towards the official language. Their attitude is: "Well, well, you seem to have forgotten Russian. Should we remind you or…?" All the communication with them is solely in Russian but they are not so few. The official data, if I am not mistaken, is 20 thousand people but actually the numbers are larger. And that does not rouse any optimism." (LLA interviews 2009)

Language use in the sphere of services

Some experts consider that the labour market and the employers demanding unjustified knowledge of foreign languages, often discriminating those who do not know the Russian language, also have mediated effects upon the official language.

"Compulsory Russian is a completely groundless idea. I think that it should be abolished by law because the Russian language does not have special rights in Latvia. It is equal with other minority languages. Psychologically we have to do whatever possible to make it clear that there is a language hierarchy." (LLA interviews 2009)

The opinion of experts is affirmed by the fact that approximately 7% of all the polled Latvians (or 10% of the working population) note that the communication language at the meetings and conferences in their work-places is Russian (Fig. 32). Other languages, including English, apart of Latvian that is pointed as the language of conferences and meetings in their work-places by 63.6% of the respondents, are very seldom mentioned.

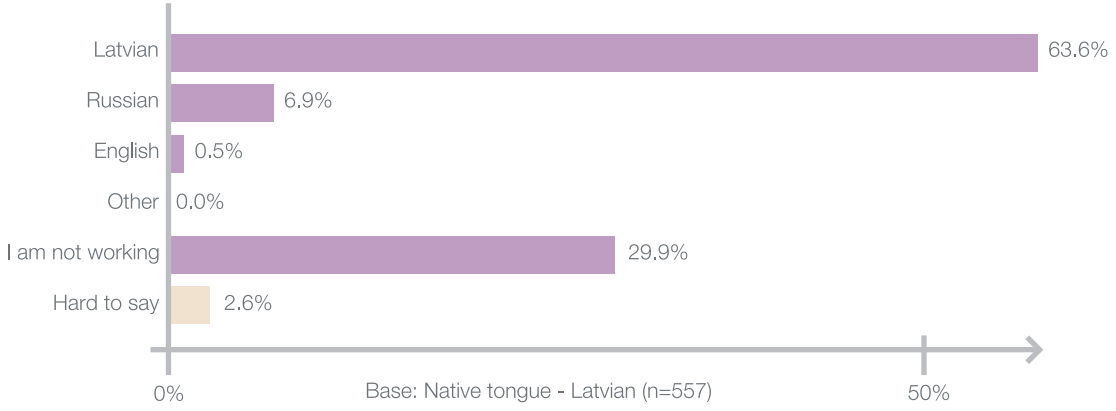

Fig. 32. **Conference and meetings language at the respondents work-place(-es)** (LLA 2009 survey)

As the consequences of the earlier mentioned and other processes and events in different fields of language use the experts of the LLA 2009 interviews outline the problems of competitiveness that are topical for the Latvian language:

- insufficient daily use of Latvian;
- functioning in the scale of the EU (the influence of entering the EU upon the language situation is not unequivocally judged — the fact that Latvian is strengthening as an official EU language is considered as positive but the free and also illegal migration of labour force are considered as potentially negative, as the new target groups, which previously were not topical in the language and integration processes, are entering Latvia);
- new words, new terms entering Latvian, etc.;
- insufficient provision of political support for the development of Latvian.

Use of Latvian in different socio-demographic groups

The greatest part of experts of the LLA interviews 2009 holds the view that the opinions estimation of the role and use of language in various socially demographic groups are different. But none of the experts has indicated the different language skills and use in these groups as a threat to the language, or a problem.

Language use in different areas

The main regional differences in Latvia are determined by the historical development of the ethnic composition of the population and traditions.[1] Ethnic composition is a precondition for the creation of a definite language environment. The mentioned problems are disclosed also in the studies of language situation in 2009.

From the demographic viewpoint, the LLA 2009 survey convincingly show that the inhabitants of Vidzeme and Kurzeme whose native tongue is Russian much more often indicate Latvian as an exclusive language (the only language) but the inhabitants of Latgale demonstrate an opposite opinion. These data confirm the conclusion of the earlier summary of Data Serviss 2005: "40% of the polled economically active inhabitants live in a linguistically preserving labour environment compensating the inconveniences caused by the lack of language skills. These inhabitants do not know Latvian or Russian well enough to understand the necessary information without difficulties. But all-in-all the language use does not create an obligatory need to know the other language. It means that there are the so-called "protection zones" in Latvia in which also those who know only one language feel comfortable. Geographically these "protection zones" are concentrated in the Latvian language environment of the small towns of Kurzeme and Vidzeme and also in rural territories, as well as in the Russian language environment of Riga and regional centres of Latgale."[2]

In this connection in work-places, state and local government institutions, educational institutions, in the service sector and addressing representatives of other nationalities, Latvian is most often used by the inhabitants of Kurzeme and Zemgale but not so often by the inhabitants of Riga and Latgale (Fig. 33). The explanation is that the environment which is already Latvian is more consistent against the influence of the use of other languages.

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[1] *Latviešu valoda 15 neatkarības gados. Lingvistiskā situācija, attieksme, procesi, tendencies* [Latvian language in the 15 years since independence. Linguistic situation, attitudes, processes, and tendencies]. Valsts valodas komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007, 301. lpp.

[2] Data Serviss. *Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti: sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums* [The influence of language skills upon the quality of life of the economically active inhabitants: summary of a sociolinguistic study]. Rīga, 2006, 16. lpp.

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

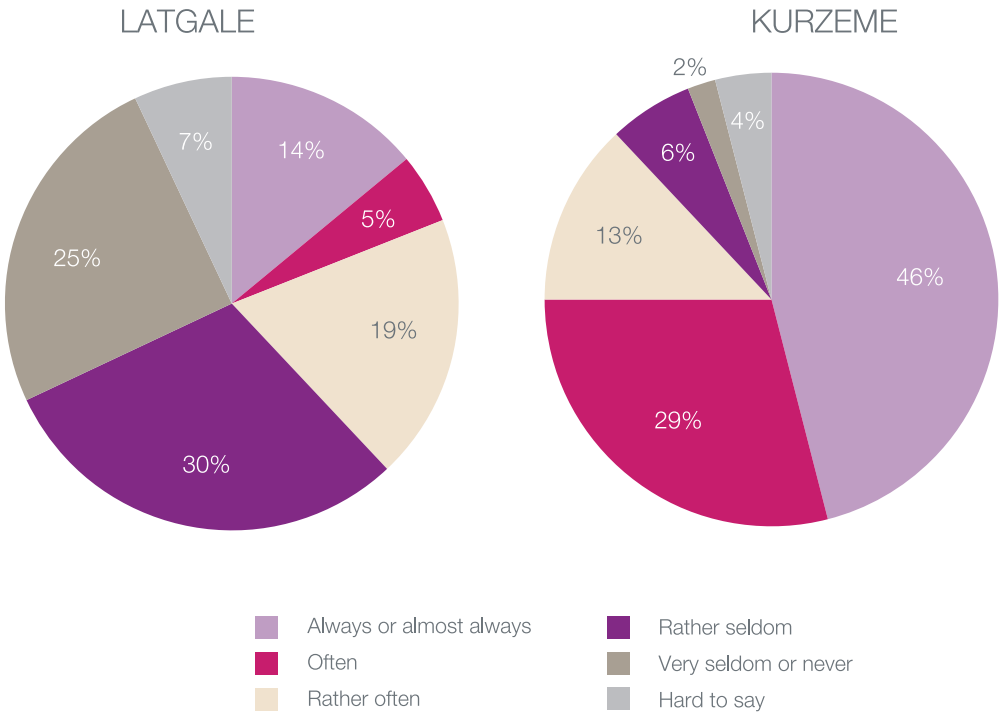

Fig. 33. **Answers of the respondents of Latgale and Kurzeme whose native tongue is Latvian to the question "How often do you use Latvian addressing representatives of other nationalities?"** (LLA 2009 survey)

Namely, the inhabitants whose native tongue is Russian and who possess good skills of Latvian are more often encountered in the places where Latvian is more used — in Vidzeme (82% of the respondents mark good skills, 13% — moderate) and Kurzeme (62% of the respondents indicate that they have good skills of Latvian, 34% — moderate).

Language use in different age groups

Age-group differences explicitly come to light in the attitude towards Latvian, Russian and English, in theoretical recognition of the need of language skills and its real acquisition, and also in the choice of communication language as well.

Latvians consistently support the increase of the role of their language and there are no essential differences among the generations (the age-group opinions differ concerning the evaluation of the language quality).

From the analysis of the language skills and use of the minorities it that becomes clear that the level of Latvian skills and use by the younger generation (up to 25 years old) is higher than that of the older generation (Fig. 34). It is explained by successful implementation of the reform of education contents and by a more positive linguistic attitude.

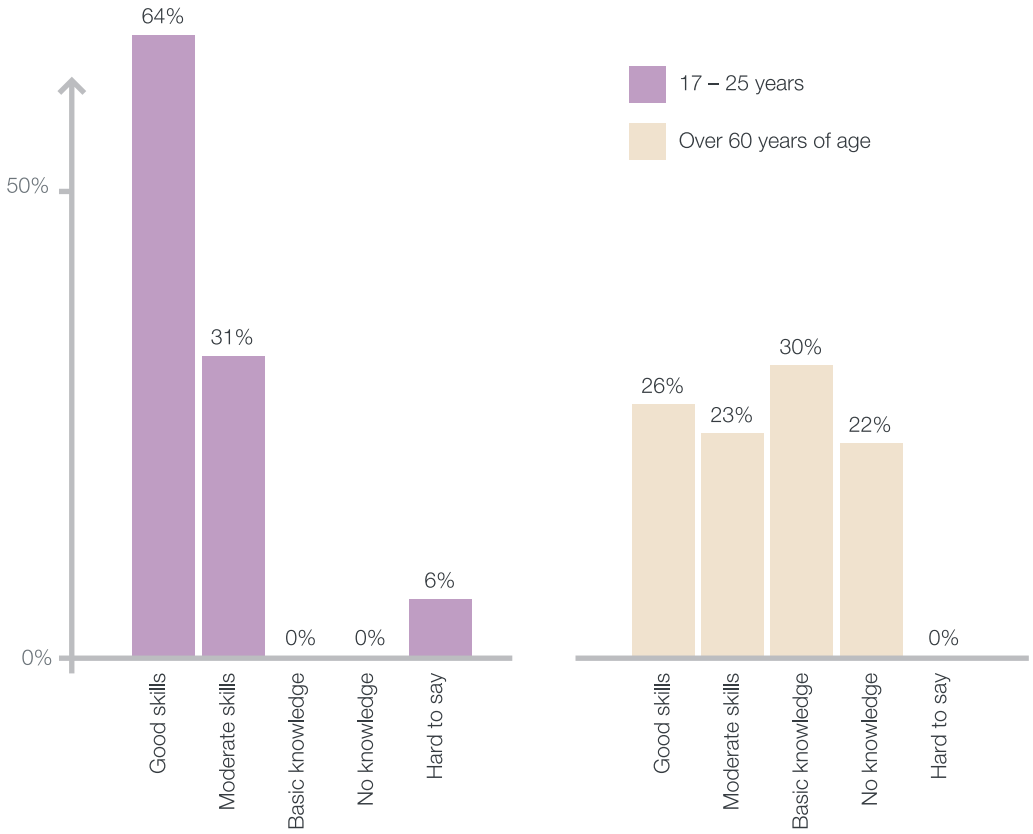

Fig. 34. **Self-estimation of the Latvian language skills of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian in different age groups** (LLA 2009 survey)

Good language skills are more often indicated by younger respondents whose native tongue is Russian, not so often — by older ones. We can see the link — the younger is a respondent with Russian native language skill, the more frequent is the possibility of good Latvian language skills. In the age-groups between 15 and 25 years and between 26 and 35 years more than a half of the respondents whose native tongue is Russian have good Latvian skills (respectively, 64 and 60%), in the age-group between 36 and 45 years — a bit more than a half of the respondents, i.e. 53%, but in the age-group between 46 and 60 years — every third respondent, i.e. 38%, and in the age-group above 60 years — every fourth, i.e. 26% of the respondents have good skills of Latvian.

The year 2004 study of BISS and the IE of the LAS conclude that the employers, estimating the Latvian language skills, have observed positive tendencies in the minority youth group. Young people more often value the advantages of state language proficiency for their carrier-building and for achievement of

their personal goals.[1] It is testified also by the LLA 2009 survey concluding the augmentation of the instrumental motivation for learning Latvian.

The situation of the Russian language is the objective opposite. Among those whose native tongue is Latvian a better knowledge of Russian is in the older age-group. In the age-group between 17 and 25 years a bit more than half of the respondents (56%) have good skills of Russian, in the age-group between 26 and 35 years — 74%, in the age-group between 36 and 45 years — 83% and in the age-group between 46 and 60 years 89% indicate that they have good skills of Russian but of those above 60 years of age — 73%. It means that as a result of purposeful implementation of language policy the change of language hierarchy and consolidation of Latvian as the official language is taking place in Latvia.

Irrespective of their native tongue younger respondents mark that they know English better. In the age-group between 17 and 25 years good English skills are marked by 34% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian and by 36% of those whose native tongue is Russian; in the age group between 26 and 35 years it is 20% and 25%, respectively; in the age-group between 36 and 45 years — 16% and 18% and in the age-group between 46 and 60 years — 2% and 2%, but in the group above 60 years of age — 4% and 5%, respectively.

From those Latvians who have acknowledged that Latvian is imperilled two-thirds are worried about it. Following the sociodemographic indications the main differences occur in age categories — this threat is worrying older people and pensioners more than the rest. The inconsiderate linguistic attitude of Latvians themselves is mentioned as the biggest danger for the language.

A bit less dangerous, according to the polled persons, are the Russian language and globalization tendencies. English as the treat is mentioned considerably less frequently.

„A couple of years ago together with two professors from the USA we conducted a study (not in Riga) about the speech differences of three generations speaking Latvian. And it was totally clear that the older generation had very good speaking skills with the exception of those who lived in specific areas. Schoolchildren and recent school-leavers possessed good knowledge. The middle generation faced the greatest problems at that time, especially those involved in military service and still had great difficulties to understand that they were not liberators and that their neighbour was suddenly speaking Latvian." (LLA interviews 2009)

[1] *Sabiedrības integrācija un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts* [Integration of the society and entrepreneurship: the ethnic aspect]. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2004, 19. lpp.

Latvian in public environment is mostly spoken by rural population (except Latgale) but less frequently by city dwellers. Likewise Latvian is more often used also outside regional centres, in rural territories and small towns. For example, in state institutions Latvian is used always or almost always by 73% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian, in regional centres, by 97% in small towns, by 87% in villages and by 96% in the countryside and farmsteads. But in local governments Latvian is used always or almost always by 71% of the respondents whose native tongue is Latvian, by 98% in small towns, by 92% in villages and by 95% in the countryside and farmsteads. These results are determined by the proportions of ethnic groups in the respective populated places.

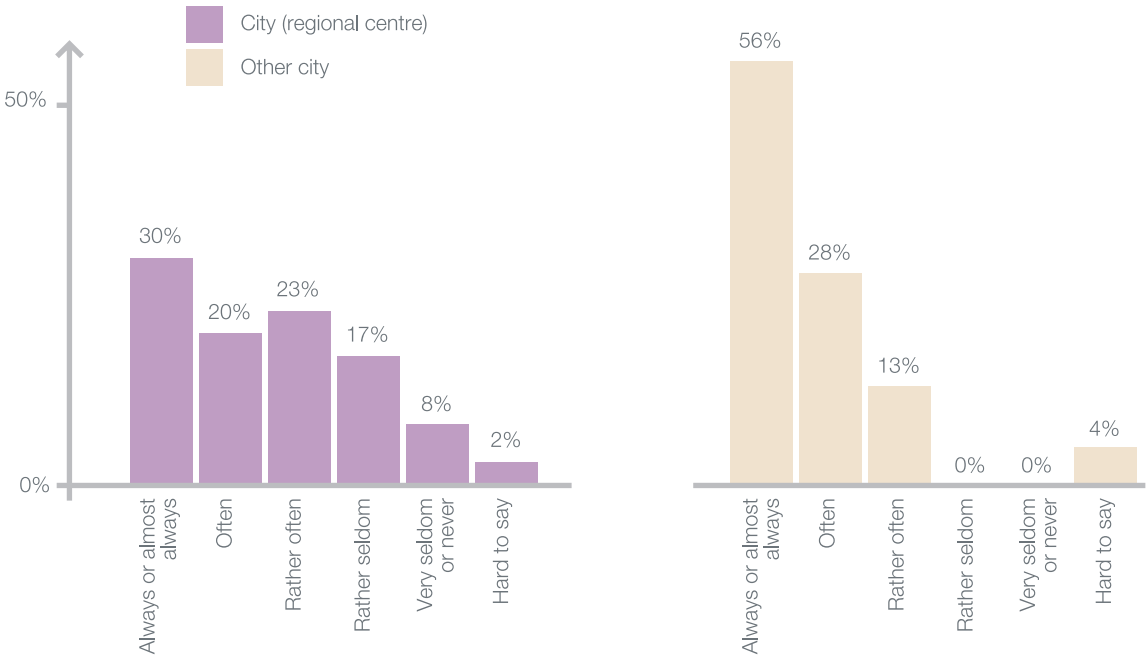

Fig. 35. **Use of Latvian by the respondents when addressing representatives of other nationalities (respondents – inhabitants of big cities and small towns, whose native tongue is Latvian)** (LLA 2009 survey)

Differences are to be found not only in the use of Latvian but also in the skills of Latvian and other languages. Good skills of Latvian are most often demonstrated by rural and farmstead inhabitants whose native tongue is Russian (70% of this group of respondents) and those who live in regional centres (50%) or in Riga and its district (45%) but not so frequently by the inhabitants of small towns (43%) and villages (40%).

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

In the group of respondents whose native tongue is Latvian rural people demonstrate a slightly lower self-appraisal of Russian skills, i.e. 61%, but in regional centres, Riga and its district it is 79%, in other cities — 77% and in villages — 76%.

Good English skills are most often indicated by the respondents in Riga — 23% irrespective of their native language but in regional centres by 16% of Latvian-speaking respondents and by 19% of Russian-speaking respondents.

"The studies show that in small towns all the inhabitants of other nationalities speak Latvian. But in the cities there are so many Russians in particular that they do not really need Latvian. As we have big cities like Riga and Daugavpils with a huge percentage of these inhabitants, the situation is quite risky." (LLA interviews 2009)

"Of course, there is a difference. Approximately 7% of the inhabitants of Latvia do not understand Latvian at all. There is a difference between cities and rural areas. And there are also regional differences. The age-group differences are in favour of the younger generation as they have learned Latvian from the beginning without concomitant languages." (LLA interviews 2009)

Language skills in groups with a different level of income

The inhabitants whose native tongue is Russian and who possess good skills of Latvian are more commonly met among people with higher incomes. Data of the LLA 2009 surveys show that among the people with a lower income the number of those who do not know Latvian is larger (Fig. 36). Better English skills are also demonstrated by the respondents with a higher level of income, irrespective of their native tongue.

It should be acknowledged that the attitude towards the skills and use of Latvian by the above-mentioned groups (age, education and level of income) is largely ethno-demographically conditional, while in the ethno-linguistic situation of Latvia this criterion has a regional dimension as well.

Language skills in groups according to the level of education

The data of the LLA 2009 survey show that the inhabitants with a higher level of education, which usually ensures also a higher level of well-being, have a better knowledge of the official language and other languages and a more positive linguistic attitude. In addition, this group is characterized by the awareness of the role of language and by the ability to use each language according to its socio-linguistic functions. Survey results show that 70% of the Russian-speaking population with higher education are fluent in Latvian but only 7% of them have basic skills and 1% does not know Latvian. Moreover, the Russian-speakers with secondary or even lower than secondary education have worse Latvian language skills (21% have only basic knowledge and 15% do not know Latvian).

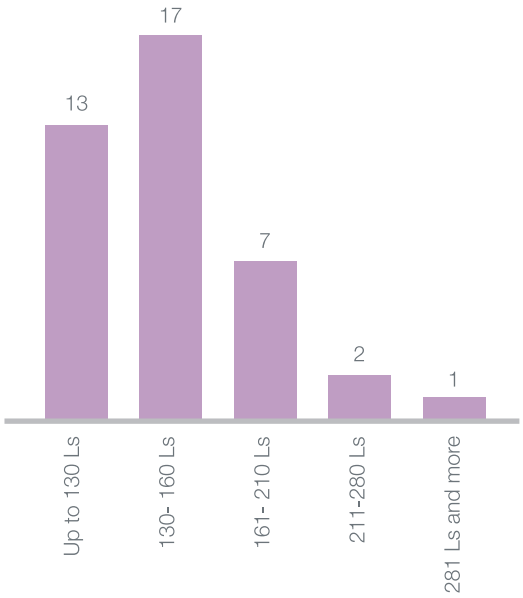

Fig. 36. **The amount of people (%) who do not know Latvian depending on the level of income (the native tongue of the respondents — Russian)** (LLA 2009 survey)

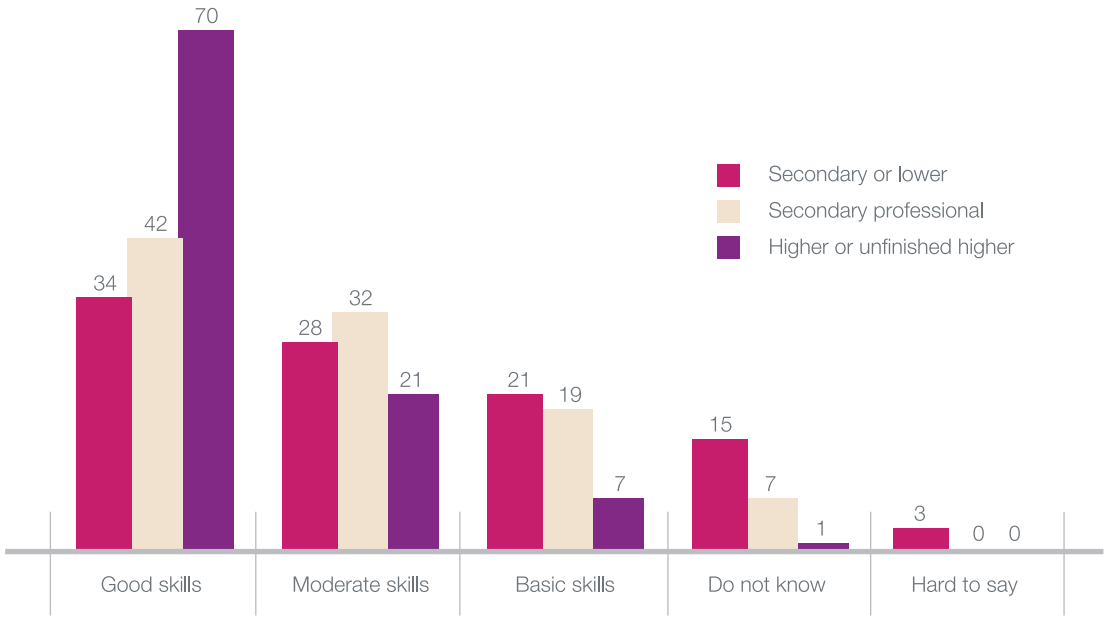

Fig. 37. **Latvian language skills according to the level of education of the respondents (%) (native tongue of the respondents — Russian)** (LLA 2009 survey)

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

4.1. State language in state administration

As already mentioned, Latvian is most often used in state and local government institutions. There its monopolistic function was renewed most quickly and successfully taking into account the formality of socio-linguistic function of this language, stronger subjugation to the state ideology, regulations and control.[1] It is confirmed by the respondents, both Latvian (81%) and those, who have indicated Russian as their native tongue (47% marked that "everything is taking place in Latvian" and 36% that "Latvian is dominating") (see Fig. 29).

This is the area in which Latvian is most widely used and therefore — least endangered. At the same time, it is the area in which all (100%) those respondents who speak only Russian experience difficulties as they do not know Latvian. Another linguistic environment in which the Russian-speaking group of respondents experience difficulties is health-care establishments.

Taking into account the call of mass media (especially those issued in Russian) to expand the role of the Russian language and to grant it an official status[2] which in essence is against the ideology and principles of Latvia as a national state, the survey has clarified that the majority of respondents are against these calls and do not consider that Russian should be granted the status of the official language (Fig. 38).

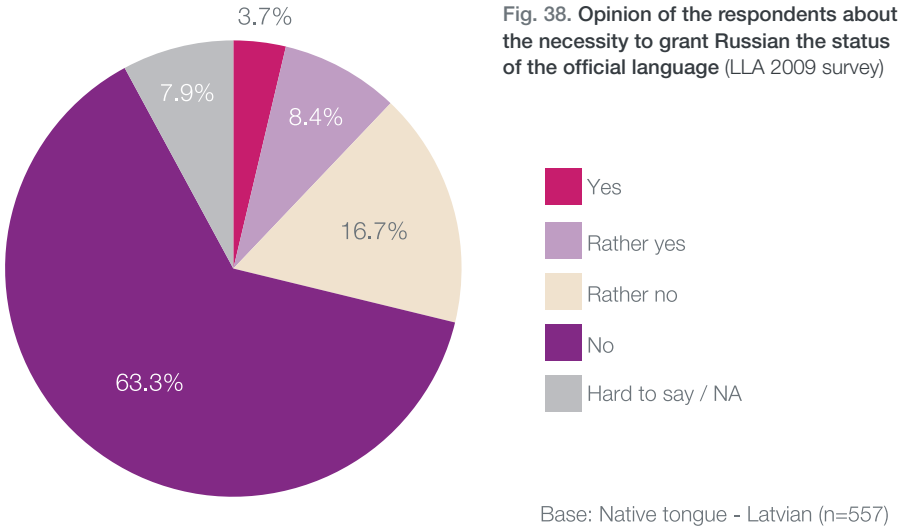

Fig. 38. Opinion of the respondents about the necessity to grant Russian the status of the official language (LLA 2009 survey)

Base: Native tongue - Latvian (n=557)

[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 1998, 89. lpp.

[2] See publications in *Latvijas Avīze* (06.11.2006), www.novonews.lv (29.08.2008); www.diena.lv (25.09.2010), etc.

„The backbone of the language policy of Latvia is the status of the Latvian language as the sole higher language in the language hierarchy."

(Druviete. I. Latviešu valoda kā valsts valoda: simbols, saziņas līdzeklis vai valstiskuma pamats? [Latvian as the state language: symbol, means of communication or basis of statehood?]. From: *Latvija un latviskais. Nācija un valsts idejās, tēlos un simbolos*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2010, 141. lpp.)

The experts of the LLA interviews of 2009 have also almost unanimously acknowledged that official bilingualism is impossible and inadmissible in Latvia. The majority of experts estimate it as a direct threat to the existence of the Latvian language, and moreover, not only to its legal status.

„The present collective bilingualism of Latvian and Russian is the transition stage from bilingual to monolingual society of Latvian (with multi-lingualism at the individual level). The change of language hierarchy in Latvia is characterized by slow changes in the choice of communication language. In some of the functions stagnation can be observed."

(Poriņa, V. Valsts valoda daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā [The state language in the multilingual society: individual and social bilingualism of Latvia]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2009, 114. lpp.)

As acknowledged by some experts, despite the present bilingual situation of daily communication it must not be legalized in the form of juridical status. Since Latvia is a small country with a comparatively small number of titular nation, official bilingualism in the present situation and language competitiveness would be „a death sentence for the Latvian language". (LLA interviews 2009)

„It would be a political suicide. There are very many examples of bilingualism in the world. One is the winner. That would be only the question of time — how long it takes before we are gone." (LLA interviews 2009)

„Then we should not have restored the Republic of Latvia..." (LLA interviews 2009)

„Of course, not! The economical value of Russian is much higher than that of the Latvian language. It means that in the same conditions the situation of one language will be worse. **The power of language is in its use** [LLA emphasis]. In the demographical situation of Latvia the language policy must be a specifically aided area and we want to firmly insist on a single official language as it is the only way to preserve the Latvian language." (LLA interviews 2009)

The official language in record-keeping

Section 8, Article 1 of the Official Language Law provides that the official language shall be used for record-keeping and documents in state and local government institutions. As already stated, the respondents experience the

main difficulties exactly in the state establishments, and this has not changed in the course of ten years. The year 1999 study of the Institute of Latvian Language of the University of Latvia concluded that 62% of all the respondents had encountered difficulties in state institutions due to the lack of language skills. In the context of appeals to grant an official status to Russian the question of the language for record-keeping and documentation in state institutions is topical as well. The majority of the respondents of the LLA 2009 survey rejected the need to accept applications in the Russian language in state and local government institutions (Fig. 39).

"Section 8 (1) In State and local government institutions, courts and institutions constituting the judicial system, State and local government undertakings, and companies in which the greatest share of capital is owned by the State or a local government, the official language shall be used for record-keeping and documents. Correspondence and other kinds of communication with foreign states may take place in a foreign language." (Official Language Law, 09.12.1999)

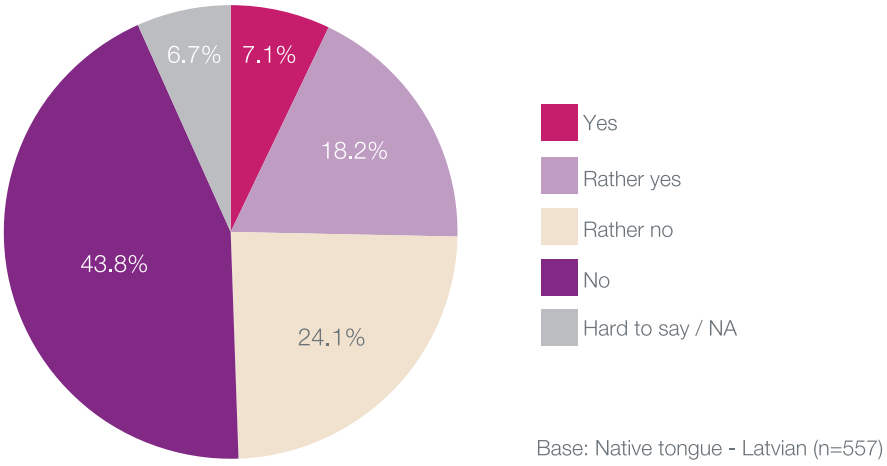

Fig. 39. **Opinion of the respondents about the need to accept applications in the Russian language in state and local government institutions** (LLA 2009 survey)

One of the key elements affecting the language situation is the distribution of labour by ethnic belonging in certain sectors in Latvia. Although it is difficult to obtain these data and probably it gives way to certain speculations about the theme, however, the studies[1] and the opinions of experts confirm that the majority of the employees in the public sector are Latvians by nationality.

[1] E.g., *Sabiedrības integrācija un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts* [Integration of the society and entrepreneurship: the ethnic aspect]. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2004.

The study of the BISS and IE LAS conducted in 2004[1] highlights the existence of stereotypical attitudes, including linguistic, among Latvians as it maintains the situation of a certain economic disintegration, being expressed in the public sector. Analyzing the non-Latvian employment opportunities in the public sector, the study has named the lack of loyalty to the state as one of the dominating arguments. That is justified by historical and political events, by the attitude towards tax-paying and the fact that Russian people are oriented towards leaving Latvia. „At the same time, considerably less attention is paid to the fact that this attitude and disassociation do not encourage the sense of belonging to the country or loyalty to it, but on the contrary — the availability of public sector and civil service could contribute to loyalty and the whole process of integration."[2] The Russian-speaking population who were interviewed in the study, did not consider the lack of possibility to work in the public sector as discriminating.

It should be added that before the restoration of independence the Latvian language was almost completely eradicated from public administration but it was renewed and strengthened most rapidly because this area is best regulated and it is observing the demands of the normative documents.

4.2. Implementation of education policy for national minorities: some aspects of evaluation

After Latvia declared independence, creation of a new educational system was a logical step to ensure and promote successful integration processes of the Latvian society.[3] As in 1999 the new Official Language Law came into force and Latvian language proficiency became mandatory in both public and private sectors, it was necessary to create a system of education that would secure a level playing field in the education and labour market to graduates of all schools. The need to develop Latvia as a country with consolidated society was an important argument for increasing the proportion of the Latvian language.[4]

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[1] *Sabiedrības integrācija un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts* [Integration of the society and entrepreneurship: the ethnic aspect]. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2004.

[2] *Ibid.*.

[3] Kļava, G., Kļave, K., Motivāne, K. *Latviešu valodas prasme un lietojums augstākās izglītības iestādēs: mazākumtautību izglītības satura reformas rezultāti* [Latvian language proficiency and its use in higher education institutions: results of the reform of minority education contents). LVA. Rīga, 2010, 6. lpp. Available at: http://www.valoda.lv/downloadDoc_456/mid_510 (last accessed 12.01.2011).

[4] Hirša, Dz. Izglītības reforma: realitāte un izdomājumi [Education reform: reality and fabrications]. *Latvijas Avīze*, 2004, 6. marts.

4 USAGE OF THE STATE LANGUAGE IN MAJOR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREAS

Historical background

As to the content, language of instruction and duration, until the 1990s there existed two separate school systems in Latvia. These were called „Latvian schools" and „Russian schools".

In the period from 1989 to 1992, minority schools were spontaneously formed related with the socio-political events taking place in Latvia and in other parts of Europe. Based on the historical experience and national affiliation of urban citizens the first ones were Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian schools or separate classes in Riga and Daugavpils. On parents' demands and the offer of local governments and school administration, some schools, including Russian as well, started tuition in Latvian.

In the period from 1992 to 1998, non-governmental organizations were actively working. Very often the foundation and maintenance of minority schools was one of their objectives and the result of their activities.

The new Law on Education was adopted already on 29 October 1998 initiating abolition of segregation and anticipating the creation of a unified system of education. The Law on Education is the basis for the formation of the system of minority education. It ensures that the minority education programme includes the content that is necessary for passing over the cultural heritage of national minorities and for pursuing goals such as social integration and equal opportunities for every inhabitant of the state.[1]

Implementation of minority education and its basic principles

Following the adoption of the Law on Education, the policy of minority education was developed and implemented according to the following basic principles:

- minority education and its progress viewed in a unified policy of education of Latvia;
- the principle of oneness was observed in decision-making determining the establishment and operation of the enforcement mechanisms, including financial support and provision;
- changes were introduced purposefully and gradually.

It should be admitted that the topicality of the development and implementation of minority education at the same time noticeably (including positively) influenced the overall development of education.

Changes in the development of the system of education (1994–2004)

In an about ten-year period, from 1995 till 2004, significant changes were made in national education policy, formation and development of the system of

[1] Kļava, G., Kļave, K., Motivāne, K. *Latviešu valodas prasme un lietojums augstākās izglītības iestādēs: mazākumtautību izglītības satura reformas rezultāti* [Latvian language proficiency and its use in higher education institutions: results of the reform of minority education contents). LVA. Rīga, 2010, 6. lpp. Available at: http://www.valoda.lv/downloadDoc_456/mid_510 (last accessed 12.01.2011).

education. Several educational reforms were implemented, including the reform of minority education content. To ensure the learning of national educational content or subject content, teaching literature, mostly textbooks, for practically all subjects and all classes, was restored.

Formation of a supervision system or monitoring of the quality of national education has been started, including the establishment of a unified state examination system, namely, state examinations for the pupils of grades 3, 6, 9, and 12, defining the objectives and needs for the results, diagnostics, and naming the subjects of the centralized tests.

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS AND RESOURCES OF THE MINORITY EDUCATION POLICY

Instruments and resources	Target and tasks of activities	Source of financing, type of activities	Remarks
National Programme for Latvian Language Training (NPLLT)	To ensure Latvian language acquisition for teachers and pupils	International financing, later local	In 2004, the NPLLT was changed to the National Agency for Latvian Language Training and 2009, its functions were taken over by the Latvian Language Agency. Evaluating the most essential things: further education system was created for minority teachers — in 2000, for example, at least 1000 teachers used the offered possibility; a practically new modern teaching literature for the acquisition of the Latvian language in the minority educational programme was created; in parallel to Latvian language teaching and methodical aids, visual aids in biology, history, geography and other subjects were published; as well as methodical literature, thus advancing the development of bilingual education. Besides, each year adults are also being taught Latvian (from 1996 till 2004 — more than 47 000 people).
Programme „Open school”	Within the terms of cooperation programme not only different views on what should the minority education be in Latvia were approached but also the discussions on the political level gradually started	Ministry of Education and Science, the Soros Foundation – Latvia	This programme positively influenced representatives of minority school administration, pupils and their parents and encouraged their trust in the Latvian education system, thus promoting changes based on international experience.

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Instruments and resources	Target and tasks of activities	Source of financing, type of activities	Remarks
Change of normative acts	To establish legal requirements in accordance with the national policy, the situation and international requirements		
Dialogue with the society	To acknowledge the necessary changes in education	Conferences, workshops and meetings with society members	Dialogue with the society was the most important condition for successful implementation of the minority education policy, which should be viewed as a new experience in the democratic processes in Latvia in general, and particularly in education.
The Consultative Board of MES for minority education issues	To make recommendations for the establishment of requirements of normative acts (laws, regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers, education programmes, etc.), to supervise the implementation process of minority education	Ministry of Education and Science (MES)	To ensure the dialogue between the policy makers and the society and to enhance the implementation of a high-quality education process.
Decision coordination with international institutions	Respecting the minority rights, harmonizing legislation with international requirements	Latvian state institutions	

Changes in education in Latvia affected a huge part of the society creating preconditions and essentially affecting the creation of a democratic society. The effectiveness of the minority education policy is affecting the integration process of Latvian society and its successful progress. The gained experience has promoted the accomplishment of the goal determined by the State of Latvia — integration into the European Union.

Developmental stages of minority education

The process of the formation and development of minority education can be divided into three conventional stages:

1) from 1995 to 1998;

2) from 1998 to 2004;

3) from 2004 to 2008.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY EDUCATION PROCESS FROM 1995 UNTIL 2004

Period	Normative act, event	Basic demands, execution	Remarks
1995–1998	Amendments to the Law on Education in 1995 (Section 5)	It is determined that: • in primary schools (Grade 1 to Grade 9) two subjects are to be taught in Latvian; • in secondary schools (Grade 10 to Grade 12) three subjects are to be taught in Latvian	It should be noted that the decision of the legislator was not previously negotiated with the potential executors, for example, school leaders, or based on reasonable examination of the situation, and it had also set a quick implementation deadline, i.e. starting with September 1995. This situation required a swift and prudent action of the Ministry of Education to make schools actually implement the new requirements. Recommendations were established for choosing Latvian for the subjects (physical education (sport), singing (music), drawing (visual arts), geography, handicrafts and home economics (housekeeping and technology)), in which language is not intensively used and the number of lessons per week is small. On the one hand, the substantiation of the choice is both rational and realistic, on the other hand, it was the easiest solution for both pupils and teachers as the use of language can be replaced with or supplemented by activity.
1998–2004	Education Law adopted in 1998	Since 1999, the minority education programmes are being implemented in schools in accordance with the law	The use of two languages — Latvian and the minority language — for the acquisition of the study content. Developing its educational programme the school was able to choose one of the four curriculums offered by the Ministry of Education based on the study of the experience in solving issues of national minority education in Europe and observing internationally determined rights of education, and make use of recommendations for the programme development in the situation of Latvia.
1998–2004	There are transition stages determined in the Law on Education	In primary education gradual implementation of minority education programmes beginning with Grade 1 was launched on 1 September 1999	
		The transition period for primary schools is three years, and thus beginning with September 2002 primary schools were shifted to training in two languages	
		From 2004 the language of instruction in Grade 10 of the state and local government schools is the official language	Grade 11 and Grade 12 continued training under the previous law — about 3 subjects to be taught in the official language

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Educational institutions used curriculum samples (models) for basic education as the basis when creating their own school development plan or the minority education programme. The only law-determined requirement was the necessity to license educational programmes set by schools (and it applies equally to all schools in Latvia). Determining the final requirements for schoolchildren achievement, including the proportional use of Latvian language, the state guarantees all the pupils of Latvia equal opportunities for future activities, competition in the labour market and educational market. This approach ensures minority rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia. Such an experience was significant for the country's progress towards joining the European Union as it complied with international legislation in education as well.

STAGE 3 OF THE MINORITY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT: FROM 2004 UP TO 2008

Concerning the aspect of language policy the completion of the minority educational reform on the level of general secondary education was very important in the period between 2004 and 2008. The Education Law (Transitional Provisions, Section 9, Article 3) imposed the following requirements:

Minority education development from 2004 up to 2008

„9. 3) On 1 September 2004 — in State and local government general secondary educational institutions, which implement minority education programmes, commencing in the tenth grade, studies shall take place in the official language in conformity with the State general secondary education standard; in State and local government professional educational institutions commencing in the first school year shall take place in the official language in conformity with the State professional standard or the State professional secondary education standard. The State general secondary education standard, the State professional standard and the State professional secondary education standard shall specify that the acquisition of the content of studies in the official language shall be ensured for not less than three-fifths of the total teaching hour load in the school year, including foreign languages, and shall ensure with the minority language, the acquisition of identity and culture associated studies content in the minority language." (With amendments of the 05.02.2004 law, coming into force on 27.02.2004.) (Education Law, 29 October 1998)

When developing models for minority secondary education programmes, the Ministry of Education and Science made use of the positive experience gained in the introduction and implementation of the minority primary education programmes. The MES regularly collected school survey and research

data, as well as the licensing data of general secondary education. For example, the statistics of the general secondary education programmes licensed in 2001 showed a positive fact:

- 60% of schools at that time already indicated that they have planned and are ready to start tuition in Latvian as the training process has been organized and held bilingually;
- 10% — that tuition is in Latvian;
- From 25% to 30% of schools are teaching three subjects in Latvian (these schools had at least two years for making changes).

Identifying and evaluating the teachers' attitude it has been found that at least 86% of the teachers support bilingual education and teaching in Latvian and the majority of teachers are already working bilingually.

It must be noted that the term „bilingual education" was not and still is not used in legislation although the developed primary and secondary minority educational programmes are based on bilingual approach, apprehending it as a system in which the other language is not only a subject but also a means of learning other subjects. (In the European Union the term „Content and Language Integrated Learning" is more widely used).

Revising the conditions of the implementation of minority education policy it is important to draw attention to the demographic situation in Latvia in this period and to the decreasing number of schoolchildren (Table 3).

Year	Total	Latvian	Russian	Other languages
2009/2010. school year	226 034	166 075	58 456	1505
2008/2009. school year	236 223	173 712	61 022	1489
2007/2008. school year	250 941	184 107	65 402	1432
2006/2007. school year	266 111	194 230	70 683	1198
2005/2006. school year	283 947	205 189	77 471	1287

Table 3. **Distribution of the number of learners according to the language of instruction in general education day school programmes in the period 2005–2010. Data: IZM. Statistika par vispārējo izglītību: 2010./2011. mācību gads [Statistics on general education: school year 2010/2011] Available at:** http://izm.izm.gov.lv/upload_file/Registri_statistika/2010_2011/apmac_val_skoleni_10.xls **(last accessed 10.02.2011)**

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The ethno-demographical situation in Latvia has determined the fact that in recent years the number of schoolchildren who are learning in Latvian is decreasing (Table 4).

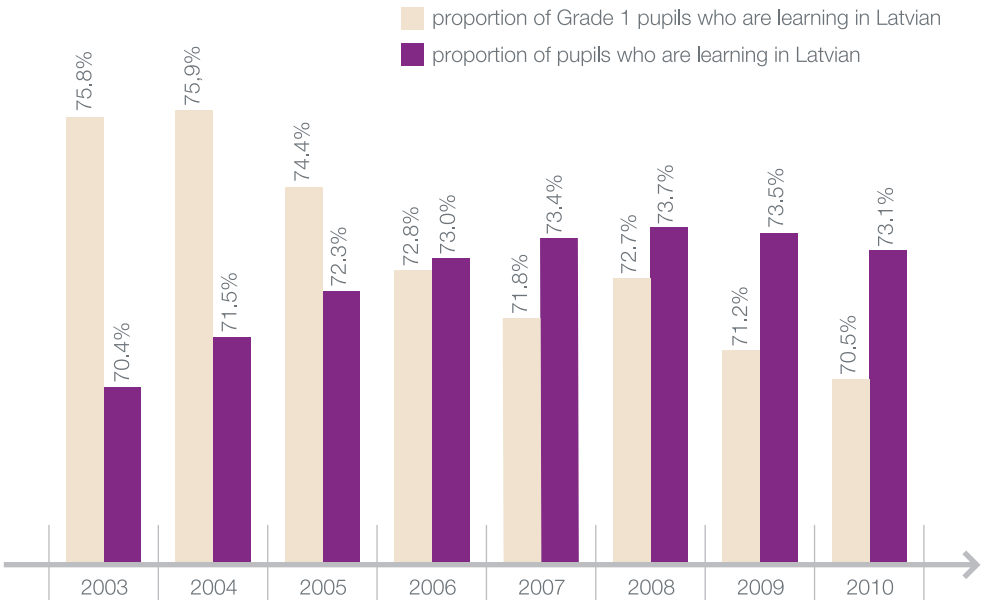

Table 4. **Percentage of schoolchildren in schools with Latvian as the language of instruction. Data: IZM. Statistika par vispārējo izglītību: 2010./2011. mācību gads [Statistics on general education: school year 2010/2011]. Available at:** http://izm.izm.gov.lv/upload_file/Registri_statistika/2010_2011/skolu_sk_10.xls **(last accessed 10.02.2011)**

The year 2003 saw significant changes in legislative requirements for the implementation of minority education in secondary schools. The planned changes were gradual and purposefully directed in the context of sharp political debate when the Ministry of Education and Science utilised also the support of international experts and their influence. Other decisions definitely affected the political situation of that time, including the formation of new political forces/parties, as well as the activities of the Secretariat of the Special Assignments Minister for Social Integration.

Changes in the minority education from 1 September 2004

Amendments of the Cabinet of Ministers (CM) from 13 May 2003 to „Regulations No. 463 from 5 December 2005 regarding the State General Secondary Education Standard" determine that from 1 September 2004 in the minority education programme, beginning from Grade 10:

1) Not less than five subjects shall be acquired in the Latvian language for each school year. These subjects shall not include the Latvian language and literature.

- It means that in comparison with earlier requirements the number of subjects to be taught in the official language has been gradually increased only for two subjects;
- Schools are choosing the subjects for Latvian language of instruction.

2) The acquisition of the content of learning in a minority language may be provided for up to two-fifths of the total amount of lessons in a school year.
   - Analyzing languages of instruction in the already licensed schools, consequently approved by the state, it must be concluded that the proportion of the minority language use has changed from 47 to 40%. For the implementation of these requirements the schools were given a transition time until 2007.

3) At the same time, a transition period was determined — during the school year 2004/2005, in grades 11 and 12, and during the school year 2005/2006, in Grade 12, not less than three subjects shall be acquired in the Latvian language.
   - It means that the detailed requirements determined by the CM come into force in full scale only from 1 September 2007 when those pupils who had started bilingual education on 1 September 1999 (in the whole country) start learning in secondary schools;
   - Forming their educational programmes the schools are coordinating them with the local government (Educational Administration) and then with the Ministry;
   - In the transition period from 2004 up to 2007 while coordinating the school programmes the Ministry is working with each school and evaluating it individually respecting differences and the real situation of the school, the city, region, focussing on full scale execution of the CM requirements in Grade 12, consequently. in the final stage of the secondary education.

4) From 2007, while implementing the minority education programmes and freely choosing the use of the language of instruction, the content of the State test shall be in the Latvian language:
   - Formulation — the content of the State test in Latvian — is chosen for several reasons:
     - it is flexible as it anticipates the situation when the examination paper is in Latvian but the pupil taking the State test in 2007 (five exams and tests in total) may have a possibility to choose the response language: Latvian or one of the minority languages;

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- the MES is monitoring the language choice and use for the State test.

Evaluation of implementation of the minority general secondary education in the school year 2004/2005

In 2005, the Ministry of Education and Science arranged meetings with the directors of all the educational institutions that were starting the implementation of the minority general secondary education in accordance with the amendments to the State General Secondary Education Standard, in order to evaluate the school year 2004/2005 — the implementation of the minority general secondary education programmes in Grade 10 — and to clarify the opinions and positive benefits of pupils, teachers, school administration and other involved parties. These meetings made possible definite conclusions:

- Latvian language skills of the pupils had increased;
- The collaboration of pupils and teachers in the process of learning and the attitude towards instruction in the official language had improved;
- The environment of the Latvian language use at schools had enlarged;
- New collaborative projects are being created, including the exchange of teachers and pupils between the schools of Latvian and of minority language of instruction.

While discussing the necessary support, the directors did not mention the language of instruction as the main issue but pointed to weaknesses in tuition contents, acknowledging the necessity to supplement the set of educational aids in Latvian and to improve the content and language use of the textbooks.

In April and May of the school year 2004/2005, the State Education Inspection (since 1 July 2009, the State Education Quality Service) carried out an inspection of the implementation of minority general secondary education programmes in Grade 10 (Fig. 40).

Problems and shortcomings in the implementation of minority general secondary education programmes in the school year 2004/2005

The main problems and shortcomings in the implementation of educational programmes are identified:

- Part of the parents and pupils/students have a negative attitude towards bilingual learning and learning in Latvian;
- The level of teachers' state language proficiency is insufficient;
- There is a lack of teaching aids;
- There is insufficient provision of further training courses offering to learn the subject methodology in the official language.

At the same time, in many schools the inspectors have found positive experience worth promoting, for example, in preparing study curricula, various teaching aids, diverse study materials, vocabularies and workbooks. Espe-

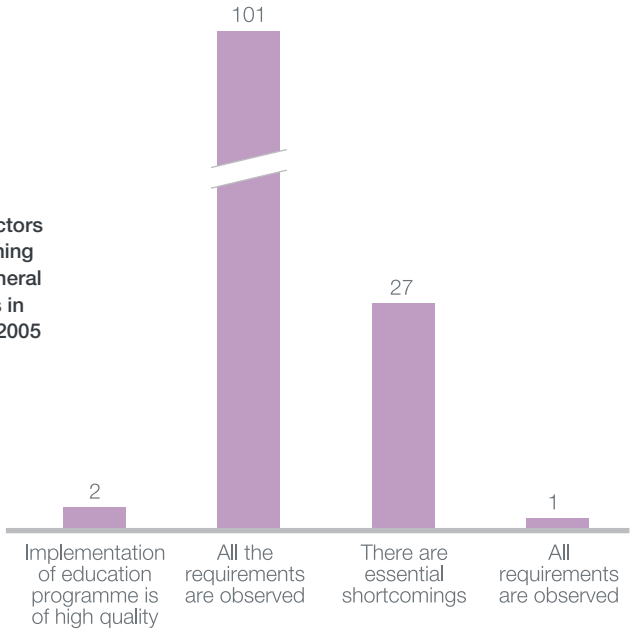

Fig. 40. **Self-evaluation of the directors of educational institutions concerning the implementation of minority general secondary education programmes in Grade 10 in the school year 2004/2005**

cially emphasized is the targeted quality provision in education — in basic programmes, bilingual education, in raising the awareness of problems and providing individual support, as well as investigating the dynamics of focused achievements and ensuring its growth, etc.

Summarizing the information and self-evaluation of school directors, and the materials at the disposal of the inspectors, it was stated that in the school year 2004/2005 the implementation of minority secondary education programmes in Grade 10 was in accordance with the requirements of the Law on Education and in the majority of schools it proceeded according to plan, purposefully and successfully.

Results of the minority education policy

Thus, in 2008, the reform of the content of the minority education was completed and with the implementation of the minority education policy Latvia has fully implemented bilingual education:

- Learning in two languages takes place from Grade 1 till Grade 12.
- The minority language and literature remains as a separate (compulsory) subject, the State test (tests and examinations) including.[1]

[1] Regulations of the CM No. 1027 from 9 December 2006, „Regulations Regarding the State Basic Education Standard and Basic Education Subject Standards". Available at: http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=1050407&from=off; Regulations of the CM No. 715 from 2 September 2008, „Regulations Regarding the State General Secondary Education Standard and General Secondary Education Subject Standards". Available at: http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=181216 (last accessed 09.02.2011).

- Starting from school year 2007/2008, Grade 12 centralized examinations are only in Latvian, but the student can choose the language for completion of the work or answering.
- Centralized state examinations for grades 3, 6, 9 are still prepared and written in two languages — Latvian, minority language (mostly Russian, also Polish). It should be noted that the teaching aids are still being prepared and published in at least two languages — Latvian and Russian, apart from the materials for foreign language teaching.
- Latvia has a unitary educational system and all schools use the same state educational standards in all subjects from Grade 1 to Grade 12.

As a result of the implemented changes, the basic principles of Latvian language policy and education policy have been executed:

1) Taking responsibility to ensure that schoolchildren have equal competitiveness in the education and labour market: full-fledged Latvian language skills are an important precondition for further professional career in Latvia;
2) Ensuring the minority rights to education, Latvia has chosen and is implementing pedagogically grounded bilingual education (theoretically and practically corresponding to the situation of Latvia). Evaluating their ethnic structure very many states historically have chosen this model as politically, economically and culturally the most eligible solution. The EU, emphasizing the importance of multilingualism, also supports this way of educational development. The methodology of bilingual education[1] was established step by step and today it is acquired mainly by minority teachers, but it is planned to involve gradually other schools as well (continuing the work started in 1996, since 2004, the LLA has organized further training courses, seminars, exchange of experience and educational activities for teachers, that were attended by 2000 to 4000 teachers every year);
3) Since the beginning of the 1990s, national minorities in Latvia have had the opportunity to learn in their native language. Currently these rights are used by eight national minorities implementing the minority programmes. The perception that Latvia offers learning only in two languages — Latvian or Russian — is not correct. At present, discussing

[1] The Latvian Language Agency is implementing it in further education programmes for teachers.

the transition to learning in Latvian, an incorrect view about the violation of interests of the so-called Russian-speakers is being politically sustained. It is politically incorrect and inconsistent with the real situation to treat all those people as the representatives of one — Russian — minority; it is the result of the Russification policy carried out by the previous state power. Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Estonians, Gypsies and Lithuanians have already established schools and they support policy, including educational, of the State of Latvia. The majority of Russian schools also support the transitional processes of the state and understand the needs of schoolchildren (to provide opportunities for competitiveness).

Further implementation of minority education policy

Continuing minority education policy the MES, within its jurisdiction, has specified the executive procedure and keeps on making it more precise, discussing it with school principals, National Minority Education Advisory Council, non-governmental organizations and parents.

As the issue of the language in education is still being politicized parents often receive one-sided coverage of the situation, which affects their attitude towards the ongoing events. Moreover, parents themselves have a different experience of education, and a negative experience of the political power as well, and this factor is not to be underestimated in the formation of attitudes.

Supervision or the development of the so-called monitoring system was started during the implementation period of minority education policy, since the quality of education was one of the most pressing discussion issues (summary and analysis of the results of examinations[1], international studies about the implementation of education and about its quality[2], etc.).

Observing the rights to education, including the minority rights, determined by the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, the Law on Education, the Law on General Education, international laws and regulations, and objectively evaluating the development of minority education policy and changes in minority educational establishments, the Ministry of Education and Science has

[1] Results of the examinations are summarized every year and are available at the homepage of the SECC: www.visc.gov.lv section "Pārbaudes darbi: Statistika" [Test works: Statistics].

[2] Research is being carried out with the help of Latvian and European instrument financing, e.g., "Mācīšanās nākotnei. Latvija OECD valstu Starptautiskajā skolēnu novērtēšanas programmā 1998–2004", "Kompetence dabaszinātnēs, matemātikā, lasīšanā — ieguldījums nākotnei: Latvija OECD valstu Starptautiskajā skolēnu novērtēšanas programmā 2006", etc., available at the MES homepage: www.izm.gov.lv section "Publikācijas" [Publications] and data basis of research and publications of the State Chancellery: http://petijumi.mk.gov.lv/ui/.

provided a transition to teaching in the Latvian language, concurrently preserving the opportunity to implement minority education programmes, which guarantee the acquisition of minority language and culture. The social integration process is being promoted strengthening the positions of the Latvian language in education.

Thus, along with the introduction of bilingual education in Latvia the aim of the EU "to be united in diversity" was enacted, namely, implementation and maintenance of multicultural and multilingual principles in education and society, promoting tolerance and understanding of the importance of several language skills (in the interests of an individual and the society of Latvia).

Latvian experience has aroused serious interest of the colleagues in the EU countries (to mention active visits from Wales (Great Britain), Estonia, Lithuania), Russian Federation, Georgia, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan (cooperation projects to get acquainted with the experience of the minority education in Latvia).[1]

To ensure further successful development of minority education, attention should be paid to:

- preparation of teachers (in higher education institutions and in pedagogue professional development);
- creation and development of text-books, study aids using the latest knowledge in world experience; for the development of well-considered study content (new learning subject standards) and demands, considering language situation development tendencies;
- development of an educational quality inspection system and regular implementation of it.

One of the future challenges of the system of education in Latvia will also be provision of education for immigrants, in which the principles of bilingual education can be successfully applied while taking into account specific characteristics of the target audience (in the creation of teaching aids, teacher training and school information). Since immigrants do not have preliminary knowledge of Latvian and their motivation for learning Latvian is varied (e.g., temporary or long-term stay in Latvia), it is necessary:

1) to develop a common curriculum anticipating intensive acquisition of Latvian as the second language at different levels of skills;

[1] E.g., the LLASA project supported by the Soros Foundation, „Support for the development of bilingual education system in Georgia" in 2007 when Georgian specialists got acquainted with the experience of Latvia in the implementation of bilingual education (see: http://valoda.lv/downloadDoc_18/mid_525).

2) to develop further training programmes that provide teacher training for special programmes, selection and development of materials;
3) to develop methodological recommendations for teachers who will teach Latvian to immigrants as a foreign language; and
4) to develop a variety of study materials for immigrants for acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language.

The first methodological materials already have been developed with the EU funding for settlement of immigrant problems. For example, the Latvian language acquisition material for refugees, e-training course for levels A1 and A2, as a result of the project implemented by the LLA, one of the first methodological materials for teacher training to work with immigrants at school was compiled in 2008 (see Fig. 41), etc.[1]

Fig. 41. **Methodological material for teachers working with immigrant children: LLA. *Teacher in an intercultural space*. Idea book for teachers: teaching and methodological material.** Riga, 2009

[1] Detailed information about these projects on the LLA homepage: www.valoda.lv section *Projekti*.

Learners of Latvian as of the second language (pupils, adults, including teachers) are provided with text-books and methodological materials. Bearing in mind the changes in language situation in the world and in Latvia, it is necessary to start teaching Latvian as a foreign language and to develop teaching and methodological materials for language acquisition both in Latvia (in the environment of Latvian speakers) and outside it (in the diaspora, foreign universities, etc.).

4.3. Language in private business activities: in the service sector

The largest number of employees in the country is concentrated in private business and the majority of workers are employed in the service sector, in trade, accommodations and food companies (it was 18% of all the employees in 2004, 19.5% in 2009[1]). If the official language in such socio-linguistically important areas as public administration, local government and other establishments function well, as seen from the results of the LLA 2009 survey, the greatest problems of the use of Latvian are encountered in the service sector and in private entrepreneurship, especially in Riga and Riga District, in the largest cities of Latvia and in Latgale. The 2004 survey of the inhabitants[2] showed that approximately 70% of the Russian-speaking residents had pointed out that in everyday life outside their homes (in service providing) Latvian is quite often used, but the data of the LLA 2009 survey show that only 59% of the Russian-speaking population have acknowledged that Latvian is being used in the service sector (Fig. 42). This leads to the conclusion that the use of the Latvian language in the service sector has decreased.

It has been emphasized by the experts in the LLA 2009 interviews that the language use in private business is one of the negative tendencies in the development of the language situation in 2004–2010. Although the state has imposed certain requirements (such as the Official Language Law (1999), Regulations of the CM No. 296, „Provisions Regarding the Official Language Proficiency Level for the Performance of Occupational and Positional Duties and the Procedure of Language Proficiency Tests", Regulations of the CM No. 733,

[1] Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia. Nodarbinātība un bezdarbs [Employment and unemployment]. Available at: http://data.csb.gov.lv/DATABASE/Iedzsoc/Ikgadējie%20statistikas%20dati/Nodarbinātība/Nodarbinātība.asp

[2] Data Serviss. *Latviešu valodas attīstības un lietojuma problēmas* [Problems of the development and use of the Latvian language]. Riga, 2004.

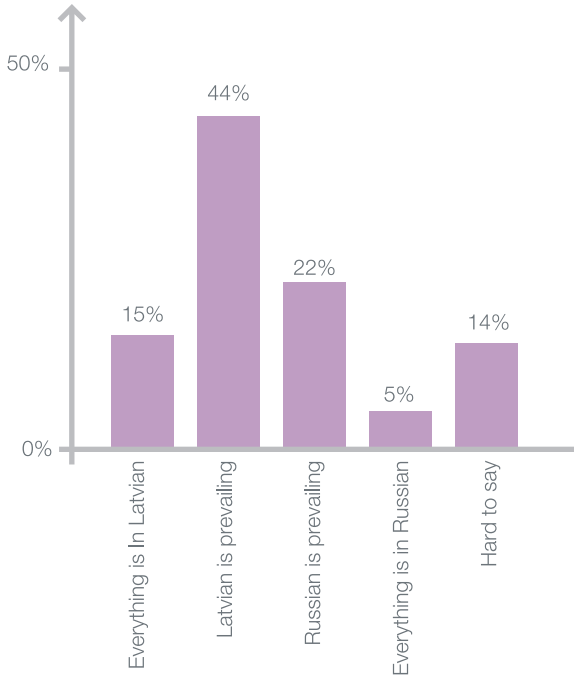

Fig. 42. **Answers of the inhabitants, whose native tongue is Russian, to the question: "What is the present language use in your residence cities, shops and in the service field?"** (LLA 2009 survey)

„Provisions Regarding the Official Language Proficiency Level and the Procedure of Language Proficiency Tests for the Performance of Occupational and Positional Duties, for Acquiring a Permanent Residence Permit and the Status of Permanent Resident of European Union and Regarding Stamp Duty Payable for Conducting Official Language Proficiency Tests", etc.) for both the employers and the employees, in reality the fact that private business and private or personal life is not one and the same is often ignored — one of the goals of private entrepreneurship is to provide all the inhabitants in the whole territory with services that must be available in the official language.

Section 1, clause 3 of the Official Language Law" defines "…the right to freely use the Latvian language in any sphere of life within the whole territory of Latvia". In 2008, the scale of professions in which the language proficiency level is determined was enlarged[1] and it received a positive judgement. Experts believe that in the long term it will definitely positively influence the extension of the Latvian language use. Positively estimated is also the Russian-speaking inhabitants' high-level awareness of the necessary level of language skills for job purposes (Fig. 20).

[1] Professions classifier, see *Noteikumi par valsts valodas zināšanu apjomu un valsts valodas prasmes pārbaudes kārtību profesionālo un amata pienākumu veikšanai, pastāvīgās uzturēšanās atļaujas saņemšanai un Eiropas Kopienas pastāvīgā iedzīvotāja statusa iegūšanai un valsts nodevu par valsts valodas prasmes pārbaudi*. Regulations of the CM No. 733, 07.07.2009. Available at: http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=194735&from=off.

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The data of the LLA 2009 survey are indicative of the problems in language use in private entrepreneurship and in the service sector: answering the question "in which language you usually get answers to questions or requests in Latvian", Latvian respondents indicate only 48% when the response at the shop is received in Latvian. It is considerably less than, for example, in the state and local government institutions (82 and 81%).

As recognized by the experts, this is the area to be considered as the landmark in which freedom to communicate using one's native tongue — e.g., of a shop-assistant — on the one hand, confronts the rights of the inhabitants to receive services, and fully ensure their needs, in Latvian in their own country. In this case, the right to receive services in the official language of the particular state is to be regarded as a priority against the freedom to use any other language.

As a negative tendency the experts stressed that no state regulation for language use in the service sector has been determined in the last decade. Therefore, this is still the area of Latvian and Russian business division[1] where the language use of the company depends rather on the owner's belonging to a particular language body than on the customers' request (!), especially in small businesses.

"The greatest problems started after 2000 when the Official Language Law was adopted. Until then regardless of the form of ownership, in the service sector, for example, all the employees needed the medium level of the state language proficiency. After 2000, it was or was not set by the employer because there was no penalty anticipated until 1 January 2009. The problem was that the total majority of Russian-speakers are working in the private sector, rather than in state and local government institutions, and 70% of all the working people in Latvia are employed in private companies" (LLA 2009 interviews).

Along with the economic development of the state, the common EU environment, and as the result of the social integration process, the tendency to form companies according to the ethnic belonging is diminishing, and the number of the so-called mixed enterprises is increasing; however, as concluded by the 2004 study of the BISS and IE LAS, segregation of the business environment still exists, there are mostly exclusively Russian-speaking small businesses, which demonstrate a low level of loyalty towards the state, do not ob-

[1] Buda, A. Etniskie priekšstati Latvijas biznesā [Ethnic notions in Latvian business]. *Lasāmais žurnāls „Kabinets"*, 2005. gada aprīlis.

serve the Official Language Law and do not pay taxes.[1] The opinions of experts of the LLA 2009 interviews show that this remains a topical issue also in 2009. In addition, the 2004 survey of the BISS and IE LAS testify that the skills of Latvian are not decisive in the recruitment for approximately 20% of the Russian-speaking enterprises. Recruiting and evaluating the need of Latvian language skills, managers of private companies (90% of all the respondents) in 2004 acknowledged that the official language proficiency is one of the most essential requirements (Fig. 43). The role of Latvian language skills is emphasized as a prerequisite for social mobility and a fair claim from both the instrumental and legislative aspects.[2]

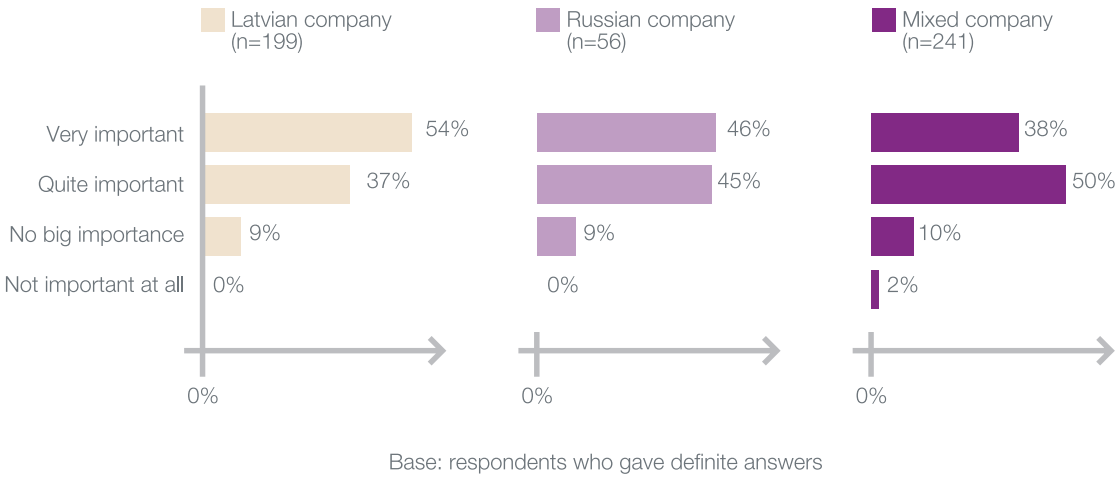

Fig 43. **Role of the Latvian language in the development of a professional career: evaluation of company managers** (BISS, IE LAS 2004).

Evaluating the possibility that the state would regulate language use in private business, the Russian-speaking population expressed rather diverse views and concern in the LLA 2009 survey (Fig. 44).

The experts have also found that the prestige of the official language is affected, though indirectly, by the situation of the labour market, and the demand of a large part of the employers for knowledge of the Russian language has

[1] *Sabiedrības integrācija un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts* [Integration of the society and entrepreneurship: the ethnic aspect]. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts; LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2004, 6. lpp.
[2] *Ibid.,* 18. lpp.

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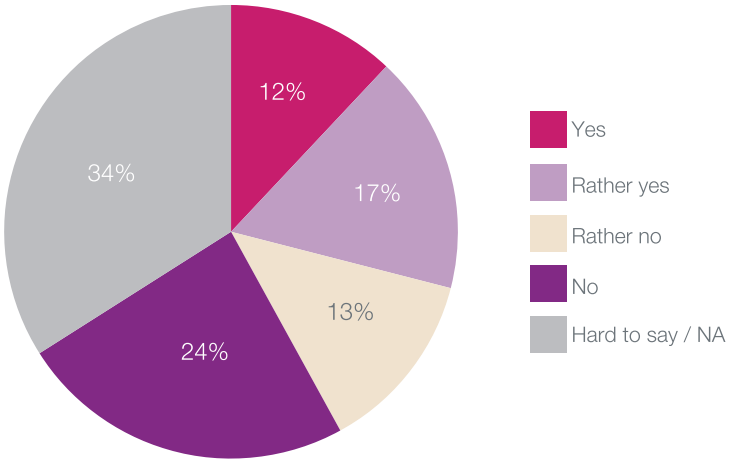

Fig. 44. **Answers of the inhabitants whose native tongue is Russian to the question: "Should the state regulate language use in private entrepreneurship?"** (LLA 2009 survey)

become more explicit in recent years.[1] Thus, the linguistic rights of Latvians are being ignored and the inhabitants who do not know Russian are discriminated (especially in cases when the Russian language proficiency becomes a priority for recruitment, understating professional qualification of the potential employee). In such situations Russian is deliberately raised as a more competitive language this undermining full-fledged functioning of the Latvian language. Certainly, the employees' language skills are closely linked to business competitiveness and development but there is no reason to require exactly a mandatory proficiency of the Russian language in Latvia. The only mandatory (particularly in the service sector) thing is the official language proficiency.

Obviously, the business world globally tends to switch to a single language (English), which determines the private business requirements for a staff. The role of English in business will grow in the future. When evaluating the role of language skills in Latvia, English is mentioned as the second language after Latvian[2] in the study "Language" of 2003/2004. 90 per cent of the respondents of the LLA 2009 survey have indicated English as the main foreign language to be taught at schools. But there is no stable English-speaking community in Latvia, which would affect the use of Latvian[3], and the service providers, for example,

[1] See also Poriņa, V. *Valsts valoda daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā* [State language in multilingual society: individual and social bilingualism in Latvia]. Rīga, 2009, 75.–86. lpp.
[2] BISS. *Valoda* (Language). LVAVP, Rīga, October 2003 – January 2004, 47. lpp.
[3] Druviete, I. Aiz kokiem vajag saredzēt mežu [It is necessary to see the forest behind the trees]. *Karogs. Literatūras mēnešraksts*, 2009, Nr. 10, 177.–184. lpp. From: Druviete, I. *Skatījums. Valoda, sabiedrība, politika* [View. Language, society, politics]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2010, 239. lpp.

can use their English skills at best a few times a day in the centre of Riga while serving tourists. Moreover, functional English skills of the Latvian population are too low to directly threaten the use of the Latvian language.

Any language skills are positively estimated and from a business point of view, language proficiency of the employees is a big plus, but every company that provides services in the territory of Latvia, and to the inhabitants of Latvia, must be able to provide full-fledged services in the official language.

4.4. Influence of mass media upon the language situation

Due to its conscious or unconscious influence, media play a crucial role in shaping the public opinion and language environment of modern society. As mentioned above, experts of the LLA 2009 interviews have stressed that the current situation of the Latvian language is mostly affected by the system of education and by mass media where the processes can be perceived both as a threat and a challenge to the Latvian language.

The interviewed experts were critical of the language quality used by media: foreign words and terms are adopted from radio and television broadcasts, press publications; jargon is often groundless, inappropriate means of expression are frequently used, and the choice of words is very poor (especially on the Internet). Experts draw attention to the extremely low quality of language on the Internet indicating that it is the environment that breaks down the border between literary and everyday communication language.

Evaluating the quality of Latvian in mass media the opinions of the polled residents were not as negative as those of the experts. In their view the language quality is good — it was acknowledged as bad only by approximately 5% (television, radio and press altogether) of the respondents. And there are certain reasons for this difference in viewpoints:

- experts' opinion is that of good native speakers, which is often affected by the tendencies of linguistic purism and prescriptivism[1] characteristic of Latvia as well;

[1] See Strelēvica-Ošiņa, D. Pareizs cilvēks, pareiza valoda vai pareizs vārds? Trīs preskriptīvisma virzieni Latvijas situācijā [Proper person, proper language or proper word? Three directions of prescriptivism in the situation of Latvia]. *No vārda līdz vārdnīcai: Akadēmiķa Jāņa Endzelīna 137. dzimšanas dienas atceres starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences materiāli*. Rīga, 2010, 55. lpp.

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- in the perception of the polled people who are not experts in linguistics the question of language quality is connected with everyday communication language, which is more and more actively entering the media[1], and therefore, chosen for analysis. However, this group of respondents see differences in the quality of media-used language. As concluded in the research project „Baltic sociolinguistics (BalSoc): public linguistic self-awareness in Lithuania and Latvia" carried out by the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, which had surveyed representatives of mass media (journalists, programme managers and others) in both countries, the linguistic self-confidence and the linguistic potential of users is good and provides certain language quality in the media.[2]

Concerning the question of the extent to which the state would have the right to regulate language use on TV, radio and the Internet and how it could be done, opinions of the expert vary according to the type of media.

Regarding new media like Internet most experts have admitted that the control of language use is not desirable and would be impossible.

"The border between the literary language and the language of the speaker is diminishing. The web language is something in the middle; much closer to the speaker's language and on Internet forums, especially the anonymous ones, a person can speak more freely than in a newspaper publication. I think there is nothing negative about it. It is the environment where the language is developing. There are ideas that it should be limited and controlled but I think it is totally wrong. The Internet reflects the real situation of the language, the real attitude towards it, how people express their opinion, how many foreign words or grammatical forms they use. It is a more precise mirror." (LLA 2009 survey)

Control would be regarded as a censorship and limitation of freedom of speech, and it is practically impossible to provide it (Internet content is too huge to be able to control the language use there).

[1] See also Liepa, D. Demokratizācijas procesi valodā — leksiskie jaunināJumi publicistikas stilā [Democratization processes in language — lexical innovations in journalistic style]. *Komunikācija: LU raksti*, 648. sēj. Rīga: Zinātne, 2002, 180.–195. lpp.

[2] Scientific research project „Baltu sociolingvistika (BalSoc): sabiedrības valodiskā pašapziņa Lietuvā un Latvijā" [Sociolinguistics of the Balts: linguistic self-confidence in Lithuania and Latvia] Available at: http://www.liepu.lv/lv/182/aktualitates/57/zinatniskais-petijums-projekts-baltu-sociolingvistika-balsoc-sabiedribas-valodiska-pasapzina-lietuva-un-latvija (last accessed 10.02.2010).

"It is hard to imagine how it could be controlled. I don't think that control or censorship could do much about it. The only way is that of education and good example." (LLA 2009 interviews)
"**I think there is no need for a control but we should follow the process to be able to make it good and proper** [LLA emphasis]. A true gardener is the one who is pulling out the weeds, the one who is planting. Here we have more reasons to work than to control." (LLA 2009 interviews)

As to the traditional media the most often represented view is that they should ensure language quality themselves, involving consultants and proofreaders to follow the language use, to indicate inaccuracies and to help avoiding mistakes. According to experts, insufficient Latvian language literacy of the young journalists is an essential reason for the low quality of Latvian in the media; perhaps it is the consequence of insufficient instruction in the study programmes.

"The Latvian language takes a relatively small space and therefore the quality question is even more important." (LLA 2009 interviews)
„It seems that we have lost the good old tradition of having experienced proofreaders in every publishing house and editorial office. They automatically notice mistakes. It seems to me that it is not being taught to young journalists. They are not prepared well enough." (LLA 2009 interviews)
„The press — it still needs proofreaders. I wish the newspaper would represent the state. TV journalists must have a good knowledge of Latvian. Often elementary things are not being respected there." (LLA 2009 interviews)

However, some experts think that repressive methods could be adequate as well; penalties should be imposed upon the media in which breaches of the content and quality of language use are found.

„It should be started with heavy penalties on media managers." (LLA 2009 interviews)
„I think the programme manager or the TV announcer who cannot speak correct literary language should be fired. Who is going to maintain the standard, if not those whom we trust, whom we hear every day. It would be good if one would have the feeling that it is a great shame to speak bad Latvian — approximately as bad as to wear torn trousers. And here the mass media play an important role." (LLA 2009 interviews)

Speaking of the language use and quality on the Internet, the majority of experts acknowledge that the language used on Internet is of low quality and ignores the spelling norms of Latvian. It is believed that the Internet is the environment in which the border between the literary language and everyday communication is being destroyed. And this creates a major concern.

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„One source would be the web sites where a person can judge the culture of language use in general and we can say that to some extent the culture of the online Internet forums does not encourage preservation of linguistic purity or a special care of literary correct language use." (LLA 2009 interviews)

However, no one of the experts has ever claimed that the development of new media and technologies would jeopardize the existence or use of Latvian; this effect is mostly related to language quality.

Those experts, who view language as an uninterrupted process of development, often evaluated various deviations from Latvian spelling rules characteristic of the new mass media today as a positive phenomenon, since it proves that the language can adapt to new situations and adjust to them.

„If we try to freeze the language it will turn into the museum exhibit. But allowing it to develop, and the Internet environment is the place where the language can develop really dynamically, it will adapt to modern realities and survive." (LLA 2009 interviews)

Some of the experts, focusing on the low quality of language use in media, acknowledge that this language reflects the language situation in the society — mass media use the language of the community.

„What we can complain about are those negative things that have already taken root in Latvian communication language. Media speak the way people speak because it is the future Latvian language. But there is no need to hit their fingers, it is necessary to evaluate ourselves. Media reflects us. Let us alter ourselves." (LLA 2009 interviews)

There is a different opinion — the experts who believe that Latvian spelling rules must be unchangeable and deviations are not acceptable, evaluate the influence of the new media as negative.

"Rather negative, because as we know and see even when using electronic mail, news are not always written according to the language rules, mitigation and lengthening marks are not used but replaced with other characters, which is definitely not a good use of language. That is discrediting the language." (LLA 2009 interviews)

Several interviewees mentioned faulty subtitle language as an explicitly negative tendency (often against the spelling rules, subtitle texts differ from the originals).

"Talking about mass media I do not know, who are they, who can concede spelling errors in captions. It means that there are no people in television who generally know Latvian. Then there must be a specialist who is following each caption, who hears the speech of each journalist and consults him afterwards. Then the journalist is strictly instructed to escape these mistakes in further programmes. But this is not happening in any of the televisions — neither LNT, nor TV3. The best language is on LTV and it seems that there might be a specialist who advises them." (LLA 2009 interviews)

"Staggering subtitle language. It seems that all the rules have been abolished." (LLA 2009 interviews)

According to experts, a better situation of language use is observed on the radio while television is accused of deficient quality of language use and, as mentioned above, of too limited content offers for programmes in Latvian.

"Generally speaking, this use on the radio is rather good and proper. On television the language use is not always good; it refers mostly to the translated or dubbed broadcast. Each of them has certain drawbacks and that refers to all publications. Language use is satisfactory." (LLA 2009 interviews)

As positive the experts have acknowledged the fact that the activities of media and the development of new technologies contribute to language development — first of all, in the creation of new terms and in the expansion of language application fields.

According to experts, one on the reasons why foreigners do not want to use the media in Latvian, thus denying themselves the chance to improve their Latvian language skills, is the substantive shortage in TV and radio broadcast offers, thus maintaining the division of information space in Latvia (see also Chapter 4.5).

The study of the Centre for East European Policy Studies (CEEPS), „Foreign Countries' Influence on the Process of Society's Ethnic Integration in Latvia", confirms that there exist (are maintained) two parallel information spaces. The information space meant mainly for Russian-speakers is estimated as stagnating, because, as written by V. Hermanis in his comment about the CEEPS study in the newspaper *Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze* on 8 October 2007[1], „Russians are and will remain the biggest and economically most powerful community in Latvia beyond the basic nation. Neither China, nor Poland, or the USA or Lithuania

[1] Hermanis, V. Integrācijas procesa tālvadības pultis [Remote control unit of the integration process]. *Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai*, 2007, 8. okt.

is jointly responsible for maintaining two parallel information spaces in this country. According to the experts of CEEPS, the media addressing the inhabitants of Latvia in Russian seem to be orbiting three columns. The first one: issues of citizenship, language and education. The second one: issues of history where the viewpoints are even more incompatible. The third one: critical and ironical attitude towards Latvia's foreign policy. Contrary to the Constitution, there is still a vivid demand for concession of the rights of the second official language to Russian. The real problem starts with the issue, when and how Russian people are trying to compensate their loss of earlier privileges, which more or less is a common phenomenon in all the post-Soviet space, probably excluding Belarus."

Thus the information space, divided into Latvian and Russian, still remains one of the main threats to the Latvian language and is even intensified by the availability and tremendous capabilities offered by new technologies (cable television, satellite, etc.). This is proved by the results of the inhabitant survey: three-fourths of the Russian-speakers state that they are using media and the Internet in Russian (Fig. 45).

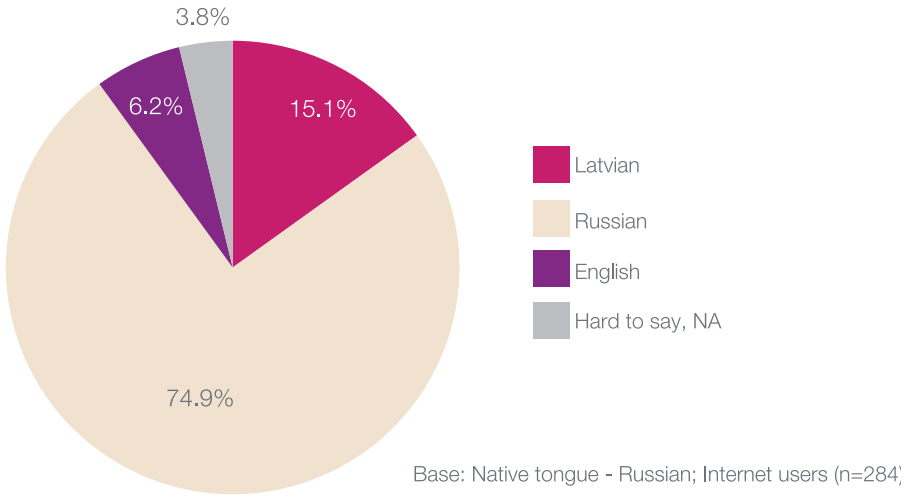

Fig. 45. **Answers of the respondents to the question „Which language do you use on Internet more frequently (for reading or writing)?"** (LVA 2009 survey)

A great many of the media in the Russian-speaking information space provide openly opposite information about the situation and the events taking place in Latvia. It is often highly politicized. Thus the gap in the Latvian society is becoming wider, splitting civic consciousness and delaying integration.[1] Experts have also pointed out that splitting of the information space, in the long-term, is an essential threat to the Latvian language.

Communication of public figures (politicians, representatives of state establishments, cultural workers, officials) with mass media in the Russian language is strongly destroying the prestige of the Latvian language and the attitude towards it. Experts have pointed out that today it is one of the most important unsolved problems.

As pointed out by the Chairman of the State Language Commission A. Veisbergs, „public officials, especially ministers, should be using only Latvian in the state mass media, demonstrating their understanding of the importance of the state language and its unifying role."[2] It is totally unacceptable that on public TVs, registered in Latvia, public figures express their views in Russian.[3] That is how signals about the reduction of the language role are spread as nowadays the media shape the public opinion and consciously or unconsciously influence it.

4.5. Division of the information space in Latvia: review of the biggest daily newspapers

In historically decisive periods mass media are particularly important. Since the restoration of independence, Latvia has experienced not only a complicated political, economical and social development but also a creative period of language changes, taking the advantages of the regained freedom of speech and expression. Some of the media researchers have stated: "Traditionally it

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[1] Hermanis, V. Integrācijas procesa tālvadības pultis [Remote control unit of the integration process]. *Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai*, 2007, 8. okt.; *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State Language Law: history and topicality]. Ernstsone, V., Hirša, Dz. u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 97.–117. lpp.; Hirša, Dz. *Plašsaziņas līdzekļi par latviešu valodu. Attieksme, izpratne, informācija un dezinformācija* [Mass media about the Latvian Language. Attitude, understanding, information and disinformation]. Rīga, 2007, 76 lpp. u.c.; Poriņa, V. *Valsts valodas daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā* [State languages in the multi-lingual society: individual and social bilingualism in Latvia]. Rīga, 2009, 99.–108. lpp. u.c.

[2] Prezidenta komisijas vadītājs: amatpersonām valsts medijos jālieto tikai latviešu valoda [Chairman of the Presidential Commission: public officials should be using only Latvian in the state mass media]. *Delfi* (last accessed 01.03.2010).

[3] Jauce, S. Valodas jāaizsargā pašu mājās [Languages should be protected in their homelands]. *Latvija Eiropas Savienībā*, Nr. 8, 2007. gada decembris, 10. lpp.

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was assumed that the post-socialist transition in Eastern Europe will end at the time when these countries join the European Union. Although one can find a lot of counter-arguments to this statement, 1 May 2004 is considered to be a kind of a borderline."[1] However, the history of the mass media development in the Republic of Latvia has shown that the society was prepared for the new change and the majority (the referendum of 20 September 2003 confirmed the support of the majority of population) perceived joining the new union as self-evident and logical.

Language in the press after 2004

In comparison with the first years of independence the situation of media activities has changed. Freedom of press has become the framework for professional journalism. Populist slogans, characteristic of the 1990s, are rarely heard and are quickly unveiled today; political competition has become sharper. Since politicians have started to use professional marketing for image making and self-promotion, journalists often feel as observers of the great plays only and their reaction is flagrant negativism towards politicians and politics in general. During this period, journalism lost one of its basic principles — neutrality, narrative without bias. Instead, there is open dislike and mutual expression of harassment. The society is accustomed to lingual diversity and artlessness of media, and, although these features are separately judged, we can speak about stable and interesting innovations of the language in the press — it has become modern and eclectic. In general we can talk about the development of a stable and democratic system of media formed on the basis of a rich experience of a post-socialistic country.

Emphasizing the most important development trends of this period, we can agree with the conclusion that "with the acceleration of the privatization speed, the oligarchic development of the rich companies and their entering into politics, the mutual relationship between politics and media has changed. Media became involved in the political competition. and media were involved in the fight of these giants. They were divided in the most barbarous way but during the ceasefires between the oligarchs the media intonation changed."[2] Unlike the so-called years of the Third Awakening media were no longer entrusted the heralding role in the fight, and in the split and segregated society there was no longer need for the creator and maintainer of collective motivation.

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[1] Hrvatina, S., Kehre, A., Nagla, I., Pietkoviča, B. *Mediju īpašnieku struktūra un tās ietekme uz mediju neatkarību un plurālismu* [Structure of media owners and its influence upon the independence and pluralism of media]. Kehre, A. (Ed.). Rīga: Latvijas Mediju darbinieku mācību centrs, 2005, 34. lpp.

[2] Ostrovska, I. *Masu mediju ietekme uz politisko procesu* [Influence of mass media on the political process]. Report at the conference "Power and people: possibilities of approximation]. 2005, 10. jūn. Available at: http://www.politika.lv/index.php?id=3783 (last accessed 16.02.2007).

...eries abonēt «Latvijas Avīzi»
PRĪLIM «Latvijas Pastā» līdz 18.martam, modernizētajās pastā nodaļās līdz 25. martam

...onāru pieminēšanu neiztraucē

...iem bijusi informācija par iespējamām provokācijām un tās laikus novērstas

Kam piemiņa,

Pagājušas divas dienas, kopš Latvi... tika pieminēta 65. gadadiena kopš...

■ ĢIRTS KONDRĀTS

Mūsu valsts piemiņas dienu kalendārā 9. maija nav. Valsts augstākās amatpersonas sestdien, 8. maijā – Nacisma sagrāves un Otrā pasaules kara upuru piemiņas dienā – nolika ziedus Brāļu kapos. Tur klāt bija Valsts prezidents Valdis Zatlers, Saeimas priekšsēdētāja biedre ...

16. martu atzīmē vērienīgāk

Bijušie leģionāri nejūtas politiski izmantoti

...brīvotāji»
...geopolitiskām interesēm

...vēsturnieki mudina teikt patiesību par Otro pasaules karu un tā sekām

...nās jo bieži daudzināt...m jautājumiem: vai PSRS armija 1944./1945. gadā Eiropā ienākusi kā atbrīvotāja vai paverdzinātāja? Krievijas Vēstures institūta direktora skatījumā, lietai ir divas puses. Iā, padomju armija padzina nacistus, atbrīvoja koncentrācijas nometņu ieslodzītos, taču tas, kas sekoja pēc tam, "jau bija cita dziesma". Proti, sarkanarmiešu kontrolētajās Eiropas teritorijās sāka rikoties padomju struktūras; tās ieviesa padomju kārtību, represijas, atņēma privātipašumu un galu galā padarīja atbrīvotās zemes par PSRS satelītvalstīm. Ja atmeta "atbrīvošanas" retoriku, tad iznākums bija tāds, ka Padomju Savienība 1945. gadā atguva sev teritorijas, kas kādreiz bija atradušās Krievijas impērijas robežās un pat vel vairāk. Tieši ģeopolitiskās intereses ieņēma vienu no svarīgākajām vietām PSRS vadības politikā Otrā pasaules kara ...

TIMURA SUBHANKULOVA FOTO

...e Uzvaras pieminekļa Pārdaugavā 2010. gadā. Nez vai daudzi no šiem ļaudim būtu gatavi ...isko krievu vēsturnieku atzinumu, ka Krievijai Otro pasaules karu gudrāk būtu uztvert kā ...as mirkli", nevis ideoloģizētus, pompozus svētkus.

...divvalodību» krievu valodā...

...valoda taču ir daudz pieprasītāka nekā latviešu."

...fejot? Lai ejot projām! "Ma... kaut ko tādu ir nepatīkam... klausities," viņa ilgi nespē... rimties.

Parakstu vākšana ... mūsu atbilde kaunpilnam ... 16. marta leģionāru gl... nam. (..) Mūsu e-pasti ir p... ni ar arhalsta vēstulēm, ... mūsu telefoni sprāgst no zv... niem ar vēlmi parakstīt... (..) Vistuvākajā laikā m... savāksim 10 000 parakst... un Centrālā vēlēšanu kom... sija varēs izslodināt parakst... vākšanas otro kārtu", pres... paziņojumā norādījis vie... no akcijas rikotājiem – ma... zināmas organizācijas "Vi... nota Latvija" priekšsēdētā... Eduards Svatkovs.

Bet kā divvalodību, p... kuru pats aģitē, izprot ... Svatkovs? Uz maniem latv... ki uzdotajiem jautājumie... vinš konsekventi atbild kr...

TIMURA SUBHANKULOVA FOTO

Vakar Rīgā īpaši sarikotajā parakstu vākšanas pasākumā izveidojās pat nelielā rinda.

...rīgākais 16. marts

...ve, neatceros citu reizi, kad šajos pasākumos nebūtu aizturēto

...maijs – lab...

...дистскую оккупа...

...ены бурно отметить 69-ю годовщину ...игу войск Третьего рейха!

...наша победа!

«Живите дольше!

Стр. 3

НАТО в воздухе

...вро

...ерпо

...суббота 8 мая 2010 года № 84 (32...

0,40 Ls

...ости

...русский размер

...годня

РЕПОРТА...

Эсэсовской тр...

Легионеров Ваффен СС всё меньше, но им на смену идёт...

Вчера был поставлен абсолютный рекорд по числу полицейских, престарелых эсэсовцев и молодых неонацистов на традиционном легионерском шествии — столько сразу город не видел уже давно! Может быть, с 1944-го. Вопрос с рассвета милиционеров положения, но обошлось без эксцессов, задержали лишь несколько ...

...Побед...

...Вести ...сегодня

17 марта 2010 года № 53 (3210)

0,40 Ls

...Вчера почитатели легиона СС вновь вышли на улицы Риги и под охраной полиции и протесты антифашистов двинулись к Милде

...За нашу Победу!

СПРАВКА

На парад Победы из столичного бюджета было выделено 116 миллионов рублей. Из них на усиление стоек Большого Москворецкого моста — 7,5 миллиона рублей; ремонт портала пешеходного тоннеля моста — 1,6 миллиона; очистка водосточных колодцев — 8,7 миллиона; установка передвижных туалетов — 3,7 миллиона; нанесение временной дорожной разметки — 5,... миллиона; разгон облаков — 44 миллиона; ремонт фонарей на территории вокруг выставочного комплекса «Манеж» — 18 миллионов. На ... становительные работы по... ле парада выделено 6 милл...

ПРАЗДНИК

...едителям — слава!

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"The two information spaces, developed in the 1990s, imply also the key aspect distinguishing the Latvian media market from the markets of other post-socialist countries as the communication needs of two commensurable language groups must get along there."[1] The study carried out in 18 European countries in 2003 and in 2004[2] pointed out that „one of the specific features of post-socialist media market is the existence of parallel markets which are separated according to languages (and ethnic properties). Parallel markets are working as part of the internal market or in some cases they have been developed as a special „intruding" form of the other (neighbouring) state. … This phenomenon cannot be considered as an incentive of pluralism."[3] The information gap created in the 1990s as the ethno-linguistic line was widening until it irreversibly divided the Latvian media market — Russians and Latvians were consistently choosing media sources in their native language."

„Recent years have seen even greater separation of the information space — Russian press is separated from the Latvian one, and from the state as a unitary national state, more than in the 1990s. This does not contribute to the creation of an amalgamated society on the basis a single official language."[4]

In the period from 2004 till 2010, several events caused vast resonance and clearly indicated the division of information space in Latvia. These are the issues related to the 20th century history of Latvia and the status of Latvian as of the official language:

- the 2004 reform of education content for secondary schools (reviewed are the newspapers of June, July, August 2004 — the three months before the introduction of the reform are considered to be the sharpest debate time and best reflecting the dominant tension);
- 16 March — Commemoration Day of Legionaries (reviewed are the newspapers of March 2005 and 2009);
- 8 May — Commemoration Day of the Victims of the Second World War (in Russian Federation — Victory Day on 9 May; reviewed are the newspapers of May 2005 and 2009).

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[1] Hrvatina, S., Kehre, A., Nagla, I., Pietkoviča, B. *Mediju īpašnieku struktūra un tās ietekme uz mediju neatkarību un plurālismu* [The structure of media owners and its influence on the independence and pluralism of media]. Kehre, A. (Ed.). Rīga: Latvijas Mediju darbinieku mācību centrs, 2005, 34. lpp.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[4] Poriņa, V. *Valsts valoda daudzvalodīgajā sabiedrībā: individuālais un sociālais bilingvisms Latvijā* [The state language in multilingual society: individual and social bilingualism in Latvia]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2009, 108. lpp.

In March and in May the media had also referred to other historical events connected with the occupation of Latvia, the Second World War and the 20th century history of Latvia: Commemoration Day of the Victims of Communist Terror (25 March), Latvian–Russian border issue, the decision of the Saeima from 12 May 2005 on Condemnation of the Totalitarian Communist Occupation Regime Implemented in Latvia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and others.

Analyzed descriptions

This chapter analyzes the linguistic expression of four Latvian newspapers: *Diena, Latvijas Avīze, Вести сегодня*, and *Час*.[1]

The choice of the newspapers is intentional: *Diena* as the biggest (in terms of audience) daily newspaper in the Latvian language, *Latvijas Avīz*e as a national newspaper with the largest print run (according to the data of the agency TNS Latvia for 2004, the average audience of *Diena* and *Latvijas Avīze* readers is 282 and 239 thousand). *Вести сегодня* and *Час* enjoys the greatest demand among the foreigners (in 2004, the average auditorium was 168 and 122 thousand, respectively). As described below, these Russian-language editions are often very critical, even provocative and incendiary in their comments on the State of Latvia and its policy; they are also scaring minorities with possible threats to their language.

NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS AND THEMES OF THE NEWSPAPERS ANALYSED IN THIS CHAPTER, IN 2004, 2005 AND 2009

Year	Newspaper	Number of analyzed publications	Themes
2004	*Вести сегодня*	95	Analysis of the most topical theme discussed in press in 2004 — the so-called issue of the education reform.
	Час	110	
	Diena	64	
	Latvijas Avīze	80	
2005	*Вести сегодня* *Час* *Diena* *Latvijas Avīze*	309	Analysis of the publications of varied and many-sided themes: legionaries, May 9, history of Latvia and the identity of Latvians, border agreement, education reform, visit of the President of the USA, events of the commemoration day of the victims of communist terror of 25 March 1949, condemnation of the Soviet regime, etc.
2009	*Вести сегодня* *Час* *Diena* *Latvijas Avīze*	181	Analysis of the publications on the above mentioned themes. As proven by their number, interest about these questions has decreased in 2009.

TOTAL: 839 PUBLICATIONS

[1] Materials in Russian were selected by Jūlija Osipova, expert of the Language Development Department of the LLA.

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Reflection of the content reform of minority education in the press

In summer 2004, the reform of the content of minority education gained vast resonance. It was followed by protest actions and cleavage of the society in defenders and opponents of the reform. These changes initiated implementation of bilingual education in secondary schools[1], "restricting the use of ex-colonial language, Russian. ... Their policy of making Russian the unique language of secondary and university education was understandably resented by Latvians, who had successfully developed a standard language of their own ... and who experienced this period of Russian ascendancy as an oppression".[2]

As pointed out by the linguist Dz. Hirša, there were several myths that accompanied education reform:

- Teachers and schools directors had insufficient information concerning the reform;
- Russians would lose their ethnic identity;
- Teachers do not know Latvian well enough because the state did not sufficiently care about their language skills;
- Pupils are not prepared to learn in the official language, for example, the sciences, and so forth.[3]

Trends in reflecting public opinion, which often take the form of imposed views and propaganda, are most clearly demonstrated by the selected linguistic resources and its political correctness (manipulation of words is one of the most effective forms of propaganda).

Although the issues and problems connected with the content reform of minority education are topical for both Latvian and Russian-speaking audiences, Russian newspapers *Вести сегодня* and *Час* are writing proportionally more about this important matter (205 articles in Russian press and 144 in Latvian).

Moreover, not only the number of publications on this subject in the newspapers *Diena* and *Latvijas Avīze* is fewer, they are also behind in volume. There are much less in-depth interviews and stories on this subject in *Diena* and *Latvijas Avīze*, often limited to a summary of facts (what happened, where and when). However, *Час* and *Вести сегодня* supplement almost all the events related to the education content reform with interviews, readers' opinions and detailed descriptions of the situation. Consequently, as the range of expressions in the language is broader, the use of politically correct language diminishes.

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[1] See Chapter 4.2 on content reform of the minority education programmes.
[2] Joseph, J. E. *Language and politics*. Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2006, p. 11
[3] Hirša, Dz. *Plašsaziņas līdzekļi par latviešu valodu* [Mass media on the Latvian language]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 45.–51. lpp.

In Russian newspapers one can find a more radical tendency to divide society into groups according to their beliefs, ethnicity, etc. It can be seen, for example, in citations of the defenders of the reform or Latvians, in which Russians are characterized by the help of negative dysphemisms.[1] For example, status — alien (*статус — alien*)[2]; disloyal citizens-strangers (*нелояльные граждане-чужаки*); country idyll with impudent Russians (*идиллия государства с нахальными русскими*); "occupants" and "colonists" have created all the infrastructure here („*оккупанты*" *и „колонисты" создали здесь всю инфраструктуру*). Thus, they emphasize the way Latvians are seemingly calling Russians among themselves.

At the same time the concept „Us" by whom Russians, Russian-speakers, opponents of the reform should be understood, is clearly perceptible. Emphasis is made on the importance and superiority of Russian culture and education, thus belittling education in the Latvian language.

„... the same prevalent prejudices produced or supported in the media are being used to create the collective states of mind that pitch Us in the modern and democratic West, against Them, who, after the demise of communism, are mostly associated with the well-known orientalist schema of a primitive, dictatorial, violent..." (van Dijk, T., A. The Mass Media Today: Discourses of Domination or diversity? In: *Javnost*. The Public Ljubljana, 1995, p. 29)

Speaking of the education content reform, its proponents are included in the group "Us", those who are against "Them". In these publications linguistic resources are used to create a negative portrait of the opposite power, the enemy, of "Them", that is different from the positive "Us".

Usually those representatives of the opposite party, who supposedly support "Us" (Russian-speakers), are described positively: our Latvian comrades (*нашим латышским товарищам*); normal people supported us (*нормальные люди нас поддержали*), etc.

The part of the society favouring the change in education, in its turn, is being accused of simple ignorance, indifference, or dislike and hatred towards the Russian nation. This group consists of both Latvians and Russians who positively estimate the reform. Discussed are also the publications of the opposite party: the published information is referred to as a lie, journalists —

[1] Dysphemism — substitution of an unceremonious, vulgar word or word combination for a stylistically and emotionally neutral expression of the same reality. (*Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca*. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 93. lpp.)

[2] Translation here and further on – A. G.

as myrmidons of state officials, who are mocking Russian children: reformers of the titular nationality (*реформаторы титульной нации*); many educated Latvians understand what is going on, but keep silent — they are afraid of repressions (*многие образованные латыши понимают, что происходит, но молчат — боятся репрессий*); Latvian xenophobia increases (*рост латышской ксенофобии*); Latvian newspaper journalists, who mock Russian activists (*журналисты латышских газет, глумящиеся над русскими активистами*); justified the reform — was sitting with an expression of a king (*оправдал реформу – сидел с видом короля*).

This polarization technique is used to create the desirable biased and narrow-minded attitude within the groups and outside them, as well as to shape xenophobic ideology manifested as favouritism of their own group and derogation of other groups. And whereas the conservative press will emphasize "Their" negative characteristics and "Our" good ones, the liberal press may occasionally admit that also "They" may be victims, and that some of "Us" may also be blamed (e.g., in stories about discrimination).[1] There are still no expressions promoting positive relations with Latvians and Latvia. "Non-" identifications and other denominations are being used: non-citizens, non-Latvians, foreigners, Russian-speakers, etc. As pointed out by A. Veisbergs, "more aliases, more problems. After a certain period of time, the link between euphemism and its denomination is getting stronger and then the euphemism itself obtains a negative note — we have to look for a new word."[2]

Utilizing the simple opposition Us — Them, the media and politicians express the content in the form of plain conclusions, without any possible interpretation, and the reader is not allowed to evaluate the information himself (the desideratum is already programmed). The used terms have several meanings and it leads to further associations. The concealment tactic or euphemisms are being used. And in Latvian press it has become a common phenomenon.

"Politically correct language in essence is a meta-language, which is developing itself partially and spontaneously as a consequence of changes in society, and is also deliberately designed to be able to talk about the same things using different words. Certain parallels could be drawn with the language of politicians and international policy, that has grown and evolved to equilibristic peaks

[1] van Dijk, T. A. The Mass Media Today: Discourses of Domination or diversity? In: *Javnost*. The Public Ljubljana, 1995, p. 39.
[2] Veisbergs, A. Vārdi, vārdi, vārdi… bailes aizskart vai manipulācija [Words, words, words... fear to offend or manipulation]. *Diena*, 2000, 14. dec.

of redundancy and empty phrases, but is absolutely necessary for the expression of good or bad intentions in the communication process of higher officials."

(Grīnblate, S. Vai latvietis runās politkorekti? [Will a Latvian speak politically correctly?] 13 January 2004. Available: *http://www.politika.lv/index.php?id=10800 1&lang=lv&print* (last accessed 20.05.2005).)

Characterization of education reform in Russian written media in 2004

Describing the content reform of the minority education programmes for secondary schools, the newspapers *Вести сегодня* and *Час* use different means of expression, most of which is negation. Most often the word "reform" is related to such concepts as assimilation, discrimination and humiliation. Negative expressivity dominates in newspaper texts:

- Stylistically neutral denominations, like *школьная реформа, реформа школ* (school reform) are most seldom used;
- Dysphemisms expressing dislike of the education content reform are being used, for example, *билингвальная перезагруска* (bilingual restart), *дискриминационная реформа* (discriminating reform), *псевдореформа* (pseudo-reform), *пресловутая реформа* (the notorious reform), *абсурдный вариант реформы* (absurd version of the reform), *поспешная-реформа, непрофесиональная, непродуманная* (hasty, unprofessional, ill-considered reform), *людоедская реформа* (canniballistic reform), *процесс облатышивания русских школ* (Latvianization of Russian schools), *принудительная латышизации русских школ* (forced Latvianization of Russian schools), *идиотизм* (idiocy), *зло* (evil), *начало беспощадной латышизации школ нацменьшинств и активного уничтожения русского образования* (the beginning of brutal Latvianization of minority schools and active destruction of Russian education), *замаскированное облатышивание* (disguised Latvianization), *смерть для школы* (death of the school), *издевательство над русскими школами* (a mockery of Russian schools), *уничтожение генофонда* (destruction of the gene pool);
- Accentuation of the political aspect of the reform — the word "reform" linked with strong political dysphemisms obtains a political tone: reform — *реформа — очередная политическая дубина* (the current political bludgeon), *политика русофобии* (Russophobic policy), *дешевый политический популизм радикалов* (cheap political populism of the radicals), *власти страдают глухотой* (the authorities are suffering from deafness);

- Use of expressive imaginative denominations of the reform, applying transmission of the meaning, comparing it with other generally known negative and scandalous topics: *реформа — отравление цитрамоном беларусского производства* (reform — poisoning with Belarus-produced citramon), *подвиг ради подвига* (heroism for the sake of heroism), *унификация школ или стригут под одну гребенку* (unification of schools or all the curtains shall have one measure), *идиотизм с конкретным соотношением предметов* (idiocy of a particular correlation of subjects);
- Usage of negative terms speaking about the fate of Russian children after the reform, referring to excessive physical suffering and torment, grief and destruction accompanying the reform. For the descriptions of Latvian schools emotional comparisons are used; for outlining the difficult learning process — medical terminology, generalizations, overstatements, aggressive and expressive negative concepts: *травмировать детей* (to traumatize children), *чужеродность, "антигосударственность" меньшинственных школ* (alienation, "anti-statehood" of minority schools), *пожертвовать судьбой детей и целого народа* (to sacrifice the fate of children and the whole nation);
- Use of open threat: *русские предупреждают: быть беде* (Russians are warning: there will be a disaster), *1 сентября станет катастрофой* (1 September will be a catastrophe), *стоять на пороге межэтнического конфликта* (to stand on the threshold of inter-ethnic conflict), *приближается час X* (X hour is coming closer);
- Use of less expressive imagery denominations, sometimes to be understood figuratively: *Латвия и все латвийцы имеют права на новые горизонты* (Latvia and all its citizens have rights to new horizons).

Newspapers are publishing mainly the opinions of the opponents of the education content reform; the supporters are described as the model of "wrong" thinking. Pluralism of opinions in relation to the reform is not allowed; the only correct idea is — to resist it.

- There is an interesting phenomenon — Russian newspapers in their texts use transliteration of Latvian words in Cyrillic alphabet, thus not only creating a partial and mocking shade but stereotypizating language as a whole (*значение "valstс valody" президента кундзэ, кунги*).

Latvian print media also often use the concept of "Us" for identification of Latvians. Like in the Russian press "Us" is referred to children, to the future of Latvia, expressing common goal or idea: *mēs* (we), *mūsu cilvēki* (our people), *tauta* (nation), *mūsu vecā paaudze un nākamā paaudze* (our old generation and the next generation), *Latvijas cilvēki* (people of Latvia), *šodienas latvieši* (today's Latvians).

The opponents of the reform are characterized as either an aggressive mass or quite the opposite, wishing to minimize their importance, it is accentuated that they are children: *jaunieši ar plakātiem* (young people with posters), *krievvalodīgie* (Russian-speakers), *skolēni* (schoolchildren), *skolēnu grupas* (student groups), *skolēnu bariņš* (handful of schoolchildren), *krievu tīņi* (Russian teenagers). Those adults, who do not support changes in the school system, are marked by politically correct euphemisms: *krievi un krievvalodīgie* (Russians and Russian-speakers), *kreisie* (the left), *nosacīti krievu partijas* (relatively Russian parties), *pretrunīgas latviešu un cittautiešu kopienas* (controversial Latvian and minority communities), *mazākumtautības* (ethnic minorities), *Latvijas krievu minoritāte* (Russian minority of Latvia), *antireformisti* (anti-reformists), *Latvijai naidīgie spēki* (forces hostile towards Latvia), *izglītības reformas pretinieki* (opponents of the education reform), *piketētāji* (picketers), *rosīgākie protestētāji* (bustling protesters).

Among the most expressive characterizations one could name the attribution of appellative meaning to the opponents' names. Appellativation — transference of proper nouns into common names — is fairly common not only as a word-building technique in term creation, for example, but also as an expressive tool of print media: *fedosejevi* (fedoseyevs), *kabanovi un tamlīdzīgie* (khabanovs and suchlike), *plineri un plinerieši* (pliners and plinerians), *dilāni u.c. pusanalfabēti šajā lietā* (dilans and other semi-illiterates in these matters), *ždanokas un ždanokveidīgie* (zhdanoks and zhdanok-like persons).

Widely discussed is the organization founded by the reform opponents — the Latvian Association for Support of Schools with Russian Language of Instruction (*LAŠOR*). In these texts we can find the words describing the organization, which attribute political neutrality to this association, as well as denominations emphasizing the anti-governmental character of this organization, illegality, etc.: *krievu skolu aizstāvju štābs* (Headquarters of Russian School Defenders), *nereģistrēts veidojums* (non-registered entity), *štāba draudi — tukša muca tālu skan* (headquarters' threat — empty barrels make the most sound), *rēgs — tā saucamais krievu skolu atbalsta štābs klīst pa Rīgu* (ghost — the so-called headquarters of Russian School Defenders is wandering around Riga),

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kareivīgie „štābisti" (militant „staff corps"), *štābs bērnus vilina savā tukšo skolu akcijā* (the headquarters are attracting children to their Empty Schools campaign) etc.

Common stereotypes about a certain part of the society are rather seldom used: *viens skūts un Adidas treniņtērpā — otrs armijnieku aizsargformā slej teltis* (one shaved and wearing Adidas sweatpants and the other one — in military protective uniform are propping up tents), *krievu izglītība — pasaulē labākā izglītība: padomju zilonis — pasaulē labākais zilonis* (Russian education — the world's best education: Soviet elephant — the world's best elephant)!

Characterization of education reform in Latvian print media

In Latvian print media the content reform of minority education is neutrally called: *reforma* (the reform), *izglītības reforma* (education reform) and it is emphasized that it should be supported, for example, *Latvijas konsekventi īstenotā mazākumtautību izglītības reforma — pareizais ceļš* (Latvia's consistently implemented minority education reform — the right way), *reformu neapstādinās* (the reform will not be stopped).

The situation in the country is described as tension, and this euphemism is often used describing education reforms, as well as the resulting mess. Meetings, differences among the communities, etc. are also denominated as tension. As acknowledged by linguist A. Veisbergs, "We (society) are becoming increasingly gentler and timorous because vagueness is spreading. This type of expression is called doublespeak language, politically correct language and euphemic language."[1]

Latvian print media widely use the so-called politically correct language: *jauni skandāli jeb tā sauktie protesti* (new scandals or the so-called protests), *demokrātija — uz likuma šaurās laipas* (democracy on the narrow footbridge of law), *spriedze ap valodas lietojuma pārmaiņām vidusskolā* (tension around the changes in language use in secondary schools), *nepatika pret pāreju* (dislike towards changes), *saspīlētas izglītības reformas jautājumi* (issues of strained education reform), etc.

Politically correct language is used also when the views on urgency or groundlessness of the reform are expressed: *neapdomīgi realizēta mazākumtautību skolu reforma* (recklessly implemented minority school reform), *neuzmanīgi izvēlēti izteicieni no valdošās koalīcijas puses mazākumtautību organizāciju sakarā* (carelessly chosen phrases by the ruling coalition referring to minority organizations); *pastiprināta neapmierinātība* (increasing frustration),

[1] Veisbergs, A. Vārdi, vārdi, vārdi… bailes aizskart vai manipulācija [Words, words, words... fear to offend or manipulation]. *Diena*, 2000, 14. dec.

priekšlikumi sagatavoti steigā, bez iesaistīto pušu un izglītības speciālistu aptaujas (proposals were drafted in haste without inquiring education specialists and the involved parties), *mazināt spriedzi saistībā ar pārmaiņām* (to reduce tension related to the changes), *izglītības reformas nesankcionētas protesta akcijas* (unsanctioned protest actions against the education reform), *vairākums skolu atzinušās, ka gatavas reformai* (the majority of schools have recognized that they are ready for the reform).

Unlike *Diena*, the newspaper *Latvijas Avīze* uses emotionally expressive language: *cūcība Okupācijas muzejā* (swinishness at the Occupation Museum), *Ždanoka — čekiste, komuniste* (Zhdanok — chekist, communist), *PCTVL organizētie nelikumīgie piketi* (ForHRUL-organized illegal pickets), *draudi par iespējamām sadursmēm* (threats of possible collisions), *izprovocēt valstī starpetnisku konfliktu* (to provoke an inter-ethnic conflict in the country), *rupja iebiedēšana* (gross intimidation), *netīrs paņēmiens* (dirty way).

Disputes over the reform in print media are displayed as too politicized; the current politicians to blame for it; representatives of both parties are referred to as victims. Use of certain idioms and metaphors intensify expressiveness: *provokācijas, lai nekārtības patiesi notiktu* (provocations to bring about disorder), *izglītības jautājumu risināšana — pārlieku politizēta, izgājusi ielās* (settlement of education issues is too politicized, put on the street), *paziņojumi par iespējamo vardarbību — politiskā reklāma* (notifications about potential violence — political advertising), *politiskā elite samaitāja latviešu tautas morāli* (political elite has spoiled the morality of Latvian nation), *valdība laipo ap reformu kā kaķis ap karstas putras bļodu, taču mainīt negrasās* (government manoeuvres around the reform as a cat around the bowl of hot porridge, but is not going to change it), *politiskam badastreikam maz kopīga ar izglītību* (political hunger strike has little to do with education), *skolas ir nogurušas no saceltās ažiotāžas* (schools are tired of the stirring), *solītie konflikti — tukša muca* (promised conflicts — empty barrel).

In Latvian print media the names are usually written in the correct form and nicknames, by-names, unnecessary abbreviations are not used: *T. Ždanokas taktika par EP līdzekļiem organizēt piketētāju braucienus uz Strasbūru — neparasta parādība* (T. Zhdanok's tactic to arrange picketers' trips to Strasbourg from EC funding — an unusual phenomenon), *pretlatviskas akcijas Strasbūrā* (counter-Latvian actions in Strasbourg), *Krievijas propagandas mašīna dezinformē EP politiķus* (the Russian propaganda machine is misinforming EU politicians); *T. Ždanokas rīkotais pikets Strasbūrā* (picket organized by T. Zhdanok in Strasbourg).

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As it is known, the Constitutional Court did not overturn the content reform, and also the reflection of this fact in Latvian and in Russian media was diametrically opposed. It is expected that in the future the self-isolation of the information space will continue: "We are a split society — several groups that do not even want to listen to each other. … Radical Russian and Latvian media will not change their style, because it is still profitable for media publishers. Therefore, the safest way is to start with the ruling power, as a large part of the hatred kindling takes place in our political elite."[1] As attempt to unite these different parties would be education of journalists, promotion of discussions among Latvian and Russian journalists, and creation of ideologically free electronic media.

"Probably there will be difficulties with the dialogue and politically correct attitude. Until now we have had a kind of ping-pong game between "hanses" and "occupants", but no one has ever made an effort to talk about this question. Instead of trying to figure out, where to cover the bearskin while the bear is still in the wood, one thing could be recommended — since Latvia is aspiring to the status of a friendly and secure state for the EU and NATO partners, and not only to them, either we want it or not, we will have to learn the basics of political correctness. Of course, never blindly adopting situations and instructions but analyzing, thinking and learning from our own experience and mistakes. Only then we could hope that political correctness would no more be a curse word in Latvia, but an instrument for the creation of dialogue."

(Grīnblate, S. *Vai latvietis runās politkorekti?* [Will a Latvian speak politically correctly?] 13 January 2004. Available: *http://www.politika.lv/index.php?id=10800 1&lang=lv&print)* (last accessed 20.05.2005).)

Analyzing the situation in Latvia, Professor J. E. Joseph from the University of Edinburgh acknowledges: "While attesting to the natural politeness and hospitality of Latvians, this situation has also provoked resentment that has simmered beneath the surface over the decades. This has led to the present situation in which Latvians feel compelled to save their language, and to that end have decreed that all school subjects must be taught exclusively in Latvian in grades 10 to 12, with at least 60 per cent of the curriculum in Latvian in grades 1 to 9. The European Union, which generally takes the side of linguistic minorities and their right to education in their mother tongue, has attempted to intervene on behalf of the ethnic Russian minority in Latvia (which however

[1] Hanovs, D. *Aukstais karš krievu valodas medijos* [The cold war in Russian language media]. *Diena*, 20 May 2005.

constitutes a small majority in some of Latvia's cities). But ethnic Latvians see themselves as the besieged group whose language rights were denied for fifty years of Russian occupation and continue to be limited by the residential status retained by ethnic Russian population, who have a powerful protector in their motherland to the east."[1]

Analysis of press publications of 2005 reveals mainly two topical processes of language and education policy:

Coverage of current events of language and education policy in print media of 2005

- On 12 May 2005, the Saeima adopted the "Declaration on Condemnation of the Totalitarian Communist Occupation Regime Implemented in Latvia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". Russian language newspapers in Latvia described it in the above characterized manner: *pieteikts aukstais karš* (cold war is declared!), *tā ir atriebība par Uzvaras dienu!* (it is a revenge for the Victory Day!), *vēršanās pret vietējiem krieviem* (a crack down on local Russians!), *deklarācija — tā ir Latvijas atriebe Krievijai un Latvijas cittautiešiem par to, ka Krievijai tik veiksmīgi izdevās Uzvaras svinības* (declaration — it is Latvian revenge to Russia and foreigners of Latvia for such a successful celebration of Victory Day in Russia);
- On 14 May 2005, the Constitutional Court declared its verdict in the "case of the reform", which recognizes that the content reform of minority education is consistent with the Constitution and the international norms of human rights, and in the situation of Latvia there cannot be found more considerate (lenient) means for strengthening the official language and protecting those persons who want to get maximum knowledge.

After that media started more detailed discussions about the education system in general: how well-considered is the implementation process of any changes in our education system and how to promote continuity of ministers' decisions. Latvian print media emphasized the benefits of the content reform: *gan skolotājiem, gan skolēniem jūtama pozitīva attieksme pret pārmaiņām* (both teachers and pupils demonstrate a positive attitude towards the change), *pārsteigums par tik pozitīviem rezultātiem* (surprised at such positive results), *gada laikā zudusi psiholoģiskā barjera valsts valodas izmantošanai stundu laikā — uzlabojušās skolotāju, skolēnu un vecāku attiecības* (within a year

[1] Joseph, J. E. *Language and politics.* Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2006, p. 11.

the psychological barrier to the use of the state language during the lessons has disappeared — the relationships between teachers, pupils and parents have improved); as well as defined problems that need to be averted: *skolas atzinušas lielu mācību līdzekļu trūkumu* (schools have acknowledged a vast lack of teaching aids), *nav atrisināts arī jautājums par individuālu nodarbību nodrošinājumu skolēniem ar nepietiekamām valodas zināšanām* (the question of individual lessons for the pupils with insufficient language skills has not been resolved), *skolu direktori nespējot mainīt daļas vecāku joprojām noraidošo attieksmi pret reformu* (school directors still are unable to change the negative attitude of one part of the parents towards the reform), *attieksmi nevar mainīt ar Satversmes tiesas spriedumu* (attitude cannot be changed by the verdict of the Constitutional Court).

As usual, the opponents and proponents are divided into the so-called good and bad ones, respectively "Us" and "Them": *наши сторонники* (our supporters); *стали собираться «патриоты»* ("patriots" began to gather), *они намерены и дальше диктовать, как нам жить* (they intend to continue dictating us how to live).

To characterize the content reform of minority education stylistically neutrally: *о законности школьной реформы* (about the legality of school reform), *обеспечения русской школы педагогами и учебниками* (providing school books for Russian schools and teachers), etc., as well as emotionally expressively: *реформа — это не неудачный эксперимент, а преступление* (reform — it is not a failed experiment but a crime), *исправить ситуацию — это отмена всего этого абсурда* (to alter the situation — it means cancellation of all this absurdity), *искусственно созданное пропагандистское пугало* (artificially created propaganda fright), etc., linguistic means are used.

Coverage of education reform in 2009

In 2009, Latvian language newspapers pay no more attention to the content reform of minority education implemented in 2004. But *Час* and *Вести сегодня* continue publications on this topic. To some extent it is encouraged by the ongoing school reform in Latvia, which was started in the situation of reduced budget funding and affected both Latvian and minority schools. However, the Russian language newspapers regard economic problems as an excuse for tampering with Russian-speaking part of the society and explain it as the current education reform (or continuation of the reform of 2004) of minority schools: *первые в списке русские школы* (the first in the list — Russian schools), *именно школы нацменьшинств имелись в виду* (exactly the minority schools were meant), *первыми под меч реорганизации должны пойти именно русские школы* (Russian schools are the first to go under the sword of reorganization), etc.

What has changed since 2004? Russian print media sceptically and with irony talk about the poor Russian language skills of Latvian youth (emphasizing it as a drawback of the present language policy!); the education content reform of 2004, which was called terrifying by the minorities, has been lived through and is no more perceived as a drawback of language policy.

Although the heaviest discussions have ceased after the implementation of education reform in 2004, Russian language newspapers are not hiding their negative attitude towards it. "Journalists are characterizing government by words like "nationalistically minded", "radicals", "ideologists of the reform", and assert that the authorities "remained deaf", "do not want to hear", "do not want to engage in dialogue"."[1]

Analyzing the coverage of events in Latvian and in Russian language print media over the period of 2004 to 2009, it can be concluded that the media deliberately build up the notions of reality of their audience in order to achieve the desired attitude, action or inaction. And it is not without reason that, referring to its influence, media are called not the fourth but the first power.[2] If in 2004 the representatives of both parties excused themselves complaining about the lack of information, then in 2009 this pretext was no more objective: in the context of historically important dates both parties "feed off one another, making reference to each other's content and criticizing it. … Press reviews … often offer the only chance for a reader to find out what has been said in the media environment of the other language."[3]

Comparing the accuracy of the translated citations, it must be admitted that they match up to the originals both in Latvian and Russian translations. But the materials are still supplemented by biased and deliberately misleading information.

There are two significant differences distinguished in the Russian language print media:

1) The information is highly subjective — expressing outrage at the closure of minority schools the objective reality is not explained, respectively, the number of pupils is reducing in all schools and the schools with Latvian language of instruction are also being closed;

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[1] Petrenko, D. How Does the Russian Community Live in Latvia? In: *Manufacturing Enemy Images? Russian Media Portrayal of Latvia.* Muižnieks, N. (Ed.). Riga: Academic Press of the University of Latvia, 2008, p. 57.

[2] Sils, J. *Masu apziņas manipulācija* [Manipulating the mass consciousness]. Rīga: Klubs 415, 2006, 34. lpp.

[3] Šulmane, I. The Media and Integration. In: *How Integrated Is Latvian Society? An Audit of Achievements, Failures and Challenges*. Muižnieks, N. (Ed.). Riga: University of Latvia Press, 2010, p. 237.

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2) The society is incited against certain state institutions (ministers, ministries, higher state officials, government in general) by positioning one part of the society as the sufferers, second-class people, oppressed in comparison with the "titular" or basic nation;
3) The society is being deliberately misinformed about certain questions of Latvian history, for example, legionaries, etc.

Two information spaces

Bi-national society has been discussed for quite a long time already, only the wording is different. In parallel to two communities there are two information spaces in Latvia which offer different coverage of political issues.

Constitution and also the law "On Press and Other Mass Media" (1990) says that censorship is prohibited in the Republic of Latvia. In a democratic state everyone has the right to express his views. The analyzed Russian print media have as if a strong democratic argument and beliefs that the mentioned newspapers demonstrate moderate position on national issues. Disputes in the press are not limited to, for example, the objectives of the reform and the role of the Russian language. They are to be found deeper — in the opinion about the country that is based on different understanding of history, in the ideas about the society of Latvia after the restoration of independence.

„Freedom of the press is one of the cornerstones of democracy. But **freedom is not permissiveness** [LLA emphasis]. No one will be allowed to publish daily newspapers in which most of the materials are sheer pornography. But it is enough to list just a few issues of *Час* and *Вести сегодня* to conclude that 70–80 per cent of the political material is made up of open mockery and incitement against the state of Latvia, kindling national hatred." (Ķimenis, A. *Visam ir savas robežas* [Everything has its limits]. *Diena*, 03.05.2005).

Awareness of the Russian-speaking inhabitants of Latvia is largely dependent on the information space of Russia and it is undeniable that Russian information sources still have a major impact on the formation of consciousness of many inhabitants of Latvia.

All-in-all the Russian press creates the image of a Latvian, the national majority government and of the state as the image of the enemy, and that is why the Latvian and the Russian press cannot be regarded as supporting integration. The analyzed publications cannot even create an illusion about the formation of a stable civil society in Latvia, not to mention its existence.

COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT, WRITTEN LATGALIAN AND LATVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

5 COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT, WRITTEN LATGALIAN AND LATVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

Language is the reflection of national perception of the world and the keeper of its cultural information, provider of heritability, and the most essential means of human self-expression. After birth the child usually enters a specific language environment, he inherits his parents' language, passes on and develops it. And it is the linguistic affiliation that determines the child's primary lingual vision of the world. A great many of contemporary Latvians are living in the environment combined of their native dialect (or other language) and Latvian literary language, while the representatives of other ethnic groups are often facing three linguistic systems — their native tongue, local dialect and Latvian literary language. But in Latgale's language environment we find the fourth component — Latgalian written language, which has created lots of unanswered questions becoming the subject of dispute in modern linguistic, political and social life.

The High Latvian dialect, Latgalian written language and Latvian literary language

This chapter aims at outlining problems associated with Latgalian written language in the Latvian system of education and in the functional environment of language, as well as to summarize views about the problems of coexistence of the High Latvian dialect, the Latgalian written language and Latvian literary language. This theme is comprehensively viewed in the publications of linguists A. Breidaka, L. Leikuma, A. Stafeckis, but the answer still remains to be found.

Issues of the uniqueness of Latgale, of the High Latvian dialect, the relationship of the Latgalian written language and Latvian literary language, stratification of Latvian and the place of Latgalian element make unresolved problems in Latvian linguistics and, actually, in the history of Latvia. At the same time it also means contraposition of two categorical views throughout a century.

Latvian language is unusually rich — it is functioning not only as a literary written and conversational language with three dialects and more than 500 vernaculars. It has a second writing tradition — Latgalian written language, which has been developed on a multi-dialect base similar to Latvian literary language and is cultivated, standardized and codified, but basically existing in a written form (with minor oral manifestations).

Concepts: literary language, dialect, vernacular

Before we start to talk about the links of vernaculars, dialects and the literary language, we have to clarify how each of these concepts is treated.

In Latvian linguistics literary language is understood as a nationwide polyfunctional variety of language, which is based on people's language, is socially accepted and provides communication among speakers of different dialects. Its oral and written form is deliberately cultivated and developed by

language experts and specialists of linguistic standards.[1] D. Nītiņa in her work "Questions of linguistics" defines it as follows: "Historically developed standardised form of ethnic or national language existing in oral and written form and characterized by developed functional style system is called literary (*Latin lit(t)erarius<lit(t)era*" letter, script) language. … Literary language is common to nation as a whole, not just to the speakers of one particular dialect or vernacular, although its basis consists of a particular, usually central, dialect group."[2]

In English the term *standard language* is used to denote standardised language. The concept *literary language* in Lithuanian is based on the viewpoint of professor J. Paļonis that literary language is a more or less processed, standardized language which is most often based on a certain dialect and serves primarily for the satisfaction of the needs of a certain nation, national culture and civilization. As we see this explanation accentuates that the literary language stands above a dialect, it is a standardised language widely used in communication.[3] And it is particularly stressed in modern Lithuanian linguistics that codification or standardisation is an essential feature of the literary language, which allows distinguishing it from other language variants.[4] This feature is recognized as important also by I. Freimane, who indicates that literary language "is fixed in writing and forms a dychotomic system — it combines the form of speech (oral) and writing (written). Literary language is characterized by normativity, general obligation of rules and codification."[5]

These features allow to distinguish between literary or standardised language and non-literary or non-standardised language, and thus also — a dialect that is a regional language variation having historically developed in a wider area and including several related dialect groups with broadly similar peculiarities of phonetics, grammar and lexis.[6] But a vernacular is a form of territorial language which has been historically developed in a small area with its own phonetic, grammatical and lexical characteristics.[7]

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[1] *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca* [Explanatory dictionary of basic linguistic terms]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 221. lpp.
[2] Nītiņa, D. *Valodniecības jautājumi* [Questions of Linguistics]. Rīga: RTU izdevniecība, 2007, 101. lpp.
[3] Palionis, J. Apie literatūrinės kalbos norminimo pagrindus bei kriterijus. Iš: *Dabartinė lietuvių kalba*. Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1961, 5.–22. p.
[4] Pupkis, A. *Kalbos kultūros studijos*. Vilnius: Gimtasis žodis, 2005, 32. p.
[5] Freimane, I. *Valodas kultūra teorētiskā skatījumā* [Language culture in a theoretical aspect]. Rīga: Zvaigzne, 1993, 31. lpp.
[6] *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca* [Explanatory dictionary of basic linguistic terms]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007,
[7] *Ibid.*, 169. lpp.

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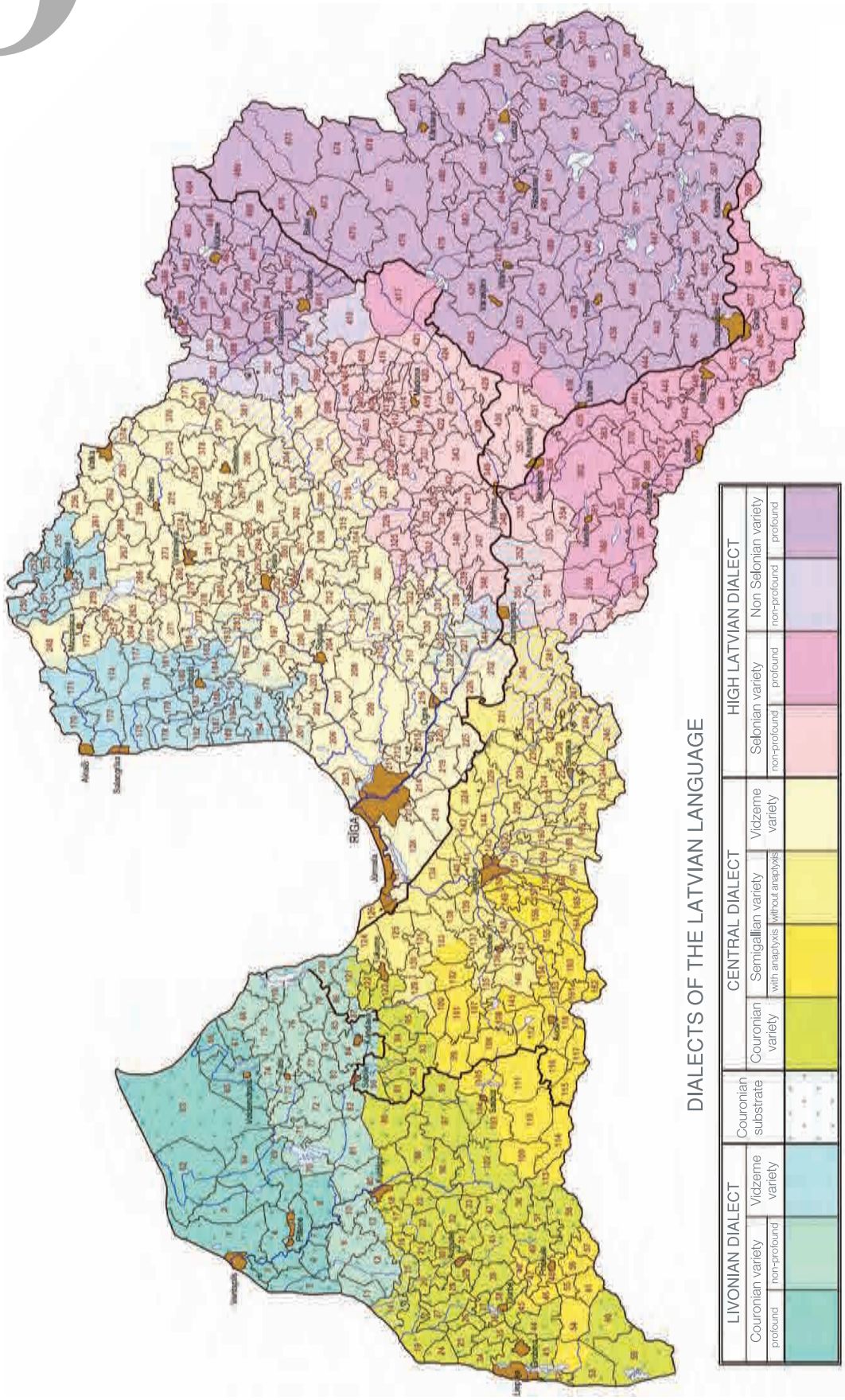

Fig. 46. **Latvian language dialects.** Source: Rudzīte, M. *Darbi latviešu dialektoloģijā* [Research in Latvian dialectology]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2005.

The dominating opinion in Latvian linguistics is that the dialects of Latvian are the continuation of the tribal languages — Latgalian, Selonian, Couronian, Semigallian.[1] Historically Latvian varieties are grouped in two main territorial areas — Low Latvian and High Latvian containing three dialects — Livonian, Central and High Latvian dialect with several variety groups in each.[2] M. Rudzīte also points out that ethnic language actually exists in the form of local vernaculars, namely, a dialect. But D. Nītiņa acknowledges: „Latvian nationality and its language was formed between the 12th and 16th centuries when Latgalians, Selonians, Semigallians, Couronians joined together and the specific properties of these languages survived as differences of dialects and varieties: Selonian, Semigallian, Couronian, Latgalian verniculars."[3] Most historians believe that we can speak of a single Latvian nationality starting from the 16th–17th centuries.[4]

A glimpse into the historical development of Latgalian written language

Today the High Latvian dialect is spoken in the eastern part of Latvia — Latgale, Eastern Zemgale and Eastern Vidzeme. There are two groups of vernaculars — Latgalian, developed on the basis of Eastern Latgalian tribal language, and Selonian, based on the language of the Selonian tribe.[5] Considering features of the abovementioned dialects and vernaculars, the term „Latgalian vernacular" (*latgaļu izloksne, latgaliešu izloksne*) is to be rejected as linguistically incorrect and unscientific, since it generally has no denotations.[6] The same refers to the denomination „Latgalian dialect" (*latgaļu dialekts, latgaliešu dialekts*).

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[1] Endzelīns, J. Latviešu valodas skaņas un formas [Sounds and forms of the Latvian language]. From: Endzelīns, J. *Darbu izlase*. IV sēj. 1. daļa. Rīga: Zinātne, 1981, 308.–311. lpp.; Ozols, A. Latviešu tautas valodas, rakstu valodas un literārās valodas attīstības gaitas [The development of language, written and literary language of the Latvian nation]. From: Ozols, A. *Raksti valodniecībā.* Rīga: Zinātne, 1967, 461. lpp.; Rudzīte, M. *Latviešu dialektoloģija* [Latvian dialectology]. Rīga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība, 1964, 28.–34. lpp.; Rudzīte, M. Ievads latviešu dialektoloģijā [Introduction to Latvian dialectology]. From: Rudzīte, M. *Darbi latviešu dialektoloģijā* [Works in Latvian dialectology]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2005, 23., 27.–28., 31. lpp.

[2] Endzelīns, J. Latviešu valodas skaņas un formas [Sounds and forms of the Latvian language]. From: Endzelīns, J. *Darbu izlase*. IV sēj. 1. daļa. Rīga: Zinātne, 1981, 308.–314. lpp.; Rudzīte, M. *Latviešu dialektoloģija* [Latvian dialectology]. Rīga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība, 1964, 28.–34. lpp.

[3] Nītiņa, D. *Valodniecības jautājumi* [Issues of linguistics). Rīga: RTU izdevniecība, 2007, 100. lpp.

[4] Klišāns, V. *Etniskie un lingvistiskie procesi viduslaiku Eiropā. Viduslaiku vēsture* [Ethnic and linguistic processes in Medieval Europe. Medieval history]. 1. daļa. Rīga: Mācību apgāds, 1996, 35. lpp.

[5] *Par Latgales etnisko vēsturi un izlokšņu attīstības specifiku* [On the ethnic history of Latgale and the particular development of vernaculars]. See Breidaks, A. *Darbu izlase*. 1. daļa. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2006; and Breidaks, A. *Darbu izlase*. 2. daļa. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, Daugavpils Universitāte, 2007.

[6] Denotation — the explicit or direct meaning or a set of meanings of a word or expression, as distinguished from the ideas or meanings associated with it or suggested by it; for example, denotation of the word *dog* is all the realities associated with it, respectively, different dogs. Denotation is the basis of the lexical meaning of a word. *Valodniecības pamatterminu skaidrojošā vārdnīca* [Explanatory dictionary of basic linguistic terms]. Rīga: LU LVI, 2007, 83. lpp.

5 COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT, WRITTEN LATGALIAN AND LATVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

As already said, in recent years there have been lots of publications disclosing the history of Latgalian written language[1], but our society still has poor knowledge of its existence, course of development and role in the culture of Latgale and Latvia as a whole.

For more than 200 years, Latgale belonged to Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1561–1772), as the rest of the territories of the Duchy of Livonia became the property of Sweden after the 1629 Truce of Altmark. Latgale or the Infanty (Infanty Polskie) remained in Zhechpospolita, but after the first dividing of Poland in 1772 it was incorporated in Russia and 1802 became a part of the Vitebsk Gubernia of the Russian Empire. Thus for almost 300 years the present Latgale was separated from the rest of Latvian territories by administrative border — only after the Rēzekne Congress, held in 1917, Latgale could again join the rest of Latvian territories. Essential for the cultural history of Latgale is not only the isolation fact, but also its Polish catholic orientation, as well as the coexistence of other religions and cultures in one territory.

Fig. 47. **The 1st Congress of Latgale, held in Rēzekne on 26-27 April 1917.** Photo: from the collection of Latgale Culture and History Museum

[1] See, e.g., Breidaks, A. *Darbu izlase* [Selected works. 1. daļa. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2006; Breidaks, A. *Darbu izlase*. 2. daļa. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, Daugavpils Universitāte, 2007; Leikuma, L. Par latgalīšu raksteibu gōdojūt. From: *Valodas aktualitātes — 1990*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1991, 158.–163. lpp.; Leikuma, L. Vēlreiz par Latgales latviešu runu un rakstību [Once again on Latgalian Latvian speech and writing]. From: *Valodas aktualitātes — 1991*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1992, 86.–95. lpp.; Leikuma, L. *Gruomota školuotuojim*. Lielvārde: Lielvārds, 1993; Leikuma, L. Par Latgales latviešu rakstības tradīciju [On Latgalian Latvian writing tradition]. From: *Baltu filoloģija IV*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitāte, 1994, 10.–14. lpp.; Leikuma, L. Latgalian Writing: Origin, Development, Prospects. In: *Humanities and social Sciences*. Latvia. 2002, 3 (36). Riga, 2002, p. 32–43; Stafecka, A. Ieskats pirmajās augšzemnieku dialektā iespiestajās grāmatās [A view of the first books printed in the High Latvian dialect]. From: *Valodas aktualitātes – 85*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1986, 80.–90.lpp.; Stafecka, A. *„Evangelia toto anno.." (1753) un latgaliešu rakstu valodas gaita*. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2004, 224.–254. lpp., Leikuma, L. Divejis latvīšu rokstu tradicejis: kūpeigais i atškireigais. http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=142&id=762 u.c.

Establishment of Latgalian writing is a very important event of the cultural history of Latgale. The first surviving book written in Latgalian is the translation of the *Gospel Evangelia toto anno...* published in 1753 in Vilnius and printed in antiqua according to the Polish pattern. As pointed out by A. Stafecka, this work is considered as „the basis of Latgalian written language, as this tradition of language and its expression continues in all the following Latgalian literature until the beginning of the 20th century and [it] has left a huge impact on modern Latgalian spelling and standards of written language."[1]

EVANGELIA
Toto Anno ſingulis Dominicis & Feſtis diebus juxta antiquam Eccleſiæ conſvetudinem in Livonia Lothavis prælegi
SOLITA,
Cum precibus & precatiunculis nonnullis, curâ quorundam ex Clero Livonico recentiſſimè juxta uſitatiorem loquendi modum Lothavicum
VERSA & TRANSLATA,
Ac in lucem
EDITA,
Anno,
Quo æternum Patris Verbum per Angelos in terris evangelizatum eſt
1753.
VILNÆ
Typis S.R.M. Academ: *Societ: JESU.*

Fig. 48. **The first book written in Latgalian which has survived till nowadays, *Evangelia toto anno...* (1753).**

[1] Stafecka, A. *„Evangelia toto anno.." (1753) un latgaliešu rakstu valodas gaita*. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2004, 232. lpp.

5 COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT, WRITTEN LATGALIAN AND LATVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

In the first stage of the development of written language (beginning of the 18th century — 1970s), mainly religious books, ABC books (there are 70 Latgalian ABCs listed in Valērija Seile catalogue, and 51 of them are to be found in the collection of J. Cibulis), grammar books, dictionaries and also secular works were issued. The development of this tradition was stopped by the printing ban, which lasted for almost 40 years (1865/1971–1904), and is considered as the 2nd stage of the development of written language. Unlike the development of the Latvian literary language, which was relatively smooth, Latgalian written language experienced two prohibitions, which interrupted its natural course of development for many years.

The first prohibition of printing was linked with the destruction of all Latin texts, denial of Latin orthography, introduction of Russian letters in printed texts, introduction of schools with Russian language of instruction when the pupils were even prohibited from speaking Latvian. Differences in spelling (language, use of Gothic letters and Antiqua) as well as different religious affiliations were the reasons why it was not possible to print books in Kurzeme or Vidzeme.
To avoid being left without any books, Latgalian peasants, who were home-taught to read and write, rewrote the prayer books and catechism by hand, as well as created their own original works. It was a unique cultural event, rather undervalued in Latvian history.[1]

In 1904, the print ban was cancelled and the third stage of the development of Latgalian written language began, during which the standardised Latgalian written language was created and strengthened, standard grammar books, teaching aids, spellers issued, Latgalian newspapers, magazines, compilations, fiction and also scientific works published. The Commission of Orthography started its work. Latgalian written language actively functioned also in the Latgalian diaspora of Russia.

In the 1920s, new rules of orthography were developed and adopted, which were approved in 1929.[2] Latgalian written language was functioning on a legal basis, since on 11 August 1921, *Valdības Vēstnesis*, issue No. 183, published "Rules on the use of the Latgalian vernacular", which stated that all public authorities and officials were to accept applications from establishments and private persons in Latgalian vernacular and they had the right to use the Latgalian vernacular in correspondence, as well as in advertisements and signboards.

[1] Stafecka, A. *Latgales rokraksta grāmatniecības piemineklis — Andriva Jūrdža „Myužeygays kalinders"* [Monument to Latgalian hand-written books — „Eternal calendar" by Andrivs Jūrdžs]. From: *Ai, māte Latgale. Atskati Latgales vēsturē un kultūrvēsturē*. Rīga: Annele, 2001, 272.–287. lpp.
[2] Stafecka, A. *„Evangelia toto anno.." (1753) un latgaliešu rakstu valodas gaita* [„Evangelia toto anno.." (1753) and the progress of the Latgalian written language]. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2004, 252. lpp.

Special attention at that time was being paid to teaching Latgalian at schools: in the first two Grades Latgalian children could learn all the subjects in Latgalian, but starting from grade 3 they had to learn Latvian literary language as well. In the 1930s, speech standardization was being discussed in the Latgalian education system. Sometimes the term "Latgalian literary written language" is attributed to this period.

As the Latgalian language had started a rather extensive functioning not only in writing but also in oral form and there was a tendency to standardize speech as well, it seems reasonable to conclude that the development of Latgalian literary language was initiated. However, this period was too short to cultivate the oral form as in 1933–1934 instruction in Latgalian was terminated and books in Latgalian withdrawn from schools. Since 1934, Latgalian language was no longer used either by state and local government institutions, or in public events, theatres and readings. Actually moving towards a new print ban was started but it was interrupted by the Second World War.

In the post-war period, the use of Latgalian written language was further reduced and around the 1950–60s a new print ban was carried out — Latgalian written language again for a long time turned into an undesirable phenomenon, finding shelter only in the Catholic Church. True, it continued its existence in the Latgalian diaspora in exile.

At the end of the 20th century, the question of the Latgalian written language was brought up again starting its rebirth. Already in May 1989, the Language Law of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia was adopted, and its Clause 15 provided that "the use of the Latvian language, its dialects and the Latgalian written language is guaranteed in all cultural fields in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia". Latgalian press and fiction was brought back to life, standardized Latgalian was heard on the radio and TV, scientific works about the development of Latgalian written language and the Latgalian cultural heritage were published, scientific conferences were held, etc. Commission of Latgalian orthography was established, initially led by Professor A. Breidaks (after his death, by A. Stafecka) which completed the spelling reform.

In Section 3, Clause 4 of the Official Language Law, adopted in 2000, it is stated, that "the State shall ensure the maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as a historic variant of the Latvian language".

In 2000, at the initiative of teachers the Association of Teachers of the Latgalian Language, Literature and Cultural History (ATLLLCH) was created involving 17 Latgalian schools, but in 2002 the Methodology Centre of Latgalian Language, Literature and Cultural History (head V. Dundure) in Nautrēni Secondary

School (Rēzekne District) was organized. The ATLLLCH cooperates with the Students' Centre of Latgale, University Colleges, and Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia to facilitate the research of Latgalian cultural heritage and its implementation in school programmes, to encourage pupils' interest in Latgalian cultural history and desire to preserve it. Under the guidance of teacher V. Dundure the curricula of Latgalian written language and literature has been worked out, regular olympiads of Latgalian language and cultural history are being organized, summer courses "Vosoruošana" for teachers and "Atzolys" (meaning: sprouts or offsprings) for Latgalian students have been held for a number of years. The most active teachers organize hobby groups and optional classes in which pupils have the opportunity to learn Latgalian written language, literature and cultural history.

As seen from the content of study programmes, the Latgalian language and literature course is offered at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Latvia, the Faculty of Humanities of Daugavpils University, and in Rēzekne University College.

Information about the Latgalian language, literature, arts, etc., appears only sporadically and is insufficient for the creation of complete knowledge and understanding of the Latgalian cultural heritage. It is confirmed by the standard of the Latgalian language as a school subject for grades 1–9[1] — it does not even mention the necessity to know that Latvian has two writing traditions (which would mean that it is necessary to include sufficient information about the development of the Latgalian written language in teaching aids). Hopefully, the improved Latvian Language Standard (draft 2010) will include a reference that schoolchildren must gradually acquire knowledge about the fact that there are two historically developed writing traditions in Latvia.

In September 2007, at the call of the Latvian Regional Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (LatBLUL), the Ministry of Education and Science established a task group that prepared and on 21 December 2007 submitted information to the Prime Minister about the taken measures and worked out recommendations for preservation of the Latgalian language.[2] Compiling the information of the responsible ministries and institutions, the MES concluded that in accordance

[1] Cabinet Regulation No. 1027 „Regulations Regarding the State Basic Education Standard and Basic Education Subject Standards". Annex 9: „Latvian language. Subject standard for grades 1 to 9". Available at: http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=150407 (last accessed 12.01.2011).

[2] *Informācija Ministru prezidentam par latgaliešu rakstu valodas saglabāšanu, aizsardzību un attīstību* (Information for the Prime Minister information about the preservation, protection and development of the Latgalian language). Available at: www.latgale.lv/lg/files/download?id=716 (last accessed 12.12.2010).

with Section 3, Clause 4 of the Official Language Law the state ensures administrative and financial support to actions for preservation, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as of a historical variety of Latvian but the realized measures are not systematic and therefore remain publicly unclear. The report also provides particular information about the support and accomplishments of the language policy implementing institutions in the period from 2004 up to 2007.

Measures for protection, development and popularisation of the Latgalian (Latvian Studies) written language are taken by various establishments and organisations:

- The MES has funded the research programme "Letonica: Research on History, Language and Culture", supporting many activities and studies of the Latgalian culture, history, language, etc.;
- University of Latvia (courses included in the programmes of Baltic philology);
- Rēzekne University College (realization of projects and research-works, publication of books and teaching aids, organization of conferences and activities, study courses on the development of Latgalian literary language, etc.);
- Daugavpils University (activities of the Centre of Oral History, conferences and congresses, study courses, etc.);
- Ministry of Culture (financing publication of books and lifetime scholarships to people engaged in cultural activities);
- The State Language Centre of the Ministry of Justice (elaboration of draft law on geographical names and the rules of Latgalian writing);
- Latvian Language Agency [until 2009 National Agency for Latvian Language Training] (issuing teaching aids, providing teachers in the diaspora);
- The State Language Commission (supporting origination of TV programmes), etc.[1]

It is also concluded that society is not sufficiently aware of the activities arranged and planned by the state institutions and their importance for protection, preservation and development of the Latgalian written language. Therefore, state institutions should activate communication and cooperation with non-governmental organizations interested in Latgalian written language

[1] *Informācija Ministru prezidentam par latgaliešu rakstu valodas saglabāšanu, aizsardzību un attīstību* (Information for the Prime Minister information about the preservation, protection and development of the Latgalian language). Available at: www.latgale.lv/lg/files/download?id=716 (last accessed 12.12.2010).

issues. Evaluating the situation the task group stressed that the linguistic behaviour of each individual and the local community is particularly important in language preservation, since language — and a vernacular in particular — is mastered in the family and cultivated in society. True, there is no indication that this performance is the result of the activities of a particular person, and of the initiatives of the institutions rather than the result of a targeted state policy.

Since the proposals of the task group which was organized in 2007 were not implemented, the LatBLUL prepared a submission to the Prime Minister calling to establish a task group for the implementation of three LatBLUL requirements: "1) to prepare a programme which would enable launching the state duty determined by Section 3, Clause 4 of the Official Language Law to ensure preservation, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as of a historical variety of Latvian; 2) to specify the necessary legal terms and to prepare documentation considering the opportunities to grant Latgalian a certain language status (such as regional language, for example) in the context of the state language policy; 3) to prepare the necessary CM regulations, normative deeds and other documents for the submission to the MES and other responsible institutions which would determine the state-guaranteed possibility to use the Latgalian written language as well as to teach the Latgalian language, literature and cultural history in regional schools."[1]

While implementing the requirements of LatBLUL, the task group of the MES whose first meeting was held on 25 November 2010, prepared an action plan for the development of the Latgalian written language considering the recommendations forwarded by the members of the task group, non-governmental organizations and experts.

The demand of the regional language status should be assessed in the context of laws and international norms. The term "Latgalian language" is not included in the Official Language Law. The Latgalian written language is interpreted as a variety of Latvian. But Article 1 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages[2] points out that the concept „regional or minority languages" denotes languages that are: traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the

[1] *Latgalistikys kongresu materiali II* [Materials of the 2nd Congress of Latgalian Studies]. *VIA Latgalica: humanitāro zinātņu žurnāls 2010*, Rēzekne, 2010, 218. lpp.
[2] *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [The Official Language Law: history and topicality]. V. Ernstsone, Dz. Hirša, D. Joma u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 226. lpp.

State or the languages of migrants. It should be noted that Latvian linguists have not yet detached Latgalian from Latvian as a separate language, hence the calls for granting the status without a prior quest for conceptual solutions seem to be at least premature.

But it is possible to ensure full development of the Latgalian written language without that status just as its acquisition may mean no significant change. As the experience shows the legislators vote "for" and a few lines in a legal or political document does not necessarily mean a positive change. Sometimes it can also lead to unpredictable consequences. There are lots of essential factors: primarily, the majority of Latgalians wish to actively develop their own culture, use and develop the Latgalian written language, at the same time without losing the rich diversity of its vernaculars. The study issued by Rēzekne University College in 2009, "Languages of Eastern Latvia — research data and results"[1] (number of respondents 9076) is still not convincing of the readiness of Latgalian people to face the introduction of Latgalian as a compulsory subject at schools (Fig. 49).[2]

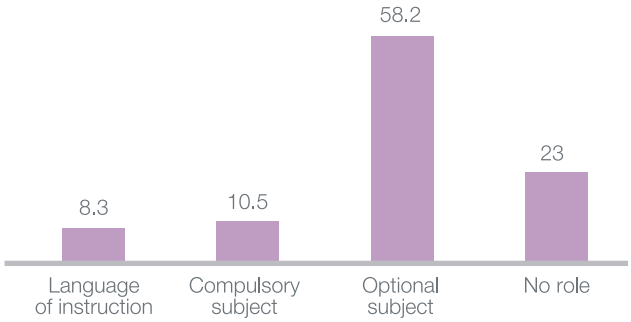

Fig. 49. **Answers of the respondents to the question "How do you think, what should be the role of the Latgalian language at schools?"** Source: **Valodas Austrumlatvijā: pētījuma dati un rezultāti**. [Languages in Eastern Latvia: research data and results]. RA, 2009.

These answers express the attitude which, of course, is a very important part of the analysis of language situation. Unfortunately, the question whether the respondents themselves and their children would be ready to learn at schools where Latgalian, for example, were the language of instruction or one of the compulsory or optional subjects, etc., was not included in the survey.

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[1] Šuplinska, I., Lazdiņa, S. Valodas Austrumlatvijā: pētījuma dati un rezultāti [Languages in Eastern Latvia: research data and results]. *Via Latgalica: humanitāro zinātņu žurnāla pielikums, 1*. Rēzekne: Rēzeknes Augstskola, 2009, 468 lpp.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 50.

5 COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT, WRITTEN LATGALIAN AND LATVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

For an objective assessment of the situation it is necessary to carry out targeted and complex research-works and to study the attitude of the inhabitants of other Latgalian areas towards the Latgalian written language and its possible role in the system of education in Latgale and elsewhere in Latvia. Without such further studies it is difficult to judge and objectively evaluate the real situation.

And the conclusion is that both the High Latvian dialect and the Latgalian written language, formed on the basis of Southern Latgalian dialect with the phonological system based on the vernaculars of Aizkalne, Vārkava, Galēni, Viļāni, Sakstagals, Ozolaine, Makašāni, Dricāni, Gaigalava, Bērzpils, Tilža and Nautrēni which has best preserved the characteristics of Latgalian vernaculars, are functioning in the linguistic environment of Latvia.

The history of development of the Latgalian written language shows how great is the role of the establishment of written language for ethnic awareness because the Latgalian written language has been able to weather unfavourable circumstances, to grow and recover after all prohibitions. Latgale was able to stay Latvian; it grew neither Polish nor Russian because it had its own writing. The Latgalian written language is not only a key to the Latgalian national identity and a part of Latvian awareness but also an integral part of our culture with its vast diversity of vernaculars, which needs to be shown its due place in the school curriculum, research and language policy.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIV LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA

6 DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIV LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA

The Liv language (*Līvõ kēļ*, also *rāndakēļ*) is the language of Latvian indigenous (autochtonous) people, which is one of the smallest of the EU languages recorded in the UNESCO Red Book of Languages.[1] Genealogically it belongs to the Finno-Ugric subgroup and Baltic-Finnish group of the Uralic languages. Apart of the Liv language this group comprises also the Estonian, Finnish, Karelian, Veps, Izhor and Vote languages.[2]

Fig. 50. **Livonian (the Liv) flag.**

Investigation of the Liv language in 2004–2010

In recent years, the public interest about the so-called small languages has increased but only two research-works have been carried out dealing with the situation of the Liv language in Latvia in the period from 2004 to 2010. The article „The Liv language today"[3], published in Finland, described the situation of the Liv language at the time of writing — language users and application domains, language teaching, its legal status, standardization, as well as the preservation options. Latvian version of the article can be found on www.livones.lv for 2006.[4]

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[1] *UNESCO Red Book on Endangered Languages: Europe.* Available at: http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/europe_index.html#state (last accessed 12.12.2010).

[2] *Lībiešu valoda radu saimē* [The Liv language among kinsmen]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=108 (last accessed 15.12.2010).

[3] Ernštreits, V. The Livonian language today. In: *Tutkielmia vähemmistökielistä Jäämereltä Livinrantaan. Vähemmistökielten tutkimus – ja koulutusverkoston raportti* VI. Oulu. 73–80. (Studia humaniora ouluensia 2), 2006.

[4] Ernštreits, V. *Lībiešu valodas stāvoklis šobrīd* [The Liv language today]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=128 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

The next study — „The Liv language and the possibilities of its preservation and inheritance"[1] — was developed at the Faculty of Modern Languages in 2009. Unfortunately, its title does not truly reflect the content. The most important part of the study is its survey (65 questionnaires, 16 of them filled by the students of the University of Latvia and the Academy of Culture who study the Liv language as a compulsory subject). However, the survey data are not sufficiently comprehensive to make conclusions about the present situation of the Liv language and the possibilities to preserve it.

Legal foundation of the Liv language

„The rights of the Liv language are guaranteed by the Official Language Law, adopted in 1999, specifically by three of its sections:

Section 4. The State shall ensure the maintenance, protection and development of the Liv language as the language of the indigenous (autochthonous) population.

Section 5. Any other language used in the Republic of Latvia, except the Liv language, shall be regarded, within the meaning of this Law, as a foreign language.

Section 18 (4). Names of places, institutions, public organisations and undertakings (companies) in the Liv coastal territory, and names of events taking place in this territory, shall also be created and use thereof shall be in the Liv language."

(Official Language Law, 9 December 1999)

The last section is related mainly to local governments which are situated in the territory of Northern Kurzeme formerly inhabited by the Livs, but none of them has ever used this statutory opportunity.

Institutional provisions for the Liv language and culture

The national long-term target programme "Livonians in Latvia", initiated by the Livonian Culture Centre (*Līvõ Culture sidām*) and the International Liv Friends' Society which was accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers on 14 December 1999, presently working as the programme "Livonians in Latvia" for the period from 2008 till 2012, can be legally considered as a mechanism for implementing Clause 4 of the State Language Law. Before that, from 1992 till 1999, all the issues concerning the Liv culture and language were dealt by the state-protected historical territory "Livonian Coast" (*Līvõd Rānda*). This organization was responsible for the implementation of the long-term programme "Livonians in Latvia" until 2 February 2004 when it was reorganized and joined the

[1] Ošiņš, E., Strelēvica-Ošiņa, D., Krautmane, Ē. *Pētījuma „Lībiešu valodas stāvoklis un tās saglabāšanas un pārmantošanas iespējas" noslēguma ziņojums* [Concluding report of the study "The situation of the Liv language and the possibilities of its preservation and inheritance]. LR Bērnu, ģimenes un sabiedrības integrācijas lietu ministrija, ĪUMSILS, LU Moderno valodu fakultāte. Rīga, 2009.

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Fig. 51. **Place-names of Northern Kurzeme in the Liv language. Postcard, publisher SIA "NicePlace".** Design: Z. Ernštreite.

structure of SSAMSI as an especially protected cultural and historical territory with its specific functions. As a result, the SSAMSI Department of Livonian Matters started its work on 7 April 2004 overtaking the programme management functions.[1]

In 2009, the SSAMSI was liquidated and issues of social integration (including monitoring of the national programme "Livonians in Latvia") were delegated to the Ministry of Children and Family Affairs. After its closing in July of the same year, the Liv issues were transferred to the Social Integration Department of the Ministry of Justice, but beginning with 2011 all the social integration issues, including the programme "Livonians in Latvia" have been under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture.

Due to these reforms and the economic crisis which caused the decrease of the state budget, funding for the support of the Livonian programme was significantly reduced.[2]

[1] Blumberga, R. Lībieši 19.–21. gadsimtā [Livonians in the 19th–21st centuries]. Manuscript (submitted for publication to the Estonian Language Institute). 2010, 26. lpp.
[2] *Ibid.*

National programme „Livonians in Latvia" (1999)

The national programme "Livonians in Latvia" (1999) has set the following tasks concerning the language:

1) to create the Liv Language Commission;
2) to develop the concept of the publications, national TV and radio programmes in the Liv language;
3) to create specialized archives and libraries for access of materials, studies and copies of the collections or publications from foreign countries in the Liv language;
4) to create technological resources (computers, programmes, etc.) taking into account the specifics of the Livonian written language and the modern requirements;
5) to finance a wide range of events related to the development of the Livonian literary language: creation of standardized grammar, terminology, lexicography, etc.;
6) to document the knowledge of the Livonian language speakers.

Tasks in the field of education:

1) to ensure all interested persons the opportunity to learn the Liv language and cultural history at all levels of education;
2) to incorporate the study materials about the Livs and their culture, about the interaction of Latvian and Liv culture, as well as the fundamentals of the Liv language in relevant syllabus;
3) to publish teaching aids and to prepare teachers;
4) to establish a support system for acquisition of the Liv language and encouragement of its use.

National programme „Livonians in Latvia" (2008–2014)

To ensure the **preservation and hereditary function of the Liv language** the following tasks have been set forth in the programme "Livonians in Latvia":

1.1–3. to prepare, approbate, specify and implement "The portfolio of the Liv language" in accordance with the methodology of the State Language Agency;

1.4. to organize training courses of the Liv language and in-depth acquisition courses (workshops), to ensure the development of the Liv grammar (written basic principles);

1.5. to ensure access to the Liv letters on the Internet;

1.6. to provide for distance learning of the Liv language;

1.7. to examine the situation concerning the opportunity to establish "the Liv class" at the Estonian secondary school in Riga;

1.8. to carry out a grant competition in order to support creativity in the Liv language, including literature;

1.9. to include a 15-minute insert of the Liv language in the 1st Latvian Radio Programme "Walking through the Liv-land".

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Other undertakings for the support of the Liv language and culture

The Liv language is included also in other national programmes and documents (such as the National Culture Policy Guidelines for 2006–2015, the concept of the intangible cultural heritage of Latvia, the year 2008–2010 programme implementing Life-long Education Policy Guidelines for 2007–2013, etc.). However, all these undertakings are closely related to the programme "Livonians in Latvia" and anticipate the use of its mechanism.

In 2009, the Liv language was included in the Section of National Traditions of the Latvian Cultural Canon as a part of Livonian traditional culture.

On the initiative of the International Liv Friends' Society and the Livonian Culture Centre, the Year 2011 was declared the International Year of the Liv Language and Culture.[1]

Fig. 52. **Logo of the International Year of the Liv Language and Culture.** Design: Z. Ernštreite

USE OF THE LIV LANGUAGE AND THE DYNAMICS OF THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

A glimpse into the past

Fusion of the Livs and Latvians in Vidzeme as well as the change of the language ended in the second third of the 19th century.[2] In Kurzeme these processes took a longer period of time. Looking back to a more recent past the Liv community of Kurzeme has been bilingual since the First World War.

Perhaps the roots of such a wide bilingualism go back much further in history — the time of the Liv uprising in 1860 and subsequent settling of Latvian people amidst the North coast Livonians, or even earlier. True, there happened to be certain exceptions in the 1920s and 1930s, like Žonaki

[1] 2011. – lībiešu valodas un kultūras gads [Year 2011 – the year of the Liv language and culture]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/norises/?raksts=537 (last accessed 13.01.2011).
[2] Blumberga, R. Lībieši 19.–21. gadsimtā [Livonians in the 19th–21st centuries]. Manuscript (submitted for publication to the Estonian Language Institute). 2010, 26. lpp.

farm in Vaide, where the Liv language was the first and only language for some of the children until they started attending school. However, these were exceptions and these children soon became fully bilingual as well.

The main cause of bilingualism is the fact that the Liv language has never been the working language of an establishment, school or church but was used only by families, in social life and in different cultural activities.

If the idea to establish a Livonian settlement in the 1920–30s would not have failed and the administrative territorial unit with the Liv language for record-keeping and communication along with Latvian were created, perhaps the present situation could be more positive for the development of the Liv language. However, the Liv language is still at risk today.
Since after the Second World War the Livs were scattered around Latvia and the whole world and in the 1950s, the USSR enacted the border-line regime in the Liv territories, the language pass-over to the next generations was almost completely stopped. That meant that the bilingual Liv community gradually developed into a Latvian speaking community, the Liv language in household communication was replaced by Latvian but only the older generation, born between the First and Second World War, retained the language skills.

The number of Liv speakers, estimated at about 500–600 people after the Second World War, remained unchanged while this generation lived. There were only a few cases when the language was passed over to the descendants. In the family of Elfrīda Žagare, for example, three generations were speaking the Liv language, in the families of Oskars Stalte and Pēteris Dambergs the oldest generation, skipping the middle one, have partly managed to pass the knowledge over to the younger generation, but it is not a common phenomenon, these are exceptions.[1] Thus it should be concluded that the Liv language is no longer used in everyday life and in the families. The last persons who used it in their household communication were the family members of Viktors Bertholds, who died on 28 February 2009, and his wife Marta.

The Liv language as the native tongue

At present the Liv language is the native tongue (the first language) of only one person — Grizelda Kristiņa from Žonaki farm of Vaide village who lives in Canada, Ontario, and has celebrated her 100th birthday in 2010. In the period between 2004 and 2010 almost all of the native Liv speakers died. The last one in Latvia was Erna Vanaga who died on 16 February 2010.

[1] Ernštreits, V. *Lībiešu valodas stāvoklis šobrīd* [The Liv language today]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=128 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

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Fig. 53. **Grizelda Kristiņa.** Photo: Kristīne Stivriņa

The Liv language as a foreign language

Along with the native speakers there are Liv descendants today who have fully mastered the language from their grandparents, in the courses or are self-taught and can communicate as their language skills in most cases are evaluated as of B1[1] but for some people are of even higher level. There are about fifteen persons in this group of language users.[2] Unfortunately, as the language cannot be actively used, knowledge of it is unstable and in many cases it gets lost, and the communication among the few Livs occurs mostly in Latvian. The fact that the native language of these people is Latvian and its use in mutual communication is habitual, the use of Latvian unlike the rare use of the Liv language, provides possibilities of fuller expression and more precise perception.

In the period from 2005 until 2010, the number of the Liv language speakers has slightly increased due to the users and other interested persons of whom only one part have Liv roots. This group consists of about ten persons and their knowledge is basically assessed as A2/B1 level, in some cases a little higher. This user group together with a small part of the above-mentioned people constitute a confined cluster which, as they declare, is trying to use the Liv language in communication. They are using *www.draugiem.lv*, Skype and various other arrangements for their activities. Watching the development of this group, especially the language acquisition and use, it may be concluded that it has a tendency to isolate from the rest of the Liv language users and to disregard the existing trends and past experience. Since the cluster consists mainly of young people up to 25 years of age, this tendency can be most likely explained as a need for self-identification, stressing this particular identity and group affiliation with the specific maximalism of the given age-group.

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[1] Hereinafter the language proficiency level is displayed according to the Europass Language Passport. The level of the assessment is generalized.

[2] The exact number is unknown, because the conclusion is based on empirical observations or indirect information. Specific and extensive research on the use of the Liv language and its users has not been currently performed. The last survey was carried out at the end of the 1930s and it covered only the territory inhabited by the Livs at that time. It was performed by the Liv Pastor Edgar Valgamaa in 1935–1937 and the results are published in the article "Livs in the documents and letters" by R. Blumberga. (See: *Somijas zinātnieku ekspedīcijas pie lībiešiem*. LU Latvijas vēstures institūts. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds. 2006, 301.–352. lpp.)

In the period between 2004 and 2010, the number of people who had mastered the Liv language at the levels of A1 or A2 increased. And to a great extent this was due to the language training activities financed by the national programme "Livonians in Latvia" (especially provision of regular language teaching in Vidzeme). In general, rating optimistically, we may consider that the number of A1 and A2 level speakers increased for approximately 50 persons and today it has reached 150 A1 and A2 speakers in total, including people who, as in the previous case, have no Liv origin.

In addition to the abovementioned groups there is also a group of scientists and other people who are concerned about the Liv culture who utilize the Liv language mainly for research purposes. Presently it is a group of fifteen persons with the language skills raging from level B1 to C2 which has grown in the period from 2004 up to 2010 as there appeared new Liv researchers in Estonia and Finland as well. The University of Tartu with its traditions of language teaching and research as well as the activities of the International Liv Friends' Society has played an important role. Likewise, the number of emerging researchers has increased, who have mastered the Liv language at A1 or A2 level at the training programmes of the University of Tartu, University of Helsinki, University of Latvia and the Latvian Academy of Culture. In all the three states together, within five years, it makes approximately 60 A1 or A2 level Liv speakers.

The number of the Liv language speakers

Thus we can say that today there are about 40 people worldwide who can communicate (level B1 or higher skills) in the Liv language of whom only a half is of the Liv origin and only one is a native speaker. Optimistically judging there are up to 210 A1 and A2 level speakers. We can also conclude that the popularity and prestige of the Livs has increased in the mentioned period.

Improvement of the economic situation in the 21st century has played its role as well if to compare with mid- and the second half of the 1990s, as well as with the improved availability of language learning and terms of use. It can be noted that interest in the Liv language is not rapidly growing among the people of the Liv origin but the amount of the language users has grown due to the language users living in Latvia and abroad.

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ACQUISITION OF THE LIV LANGUAGE

The Liv language learning takes place:

- As an optional subject:
  - in language courses and summer camps for basic language learning;
  - in special camps for the improvement the language skills;
- Within the academic study programmes in higher educational establishments.

Optional training of the Liv language

The tradition of optional teaching of the Liv language can be found in the 1920 and 1930s when seven schools were functioning in the Liv villages — in Melnsils, Kolka, Saunags (Vaide), Mazirbe, Sīkrags, Lielirbe and Miķeļtornis. Since autumn 1923, the Liv language was taught optionally in all the village schools, except in Melnsils. On average, one hundred pupils attended these classes annually and there were five Liv teachers working – Kārlis Bernšteins, Pēteris Dambergs, Mārtiņš Lepste, Kārlis Stalte and his wife Margarete Stalte.[1]

After the renewal of Latvian independence, the Liv language teaching was restarted again. beginning with autumn 1989 up to spring 1995, it was also taught at the Liv Sunday School in Riga which operated under special regulations and was financed from the municipal budget. The first teacher was Kersti Boiko, Bachelor of Tartu University, but Paulīne Kļaviņa helped her in preparing the study material. Later this function was taken over by the linguist Tenu Karma and Valda Marija Šuvcāne. The Liv Sunday School in Riga ceased its existence due to lack of students.[2] After 1995, the Liv language was no more taught systematically. Language courses were available from time to time both in Riga and in Kurzeme.

From 2004 till 2009, the Liv language teaching was once again on a regular basis and not only in Riga and various places of Kurzeme but also in Vidzeme. To be more precise, it was taught in Riga, Ventspils, Dundaga, Kolka, Staicele and Pāle by the teachers M. Zandberga, Z. Sīle, Ē. Krautmane, J. Stalte, D. Ziemele, J. Mednis and others, but in 2009 training took place only in autumn due to reforms and reduced financing. Language training was organized by SSAMSI Department of Livonian Matters or the Liv Union (further — LU) and with the SSAMSI financial support.

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[1] Blumberga, R. *Lībiešu valodas mācīšana Ziemeļkurzemes lībiešu ciemu skolās 20. gadsimta 20. un 30. gados* [Teaching of the Liv language in the Livonian villages of Northern Kurzeme in the 1920s and 1930s). From: *Latvijas Universitātes raksti,* 2006, 708. sēj., 37.–46. lpp.

[2] Šuvcāne, V. M. Lībieši: vēsturisks apskats [Livs: historical review]. Manuscript. ĪUMSILS. Rīga, 2006, 18. pp.

It should be admitted that it is difficult to make an overview of the attendance and the results of these courses, since no summaries are available, the participants were not registered and they have not received any certificates, and thus the conclusions are based on empirical methods only.

In 2005, for example, training was characterized like this: "It is possible to acquire the basic level of the Liv language in Riga, Staicele, Ventspils, Dundaga and Kolka. There is no unified programme for such training and its regularity, teaching aids and number of participants varies. Most regularly it takes place in Riga — once a week in the premises of the SSAMSI Liv Department. Participants are divided into two groups: one group without prior knowledge and the other, with basic knowledge. There are approximately ten participants, none of whom consider themselves as Livs."[1]

Acquisition of the Liv language in summer camps

In addition to the courses which take place throughout the year, starting from the beginning of the 1990s, annual (except for 2010) camps dedicated to the Liv language and culture have been organized in Mazirbe. Although these camps are mainly for children, there have been attempts (in 2006, 2007, 2008) to expand them as a 3×3 model, i.e. generation camps where children participate together with their parents. In the aspect of language acquisition the biggest problem has been the large number of participants, which makes learning much more difficult. Besides the participants' level of language skills and interests are varied. In addition, most of these people have been learning the Liv language only in the camps but between two camps the knowledge mostly gets lost. These camps, as well as the Liv language courses, are organized by the SSAMSI Liv Department or the Liv Union with the support of the SSAMSI.

Factors that influence the acquisition of language

Evaluating the Liv language acquisition in the courses and camps several fundamental problems can be ascertained. As there is a lack of teachers with good knowledge of the Liv language, training in the courses and summer camps is led by people who have only basic language skills themselves and who have not studied language teaching methods. Although the Liv language is already being taught for two decades in Latvia there is still no system created — no programmes, no teachers prepared and certified. As a result, every teacher teaches what he knows, but the participants attend the basic level for several times in turn without the opportunity to move to a higher level.[2] However, there was an

[1] Ernštreits, V. *Lībiešu valodas stāvoklis šobrīd* [The Liv language today]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=128 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

[2] Blumberga, R. Lībieši 19.–21. gadsimtā [Livonians in the 19th–21st centuries]. Manuscript (submitted for publication to the Estonian Language Institute). 2010, 24. lpp.

attempt to prepare teachers of the Liv language in the reviewed period. In 2004, the SSAMSI in collaboration with the LCS organized a series of seminars for the teachers of the Liv language and culture led by *Dr. hist.* Renāte Blumberga and PhD student of Tartu University Valts Ernštreits.

The lack of suitable teaching aids is a separate problem. The currently available ones are either too complicated or not suitable for the acquisition of basic knowledge and therefore the teachers are forced to develop their own teaching material. In addition, in the present situation the teaching aids should include audio material as well, as the learners of the Liv language have no possibility to stay in the language environment and to hear the original language. Thus, to learn the pronunciation, for example, they often have to do with the teacher's explanation instead of hearing daily language patterns.

There have been attempts to solve this problem creating various teaching aids but unfortunately the material compiled by T. Karma in 2006 and 2007 and the text-book *Rāndakēļ min jemākēļ* (The Liv language is my mother tongue) of the LCS are still in the form of a manuscript. The difficulties in preparing the teaching aids are caused by the already mentioned diverse levels of language skills and age categories of the participants of courses and camps, and also by the explicit lack of grammatical standards.

It seems that there were attempts to systematize teaching already in 2005 (according to other SSAMSI reports — in 2006), creating unified programmes: "In cooperation with the lecturer of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Latvia, Ērika Krautmane, three Liv language acquisition programmes have been developed: for children camps, for the acquisition of basic knowledge, for language learning with preliminary knowledge."[1] However, this material has not been publicly distributed and the teachers have not been using these programmes in practice.

Despite the mentioned difficulties, it can be concluded that the Liv language courses perform an outstanding function serving as a meeting place where in addition to the improvement of language skills people can discuss various topical questions and learn a lot about different aspects of the Liv culture and history. This explains regular involvement of many participants in language learning.

Camps for the improvement of the Liv language skills

As the Liv language has lost its use in everyday life certain measures have been taken to maintain and improve the proficiency level of those who can

[1] Virtmane, V. *Pārskats par 2005. gada darbu* [Review 2005]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/norises/?raksts=134 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

communicate in the Liv language. In summer 1998, the first Liv-speakers' camp organized by the LCS took place in Vaide village, Ozolnieki farmhouse of Paulīne Kļaviņa.

In summer 2005, another camp was arranged with the support of the SSAMSI in Mazirbe. To encourage the use of the Liv language in communication, the members of the International Liv Friends' Society who do not speak Latvian were invited as well. Since then these camps have taken place every year — in 2006 in Sīkrags, in 2007 and 2008 (without the support of the SSAMSI) in Miķeļtornis. At the beginning of 2010, supported by Tartu University, the TU, LCS and ILFS together with the representatives of the Liv Foundation organized a seminar in Košrags which actually replaced the missing speakers' camp of 2009. The youth section of the Liv Union and the Liv foundation have tried to implement similar principles in the camps which took place, respectively, in Mazsalaca in 2008 and in Hiiumaa island in 2010.

During the 2005 event, the so-called conversation group was created by the LCS with the support of the SSAMSI and it was functioning once a month starting from autumn 2005 till the end of the first half of 2006. It was created for the improvement of the Liv language skills but mainly for the maintenance of conversational skills, and was attended by an average of ten persons who were speaking, reading, listening and translating texts. There were also teachers of the basic level involved.

The Liv language in higher education institutions

At the level of higher education the Liv language has been studied and investigated for more than seventy years.

During this time it has been possible to study it in Finland (University of Helsinki, Turku University), in Estonia (Tartu University), Hungary (Lorand Etvesh Budapest University) and in Latvia (University of Latvia, Latvian Academy of Culture).

In the period from 2004 until 2010, it was possible to master the Liv language at four higher educational institutions:

- University of Tartu (lecturer doctoral student Tuuli Tuisk),
- Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia (lecturers Valts Ernštreits and Ērika Krautmane),
- Latvian Academy of Culture (lecturer Ērika Krautmane),
- University of Helsinki (Professor Riho Grünthal).

The University of Tartu and the University of Helsinki offer the Liv language primarily as an optional course and as an additional subject of the Uralic language group particularly for the research of the Baltic and Finnish languages. The Liv language has never been included in post-graduate programmes in full

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scale but is only providing insight into the language, its grammar and history. Thus the students may retain and develop the acquired knowledge and skills only if they are closely involved in the research-work of the Liv language.

It has been possible to study the Liv language as a mandatory course in the Finno-Ugric study programme of the Latvian Academy of Culture and at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia (initially, Faculty of Modern Languages). As these students are mostly those who are specializing in Finnish or Estonian the acquisition of the Liv language is secondary again and during the whole period of existence of this programme not a single researcher specializing in the Liv language has ever appeared. Perhaps it would be more useful to promote and offer the Liv language as an optional subject to all the students of the University of Latvia thus giving the researchers of other fields or the Liv descendents studying in other faculties and other interested students the opportunity to use this language.

LIVONIAN PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

Līvõd Īt (1923)

In 1923, the first Livonian public organization "The Liv Union" (*Līvõd Īt*) was founded. The record keeping and working language in the interwar period (in the 1920s–1930s) was the Liv language. After the renewal of the organization in 1989[1], Latvian became its working and record-keeping language. It was caused by the lack of language skills of both the leadership and the majority of its members. The Liv language played mainly a representative role in festive meetings.

Since 1989, for example, the annual Liv festival has been held in Mazirbe[2] and the ceremony traditionally begins with one or two speeches in the Liv language. In the period from 2004 to 2010 essential changes could be observed in the use of the Liv language in this biggest event dedicated to the Liv language — the number of speeches in the Liv language had significantly declined in the recent years but in the last years it was only the chairman of the ILFS, Professor Emeritus of the University of Tartu Tiit-Rein Viitso who spoke in the Liv language.

[1] Initially the name was „The Liv Culture Society (*Līvõd Kultūr Īt)*", now — "The Liv (Livonian) Union" or *Līvõd Īt*.

[2] Until now this festival failed to take place only once — in 2010.

The Liv Foundation 2009

The situation seemed to slightly improve in 2009 when supported by the Liv Union the public organization „The Liv Foundation" (LF) was created with the board members having the B1/B2 level knowledge of the Liv language. In 2010, the first chairman of the LF Dāvis Stalts was elected the elder of the Liv Union. However, it is too early to judge whether the activities of the organization and the changes in the board of the Liv Union could improve the prestige of these institutions and restore the use of the Liv language as the representation and working language.

The Liv Culture Society 1994 (*Līvõ Kultūr sidām*)

Since 1994, the Liv Union has raised the questions connected with the historical habitat – the Livonian Coast – as its primary issue. As a result the Liv Culture Society (*Līvõ Kultūr sidām*) was founded and its main aim was to care for the preservation and promotion of the Liv culture and language, leaving aside any issues connected with economy. Initially, the LCS was trying to work and keep records in the Liv language but later for the same reasons as the Liv Union they switched to Latvian. However, public events organized by the LCS with very rear exceptions have always been and are still carried out fully bilingually (in the Liv and Latvian languages) providing consecutive translation of all the addresses.

The International Liv Friends' Society 1998

In 1998, on the initiative of the LCS the International Liv Friends' Society was established uniting all the Liv researchers and interested persons worldwide, mainly from Finland, Estonia and Latvia. The record-keeping of this organization is basically in Finnish or Estonian, but the working language is often changing due to the international nature of this society. However, the use of the Liv language plays an important role in their activities, including public events and meetings especially in the last five years when it has been used also in the joint LCS and ILFS conferences as the only common language of all the participants.

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PERIODICALS AND WEB PAGES

Publication date		Name	Type of edition, place, publisher	Publication language	Comments
Until 2004	1931–1939; 1992–2008	***Līvli***	Newspaper, Jelgava and Mazirbe, from 1992 – Riga	The Liv language; from 1992 – Latvian, separate texts in the Liv language	A bit of the Liv language appeared in both editions – at the beginning the newspaper *Līvli* published regular language classes, later the amount of the materials in the Liv language decreased and finally disappeared at all; if the article was prepared in the Liv language it was published in the Yearbook in Liv. In later years the substantive and often also the printing quality of these editions was going down[1]. Unfortunately, today both editions have already ceased to exist. Being transferred under the responsibility of the Liv Union it was rarely issued – once or twice a year and its last issue came out in 2008 when the last Yearbook was issued as well.
	1994–2008	The Liv Yearbooks (Publisher – „Lībiešu krasts")	Yearbook	Latvian, separate texts in the Liv language	
	1994–1995	***Õvā***	Magazine, publisher – LCS	The Liv language	After the Second World War, the only attempt to restore printed periodicals in the Liv language was the magazine *Õvā* issued in 1994 (one number) and in 1995 (two numbers). This attempt failed due to unsolved financing and insufficient number of readers.
	1990–2008	***Izstaigāju līvu zemi*** (Walking through the Liv land)	Radio programme of „Latvijas Radio"	Latvian, the Liv language	Listeners were regularly informed about the current events in the life of the Liv people and the Liv language was often heard on the radio.
2004–2009	2006	**www.livones.lv**	The Liv language and culture portal; creator — LCS; supported by the State Culture Capital Foundation and the SSAMSI	Latvian, the Liv language, English	Originally the site was intended to offer basic information about the *Livs* – their language, history, symbols, traditional culture arts, literature, etc., in three languages (Latvian, Liv, and English). Today this site comprises the biggest collection of the Liv texts available on the Internet. While the newspaper Līvli was issued more and more rarely the portal took over the function to inform the society thus becoming the only publicly available source dedicated to the Liv topics.
	2009	***Līvõd āiga*** (Time of the Livs)	Page (A4) dedicated to the Liv topics in the monthly paper of Dundaga area, *Dundadznieks*, in cooperation with the Liv Foundation	Latvian, the Liv language	There are also texts in the Liv language but unfortunately quite often the quality is low.
	2011	**www.livodfond.lv**	Web page of the Liv Foundation	Latvian	The current information is seldom updated and these texts are the duplicates of the abovementioned edition *Līvõd āiga*.

[1] Blumberga, R. Lībieši 19.–21. gadsimtā. Manuskripts [Livonians in the 19th–21st centuries]. Manuscript (submitted for publication to the Estonian Language Institute). 2010, 24. lpp.

SOME OF THE EDITIONS AND AUDIO RECORDING CREATED IN THE PERIOD FROM 2004 UP TO 2009

Publication date	Name	Type of edition, place, publisher	Publication language	Comments
2005	Sīle, Z. ***Lībiešu valodas ābece*** (112 pages) (The Liv ABC)	Tutorial; Riga, Anita Mellupe SIA BO „Likteņstāsti"	Latvian, Liv	
2005	Mednis, J., Tiguls, R. ***Zaļš. Balts. Zils.*** (Green.White.Blue)	Photoalbum and music CD; SIA „Kolkasrags"	Liv, Latvian, English, German	Translated into Liv by Valts Ernštreits and Tiit-Rein Viitso.
2005	***Līvlizt*** (Livonians)	CD of Liv folk songs; Estonia; ARM Music	Liv	Re-produced vinyl record of the Liv folk songs *Līvlizt* (Livonians) from the collection of the Estonian Museum of Literature, compiled by Estonian musicologist Ingrid Rüütel and folklore specialist Kristi Salve.
2007	Sīle, Z. ***Sõnād ja kērad***[1]	Tutorial; the Liv Union	Liv, Latvian	Tutorial of the Liv language and Northern Kurzeme mitten design with a CD of the same title.
2007	***Liv folksongs***[2]	Collection of folksongs; the Liv Union	Liv	Repeated publication of the same collection first published in 1980.
2007	***Līvõd jelāmi***[3]	Facsimile of the Liv album with comments; LCS, publishing house „Neputns"	Liv; comments in Liv, Latvian, English	Facsimile edition of the album compiled by P. Dambergs in the 1930s with the comment by R. Blumberga in three languages. The Liv text is translated by V. Ernštreits but the author of the Introduction in the Liv language is T. R. Viitso.
2008	***Tutorial of the Liv language***[4]	Tutorial; the Liv Union	Liv	Ten lessons of the tutorial compiled by Kersti Boiko supplemented by the CD with 1 hour recordings of Grizelda Kristiņa, an ethnic Liv residing in Canada.
2008–2009	***Electronic dictionary***	Compiled by R. Zumbergs	Liv, Latvian, English	This dictionary combined three sources: Liv–Latvian, Latvian–Liv dictionary, compiled by V. Ernštreits in 1999, Latvian–Liv–English conversational dictionary compiled by V. Šuvcāne un I. Ernštreite, and the tutorial compiled by K. Boiko .

[1] Sīle, Z. *Lībiešu valodas un Ziemeļkurzemes cimdu rakstu mācību materiāls* [Tutorial of the Liv language and Northern Kurzeme mitten design]. Rīgō: Līvu (lībiešu) savienība „Līvõd Īt". 2007, 32 lk.
[2] Dambergs, P., Karma, T. *Lībiešu tautasdziesmas* [Liv folksongs]. Rīga: Līvu (lībiešu) savienība „Līvõd Īt". 2007, 40 lk.
[3] Līvõd jelāmi. *Lībiešu dzīve. The Life of Livs*. Rīga: Līvõ Kultūr sidām; Neputns. 2007.
[4] Boiko, K. Līvõ kēļ. *Lībiešu valoda. Piški optõbrõntõz. Mazā mācību grāmata* [The Liv language. The small tutorial]. Rīga: Līvu savienība (Līvõd Īt). 2000, 168 lk.

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New trends can be observed in the use of the Liv language in private business. A positive example (probably the only one!) is SIA „Kolkasrags" who in addition to the above-mentioned album in 2009 created its website in the Liv language. This company uses the Liv language on waste box printings which are in three languages: „Paldies! Tien! Thank you!" These seemingly trivial things reflect their commitment to use the Liv language also in business and highlight the colourful Liv spirit promoting tourism.

Fig. 54. **The Liv language alphabet.** Post-card: SIA „NicePlace". Design: Z. Ernštreite

PRIVATE BUSINESS

Souvenir manufacturer „NicePlace" is also utilizing the Liv language in its production: in 2007, they started to issue post-cards picturing the map with the names of the Livonian Coast and to produce T-shirts and cloth bags with sprints in the Liv language. In 2008, this company issued a post-card with the Liv alphabet (Fig. 54).

Introduction of the Liv language in business operations is very slow, but it can be expected that gradually it could increase, especially in tourism-related companies of the Liv historical habitat. And it is proved by the fact that in 2010, for example, the Association of Rural Tourism „Lauku ceļotājs" compiled the „Latvian–Liv dictionary: for the elaboration of tourism materials and for the maintenance of reference sources and the Liv identity" which is available on the Internet.[1] It should be noted that it is not a lexicographically polished material, however, it fulfils the functions indicated by the vocabulary builders: „The aim of this dictionary is to provide a translation of the present Latvian words used in everyday life — house names, place names, food, festivities, etc., to be used in tourism materials, territorial marketing and accentuation of the Liv identity."[2]

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

The history of the Liv literary language is more than 150 years old. It comprises two traditions: the 19th century tradition of written language (1863–1880) and the 20th century tradition of written language (from 1920 up to this day) which is not a direct continuator of the primary version.

The Liv literary written language

The 20th century tradition of written language is divided into the following periods:

a) the search period of the 1920s (1921–1929);

b) the period of the newspaper *Līvli* (1931–1972);

c) the period of functional changes (from 1973 up to nowadays).

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[1] *Latviešu–lībiešu vārdnīca: tūrisma materiālu izstrādei, uzziņas līdzekļu un teritorijas iedzīvotāju lībiskās identitātes uzturēšanai* [Latvian–Liv dictionary: for the elaboration of tourism materials and for the maintenance of reference sources and the Liv identity of the territory's population]. Lauku ceļotājs. Rīga, 2010, 3. lpp. Available at: http://www.celotajs.lv/cont/prof/proj/PolProp/Dokumenti/libiesu_vardnica_LV.pdf) (last accessed 14.01.2011).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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The rapid decline of the number of native (first language) speakers has caused changes in the written Liv language of the third period resulting in a need for adjustments: closer connection of spelling and pronunciation.[1]

In the latest development period of the written language standardization work was mostly connected with the publications in the Liv language due to the many questions which occurred in the preparation of each new edition and had to be solved — development of terminology, adjustment of spelling, etc. However, lately certain measures have been taken aiming to standardize the Liv language.

To cope with the confusion in the use of spelling principles, arising in the 1990s, and to ensure the observation of the established principles of the Liv written language, the LCS, in collaboration with the State Specifically Protected Historical Territory *Līvõd Rānda*, convened the first Liv standardization conference in 1995, held in Mazirbe. Its members agreed on further observation of certain common principles in the preparation of future publications in the Liv language.

The next such conference was held in May 2005 and this time the organizers were the LCS and the University of Tartu. The task of the conference was to bring to an end and approve spelling principles. The principles of the Liv orthography have been published on www.livones.lv in the Liv (original text[2]) and Latvian languages.[3]

Next to standardization, elaboration of terminology is another important field of the development of the Liv written language. From 2004 to 2010, the Liv terminology has been widely developed for two sources — the album *Life of the Livs* published in 2007 where the translations in comments demanded scientific and specialized terminology, and the site www.liveones.lv where miscellaneous information has been regularly published from 2006 up to the present day. The most needed modern terms have been those related to the specific nature of the web. Other sources were mostly either re-publications or publications that did not require creation of specific terminology.

Speaking about the Liv language in computer use, the fact that the fonts or the typeface of the Liv written language have been created already since 1993,

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[1] Ernštreits, V. Liivi kirjakeele kujunemine. Promocijas darbs doktora grāda iegūšanai [Promotional work]. Defended on 10.12.2010. 2010, 204. lpp.

[2] Viitso, T.-R. *Līvõ kiel õigizekēra pandõkst*. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=192 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

[3] Viitso, T.-R. *Lībiešu valodas pareizrakstības likumi* [Spelling rules of the Liv language]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=129 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

that all the Liv letters were included in the Unicode format in 1995[1] and the typeface of all Liv letters is now available in almost all the computers, can be positively estimated. Until 2009, no adequate solution was found for writing in the Liv language, i.e., no keyboard drivers were created. To solve the problem of the Liv language use permanently and to enact its convenient and widespread use, the LCS established the Liv keyboard drivers for the most popular systems (Apple Macintosh, Windows XP, Windows Vista) with the Nordplus funding of the Nordic Council of Ministers, which are available for free download on www.livones.lv. The company „Tilde" has developed its own keyboard driver for the Liv language but this keyboard does not include the symbols the use of which in tutorial texts was agreed by the LCS, University of Tartu and the ILFS at the beginning of 2009.

At the workshop organized by the University of Tartu, the LCS and the ILFS at the beginning of 2010 in Košrags, they also discussed the possibility to create the Liv language commission that would elaborate the standard of the written language. After lengthy discussions, at the end of 2010, it was decided to initiate the establishment of the commission providing an official status for it in the Republic of Latvia.

RESEARCH AND SUPPORT OF THE LIV LANGUAGE IN ESTONIA

Higher education institutions and scientists working in them have been the most important driving force of the research and development of the Liv language. Without their active participation most of the knowledge about the language would have failed to reach the present world. We must thank them also for their direct and indirect participation in the creation and development of the Liv literary language as well as for the extensively documented (various editions, manuscripts, records) Liv language. As there is such an amount of research work still to be done, the universities and the teaching of the Liv language at the universities bear a particularly important role in the origination of the future Liv researchers and research works.

[1] Thus it is not clear why the task „To provide for the Liv letter availability on Internet" is not included in the programme „Livonians in Latvia" for 2008–2012, namely, ensuring the Internet availability, reaching the agreement about the elaboration of the necessary letters, which do not exist in Unicode; making the requirements to include these letters in the Latvian standard; securing the inclusion of these letters in the ISO standard UNICODE.

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Fig. 55. **Teacher of the Liv language and cultural worker Pēteris Dambergs.** Photo: B. Damberga/LCS archive

The development of the Liv language resources was more active in 2005–2009, especially in the final stage. In 2007, they started the work with the transformation of Liv vocabulary files which were compiled at the Institute of the Estonian Language (Eesti Keele Instituut) in the 1970s (with active participation of the Liv writer P. Dambergs, see Fig. 55) and along with the Liv vocabulary include references in Estonian and Latvian, into the manuscript of the Liv–Latvian–Estonian dictionary for subsequent publication. Currently this manuscript, compiled by T. R.Viitso, is in the editing stage and after the revision of the Latvian text and grammar part it is planned to be issued. This edition will become the largest ever compiled Liv dictionary and also a useful tool for the acquisition of the Liv language. The modern spelling of the Liv written language is used in the manuscript and after the publication it is planned to be transformed also in the electronic version. In addition to this work within the University of Tartu, T. R. Viitso together with other researchers is working on the compilation of the new Liv Grammar (the last one was published in 1861).

Another important undertaking is the development of the Liv language vocabulary archive which was started in 2009.[1] This project is run by the Institute of Estonian language, and currently a major part of the lexical sources is already digitalized and the transformation of the text in the electronic form has begun. Creation of the Liv language corpus within the framework of the same project has been started as well. The results of the project will be made publicly available.

At the initiative of the LCS the library of the University of Tartu has started digitalization of the Liv language texts and related materials from its collection. The part of the language patterns and grammar of the Sjögren–Wiedermann dictionary, published in 1861, is now publicly available.

[1] Ernštreits, V. *Sācies darbs pie lībiešu valodas arhīva izveides* [Active work for the creation of the Liv language archive has started]. Available at: http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/norises/?raksts=308 (last accessed 27.09.2010).

In 2009, the University of Tartu started transliteration of the collection of the Liv sound recordings and inclusion in the corpus of Estonian dialects which can be found at http://www.murre.ut.ee/.

In addition to the abovementioned, the research-work of the Liv language and its sources also was continued. In 2010, several new studies, including thesis by Miina Norvik, dedicated to hitherto almost unknown syntax of the Liv language, and the doctoral paper of V. Ernštreits about the formation of the Liv literary language with an analysis of publications and manuscripts in the Liv language, were carried out in Estonia.

Fig. 56. **Cover of the album *Life of the Livs*.**
Photo: from the LCS archive

In 2005–2009, three previously unknown manuscripts of great importance in the Liv language were found in Estonian archives. They are: the album *Life of the Livs* compiled by P. Dambergs (published in 2007) (see Fig. 56), the manuscript of the Liv ABC, compiled by K. Stalte in 1936 and found by the LCS researcher R. Blumberga, and the manuscript "Terms of the Liv language grammar" compiled by O. Loorits around 1923, which includes the Liv language grammar for school needs.

THE LIV LANGUAGE IN THE FUTURE

It is very difficult to predict the future situation of the Liv language as it is rather unstable and constantly changing. It is clear that the research work and the identification and publication of Liv materials both in Latvia and abroad will be continued. However, due to specific tendencies of the economic development and state administration it seems that radical changes in the use of the Liv language over the next five or ten years are not to be expected without active and extensive activities, and without any external assistance and funding the Liv language situation will not be improved.

7

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PRESENT-DAY GLOBALISATION CONDITIONS

7 THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PRESENT-DAY GLOBALISATION CONDITIONS

Globalization tendencies and their impact upon the language

The modern world is characterized by globalization, extensive use of technology; increased mobility of the population which causes a disruptive influence on the traditional way of life and to a certain extent threatens language as a cornerstone of identity.[1] Globalization and the resulting migration, cosmopolitism, expansion of borders and other tendencies are closely related to the language and identity change and unprecedented prosperity of cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity. The majority of the respondents (76%) of the LLA 2009 survey indicate that the processes of globalization are most directly threatening the Latvian language (Fig. 57).

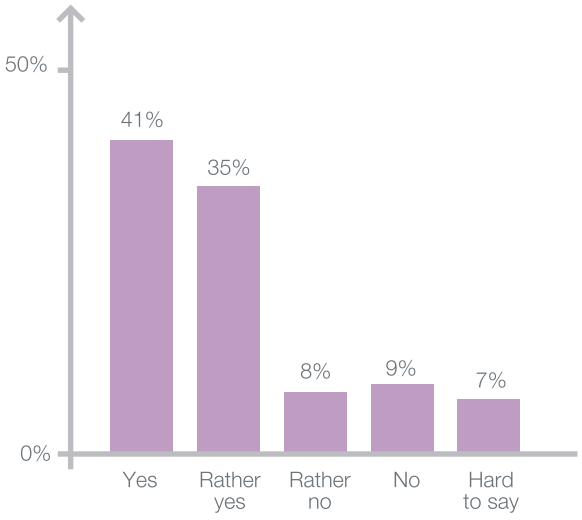

Fig. 57. Answers of the respondents concerned about the threats to the Latvian language to the question: "Do you think that globalization is threatening the Latvian language?" (LLA 2009 survey)

Language competition

One of the most noticeable manifestations of globalization today is the language competition where the most vivid example is the ever-increasing role of English in business environment, media, education and science, which is certainly weakening and undermining the positions of other languages. This problem is topical not only in Latvia but in the whole Europe, especially in the countries with small numbers of the official language speakers.

The most important socio-linguistic functions in Latvia are performed by the Latvian language and the Russian language, but the role of English is in-

[1] Druviete, I. Mūsu valoda — Latvijas vai ES identitātes daļa? [Our language — part of the identity of Latvia or the EU?)] *Lauku Avīze*, 2004, 11. okt.

creasing as well. The role of these languages in the situation of Latvia is determined by several interrelated factors — language skills of the population, the actual socio-linguistic features of languages, linguistic attitudes and language status.[1] As recognized by the experts of the LLA interviews 2009, on the global scale the Latvian language is not competitive enough in comparison with English and in the present situation of Latvia — with Russian as well.

Competitor languages of Latvian — Russian and English — are characterized by several features:

- common — both are the world mega languages, widely used by international and regional means of communication, traditionally taught as L2 languages;
- different — linguistically self-sufficient (non-)existence of the language collective in Latvia, the degree of individual bilingualism among Latvians, the real socio-linguistic functions, generation of contact situations, linguistic attitude.[2]

Everyday language use is one of the aspects of linguistic competition, and the competitiveness of the Latvian language cannot be regarded as good. In this respect, the results of language competition are affected more by the language users than by external factors; taking into consideration the fact that Latvians often choose Russian in communication with Russian-speakers and that not all the Russian-speakers who know the official language really use it, the competitiveness of the Latvian language can be considered as endangered.

This fact is confirmed by the data of various population polls in Latvia as the number of those Latvians who do not choose Latvian for communication with foreigners is still comparatively high. Only about one-third of Latvians have emphasized that in such situations they always choose Latvian. The LU Professor I. Druviete has repeatedly emphasized that language competition really exists, and it appears any time when we choose one or another communication language.[3]

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[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 85. lpp.

[2] Druviete, I. *Valsts valodas integratīvā un ekonomiskā vērtība: sinerģija vai antagonisms*? [Integrative and economic value of the state language: synergy or antagonism?]. Report in LLA conference "Language, Environment, economics" on 22 September 2010 in Riga. Available at: http://valoda.lv/Sadarbibas_projekti/Eiropas_valodu_diena_2010_Konference_Valoda_vide_ekonomika_/824/mid_550 (last accessed 15.01.2011).

[3] See Druviete, I. Mūsu valoda — Latvijas vai ES identitātes daļa? [Our language — part of the identity of Latvia or the EU?] *Lauku Avīze*, 11.10.2004; Jauce, S. Valodas jāaizsargā pašu mājās. *Latvija Eiropas Savienībā*, Nr. 8, 2007. gada decembris.

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We have to acknowledge that at least presently the influence of English does not endanger the existence of Latvian as there is no English environment in Latvia today and the number of those who speak both languages is small. There are only a few specific socio-linguistic areas in which English has started to take a more and more significant role and can really be considered a threat to the Latvian language — that is mostly science, some sections of culture, probably the new technology.

This tendency is typical of most European countries although to some extent it can be controlled by laws and rules.[1] But the Russian language is still the biggest competitor of Latvian (Fig. 58).

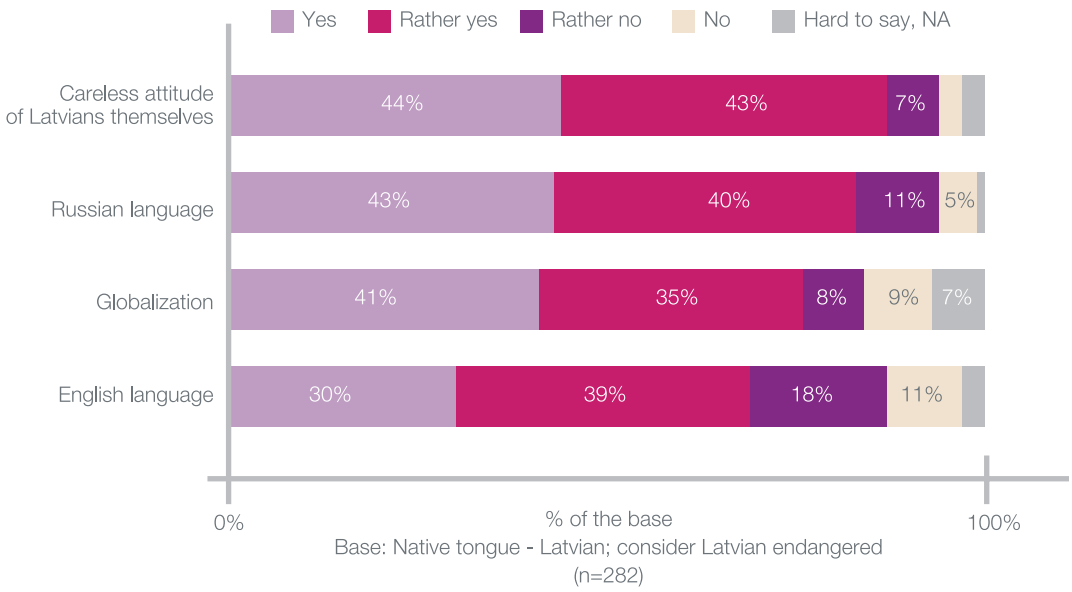

Fig. 58. **Answers of the respondents to the question "Do you think that Latvian is endangered by…"** (LLA 2009 survey)

The experts particularly emphasized that in the interaction of both these languages negative impact is found directly on the Latvian language mainly due to the greater economic value of the Russian language. This opinion is in compliance with the results of the LLA survey 2009 — more than 60% of Latvian respondents point out that they are worried about the threat to the Latvian language (Fig. 59).

[1] Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā* [Latvian language policy in the context of the European Union]. Rīga, 1998, 98. lpp.

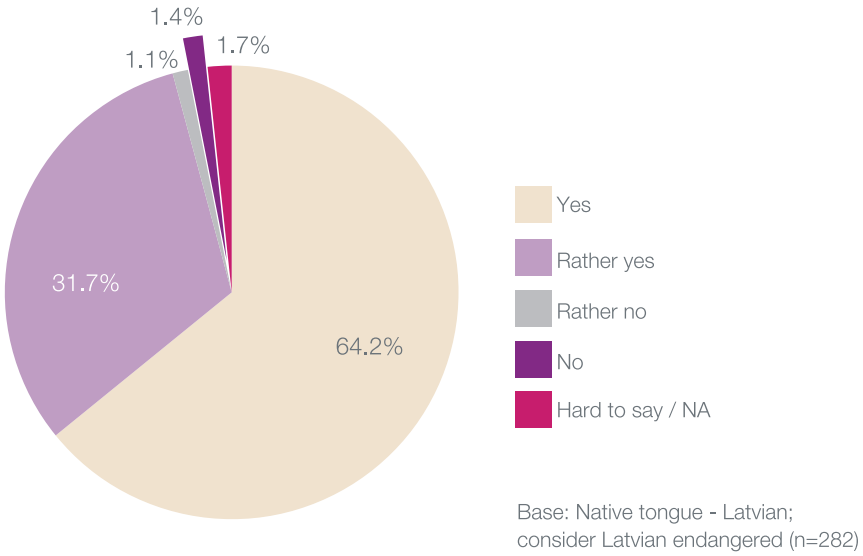

Fig. 59. **Answers of the respondents to the question "Are you concerned about the threat to Latvian?"** (LLA 2009 survey)

As already stated (see Chapter 2) the entrance into the European Union (2004) opened up significant challenges and opportunities for the Latvian language providing a wide range of recognition and reinforcement of its status. Evaluating the accession to the EU, the experts of the LLA 2009 interviews agree that this step has diminished Russian influence on the Latvian language while at the same time the impact of English has increased. Experts point out that in this context it is very important to analyze and evaluate which of the EU's direct or indirect impacts are acceptable and adaptable and which should be rejected in order to maintain the uniqueness and prevalence of the Latvian language without any restrictions under the pressure of other languages.

In today's globalized circumstances the modern democratic society had changed its world outlook which accentuates the importance of diversity. Not for nothing the EU has put forward the motto "Unity in Diversity". The majority of the interviewed experts have also expressed the view that multiculturalism and multilingualism do not endanger the Latvian language but rather enrich it and provide for its full integration into the international community.

Parallel to the influence of globalization processes we have to create preconditions for the preservation of the uniqueness of every language. That is why scientific research should be developed to ensure that the decision concerning each language is well-weighed and justified.

7 THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PRESENT-DAY GLOBALISATION CONDITIONS

7.1. The development problems of terminology

A glimpse into the history

There are several essential features characterizing the period after the restoration of independence in Latvia which allow distinguishing it from earlier stages of development:

1) strengthening of the position of the Latvian language and resumption of its operation in many functions (the Armed Forces, border guards, maritime activities, aviation, railroad, etc.), in which it practically had not been functioning since the Second World War, and therefore, the development of terminology was not possible;
2) change of the leading contact language switching from Russian to English. Given that so far the term creation in Latvian had been based on German and Russian languages (in broader sense — on the continental European tradition of terminology), the changes in the term system at least in some of its sectors are deeper and more essential than one would expect;
3) the revolutionary changes in the field of telecommunications and information technologies have played a significant role in the development of Latvian terminology and paved the way for widespread use of a diverse range of resources, but at the same time it reduced faith in the traditional term sources. Thus, looking for the equivalents of terms which had not been produced until then, the strategy and action of the term users and developers significantly changed.[1]

There are several typical features characterizing the period from 2004 up to 2010 that allow to consider it as a particularly important time for Latvian term creation, as in 2004 the intensive work on the translation of the accumulated body of EU law (*acquis communautaire*) into Latvian was finished thus providing for the accession to the EU. This job was provided by the Translation and Terminology Centre, created in 1996 (after 2009 — the State Language Centre), which had the duty to perform this translation (perhaps the most targeted translation in the history of Latvian legislative translation — approximately 95 000 standard pages) and to prepare the field specialists (translators, terminologists, editors), as well as to create the translation methodology.

[1] A more detailed view on the peculiarities and problems of the terminology development can be found in *Situācijas izpēte latviešu terminoloģijas izstrādes, saskaņošanas un apstiprināšanas jomā — problēmu identifikācija un to risinājumi* [Situation analysis of the development, harmonization and approval of Latvian terminology — identification of problems and their solutions]. Rīga: Talsu tipogrāfija, 2005, which with the support of the SLA was carried out by the Translation and Terminology Centre and in the study „Break-out of Latvian: a sociolinguistic study of situation, attitudes, processes, and tendencies" prepared by the State Language Commission. Riga, Zinātne, 2008. That is why this chapter deals only with those questions which have become topical or have not lost their topicality within the last five years.

But since 1 May 2004, when Latvia became a full-fledged Member State of the European Union, all the new legislative acts are being translated in the Latvian Translation Units of various EU institutions. The acquisition of the status of the official EU language, on the one hand, strengthens the status of the Latvian language on the international scale, but on the other, imposes additional duties in the development and harmonization of terminology.

Development of terminology

Development of terminology in every language covers a wide and diverse range of activities involving the industry experts, linguists, translators and editors, and in some cases, if the term is widely used — the whole society in the widest sense of the word. This process can be conditionally divided into the stages bearing different importance at different times:

1) exploration of terminological needs and the existing resources to determine whether a particular term in the given language is really missing, as well as to identify the cases in which the proposed term for certain reasons is irrelevant to the real needs;
2) elaboration of the proposal while the involved branch specialist (often the translator or the official involved in the respective field management) finds the best, to his mind, denomination of the concept on the basis of scientifically grounded principles, appropriate to the traditions;[1]
3) term coordination during which a detailed investigation of the opinion of the branch specialists or the specialists of related branches and the clarification of the form and content take place. Only after this stage it would be desirable to incorporate the new term in the documents. However, if the term is needed immediately and is being incorporated in the translation or in the draft of a legislative act, its harmonization and clarification takes place simultaneously with the evaluation of the entire text. Harmonization is often a formalized process as the silence of other experts is usually interpreted as absence of objections;
4) approval of the terms in accordance with Section 22 of the Official Language Law is mandatory and this function is delegated to the Commission of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. However, the legal status of this approval is still unclear (in accordance with the State Administration Structure Law the decision of the Terminology Commission is not an external normative act); therefore, this approval is primarily playing the role of a moral authority. Some lawyers demonstrate a very formal approach holding the view that the use of such a denomination in a legislative act in force, especially in the law or EU legal act, automatically implies its legal acceptance and determines its use mandatory;

[1] But the suggested or potential term discloses only the opinion of the advisor or a small group and it is neither coordinated nor included in the term system and accepted as valid in actual text.

5) ensuring the availability of the term, which means that any language user can find this term in some of the terminology resources without any restrictions. The above-mentioned section of the law says that the official announcement of new terms is solely the newspaper Latvijas Vēstnesis but nowadays the incorporation of the terms into the electronic data basis and branch dictionaries would be more important (juridical aspects of the electronic publication of legal acts are still being verified) but the official announcement in the newspaper should be considered as a logical conclusion of the validation stage;
6) the term approbation in practice (and if necessary, suggestion of a replacement) allows to identify the operational capabilities of a particular term and also indicates the need of new terms aiming to diversify the term system as well as the need to review earlier decisions.

Conditionally a 7th stage could be added to the list, namely elaboration of the term definitions, which is a desirable but not mandatory and integral part of the work as in many cases the development of a scientifically precise and comprehensive definition is very complex but the explanatory definition is rather an auxiliary material in the process of harmonization and approval than a precise revelation of the full meaning. Similarly, also the explanatory work with the community to explain, substantiate and popularize significant terminological decisions should be mentioned (probably the most appropriate place in this succession would be between stage 4 and 5).

Legal provisions

The existing system of terminology is based on the Official Language Law adopted on 9 December 1999, which had been worked out in a few years as the result of extensive and complex compromises, mainly affecting totally different clauses.[1] Therefore, the clauses that were not politically sensitive but rather technically specified one or another legal norm, attracted the legislator's attention in a lesser degree and were not so much elaborated.

Terminology issues are determined by the legal order described in Section 22 of the Official Language Law, which, however, does not ensure complete development of this process in the interests of all the Latvian language users. It is considered to be too general and covers only a small portion of the described term creation work and, in addition, the containing norms are difficult to interpret and apply.

[1] See *Valsts valodas likums: vēsture un aktualitāte* [State language law: history and topicality]. V. Ernstsone, Dz. Hirša, D. Joma u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008.

"Section 22. (1) In specialised educational literature, and technical and record-keeping documentation,[1] unified terminology shall be used. The development and use of terms shall be determined by the Terminology Commission of the Academy of Science of Latvia (hereinafter — the Terminology Commission). New terms and their defining standards shall be used in official communication only after their approval by the Terminology Commission and publication in the newspaper *Latvijas Vēstnesis* [the official Gazette of the Government of Latvia].

(2) The by-laws of the Terminology Commission shall be approved by the Cabinet."

(Official Language Law, 9 December 1999)

The given section has a number of uncertainties and inaccuracies, which restrict the use of common terminology, and it is not really possible to determine the exact content of some of the terms used in this section. Paradoxically, the section of the law can serve as an example opening up the confusion and interpretation differences in our real life due to the use of misunderstandable and inconsistent terms (and the related conceptual systems).

According to the report of the working group of the State Language Commission established in 2004[2] and the results of the year 2004 study of the Translation and Terminology Centre[3], the elaboration of two draft Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers was started on the initiative of the Ministry of Education and Science.[4]

These drafts were announced in the meeting of the State Secretaries and agreed with the involved ministries but they were not examined by the Cabinet Ministers (according to the lawyers of the State Chancellery, Section 22 includes a restrictive norm, which is limiting the power delegated to the Cabinet of Ministers for the approval of regulation for up to one institution (Terminology Commission of Latvian Academy of Science).

Apparently, the existing legal basis does not create valuable opportunities for the arrangement of terminology field, leaving a number of unspecified issues and limiting the possibilities to adopt other secondary legislation.

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[1] Underscored here and further by the author of this article — *M. B.*

[2] Head of the group: M. Jaksona; members: R. Apinis, M. Baltiņš, V. Skujiņa, J. Valdmanis.

[3] TTC. *Situācijas izpēte latviešu terminoloģijas izstrādes, saskaņošanas un apstiprināšanas jomā — problēmu identifikācija un to risinājumi* [Investigation of the situation in term elaboration, harmonization and validation; identification and solution of problems. Rīga, 2005.

[4] „Terminoloģijas izstrādes, saskaņošanas, apstiprināšanas, publiskošanas, lietošanas un grozīšanas kārtība" un „Noteikumi par Nacionālo terminu datubāzi" [Regulation on elaboration, harmonization, approval, publication, use and amendments of terminology and Regulation regarding the National Term Database).

Therefore, at the beginning of 2006, the draft Terminology Law[1] was developed, which would fundamentally state the duties and rights of all public authorities in the development of new terms, the cooperation mechanisms of these institutions and the procedure of term coordination.

On the basis of that law it would be possible to elaborate a regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers, which could further define the procedure of term elaboration, their replacement and principles of use, confidence level of various terms and their different legal status, and provide for term promulgation and free availability in free-admission electronic databases. The draft law strengthens the basic principles of terminology development and after the assessment of the given situation enables the Cabinet of Ministers to determine the procedures for the development of terminology, the administrative institutions and persons to be involved (hereinafter referred — terminology developers), and the cases when particular terminology developers would be involved in the development of terminology. The draft law provides that the terminology should be made freely publicly accessible in the term database and its use is mandatory for the state institutions and persons who exercise state administration drawing up the documents. Certainly, there is another possibility but it will not accurately satisfy all aspects of the terminology process. In that case only the elaboration of completely new terms, their use in state administration institutions and draft legal acts, drawn up by these institutions, and also in state higher education institutions is regulated. It would allow specifying the choice of the terms and the procedure of amendments when a new version of the respective law is adopted.

Postponed adoption of such laws increases the risk of growing discrepancy between the terms used in Latvian and the EU institutions (as the status of other officially used terms, except for those officially approved by the TC of the LAC, will not be clear), that the consistent use of the terms in the new draft legal acts will not be maintained (especially in science and technical branches that are fast developing and in which the traditions of stable use of basic terms are not established yet) and the interest of the field experts in terminological work will diminish. But insufficiently qualitative development of terminology, in its turn, causes a significant damage to the development of Latvian in the situation of fierce language competition, and for some language users may strengthen the idea of limited capabilities of expression in our language and foster reduction of the scope of its use or even extinction. It should

[1] Terminoloģijas likuma projekts [Draft Terminology Law]. Available at: http://helios-web.saeima.lv/bi8/lasa?dd=LP1549_0 (last accessed 10.02.2011).

be stressed that the development of terminology is one of the most important aspects providing for language competitiveness, particularly in connection with its use in higher education, state administration and science.

It should be noted that the adoption of Terminology Law or other legal acts adjusting the terminology work, needs to be regarded as a topical task for the coming years.

Another important moment, not so directly concerning term creation but significantly affecting logical inclusion of the new terms in the existing legislation, is coupled with non-existence of an effective codification process of legal acts. In particular, there is no distinction of purely technical refinements, such as the spelling change of the term, for example, or the change of the name of a responsible organization, and conceptually relevant amendments of law or other legal acts. Presently, sometimes the official text of the law or other legal acts encourages usage of false or outdated terminology as the term replacement is difficult and is often delayed until the need for other amendments arises.

Institutions involved in term creation

The transition from classical term creation, which was associated with a systematic and orderly arrangement of a branch terminology, setting up specialized term dictionaries or preparing encyclopaedic editions, to its accelerated model when the developer of the draft legal act immediately needs a single term, has aggravated a number of long-existing term creation problems which become apparent in the form of uncoordinated activities of different institutions. This is largely determined by nonconformity between the formal idea that the development and validation of terminology is the job of the TC of the LAS (as it was in the Soviet period) and the reality showing that many organizations deal with term creation and harmonization within the scope of their competence (Saeima, the State Chancellery, ministries and their supervised institutions, the State Language Centre, the Central Statistical Bureau, "Latvijas Standarts", higher education institutions, non-governmental institutions, etc.).

In the period from 2004 up to 2009, the primary responsibility for the terminology work was laid on two in nature and principles very different institutions: the Terminology Commission of the Latvian Academy of Sciences (TC LAS) and the state agency Translation and Terminology Centre. The first one was established in 1946 and it serves as the highest authority in which various experts consider specialized terms in the meetings of sub-commissions (today there are 30 sub-commissions of different branches and sub-branches of science), but the decision on the approval of a particular term is made at the TC LAS meetings.

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The members of the TC LAS, who are renowned experts of their fields, do not receive compensation for their work in the commission and all the funding granted by the LAS is directed towards the provision of functionality of the secretariat and implementation of special projects. Functioning on the honorary basis, on the one hand, provides a variety of specialists, but on the other hand, it does not impose any work quotas and does not allow quick reaction to the terminological needs of the society.

It should be noted that the TC LAS, recognizing the constructive criticism, has taken several important steps to improve its work in the reporting period. "Description of the process of term development, acceptance, approval, public announcement and amendment" was approved on 21 February 2006, which at least partly formalized the decision-making procedure. Another important benefit is associated with the establishment of the TC LSA AkadTerm database in 2007 because by then the access to the approved terms was provided only by the databases of other institutions, such as TTC, for example. And the fact that since 2007 the annual reports about the work on this commission are published in the *Yearbook of the Latvian Academy of Sciences*[1] is an essential improvement.

Thinking about the future development of the TC LAS it should be emphasized that cross-sectional harmonization of terminology, elaboration and promotion of the priority areas, as well as of the theoretical principles of term development would be more befitting. In this connection it is worth considering the future of the edition *Terminology News* and to transform it into the magazine of terminology-related questions in perspective rather than a simple collection of the TC LAS decisions mainly duplicating the official publication of *Latvijas Vēstnesis*.

During the reporting period, the most extensive work was conducted by the state agency Translation and Terminology Centre. The functions of the TTC significantly changed when the translation of *acquis communautaire* (ES law) was finished. At first the spectrum of the documents to be translated was different (the most significant historical judgements of the EU Court, international conventions and agreements binding for Latvia, documents related to enforcement of EU legislation), which by its nature often regulated technical aspects of safety of a certain field (e.g., railroad, aviation, road transportation, etc.), and required much more terminology work. Thus, for example, the supplements to the International Civil Aviation Convention accounted for approximately 18 000 standard-size technical documents.

[1] Available at: http://www.lza.lv/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=18&Itemid=57.

Another aspect of terminology work is related to the enlargement of the database, including a hitherto electronically unavailable historical term stocks, as well as clarifying the already included terms. In order to specify the subsector terms special working groups were established consisting of the TTC specialists and the respective field experts. These working groups were developed in some sectors of agriculture, in veterinary medicine, forestry (as a result the Forest Sector Terminology was published in 2007), pharmacy and aviation.

The third new aspect of this work was associated with consultative assistance to the institutions of state administration and to the Latvian translators of EU establishments for the translations of EU legislation concerning the used terminology. Regular contacts with Translation Units of various EU institutions (European Commission, European Parliament, European Council, EU Court of Auditors, EU Court of Justice, the European Central Bank and the European Translation Centre, as well as the Joint Translation Unit of the Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee) which began in autumn 2004 led to better understanding of the organization of terminology work and the cooperation opportunities. The fact that many of the translators were former employees of the TTC, who had already mastered the principles of terminology work, made the work easier. On the initiative of the TTC an interinstitutional working group on terminology was established in 2006, discussing the most topical issues with the participation of the representatives of every EU institution and the TTC.

Conferences

An important step towards the improvement of cooperation was the organization of terminology conferences, which were hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the TTC with the support of the Permanent Representation of the European Commission for the representatives of state administrational institutions, EU institutions and higher educational establishments.

The first conference was held on 3 July 2008, with the participation of the then European Commissioner for Multilingualism, Leonard Orban. It was devoted mainly to comprehending the document circulation in the EU institutions and the opportunities of Latvian experts to offer proposals for the improvement of translations and term clarifications. The second conference on 16 October 2009 was dedicated to the exploration of various cooperation models between the institutions of the member states and the EU, while getting acquainted with the experience of Sweden, Hungary, Italy and Slovakia. This work resulted in recommendations that reflected the cooperation fields and priority jobs. The third conference, held on 28 October 2010, was dealing mainly with error correction and clarification of the text, but it also reviewed the execution of the 2009 conference and adopted new recommendations.

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In the course of the state administration reform following the reduction of institutions and agencies, the TTC was incorporated in the State Language Centre on 1 July 2009 keeping all its former functions. Therefore, there is no reason to fear that the state might stop providing consultations for the translators of the EU institutions or terminate its support to other state administration institutions preparing proposals for EU legislation and correction of mistakes in the official texts of the already adopted legal acts.

Other institutions involved in term creation

Since there is a great need for the term development and the translation and implementation of international classification and nomenclature in Latvia, these duties have been officially delegated to a number of state institutions already since 1992 (especially the Central Statistical Bureau, the Ministry of Transport, the Chief Customs Office and Ministry of Welfare), which organized a series of document translations without cooperation with the TC LAS and the TTC.

So far, there are more than 60 international classifications and nomenclatures translated into Latvian and adopted, creating parallelism in term creation. Later "Latvijas Standarts" engaged in this process and its responsibility was the elaboration and approval of not only technical but also terminological standards of different branches. It should be noted that there is still a lot to be done in methodology, as there is no adequate technical committee of standardization established yet, which might closer cooperate at the international level. On the one hand, the given parallelism was caused by the reluctance of the many involved parties to find cooperation partners and a total lack of understanding of the situation, but, on the other hand, the inadequate working capacity, the slow term approval and the vague legal status of the TC played its role as well.

TERMINOLOGY RESOURCES AND THEIR AVAILABILITY

The concept of branch terminology resources include a glossary of terms, databases, encyclopaedic editions, scientific publications, textbooks, manuals and other resources, which contain details about the terms used in the given industry. In the broadest sense any type, form and content of information resources that is useful for the precise understanding of the term system and terminology used in the given branch can be considered a branch terminology resource. In practical work also consultations of specialists may serve as term resources. It should be emphasized that, analyzing the terminology resources, all the possible types of terms and denominations are treated as terms (includ-

ing eponymic terms, abbreviations and nomenclature words), as well as collocation terms or terminological collocations.

For practical reasons terminological resources can be divided into several groups separating electronic resources (to be discussed separately due to their significance) from other sources on principle. And they are as follows:

- printed work (books, booklets, periodicals, etc., including publication of legal acts);
- the so-called gray (unconventional) literature, namely, "literature, which contains open-source information and is not available through sales network (analytical reviews, reports of technical or scientific research, deposited research work, programmes and materials of conferences or congresses, etc.)";
- course papers, graduation papers, bachelor and master thesis, dissertations, etc., unpublished manuscripts for academic or scientific qualification;
- documents for internal circulation;
- open access or restricted access electronic databases;
- term filing.

Although it is not easy to set the boundaries between different terminological printed works, all-in-all we could speak about nine different resource groups. In this case we will examine them in the sequence from the simplest to the most complex kind of terminological resource.

1) **The term list** is the record of terms containing the most essential terms of a particular branch of science. These terms are mostly listed in alphabetic order but occasionally they can be grouped in a hierarchic order starting with the basic terms of the industry. In practice this is the list of the most important terms of a definite text (monograph or legal act), as well as the list of the conceptually chosen most complex, controversial or new terms. The majority of term lists do not include the equivalents of other languages or detailed explanations. The exemption to this principle is only the explanation of the given terms in the introductory part of the laws, offering the concept of the term use in the given document.
2) **Glossary** is a summary and explanation (definition) of the most important terms attached to a particular book or a certain set of international regulating documents. Usually, glossary covers only the term explanations of the given book (or the specified action policy documents).
3) **Nomenclature lists and statistical classifications** are the listings of group (classification) units used in the given branch for precisely defined

purposes, supplemented with numeric or alphanumeric codes. According to the latest data on the Unified Classification System for Economic Information there are 34 national, 28 EU and 13 international classifications and classifiers effective in Latvia today. These are the documents for information processing and are treated as the listings of the most essential terms of a particular branch (for example, industrial production, diseases or water bodies). In addition to real terms with an independent conceptual load, they tend to also include many summarising categories that match up the elsewhere unspecified or inaccurately described object coding. The nomenclature list of separately published and industry required products and services (often known as classification), when used within a unified system of economic information, usually turns into a significant source of terms. Another problem is related to the fact that some of these classifications are not publicly available online in electronic environment or at least open market purchased. The creation or translation of new classifications does not always happen in strict observance of the previously agreed terms. Using these sources it is important to consider whether the classification is fully developed in Latvia (for example, "Classification of Ethnicity"), whether the translation is adapted (e.g., the basis of the "Classifications of Occupations" is the latest version of the international classification) but the division of professions is made according to the needs of Latvia) or precise translation (like the "International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems"). Usually it is easy to find options in non-adapted classifications of other languages, as the codes which coincide in all languages are very helpful.

4) **The term bulletins** are mostly the lists of alphabetically sorted words (and their references in at least one foreign language), which summarize terms of those branch sectors or sub-sectors that have caused reproduction difficulties or that had been discussed by the experts in a given period of time. In many cases such a list has gained official approval. The term 'bulletin' usually does not include well-known terms, therefore the lists may cause a fragmentary impression.
5) **Glossaries of terms** are (at least they should be) the sets of basic terms of a certain branch or its sub-sector given in at least two languages and supplemented by the allied terms, which are often used in practice.
6) **Specialized encyclopaedic editions** differ from glossaries of terms in that they also include additional definitions and other explanations, for

example, the concept of hierarchic relationships or classification elements. And it is true that the denomination *specialized encyclopaedias* covers a wide range of editions from illustrated books for children up to the original research works of highly qualified professionals. In many cases foreign language equivalents are often missing in the specified encyclopaedic dictionaries (except Nature Encyclopaedias, in which the Latin names of the species and genera are usually included), but such a successful example as *Explanatory Dictionary of Genetic Terms* may serve as a prototype for similar work today.

7) **Dictionaries of foreign words** form a special group of terminology resources, which explains the meaning of the words regarded as strange and gives the correct reproduction in Latvian with short notes on their etymology. Bearing in mind the problematic nature of their definitions (when the word can be considered as an already adapted borrowing and when — not), the word selection in these dictionaries is always controversial.
8) **Multiprofile encyclopaedias** contain very rich terminological information about certain issues, including the key terms of the given branch and the links to other related entries. The lack of equivalents in other languages (though there are occasional etymological references) is regarded as a conditional shortcoming. In general, such high-quality works are commonly used in inexcusably rare occasions, although in principle one can find there all the most significant terms of the given branch (like in the selected entries in the libraries). Encyclopaedias of historic terms are also too seldom used, although even at the basic level they help tracing the branch terminology already since the publication of the first unfinished Encyclopaedia (*Konversācijas vārdnīca*) compiled by Jēkabs Dravnieks.
9) **Translating dictionaries** also cover a part of the key terms of the industry, but the inconsistent use of indications concerning the specific branch affiliation, as well as the limited availability of the consultant for finding the most appropriate Latvian equivalent often essentially burden their application.

Generally characterizing all those varieties of resources, it should be noted that the main drawback is connected with the principle of formation, standardization of the graphical layout, type and usage of the applied explanations. Terminological editions often lack truly analytical forewords, which would describe the development process, principles of word selection and sources, as

well as analyses of the difficulties. Unfortunately, we can seldom find detailed forewords or comments about the conceptual guidelines, selection principles and reference materials of the compilers as well as possible solutions of particular problems in Latvian terminological resources (i.a. lexicographical edition in general). If several languages are used in the resource, it is not always clear which language the authors have taken as the basis for the creation of the Latvian term and clarification of its meaning.

The study of the TTC, "Identification of the quality and availability of Latvian terminology resources in various branches of science and practical operations"[1], allowed exploring different kinds of term resources in 435 separate editions.

First of all, it should be acknowledged that there have been two significant gaps in the development of Latvian terminology in a little more than half a century: after the Second World War and since the early1990s. And both are characterized by unmotivated and unnecessary term replacement with others in the name of apparent modernization. They can be explained by both the strict change of the contact language and ideology and the difficulty to use earlier terminological resources (due to physical non-availability and biased attitude). Secondly, there is a reason to believe that in many branches a partial shift from continental European term creation (characteristic of German and Russian) to Anglo-Saxon term system has taken place. As such, this fact is neither good nor bad, although it increases variability of terminology.

Terminological resources cannot develop being isolated from the common terminology process. The availability, topicality and quality of these resources depend on the work invested by branch specialists, linguists, terminologists and the creators of language and term policy in the development of science-based and modern terminology, which ensures high-quality Latvian language for scientific, educational, cultural and economic needs.

The most significant electronic term resources

Electronic term databases and dictionaries in comparison with the traditional paper format provide a considerable data storage capacity, a wide selection of information and processing capabilities, as well as an operational approach to the terms, that have not yet been published or the published versions are hardly ever available. The use of electronic databases essentially reduces the costs and time spent for the collection and processing of information. Technical possibilities of electronic databases significantly increase the efficiency of

[1] See information about the study: http://www.vvc.gov.lv/advantagecms/LV/publikacijas/vardnicu_petijums.html.

selection, which is an important factor in the translation and terminology work. Low efficiency of the printed terminology resources is one of the reasons why the use of electronic resources has become so popular among the translators and branch specialists.

The first open-access electronic database in Latvia was created in 1999, digitizing a series of TC LAS materials which later were supplemented by other terminological resources and the lists of words coordinated with the ministries. In the long run the TTC database[1] has become the biggest (as to the number of entries) term database in the Latvian language and the State Language Centre is presently continuing and perfecting its development.

The TC LAS has established the academic term database AkadTerm[2], which comprises the terms created and approved by the Terminology Commission and additional terms from other resources (altogether 836 625 terms in six languages).

In the reporting period there have been attempts to create also other term databases. Without denying the good will of the creators, two important conditions should be emphasized: 1) modern software and improved search tools are essential, of course, but they themselves cannot develop new term resources if the already available collections are installed there; 2) the term user can use only the actively updated and maintained database, which is still being updated, while a number of project-financed databases (EuroTermBank was the most advertised of them) are no longer supplemented after the termination of financing and in certain issues even contain outdated and inaccurate information. One comprehensive and regularly updated database would be sufficient for our state.

The long-drawn EU database IATE[3] (Inter-Active Terminology for Europe) is also an interesting project, which is publicly available since 27 June 2007. It is represented in all the EU official languages and the employees of the European Union translation units are responsible for supplementation of this database. However, there is a marked discrepancy between the number of entries of the "old" member states (close to 1.3 million of English and French entries) and the "new" member states, which until recently did not exceed a few tens of thousands, namely, the equivalent terms were found only for a few per cent of terms in these languages.

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[1] VVC. *Terminu datubāze internetā* [Term database on Internet]. Available at: http://vvc.gov.lv/advantagecms/LV/terminologija/terminudatubaze.html.

[2] LZA TK. *Akadēmiskā terminu datubāze AkadTerm* [Academic term database AkadTerm]. Available at: http://termini.lza.lv/term.php.

[3] Translation Centre for the Bodies of the European Union. *Inter-Active Terminology for Europe*. Available at: http://iate.europa.eu.

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SOME IMPEDING FACTORS

Sometimes misconceptions and prejudices concerning the nature of a certain problem and the most important tasks significantly delay many operations. While the amount of accomplishments in the development of Latvian terminology is surprisingly large, dispersing misconceptions would help to increase the efficiency and productivity of work. We could name at least eight prejudices, which have earned the status of a myth and trouble mutual understanding and cooperation of the term creators and language users:

Prejudices and myths

1) There is a **shortage of terms in the Latvian language**. Maintenance of this myth was involuntarily supported by the ill-wishers of Latvian and lazy native speakers already from the very beginning of the discussed period. On the one hand, it has always served as the basis for arrogance towards the language, but on the other, it has been as excuse for their own inability and ignorance, needlessly creating new terms where they have long been successfully used. In addition, in recent years we can find a variation furnished by the teaching staff of some higher educational establishments and popularized by mass media that there will never be a sufficient amount of terms in Latvian and the respective course of studies was even taught in foreign languages (most often in English).
2) **Any translation problem is related to terminology**. In most cases the appearance of an incorrect and unclear text material (no matter, original or translated) is not connected with incorrect use of the term, although, a good knowledge of the term system would certainly allow avoiding misunderstandings. In this respect the employees of the state administration, who do not wish to distinguish the use of wrong terms from other problems of text-formation, are often sinning.
3) **Term approval is the most important in the terminology process**. Terminology process involves six closely related steps, out of which one is singled out, for unclear reasons, and it is connected with purely legal authorities of the TC LAS. Instead of being obsessed with term approval they should better reach consensus on conceptual issues and to identify and duly satisfy the terminological needs of the society, as well as to explain and popularise the decisions.
4) **Approval of definitions is a compulsory element of term creation**. Without denying that the process requires explanation of an unfamiliar concept, we should nevertheless understand that the practical term

creation course does not offer definitions suitable for encyclopaedias or text-books. Therefore, the definition should be seen as desirability instead of a necessity, understanding that the explanation will agree with the conception of a generally used dictionary.

5) **Amendment of spelling of foreign words automatically improves the quality of terminology**. This is one of the specific questions of the history of Latvian language as the discussions about the spelling versions of one or the other borrowing (most often originating from classical languages) which, trying to bring it to the ideal reflection, often conflicts with the traditionally used variant and also with the phonetic system of the Latvian language have often overshadowed the creation of new terms both in near and distant past.
6) **Creation of calques is undesirable and should be avoided**. Slavish translation of each component of the term is certainly undesirable and exterminable, however, reasonable formation of calques, whenever it takes place observing the spirit of language, is a productive model of term creation.
7) **Creation of new electronic databases is significantly helping the term users.** Without questioning the possibility to create more user-friendly and transparent databases, we can produce additional value only if we place new, previously inaccessible materials in the databases. Therefore, the creation of new databases is a cautious process and we have to recognize that the existence of multiple, mutually contradictory databases rather embarrass the user than help him. And we should be very critical when dealing with databases without clearly defined formation principles and term sources.
8) **Frequent use of the equivalent of a certain term in practice is a testimony to its accuracy**. This is the latest myth associated with the use of a wide range of web browsers. Although this is the way how we can find valuable information about the terms already used in Latvian, it does not help to find out whichever is the most correct term, but shows only which is the most commonly used.

Positive conservativism

Being aware of the priorities, we should remember that the most important thing for terminology work is to maintain healthy conservatism, namely, to give up the wish to make amendments for the sake of amendments. It refers to both the term developers (is there any use to make slight modifications if the current term is neither false nor out of date) and the term users (it is desirable to use the existing term even if it does not seem ideal). If there are already

established terminological traditions in the branch we should particularly avoid taste-dictated modifications of terms. To be able to endure the pressure of the resource language (mostly English), which in many ways foster unnecessary amendments, it is desirable to use juxtaposition with other big languages (French, Russian, Spanish, German) and other EU languages.

Other impeding stereotypes

Psychological stereotypes of other users (or non-users) which cannot be ignored if we want to achieve a more consistent use of terminology often hinder implementation of the terms in practice. One of them to be mentioned is legal snobbery that is often characteristic of not only the experts of law but other specialists of state administration as well and it manifests as the reluctance of the law developers to comply with the advice of terminologists and other branch professionals or, on the contrary, as a stubborn sticking to previously implemented solutions "for the sake of legal consistency", and also as a passion for temporary solutions of particular needs, sacrificing the systemic approach to the problem. To a great extent this is due to the unclear determination of the development and validation of terminology in the legal system of Latvia, and the still loose tradition of term integration into the existing legal acts.

We can often see the arrogance of the branch experts expressed in their inability and lack of good will to search for earlier suggested and successfully used terms (with the slogan "This branch in Latvia starts with me"), passion for uncritical loanwords and literary interpretations instead of creative term development, reluctance to actively participate in term creation and inability at least to listen attentively to the arguments of branch terminology specialists and linguists. And in addition, in recent years the specialists are those who particularly emphasize the use of Anglicisms, partly attributed to the limited skills of other languages and the inability to use the available terminological resources.

Quite important is also the *linguistic dogmatism* that sometimes can be found in the work of the involved persons, especially philological consultants. Its most characteristic trait is passion for one type of model in word-formation, unsubstantiated compound formation, ignoring of polysemy of terms and generalization of one meaning, the desire to obtain a universal definition in all cases, instructive tone and hasty decisions in discussions with experts, inability to find answers to topical questions in due time. This view often becomes the reason why many branch specialists doubt the suggestions of linguists and their accuracy even in those cases when they are justified and well-reasoned. But in case the cooperation is established, the result is usually good and satisfactory to both parties.

Although it is possible to build the terms and develop the system working "in a vacuum" and nurturing the industry out of its functional context, it is still better not to ignore these conditions and consider them for the sake of the common goal — a richer and more precise terminology.

Conclusions

If we definitely do not want to make any changes in our attitude and cooperation models and accept the idea that everything is in the best order (and it is always an advisable alternative to any active action) we are to be ready to put up with the increasing lack of coordination (between the EU and Latvian institutions, and between different branches or even within one branch in Latvia), which will be difficult to prevent in the existing possibilities. This will also increase the disparity between the number of the approved terms and the needs of the society, which will be satisfied by ad hoc accepted denominations, as well as an inconsistent use of the recommended terms. Finally, those branch experts who have so far willingly participated in the adjustment of the term system will lose their interest in the terminology, seeing that their recommendations are not taken into account. And we cannot afford the consequences of such inertness — it is the responsibility for the Latvian language before the next generations of its users.

7.2. The Latvian language in the world

One of the directions of the state language policy in Latvia is to ensure spreading and competitiveness of Latvian in the global language market and to provide for its preservation and acquisition opportunities in the Latvian diaspora worldwide. Thus we may distinguish two ways in the acquisition of Latvian outside Latvia:

Acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language

- Latvian as the native tongue (for the representatives of the diaspora);
- Latvian as a foreign language.

The Latvian Language Agency is the authority responsible for the implementation of this direction of the language policy. Support to the members of Latvian diaspora is provided in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the World Federation of Free Latvians and other state institutions and non-governmental organizations.

Lately, especially after joining the EU in 2004, the number of people who wish to learn Latvian as a foreign language has increased and the opportunities to learn have been enlarged (Fig. 60).

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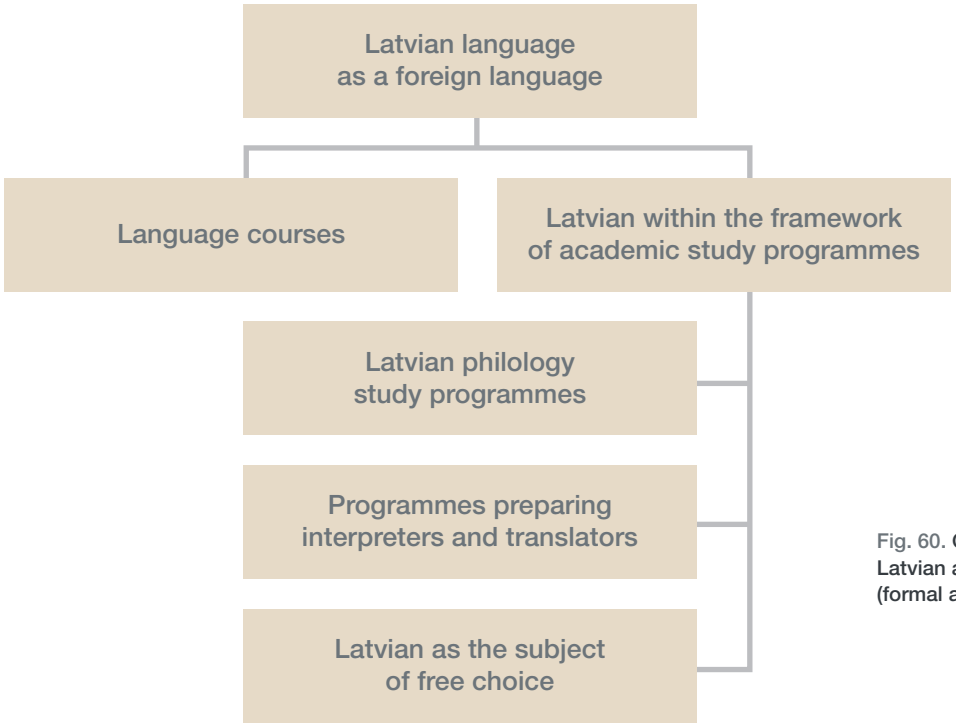

Fig. 60. **Opportunities to learn Latvian as a foreign language (formal and informal education)**

Currently, according to the data of the Latvian Language Agency, the Latvian language teaching and/or research-work in being carried out in the higher education institutions of approximately 13 states of the world: in the USA (1), Russia (2), the Czech Republic (2), Estonia (2), Lithuania (4), Poland (2), Germany (3), Norway (1), Sweden (1), Finland (1), Hungary (2), Austria (1), Great Britain (1).[1] Universities of some countries — China, for example — have expressed a wish to incorporate Latvian in their study programmes (from September 2011 Latvian is taught at the Beijing Foreign Studies University). But in part of the universities, e.g., Vilnius University, Charles University in Prague, Saint Petersburg State University, Siauliai University, etc. the research and teaching traditions of the Latvian language are very old.[2]

Acquisition of Latvian as a native tongue

The acquisition of Latvian as a native tongue in the diaspora should be assessed in the context of the period when the diasporas have emerged and the host country in which the Latvian emigrants have settled, as the acquisition and preservation of Latvian in these groups are very different. The main groups of the Latvian diaspora which were formed and preserved:

[1] See the list of higher educational establishments in the study *Latviešu valodas kā svešvalodas apguve Eiropas augstskolās* [Acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language in European universities]. Rīga: Valsts valodas aģentūra, 2008.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

- Latvians who left their homeland searching for a better life at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century;
- those who left during the Second World War and their descendants — Latvian is seen as a cultural heritage and identity, as a communication tool among friends and relatives:
    - those who emigrated to the West are characterized by strong diaspora organizations, they have their own schools, teaching aids, a stable system of identity preservation and a vision for the future;
    - those who emigrated to the East, the so-called Latvians of Russia — as a result of the language and ethnic policy many assimilated into the Soviet Union and the language skills were preserved mainly by the older generation. Since the renewal of Latvian independence the interest of the younger generation about their origin and grandparents' language has also increased;
- emigrants who have left Latvia after 1991 and their descendants — increase of emigration to European countries for economic reasons after Latvia joined of the European Union.

Preservation of the Latvian language and motivation to learn it is treated mainly as the opportunity of the younger generation to return to Latvia and continue their studies in Latvian schools.[1]

In the period from 2005 up to 2009, the Latvian Language Agency[2] has supported the acquisition of the Latvian language, culture and folklore providing teaching staff in the following locations: in Russia – Krasnoyarsk (for 5 years), Lower Bulan (2 years), Bobrovsk, Omsk region (5 years), Kurlyano-Dubovka (4 years), Latvian Sunday School in Moscow (5 years), Latvian Sunday School in Pskov (4 years), Latvian Sunday School in Vitebsk (3 years), Sunday School in Smolensk (2 years), in the secondary school of Gorky (arch-Latvian) village of the Republic of Bashkortostan (5 years), Children and Youth Centre in Limerick (2 years), kindergarten and school in Longford (1 year, see Fig. 61), Latvian school (1 year) and the weekend school "Saulgriezīte" (1 year) in Cork, etc.

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[1] About the possibilities and problems of language preservation of the so-called new emigrants see: Kļava, G., Motivāne, K. *Valodas lietojums diasporā: citu valstu prakse un Latvijas rīcībpolitikas izvērtējums* [Language use in the diaspora: practice of other countries and assessment of action policy of Latvia]. Rīga: Latviešu valodas aģentūra, 2009.

[2] Until 2009, the Latvian Language Acquisition State Agency was responsible for the acquisition of Latvian in the diaspora.

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Fig. 61. **Children of the Latvian kindergarten in Longford, schoolchildren and their teacher O. Lagzdiņa.** Photo: Latvian kindergarten in Longford

The Latvian Language Agency has evaluated the existing educational programmes and also prepared a special training programme for the children of the Latvian diaspora,[1] has developed and issued teaching and methodological aids, it also organizes seminars for the teachers of the diaspora (Fig. 62). Since 2008, in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the WFFL, textbooks, methodological aids and Latvian literature are regularly being sent to the Latvian centres and schools in the whole world, as well as to the universities where Latvian is being taught.

Knowledge and skills of the Latvian language were perfected in the LLA supported diaspora schools by: 169 persons in 2005, 197 in 2006, 178 in 2007, 218 in 2008 and 206 in 2009. Together with the Unit of the State Language Proficiency Testing of the NCE the agency arranged the language examination for the Latvians in Russia to certify their skills. In the period from 2006 to 2009, the proficiency testing facilities have been successfully used by 73 persons: 18 of them demonstrated the basic level, 36 — the average level but 23 — the highest level of language proficiency.

Problems

The expansion of Latvian in the world, both as a foreign language and as a native language, should be promoted by tackling a number of problems and ac-

[1] LVA. *Latviešu valodas programma diasporai* [Latvian language programme for the diaspora]. 2006. gads. Available at: http://valoda.lv/Latviesu_valoda_arzemes/Materiali/mid_576 (last accessed 05.02.2011).

Fig. 62. **Teaching aid "Labdien" issued by the LLA for the acquisition of the Latvian language in the diaspora**[1]

complishing the needs which have been specified by the educators of foreign universities and the educational workers of the diaspora. And they are:

- lack of dictionaries;
- lack of Latvian grammar materials, syntax and semantics in foreign languages;
- informative and/or methodologically outdated teaching aids (to be more precise, lack of modern teaching aids);
- difficulties in recruiting qualified lecturers, teachers from Latvia;
- incomplete information about where, at what proficiency level and how the Latvian language is being taught/studied;
- limited opportunities of the children who have returned to Latvia to fully align with the educational system of Latvia.

In order to be able to fully implement this direction of language policy, in future attention should be paid to several aspects: Tasks

[1] LVAVA. *Labdien!* Darba lapas latviešu valodas apguvei 1. Rīga: Preses nams, 2008; LVA. *Labdien!* Darba lapas latviešu valodas apguvei 2 [Work sheets for the acquisition of the Latvian language 1, 2]. Rīga: Apgāds Imanta, 2009.

- to develop distance learning materials for the acquisition of different skill levels of Latvian as a foreign language for grown-ups and children;
- to organize regular courses for educators (school teachers of the diaspora and university lecturers);
- to organize various camps for language training and skill development for the children of the diaspora and foreign students in Latvia;
- to supplement regular audio-visual and textual materials for the schools of diaspora to promote the acquisition and use of Latvian in the diaspora and purposefully build up a positive image of Latvia in the world;
- to provide financial support for the establishment of lectorates and provision of lecturers to foreign universities (e.g., at the Charles University in Prague);
- to financially support the elaboration and publication of textbooks, dictionaries, sets of tasks and other teaching and methodological aids;
- to create a new curriculum for the preparation of teachers of Latvian as of a foreign language.

7.3. Latvian literature in the world

Latvian language and culture in the world is being promoted by the translations of literature which is one of the most important forms of art. In order to integrate into the context of the world contemporary literature, Latvian literature[1] has to overcome both geographically and linguistically defined borders and financial difficulties.

Support institutions and financing

The year 1998 can be considered as a landmark in the promotion of Latvian literature when the Latvian Culture Capital Foundation was founded (since 2004, the State Culture Capital Foundation), a democratic system of project financing introduced and when the first important steps for the support and

[1] There are two terms used in public environment — *Latvian literature* and *literature of Latvia*, aiming to define the difference between the literature written in Latvian and the works written in the territory of Latvia. The traditional formulation, *Latvian literature*, is used here, meaning the literature written in Latvian and the works of Latvian authors written in foreign languages as well as the creations of foreign authors.

implementation of cultural policy[1] were made. Before 1998, all the financing in the cultural field was under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and the development of the field was the result of enthusiastic work of non-governmental organizations and executors of individual projects.

Since the foundation of the Latvian Literature Centre (LLC) in 2002 and the allocation of support to its activities by the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF, the creation and updating of a translation database providing access to the excerpts of the best works of Latvian literature to the translators, publishing-houses, literary agents, critics and other interested persons became possible.

In 2003 and 2004, the State Culture Capital Foundation announced the target programme „Latvian literature in the world" for the first time providing grants for translators of Latvian literature (Table 5[2]).

Name of the target programme	„Latvian literature in the world"'		„Grants for the translations of Latvian literature and the world literature"		„Translation of Latvian literature and the world literature"
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Number of contests	2	2	2	2	2
Sum (LVL)	6875	8000	12 500	15 100	10 200

Table 5. **The SCCF target programme for the translations of Latvian literature for period from 2003 up to 2007**

Unfortunately, in 2007, the Council of the SCCF adopted a decision to stop the funding of this target programme (replacing it with the target programme „Creation and publication of children's literature"). However, the translation work is still being financed through the annual SCCF Project Competitions.

Statistics of Latvian authors' books published in foreign languages

An important contribution to the promotion of Latvian literature is the cultural programme „Latvian literature in the world", financed by the SCCF and implemented by the Latvian Literature Centre with the aim „to provide worldwide identification and availability of high-quality Latvian prose, poetry, drama, journalism and children's literature". To achieve this goal, the LLC

[1] LLC. *Latviešu literatūras tulkojumi* [Translations of Latvian literature]. 2003.–2010. gads. Available at: http://www.literature.lv/lv/index.html (last accessed 26.11.2010).

[2] The data published on www.kkf.lv and the data of the Latvian Literature Centre (www.literature.lv) are used in the homepage of the State Cultural Capital Foundation.

coordinates the cooperation projects with writers and translators, facilitates the publications of the translations in foreign periodicals, on the Internet (informative vortal www.literature.lv) and in books (Tables 6 and 7).

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Number of books published	4	9	12	15	25	15	15

Table 6. **Books of Latvian authors published abroad in foreign languages in 2004–2010.**

Latvian literature has been published in more than 20 different languages of the world.[1]

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Languages	5	10	7	16	11	10	10

Table 7. **Number of languages in which translations of Latvian literature have been published abroad in books and periodicals (2004–2010).**

The most translated works of Latvian authors:

- With Dance Shoes in Siberian Snows" by Sandra Kalniete, translated into twelve languages;
- „Observations in the Time of Snow" by Inga Ābele, translated into English, German, French, Slovenian, Italian and Russian while her novel „Fire Will Not Wake You" — in Lithuanian, Danish and Swedish, and a part of it in English;
- The novel „Celebration of Life" by Nora Ikstena (Fig. 63) has been translated into Danish, Swedish, English, Estonian and Russian in the period of eleven years;
- Poetry by Knuts Skujenieks — into Lithuanian, English, Turkish, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian and Armenian languages;
- The most translated poet is Juris Kronbergs. His cycle of poems or its parts are published in English, German, French, Lithuanian, Estonian, Swedish, Turkish, Czech, Bulgarian and Armenian.

[1] Latvian literature is published in the following languages: Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Polish, Russian, Slovak, Slovenian, Swedish, Turkish, and Ukrainian.

Fig. 63. „Celebration of Life" – a novel by Nora Ikstena in Georgian and poems by Edvīns Raups in English

Participation in the International Book Fairs (2004–2009)

The situation of Latvian book publishing is being displayed and promoted at the International Book Fairs. This gives an opportunity to meet other branch professionals and persons interested in literature, to present Latvian literature, Latvian authors and the books which have gained recognition and evaluation in Latvian contests. Latvia has been participating in the International Book Fairs already since 1998.

Each of the fairs has a slightly different target audience. In some of them more attention is paid to the reader and literature, e.g., in Leipzig, Gothenburg, Prague, but there are also fairs, such as in Frankfurt, London, where emphasis is mainly on buying and selling of copyright and on publishing. However, as the experience of earlier years shows, the common feature is the number of visitors, the average of which is from 100 thousand (Gothenburg Book Fair, Fig. 64) up to 350 thousand (Frankfurt Book Fair).[1]

[1] LLC. *Biedrības „Latvijas Literatūras centrs" kultūras programmas „Latvijas literatūra pasaulē" pieteikuma apraksts* [Announcement of the cultural programme „Latvian literature in the world"]. Rīga, 2008, 4. lpp.

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Fig. 64. **Latvian exhibition stand at the Gothenburg Book Fair in 2008.** Photo: Latvian Literature Centre

Participation at the book fairs has the following objectives:

1) to inform about Latvian literature, to acquaint foreign publishers, writers and other interested persons with the translations and achievements of Latvian literature — prose, poetry, children's literature, drama, criticism, socio-political history, linguistics and other fields;
2) to display the high-quality professionalism not only of the substance but also of the visual and polygraphic presentation of Latvian books.[1]

Participation in the exhibitions and the exhibition stands is the visiting card of the state which helps the international community to recognize Latvia as a country with a developed culture and confirms its belonging to the European cultural family.

Since 2002, Latvia has regularly been represented either with a national stand or within the EC-supported Project „Literature Across Frontiers" in the following international book fairs: the Leipzig Book Fair in Germany (March), the London Book Fair in Great Britain (April), the Prague Book Fair in the Czech Republic (May), the Gothenburg Book Fair in Sweden (September), the

[1] LLC. *Biedrības „Latvijas Literatūras centrs" kultūras programmas „Latvijas literatūra pasaulē" pieteikuma apraksts* [Announcement of the cultural programme „Latvian literature in the world"]. Rīga, 2008, 4. lpp.

Frankfurt Book Fair in Germany (October), the Moscow Book Fair „Non/fiction" in Russia (December). As professional guests the representatives of Latvia have participated in the Paris Book Fair in France (Salon du Livre) (March) and the Bologna Children's Book Fair in Italy (April).[1]

Translations of Latvian literature and participation in international events provide the recognition of Latvian literature and culture abroad and foster the popularity of our authors beyond the borders of Latvia, at the same time contributing to the overall integration of Latvian cultural landscape into the European cultural context.

7.4. Electronic and other language resources

Development of the modern information society has raised the need to develop language technologies, since the use of language as a means of communication has become wider. Language technologies are the information technologies working with the most demanding and most complex information tool — human language.[2]

The programme of the State Language Policy for 2006–2010 anticipates the development of language technologies:

- to provide financial and administrative support for the computational linguistic research of the Latvian language;
- to organize and present a proper computerized database of contemporary Latvian language ensuring its widespread use;
- to establish the Latvian language text and speech corpus prescribing the necessary software development for its establishment and maintenance.

The programme anticipates also the provision of bases for the scientific research and the development of software for lexicographical work with the database and language corpus, as well as the promotion of the development of Latvian terminology, formation of databases and dictionaries, encouragement of international cooperation in terminology development.

Language resources nowadays

The tools of language cultivation that are traditionally conceived as dictionaries, grammar, manuals, etc., should be adjusted to the present conditions

[1] Data of the Latvian Literature Centre.
[2] Uszkoreit, H. *Language Technology. A First Overview.* Available at: http://www.lt-world.org/kb/information-and-knowledge/information-sources/relevant-sources/obj_80428 (last accessed 15.01.2011).

and the new requirements of the modern human of the Information Age. The direction of the EU declared language policy and the commitment to preserve the linguistic diversity and to promote multiculturalism at the time when electronic and digital devices become more and more important in our lives can be achieved by developing computer-based language resources and tools. The resources of the EU official languages are not equally available to all — the internationally used and closely investigated languages have greater advantages than lesser used languages which have attracted the attention of the developers of language resources rather recently.

In recent years, Europe and the world is witnessing rapid development of language technologies, especially in the field of language resources and unified infrastructure. A number of EU-level activities have been initiated to promote the development of language technologies, such as CLARIN project (www.clarin.eu), FLaReNet project (www.flarenet.eu), META-NET (www.meta-net.lv), etc.

Electronic resources of the Latvian language

The Baltic States are actively participating in this process. On 21–22 April 2004, the State Language Commission organized the first conference on the language resources in the Baltics. It aimed to promote cooperation between the Baltic and the EU researchers in the field of language technologies creating inter-branch links between the linguists, computer science and information technology specialists and promoting the development of language technology projects and application software.[1] Since 2004, the development and investigation of language technologies has been very fast in Latvia. On 7–8 October 2010, the 4th International Conference on Language Technologies took place in Riga, in which the experts shared their experiences about the accomplished and set the tasks for near future. The participants examined different fields of language technologies — corpus linguistics, automatic translation, speech technologies, semantics, etc. This conference certainly contributed to the cooperation between the specialists of computer science and linguists.

[1] VVK. *Valsts valodas komisijas 2004. gada darbs* [Annual report of the State Language Commission for 2004]. Available at: http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=120&id=743 (last accessed 08.02.2011).

THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE TECHNOLOGY PROJECTS IN LATVIA (2004–2009)[1]

Name of the project, resource or the tool	Implementing institution, support institution	E-address	Short description
CLARIN	International project, partners in Latvia: LU MII and SIA Tilde	www.clarin.lv	Objective: To develop an integrated, collaborative research infrastructure that would allow the researchers of humanities, social and exact sciences easy access and use of the language resources and technologies. One of the tasks of the CLARIN project is to identify the existing language resources and tools, to determine the necessary basic resources and tools for each language, to make up a strategy for the development of the missing tools and resources. Although there is still a large gap between the language resources and technologies of the widely used languages and the Latvian language, the current studies and tools can serve as an important basis and infrastructure for further research already now. Participating in the CLARIN project Latvia acquires expertise in all the fields related to the creation of language resources and enters the international circulation.
SemTi-Kamols	IMCS UL; Project „Investigation and Development of the Semantic Web and its Adjustment to the Needs of Latvia" supported by the National Research Programme „Scientific Foundations of Information Technologies"	www.semti-kamols.lv	The main objective of the Global Semantic Web is to create a universal media through which people could share information all over the world, integrating formal semantics into the web contents understandable for automatic data processing tools — computers. In the framework of the project SemTi-Kamols a simplified web service of the Latvian language analyzer has been developed that finds the list of corresponding forms to each list of the word forms, indicating parts of speech as well. Lexicon of the analyzer covers ~ 50 000 lexemes.
Database of Latvian Explanatory Dictionaries and Recent Loanwords	IMCS UL; Project of the State Research Programme "Letonica (Latvian Studies)"	www.tezaurs.lv	The aim of this long-term project is to create a comprehensive database of Latvian explanatory dictionaries, which would be available on the web for research purposes.

[1] The tables of the chapter are based on the data from the study: Skadiņa, I., Auziņa, I., Grūzītis, N., Levāne-Petrova, K., Nešpore, G., Skadiņš, R., Vasiļjevs, A. Language Resources and Technology for the Humanities of Latvia (2004-2010), In: *Human Language Technologies — The Baltic Perspective*: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference Baltic HLT 2010. I. Skadiņa and A. Vasiļjevs (eds.) IOS Press, 2010.

Name of the project, resource or the tool	Implementing institution, support institution	E-address	Short description
Evaluation of Statistical Machine Translation Methods for English–Latvian Translation System (2005–2008)	IMCS UL; supported by the Latvian Council of Science	http://smtdemo.ailab.lv/	The aim of the project is to assess the appropriateness of methods for statistical translation into Latvian and to develop the prototype of Latvian–English statistical machine translation. Studies of the recent years have shown that the quality of the STM system translation is often insufficient.[1] Translating into languages with a complex morphology and free word order (also in Latvian) the words chosen in the STM system generated translations are mostly correct but their sequence in the sentence and the selected case forms often do not allow the reader to understand the idea of sentence or in some cases are even misleading.
Modelling of Universal Lexicon system for the Latvian language (2005–2008)	IMCS UL; supported by the Latvian Council of Science		The prototype of a universally parametrizable mechanism of entry transformation and representation has been created; the open-source platform DEB II XML for the online insertion of dictionaries and query oriented services are implemented and adjusted. Insertion of pattern dictionaries.
Corpus of ancient texts of the Latvian language	IMCS UL and the Faculty of Philology of the University of Latvia	http://www.korpuss.lv/senie/	An electronic collection of texts representing the language of former written monuments of Latvia. The formation of the corpus of ancient texts is an essential prerequisite for the compilation of the historical dictionary of the Latvian language.
Application of Factored Methods in English–Latvian SMT System (2009–2012)	IMCS UL; supported by the Latvian Council of Science	http://smtdemo.ailab.lv/	Objective of the project: to evaluate the influence of different factors (morphological and syntactic features, general purpose dictionaries, terminology dictionaries) upon the quality of automated translation systems and to implement it into the prototype of the current statistical machine translation (SMT) to improve the quality of translations.
Language Shore	*Tilde, Microsoft,* Universities, University Colleges and Institutes of Latvia and other countries	www.valodukrasts.lv	The project was started in 2009 under the patronage of the President of Latvia Valdis Zatlers. This initiative proposes the creation of a global technology development centre for small languages in Latvia. It is planned to consolidate and coordinate research institutions, information technology companies and other relevant institutions in the field of language technologies. E.g., the project of the database EuroTermBank.com expansion and the creation of an advanced Latvian–English and English–Latvian machine translation system have been accomplished.

[1] Skadiņa, I., Auziņa, I., Grūzītis, N., Levāne-Petrova, K., Nešpore, G., Skadiņš, R., Vasiļjevs, A. Language Resources and Technology for the Humanities of Latvia (2004–2010), In: *Human Language Technologies — The Baltic Perspective*: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference Baltic HLT 2010. I. Skadiņa and A. Vasiļjevs (eds.) IOS Press, 2010.

Name of the project, resource or the tool	Implementing institution, support institution	E-address	Short description
Visvaris	SIA *Tilde*		Synthesizer of the Latvian language. The Latvian Association of the Blind People participated in the realization of this project. Most users recognize that the quality of pronunciation of *Visvaris* is much better than of the previously used WinTalker Voice. The synthesizer also offers the opportunity not only to pitch the voice and change its speed, but also to correct the pronunciation by using the pronunciation dictionary.
The speech synthesis system of the Latvian language *T2S V1*	IMCS UL; supported by SIA Lattelecom BPO	http://runa.ailab.lv/tts2	Period of the system development: 2007–2008; the presentation system (Front End system, created using MS Silverlight) was improved in 2009 and it consists of: interface of the speech synthesizer, web service of the speech synthesizer applications; speech synthesizer application database; speech synthesizer Windows service; speech synthesizer. The Latvian language speech synthesizer system *T2S V1* online is available to everyone.

THE MAIN DIGITAL RESOURCES (2004–2010)

In order to compile dictionaries, corresponding to the present needs, to describe and investigate the language, to prepare teaching aids, to develop an automated spelling and grammar check, to create an automated translation system, etc. the Latvian language corpus is needed.[1] The development of the Latvian National Corpus was initiated by the State Language Commission in 2004.

The developers of the Latvian language resources in Latvia (in alphabetic order): Daugavpils University Centre of Oral History, National Library of Latvia, Liepāja University, the UL Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, the UL Institute of Literature, the UL Folklore and Art, the UL Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, the UL Latvian Language Institute, the UL Foundation for the Social Science students, LAS Terminology Commission, Rēzekne Higher Education Institute, SIA "Tilde", State Language Centre, etc.

[1] LU MII. *Latviešu valodas korpusa koncepcija* [The Latvian language corpus conception]. Valsts valodas aģentūra, Rīga, 2005, 12. lpp. Available at: http://www.ailab.lv/users/Everita/koncepcija.pdf (last accessed 11.02.2011).

Name of the resource	Implementing institution	E-address	Short description
The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (million – 2.0 M)	LU MII	www.korpuss.lv	The corpus contains ~3.5 million words, printed and electronic materials from 1990. These texts are morphologically marked (automatic marking). 55% of the texts are periodicals, 20% fiction, 10% scientific texts, 8% legal acts, 2% transcripts of the Saeima's sittings and 5% other texts.
The Web Corpus (timeklis – 1.0)	LU MII	www.korpuss.lv	The grammatical analyzer of SamTi-Kamols has automatically labelled experimental text fragments collected by the Latvian search engine. Volume: ~ 60 million words.
Corpus of the Transcripts of the Saeima's Sittings	LU MII	www.korpuss.lv	Prepared within the framework of CLARIN. Contains more than 20 million words. These are the transcripts of the 5th up to the 9th Saeima plenary sessions. Corpus is structurally marked: attached information about the speakers, meetings, dates, etc.
Latvian National Digital Library „Letonica"	LNB	www.lnb.lv/lv/digitala-biblioteka	The aim of the Latvian National Digital Library is to ensure digitization of collections of the NLL and related organizations and to make them accessible on the Internet. Creation of digital libraries lays the foundation for unified principles of processing, storage and accessibility of these materials. Digitalization of the National Library was started in 1999. Today we can find collections of digitalized newspapers, pictures, maps, printed music and audio recordings.
Latvian National Digital Library „Periodika"	LNB	www.periodika.lv	The aim is to preserve and make searchable approximately 6 million pages of periodicals published in Latvia and in exile. Today the collection offers 40 newspaper and magazine titles in Latvian, German, and Russian, ranging from 1895 to 1957 — altogether more than 45 000 issues and 350 000 pages.

SOURCES OF LARGE-SCALE ELECTRONIC DICTIONARIES AND TERMINOLOGY

Name of the resource	Implementing institution	E-address	Short description
Dictionary of Standard Latvian Language	LU MII	www.tezaurs.lv/llvv	Version of the largest monolingual Dictionary of Standard Latvian Language of the 2nd part of the 20th century (64 000 entries). It is fully consistent with the original contents of the dictionary, but as there are fine-grained structural annotations it can be used in the mobile phone as well.

Name of the resource	Implementing institution	E-address	Short description
Dictionary of Modern Latvian Language	LU MII	www.tezaurs.lv/llvv	The dictionary is developed from the letter A to L and ~20 000 entries are available on the Internet.
Tilde Computer Dictionary on the Internet	*Tilde*	www.letonika.lv	The portal contains dictionaries with 20 possible translation routes; 40 term dictionaries and the Dictionary of Foreign Personal Names Reproduction are also available. As the data of the student and schoolchildren survey show (within the framework of the SLA Project „Identification of the situation in the development and publication of dictionaries", 2007) the dictionaries offered by *Tilde* are the most popular ones — the digital *Tilde* bilingual dictionaries are the most commonly used in Latvia.
EuroTermBank	Tilde	www.eurotermbank.com	*Tilde* Project focuses on harmonization and consolidation of terminology of the new EU member states, sharing the experience of other EU terminology networks and accumulating knowledge and efforts of the new members. Convenient, centralized access to high-quality multilingual terminology resources on the Internet is important for the language professionals — translators, editors, linguists, terminologists and the branch specialists, entrepreneurs, students, educators, scientists, and others. The multilingual terminology portal EuroTermBank contains about 2 million terms of 100 term collections in more than 25 languages, including 220 000 different special branch terms in the Latvian language.
Academic Term Database AkadTerm	Terminology Commission of the Latvian Academy of Science	www.termini.lza.lv/akadterm	The official terms published by the Terminology Commission of the Latvian Academy of Sciences.
Term Databases of the State Language Centre	State Language Centre	www.vvc.gov.lv	The official terms published by the Terminology Commission of the Latvian Academy of Sciences.

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Conclusions

The demand for linguistic intelligence technologies is more and more rapidly growing in the world. The possibilities are vast: polyfunctional online dictionaries, machine translation for small languages, provision of e-learning materials, availability of cultural heritage in different languages, etc.

According to the information of the Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science, there are 34 Latvian language resources (31 developed in Latvia) and 11 tools available after the implementation of the CLARIN project: dictionaries, language corpora, text databases and teaching aids.[1] It should be noted that the collected information is not complete and does not show all the electronic elaborations. However, it can be said with certainty that the basic elements for further investigation and development of language resources and technology infrastructure have been created in Latvia.

The experts emphasize that the development of computer linguistics in Latvia is hindered by the lack of a separate programme for the investigation and development of language technologies, and therefore, the actual research work is fragmentary and based mainly on short-term projects, making the intercompany long-term cooperation and acquisition of larger resources very difficult.[2] In addition, there is also the lack of study programmes for specialists of computer linguistics. Currently the students are offered one-term-long course in computer linguistics at the Liepāja University and Rēzekne Higher Education Institution.

Estonian experience. There are at least two areas which should be evolved mainly at the national level — creation of language resources and training of languages technologists.[3] In 2006, the National Programme for Estonian Language Technology was established in Estonia (operated until 2010) with the aim to develop these technologies at the level that would enable the Estonian language function in the modern information society. The National Programme for Estonian Language Technology has created favourable conditions for the development of language technologies in Estonia.

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[1] Skadiņa, I., Auziņa, I., Grūzītis, N., Levāne-Petrova, K., Nešpore, G., Skadiņš, R., Vasiļjevs, A. Language Resources and Technology for the Humanities of Latvia (2004–2010), p. 21. In: *Human Language Technologies — The Baltic Perspective*: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference Baltic HLT 2010. I. Skadiņa and A. Vasiļjevs (eds.) IOS Press, 2010. See the list in CLARIN. *Resursu un rīku pārskats*. Available at: http://www.clarin.lv.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 21.

[3] Meister, E., Vilo, J., Kahusk, N. National Programme for Estonian Language Technology: A Pre-Final Summary, p. 12. In: *Human Language Technologies — The Baltic Perspective*: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference Baltic HLT 2010. I. Skadiņa and A. Vasiļjevs (eds.) IOS Press, 2010.

It should be admitted that there has not been any serious research in Latvian language speech recognition, which could result in a practically usable speech recognition system. There have been several projects devoted to experimental sound and speech recognition systems.

Today, in addition to these electronic resources, the most topical and needed is the academic Latvian grammar[1], as well as various hand-books for the students. There cannot be found almost any foreign grammar explanations in the Latvian language.[2]

Development and publication of different dictionaries in electronic and book format is a very large and special area where objective summarisation of data and making conclusions demand a special research-work.[3]

However, already today, analytically evaluating the range of explanatory and bilingual dictionaries, as well as planning further lexicographical work, it is clear that the dictionaries are rapidly aging, especially in the book format, and more and more people are using electronic dictionaries, databases and terminology databases.[4] It is therefore desirable to create dictionaries which apart from innovative technical solutions would be compatible with other means of communication equipment (e.g. mobile phones).

One of the problems of dictionary creation (including electronic versions) is the utilization of the old research methods. The greatest obstacle to the development is the lack of extensive and complete Latvian language corpus, which does not allow lexicographers to objectively create the Latvian part of the entries.

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[1] In expectation of the new academic Latvian language grammar, the brochure of the emerging grammar was published in 2008*: Latviešu valodas gramatika: koncepcija, prospekts, atsevišķu nodaļu pirmvarianti, diskusijas materiāli* [Grammar of the Latvian language: conception, prospect, initial variants of separate chapters, discussion materials]. LU Latviešu valodas institūts, atb. red. I. Jansone.

[2] Annual information concerning bibliography of linguistics and reference materials can be found in the yearly magazine of the UL Latvian Language Institute, *Lingvistika Lettica*, and in the popular-science compilation of the Latvian Language Agency, *Valodas prakse: vērojumi un ieteikumi* [Language practice: observations and suggestions].

[3] The study supported by the LLA: Ventspils Augstskola. *Situācijas apzināšana vārdnīcu izstrādes un publicēšanas jomā Latvijā* [Ventspils University College: Investigation of the situation in the field of dictionary compilation and publication]. Sākotnējais manuscripts [initial manuscript]. Valsts valodas aģentūra. Rīga, 2008.

[4] *Ibid.*

7.5. Influence of migration processes upon the language situation

Among about the negative aspects of Latvia's joining the EU, the experts interviewed during the LLA 2009 survey have mentioned the free movement of labour force, as well as the impact of migration upon the language environment and use. To encourage greater public use of language in the future (as indicated in Chapter 4.2) we must realize one essential problem that will be really pressing for Latvia, namely, to ensure the language acquisition for immigrants.

When creating or revising the national migration policy, it is very important to balance immigration and integration so that the situation would promote economic development, and at the same time would not cause internal political tension.[1] Successful integration is possible if the state guarantees the integration of immigrants into the society never infringing the rights of the indigenous inhabitants. The main problem of integration is the language barrier that is becoming more and more urgent nowadays, when the economy is based on services and expertise.[2]

Consequences and problems caused by migration in different countries around the world confirm the need to stabilize state language problems. A vivid example is Germany where the integration problems of the large Turkish immigrant communities have prompted the German government to think about the demand of a definite language proficiency level. And there is also France where, although the number of immigrants still does not imperil the status of the French language, they are planning to introduce language tests for immigrants. Language skills are demanded also in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway as well.

Migration policy in Latvia

The Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for the implementation of migration policy in Latvia. Under the Lisbon Treaty, the issues of migration and asylum policy are within the scope of the EU and the member states, i.e. some of the legal acts are adopted at the EU level and the member states, including Latvia, must incorporate them into their national legislation or enforce directly, but there are also questions which are not regulated at the EU level and where the member states can apply

[1] Indāns, I. *Migrācija Latvijā vēsturiskā perspektīvā* [Historical view on migration in Latvia]. Report at the conference "Does Latvia follow in the footsteps of Ireland: work force migration" „Vai Latvija iet Īrijas pēdās: darbaspēka migrācija". Available at: http://www.politika.lv/temas/izglitiba_un_nodarbinatiba/6316/ (last accessed 05.11.2008).

[2] *Migrācijas ietekme uz valodas vidi Latvijā* [The influence of migration upon language environment in Latvia]. R. Apinis, M. Baltiņš, Dz. Hirša u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 29. lpp.

their own country's laws.[1] In other words, thinking about the integration of immigrants on the one hand, and the Latvian language risks on the other, it is possible to impose definite conditions of state language acquisition upon laws and regulations governing immigration.

„Main policy principles and guidelines for migration and asylum policy, as well as aims to be achieved and tasks to be performed are defined in two EU policy papers which were adopted at the highest level — European Pact on Immigration and Asylum and the Stockholm programme.

European Pact on Immigration and Asylum, which was adopted by the European Council on 15–16 October 2008, prescribes five ambitious political commitments in the area of migration and asylum policy for EU:

- to organize legal immigration — to take account of the priorities, needs and reception capacities determined by each member state, and to encourage integration;
- to control illegal immigration by ensuring that illegal immigrants return to their countries of origin or to a country of transit;
- to make border controls more effective;
- to construct a Europe of asylum;
- to create a comprehensive partnership with the countries of origin and of transit in order to encourage the synergy between migration and development.

The Stockholm programme was elaborated taking into consideration the commitments defined in the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum and adopted by the European Council on 10–11 December 2009. The Stockholm programme is a multi-annual programme (2010–2014) for the area of freedom, security and justice and defines political priorities and commitments for the next five years, inter alia, in the area of migration and asylum policy. The key objective for this policy domain is — a responsible and solidary Europe solidarity in migration and asylum matters, which involves in the partnership.

Thus the development of a forward-looking and comprehensive European migration policy, based on solidarity and responsibility is stressed to be of core importance. It is stated in the programme that well-managed migration can be beneficial to all stakeholders and that Europe will need a flexible policy which is responsive to the priorities and needs of Member States and enable migrants to take full advantage of their potential. Meanwhile, it is necessary to prevent, control and combat illegal migration as the EU faces an increasing pressure from illegal migration flows. However, at the same time, people in need of protection must be ensured access to legally safe and efficient asylum procedures."

(OCMA. Migration and asylum in the European Union. Available at: http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/ES/migracija.html) (last accessed 02.02.2011).

[1] PMLP. *Migrācija un patvērums Eiropas Savienībā* [Migration and asylum in the European Union]. Available at: http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/ES/migracija.html (last accessed 02.02.2011).

7 THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PRESENT-DAY GLOBALISATION CONDITIONS

As a EU Member State Latvia must follow the common principle of migration policy — free movement of persons, and implement the migration policy in accordance with international law and the interests of the State of Latvia. As recognized by the researchers of migration, migration policy in Latvia is neutral (even conducive) towards emigration and restrictive towards immigration.[1]

The main legislative act governing the entry of aliens into Latvia is the Immigration Law. A person, who is legally working in Latvia, can be employed as long as the residence permit allows. There are three types of residence permits in Latvia:

- a temporary residence permit (one year for a self-employed person and five years if a person arrives on employment contract or entrepreneur contract basis, or other civil contract);
- a permanent residence permit;
- a long-term resident status of the European Community (EC) in Latvia.[2]

Without questioning the immigration's contribution to national economic development and demographic challenges, and recognizing Latvia's future need to engage the necessary labour force, as well as taking into account the experience and migration caused problems of other EU states, the most important work to be done is the integration of immigrants as the economic grounds cannot serve as the justification for the loss of national values and ideals. One of the most important prerequisites for successful integration is language skills and basic knowledge about the state. The Immigration Law anticipates language proficiency need only for those immigrants who wish to obtain permanent residence permit (Section 24, paragraph 1, clause 5 of the Immigration Law) provided they have spent five years in Latvia on temporary permit basis. Staying in Latvia with a permanent residence permit or in the status of the EC long-term resident, the immigrant can apply for naturalisation and obtain Latvian citizenship.[3] And it means that the immigrant can live in Latvia for five years with a temporary residence permit and he does not need to learn the state language. If after these five years the immigrant wants to obtain a permanent

[1] Karnīte, R., Karnītis, K. *Iedzīvotāju starpvalstu ilgtermiņa migrācijas ietekme uz Latvijas tautsaimniecību* [The impact of long-term cross border migration on Latvian economy]. Rīga, 2009. Available at: http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd_eiropa/18267/ (last accessed 15.01.2011); *Imigranti Latvijā: iekļaušanās iespējas un nosacījumi*. BISS, Rīga, 2009, 6. lpp.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*; more information about the procedures of immigrant arrival and residence on the webpage of the OCMA www.pmlp.gov.lv.

residence permit, he must submit the certificate of the state language proficiency proving the knowledge of at least A2 level.

The number of foreigner nationals is growing with each year. The official OCMA statistics show that since the beginning of 2010 there have been 36 249 foreign residents with permanent and 13 785 with temporary residence permit living in Latvia, while in 2004 there were 25 466 foreigners with permanent and 7547 with temporary residence permits.[1]

As shown by statistics and surveys[2], nearly half of the immigrants come from the former republics of the Soviet Union and, as they have a very good knowledge of Russian, this group of immigrants enlarges the Russian language environment in Latvia. The ethnic composition in Latvia is still unfavourable for its native population, the number of non-citizens is large enough and the main direction is still the same — these components of immigration make the stabilization of the situation and social integration very difficult.

In this connection we have to repeat that the linguistic behaviour of Latvian population demonstrates a degrading influence, namely, choosing Russian as the communication language with non-Latvians (mainly Russians) (Fig. 65).[3]

That is confirmed also by the experts as they hold the view that a large number of immigrants would threaten the use and development of the Latvian language, especially because so far these processes have not been adequately controlled and directed. And it means that institutions of Latvia should start planning and building up a modern migration policy which aims to ensure a successful public integration already now. At the same time we have to realize that immigration is an inevitable and, as already mentioned, most of these people will come from former Soviet republics. They will have good knowledge of the Russian language and if they will not be required and offered the opportunity to learn the official language, they will merge with the existing Russian-speaking community, which will strengthen the positions of the Russian language and endanger Latvian even more.

As the EU Member State Latvia is also responsible for the observation of the common EU principles of immigration and integration policy. Successful

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[1] PMLP. *Statistika: uzturēšanās atļauju izsniegšana* [OCMA. Statistics: issue of residence permits]. Available at: http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/uzturesanas.html (last accessed 12.02.2011).

[2] LR CSP. Demogrāfiskās statistikas galvenie rādītāji 2009. gadā [CSB. Key indicators of demographical statistics in 2009]. Informative source 2010. Available at: http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/informativie-apskati-28307.html (last accessed 15.01.2011); *Migrācijas ietekme uz valodas vidi Latvijā*. R. Apinis, M. Baltiņš, Dz. Hirša u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 96. lpp.; *Viesstrādnieku attieksme pret valsts valodu Latvijā*. SKDS. Rīga, 2008; *Latvijas iedzīvotāju attieksme pret viesstrādniekiem*. SKDS. Rīga, 2008 u.c.

[3] *Latvijas iedzīvotāju attieksme pret viesstrādniekiem* [Attitude of the inhabitants of Latvia towards guest workers]. SKDS. Rīga, 2008.

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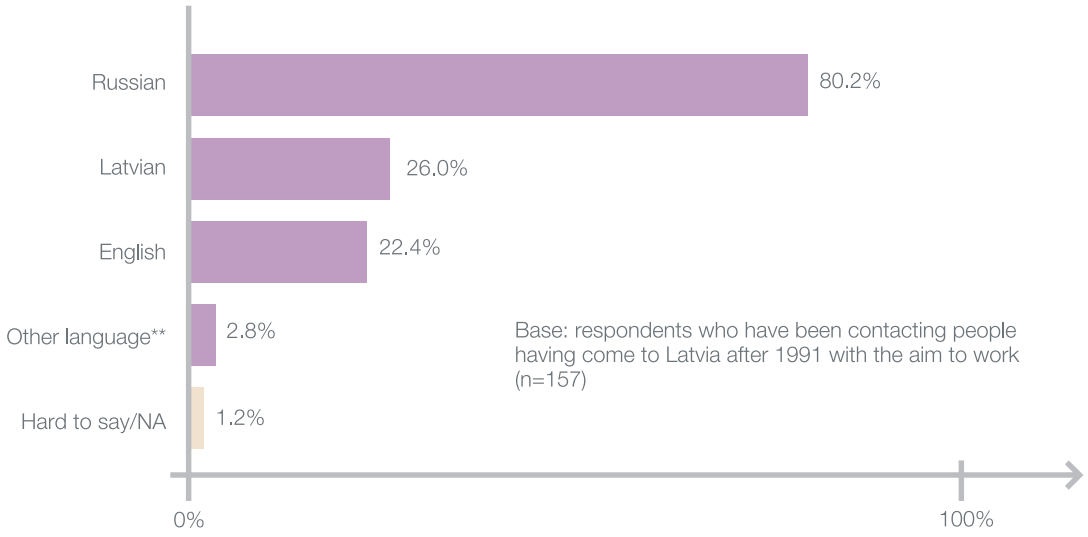

*As every respondent could mark more than 1 answer the total number of answers exceeds 100%.
**In the category "Other languages" the respondents have marked: German (twice), Lithuanian (once), and Ukrainian (once).

Fig. 65. **Answers of the inhabitants of Latvia to the question „In what language do you communicate with people, who have come to Latvia with the aim to work after 1991?"** Data: *Attitude of Latvian inhabitants towards guest workers.* Research centre SKDS, Riga, 2008.

integration of immigrants into the host society is an important precondition of the EU economic development, while the failure to implement favourable integration policy may adversely affect the EU as a whole:

- low employment rate of immigrants is weakening the EU economy and hindering the accomplishment of Lisbon Programme;
- the skilled workers of diverse levels, who are needed in the EU but are not integrating into the local society, can be involved in illegal activities;
- the lack of effective integration policy may create a negative view about immigrants and the protective immigration policy;
- perceptions and prejudices about immigrants may threaten the successful enlargement of the EU, and also promote their discrimination, etc.[1]

Emigration

Another key aspect of the migration process is emigration. It also has an effect on language environment and has become a growing concern since 2004 when, taking the advantage of free movement of labour force, a great number of

[1] *Migrācijas ietekme uz valodas vidi Latvijā* [The influence of migration upon language environment in Latvia]. R. Apinis, M. Baltiņš, Dz. Hirša u.c. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008, 31. lpp.

people started to leave and are still leaving Latvia.[1] Language is the strongest bond of all the Latvian people in the world, but the opportunities to use their native language are severely narrowed for the representatives of the diaspora. The young people growing up in foreign countries do not acquire sufficient knowledge of Latvian. Latvia has an obligation to support the wish of the expatriates to learn their native tongue, to preserve and develop their language skills. Moreover, as pointed out by the experts, the emigration processes reduce the total number of language users thus endangering the already negative demographic situation in Latvia.

If the acquisition of the Latvian language ensures social integration for immigrants, for the representatives of the diaspora it helps to protect and cultivate their ethnic identity.

Currently the most topical problem for immigrant integration is the lack of teaching aids and qualified teachers of Latvian as a foreign language, as well as the still poorly developed system for integration provision, respectively, the shortage of financial and administrative support and of practical opportunities for immigrant integration.

[1] See also Kļava, G., Motivāne, K. *Valodas lietojums diasporā: citu valstu prakse un Latvijas rīcībpolitikas izvērtējums* [Language use in the diaspora: experience of other states and evaluation of Latvian action policy]. Rīga, 2009.

FUTURE TASKS OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

8 FUTURE TASKS OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

„Future of the Latvian language will be determined by its speakers' ability to recognize its importance for the world and for themselves, as well as by intentional preservation and development of the language." (I. Druviete)

As a small country Latvia should be proud of its own — Latvian — language as one of the common treasures, as the national language is the repository of nation's experience and centuries' long development.[1] Today Latvia is a small nation with its own special spirit, culture and language in the European Union, and only Latvians can take care of this specific feature of their identity. At the same time, taking into account the geographical location and its socio-economical interests, Latvia can be proud of its ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity.

„The amount of speakers, the quality of language and the status of the official language could provide the Latvian language a stable position all by itself in a foreseeable future, at least. However, we cannot ignore global sociolinguistic processes and the actual risks caused by language competition which can be lessened following a wilful language policy."

(Druviete, I. Latviešu valoda kā valsts valoda: simbols, saziņas līdzeklis vai valstiskuma pamats? [Latvian as the state language: symbol, means of communication or basis of statehood?] From: *Latvija un latviskais. Nācija un valsts idejās, tēlos un simbolos*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2010, 149. lpp.)

Evaluating the current language policy in Latvia, the views expressed by the experts of the LLA 2009 interviews in most cases are positive. The experts have stressed that the language policy was successfully implemented, and it is demonstrated by the results:

- strengthening of the legal status of the language is slow but with a positive tendency,
- Latvian language proficiency, the number of its users and the usage has increased,
- the problems of language use have been identified,
- the quality of the Latvian language is high,
- the education content reform has been successfully implemented,
- tolerance of the ethnic minorities towards the state language and their willingness to learn it has increased.

At the same time we must be aware of the actual problems:

- linguistic behaviour of our society;

[1] Sciriha, L., Vassallo, M. *Living languages in Malta*. Malta, 2006, p. 2.

- strengthening of the status of the official language (especially in the areas of private and business services, mass media);
- decrease of the role of Latvian language in some areas due to language competition (language of science, services, requirements of language proficiency for employers, prioritizing the Russian language proficiency);
- development of terminology;
- immigrant integration, which is becoming topical with the economic growth and rising immigration, etc.

At present, when complicated economic conditions have caused the change of political priorities, the state language policy is of minor importance. This in turn means less moral and financial support for the implementation of the state language policy, which may ultimately impair the role and the status of the official language. According to some experts, the share of the responsibility should lie to linguists as well, because they, as the experts of the given field, should be politically and socially active in promoting the development and advancement of language.

As recognized by experts, the current situation and media have a strong impact upon the language situation and language policy, which deserves a special attention, emphasizing the exact importance of language use. It is important to continue successful introduction and implementation of the bilingual education model, to extend understanding of its positive influence upon the quality of foreign language learning in general educational establishments.

One of the main tasks and objectives is public participation in language policy: public discussions of language issues, providing information and analysis on the current and desired situation, involving more people in the decisions referring to these issues, using the language in everyday situations and focusing on language quality.

While implementing the language policy, it is necessary to expand the use of the Latvian language and to strengthen its role in everyday communication, because only the language which is being used is a living language. Therefore, the need to introduce positive methods stimulating the state language acquisition and usage is emphasized.

The analysis of language situation (2004–2009) shows that in future there are several tasks to be put forward:

- promotion of positive linguistic attitude and behaviour;
- strengthening of the role and status of language in the system of education;

8 FUTURE TASKS OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA

- further implementation of bilingual education (in the broader sense of the term);
- wider use of language promotion, including Latvian media;
- stronger demands for language use in business according to legislation, anticipating amendments;
- solving the integration issues in the context of immigration tendencies;
- development of the Latvian language in the epoch of information technologies;
- promoting acquisition of the Latvian language in diaspora and preparing the educational establishments for the work that would allow emigrant children return and continue their studies in the educational system of Latvia;
- systematic support for the acquisition of Latvian as a foreign language in foreign countries and successful integration of the Latvian language in the international environment.

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2004–2010

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATVIA

Improvement of Latvian language skills among the representatives of national minorities is an essential result of the language policy implemented in Latvia. Latvian language skills among the youth of national minorities testify about the success of the curriculum reform of the national minorities and provision of single education for all Latvian schools. Almost all respondents in this age group (17–25 years) know the official language (only the level of language proficiency differs). In 2009, when assessing the necessity for the official language skills, 81% of those with the native Russian language considered the skills of the official language mandatory for all Latvian citizens. Linguistic attitude of Latvians themselves and characteristics of their linguistic behaviour (according to 2009 data 23% of Latvians don't use Latvian in their communication with non-Latvians) have contributed to the non-compliance of language skills and their usage, i.e., non-usage of the Latvian language, therefore further on great attention has to be paid to the increase of the usage frequency and amount of the official language, as well as to the strengthening of its status.

"The future of Latvian language will be determined by the ability of its speakers to see its importance both for the world and ourselves, and deliberate action for language preservation and development."

(I. Druviete)

Latviešu valodas aģentūra

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