**DYFODOL I’R IAITH**

**RESPONSE TO DCMS CONSULTATION**

Dyfodol i'r Iaith is a non-political movement that acts in the best interests of the Welsh language. The movement aims to influence by constitutional means the substance and content of public policy and legislation to promote the growth and prosperity of the Welsh language in all policy areas. It acts in the interests of Wales and its people, winning support and respect for the language and making Welsh a live issue on the political agenda.

Dyfodol i’r iaith welcomes the opportunity to comment on the research into factors influencing minority language prosperity.

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**What are the key factors that determine whether an indigenous minority language thrives?**

Many sociological linguists and language planners have tried to answer this.

The prosperity of a minority language can be summed up this way:

* The language is effectively transmitted at home from one generation to the next
* Thriving communities exist where the language is used as common vernacular
* A stable or increasing number speaking the language
* A stable or increasing numbers of speakers using the language as their main language
* A stable or increasing numbers learning the language
* New interpersonal networks being established where these have dismantled
* A sustainable and sufficient number of domains, e.g. education, work, the street, are available where the language is used
* Old and new culture flourishes in different media
* The language used for education and different levels of public life and in governance and public discourse in politics, society, morals and culture.

One of the most prominent of social linguists was Joshua Fishman who formulated theories on the viability of language based on the phenomena of Language Shift and Reversal of Language Shift. Others have developed and built on these ideas[[1]](#footnote-1).

Fishman suggests eight steps in what he calls the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, or GIDS, to measure the threat to a minority language. The basis of this is that a minority language is safe when it is effectively passed down from one generation to another within the family. In the case of Welsh and other indigenous minority languages of the British Isles, there has been a decrease in household transmission of the language.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Another crucial step is that the family becomes part of a geographic community. Joshua Fishman says that a minority language, "must also become the language of interfamily interaction, of interaction with playmates. neighbors, friends and acquaintances... beginning with family they attain community."[[3]](#footnote-3)

Research in Wales confirms this, e.g. in research carried out at Swansea University[[4]](#footnote-4) it was found that the main influence on young people's language was the home and the community. Other factors, such as use of the minority language in the workplace, in education, and other areas, contribute to the prosperity of the minority language. The flourishing of the language in the family and geographic community ensures the prosperity of a minority language.

The tendency to transmit Welsh at home and the strength of the language in communities depends on a host of social and structural factors. This can include:

* Influence of family and friends
* Attitudes to the language due to various influences
* Community vernacular and the degree of immigration
* Impact of education
* Economic patterns, housing availability and the influence of this on outmigration and inmigration
* The language used in different domains in the person's life
* Language and attitudes presented through mass media
* A weakening in the Influence of religion
* Cultural institutions, including literature and the press
* The language of government and the judiciary/ law and order
* Far-reaching influence of Anglo-American culture and technology
* Intentional or unintended influence of government policies

**The need to acknowledge, redress and rectify past adverse policies**

Many of the threats to a minority language are ones that have been inherited over several centuries, and attention must be given to the influence of government behaviour and policies on the minority language.

Wales offers an example of this. Because English was the only language of public administration and law for five centuries,[[5]](#footnote-5) after deposing the legal status of Welsh in the administration of Hywel Dda’s laws, and because there was a perception, especially since the 1847 Bluebooks were published,[[6]](#footnote-6) that English was the language of getting on in the world and of economic prosperity and that Welsh was a disadvantage, there has been a growing tendency to turn to English by Welsh speakers. This influenced the attitude of the age, and of future generations and had a marked impact on the language of education, business and commerce. Associated to this, the history of Wales was disregarded in the country’s schools, in a project of cultural assimilation that had been instigated by the Acts of Union of England and Wales, 1536 and 1540. In time, without protection for the Welsh language at a state and educational level, the vast number of immigrants who came to Wales in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could not be assimilated.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Welsh became a minority language by the first decades of the 20th century, for the first time since the development of the Welsh people some fifteen hundred years ago.

Not until the Language Act of 1993[[8]](#footnote-8) was the Welsh language given the right to be treated on the basis of equality in the administration of justice and public services, only if this was considered to be practicable and reasonable in the circumstances. It was not until the Language Act 2011[[9]](#footnote-9) that Welsh was treated equally with English and no less favourably than English. While English is still a de *facto* common language, Welsh is now recognised as a de *jure* official language .

It becomes clear that the Welsh Government and the UK Government have a specific role in preserving the indigenous languages of these islands.

**What lessons can be learned from countries whose populations achieve widespread fluency in both a majority language and an indigenous minority language?**

Various attempts to achieve fluency in majority and minority language have taken place in countries in many parts of the world. These efforts depend on the state of the languages – on the number of speakers, percentage and distribution of speakers. These efforts can be undertaken by speakers of the minority languages themselves, and by the countries' governing bodies.

In an effort to counter the linguistic uniformity of states, speakers of the minority indigenous languages in several countries led campaigns to obtain linguistic rights and to increase the use of their languages.

**Wales**

It has been observed in the last 150 years that the efforts of the speakers themselves have been instrumental in achieving wider fluency in the minority language. Such efforts are unlikely to succeed on their own as both the UK Government and the Welsh Government have sway over so many aspects of people’s lives, and over the structure of societies, so the support of governments is increasingly crucial for an autochthonous language.

While the efforts of individuals became increasingly influential, actions taken by Government and public bodies, both at state and local level, became increasingly influential. If a lesson is to be learned from this, it is that action is needed at local and state level, by individuals and societies on the one hand, and by government and public bodies on the other.

The impetus to create a successful future for the Welsh language came from individuals and societies beyond the institutions of government, sometimes in conflict with the institutions of government, and at other times leading to support from the institutions of government.

Examples of people’s efforts in recent times include

* The efforts of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (in the 19th century, not the Society founded in 1962) to give Welsh a place in the education system
* O.M. Edwards' efforts to popularise Welsh reading, to introduce Welsh history to the Welsh, and to establish a youth movement
* Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards' work in establishing Urdd Gobaith Cymru in 1922, creating one of Europe's largest youth organisations
* The demand for Welsh medium schools, which teach both languages to the same level, initially took place privately, as Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards started a Welsh language school in Aberystwyth, and then, as parents campaigned, an increasing number of Welsh primary schools were established across the country by local authorities
* The National Union of Teachers of Wales was established in 1940 calling for Welsh service for members and to promote the Welsh language in education, and the Farmers' Union of Wales was established in 1955 to protect the interests of Welsh agricultural life
* RhAG - Parents for Welsh Education was established in 1952 to lead a campaign for the establishment of Welsh medium schools
* In a time when Welsh had no official status, Cymdeithas yr Iaith – the Welsh Language Society - was set up (1962) to campaign, in the first instance, for Welsh to be an official language in Wales.
* Mudiad Meithrin was established in 1971 to establish Welsh medium playgroups across Wales for pre-school children
* Continuing with the teaching of Welsh to adults, intensive courses for adults began in the 1970s

Gradually Local Government, then the UK Government and the Welsh Government came to support these efforts and to develop them

* There were several Language Acts by the Governments, 1967, 1993 and 2011.
* Gradually, under the pressure of Welsh campaigners, it was acknowledged that the Welsh language needed a role in radio broadcasting. [[10]](#footnote-10) BBC Radio Cymru was established in 1977.
* Following years of grassroots campaigning, S4C was established by the UK Government in 1982.
* The Welsh Government sponsors a large number of Welsh-language organisations, including Urdd Gobaith Cymru, the National Eisteddfod, Mudiad Meithrin – the Welsh medium playgroup movement, RhAG, 24 Mentrau Iaith (Language Initiatives), the Welsh Books Council, the National Library, Museums Wales, local monthy newspapers and others.
* The Welsh Government has established the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol – The Welsh Medium National College - to promote and increase the provision of Welsh language teaching in further and higher education and to ensure linguistic continuity in education.
* By establishing the office of the Welsh Language Commissioner in 2012, the Government are implementing language standards that must be adhered to by public bodies.
* By 2019 it was enacted for local authorities to introduce Welsh Language in Education Strategic Plans[[11]](#footnote-11). (During its first years, the Welsh Government did not take strategic responsibility for the development of Welsh language education.)
* The Welsh Government has established a National Centre for Learning Welsh for Adults (2015), and is sponsoring courses to improve teachers' language skills.
* The Welsh Government sponsors a number of other campaigns, including the commercial use of Welsh (e.g. free translation service), Welsh music and Welsh festivals.
* The Welsh Government has sponsored a number of Canolfannau Cymraeg – Welsh Language Centres.

Census 2021 figures show a growth in the number of Welsh speakers in the post-school population, for 30 years, which is indicative of the success of the growth of Welsh medium schools and other efforts. This alone is not enough to ensure the fluency of a sufficient number of the population to ensure the prosperity of the Welsh language, but it is indicative of the success that can be achieved when grassroots and Government efforts combine.

In education, there is a need for a big increase in the number of teachers who can teach through Welsh and in the number of Welsh medium schools to make a real difference. The Government can contribute to courses to improve the language skills and confidence of prospective teachers. The Welsh Government Welsh language plan – Cymraeg 2050[[12]](#footnote-12) – estimated that a 1,000 more Welsh-speaking primary school teachers would be needed by 2031 and a further 1,300 by 2050. This figure is far from being achieved.

A number of areas remain unresolved. These include economy and housing. Lack of economic growth and job shortages are a factor causing young people to leave the more Welsh-speaking areas in the west and north where housing has become too expensive for local people, as so many of these areas are tourist areas, and attract inmigration and second homes. For example, 60% of all of Gwynedd’s residents cannot afford to buy a house in the county.[[13]](#footnote-13) It is a concern that young people, in particular, are leaving the Welsh-speaking areas. Investment in industry and other jobs would be a bait to attract young people to work in these areas, as would a specific scheme to attract young people to work there for a period of time after completing specific training.

In summary:

* A comprehensive programme of language planning is needed, covering education, workplaces, media and culture, and economic development, and this programme needs to be much more far-reaching than the current programmes.
* Local activities and people need to be nurtured and supported, with the aim of supporting the Welsh language in Welsh-speaking communities and recreating Welsh interpersonal networks in less Welsh-speaking areas, with particular emphasis on encouraging parents and prospective parents to use Welsh in the household.
* The Government need to have a vision that prioritises the prosperity of the minority language for an extensive period of time.
* The task is more than a single sub-department within Government can undertake.
* Significant additional resources, including digital resources, are needed to ensure the success of linguistic policy, in the face of the great pressures placed on the majority language in the everyday life of the country's residents.

**Comparison between countries**

The policy of having only one official language in a state was found in European states, including Britain, France and Spain. The aim was to assimilate and achieve uniformity within the state. The lesser used indigenous languages within these states suffered, either through blatant persecution, or through disregard.

There has been marked persecution in Catalonia and the Basque Country as part of Spain, and in Brittany and other parts of France.

In these states, in recent years, adherents of the minority languages campaigned to gain status and recognition for their language, sometimes to assert independence, but succeeded more often in obtaining self-government over certain domains, including education.

There has been an emphasis in Catalonia and the Basque Country on the education system as a means of creating new speakers, but there has also been purposeful action in the domains of media and economy, and on teaching the language to adults.

**The Basque Country**

In the 19th century there was an emphasis in the Basque country on the transmission of the language in the family and on encouraging positive attitudes towards the Basque language, including Basque education and achieving a measure of official recognition.[[14]](#footnote-14) In the mid-twentieth century the Basque language was sternly persecuted by Franco. Following his death, and having gained a measure of self-government, parts of the Basque Country disbanded to give Basque priority in language planning.

Local groups organized schools, publications, and industries and founded a language teaching movement. Following self-government, many of these efforts were supported by the regional government. Thousands of teachers were taught the language in the first instance.[[15]](#footnote-15) Now the number of Basque speakers is rising in every Census. There has been a thorough arrangement to teach the language to adults, and constant surveys are being carried out to understand where the language is spoken, and by whom. There are several Basque television stations, one of which is in government hands; book publishing is supported and the language is increasingly used in public administration. The effort to make Basque compulsory for civil service jobs has not been entirely successful, and more opportunities are needed to use the language in the world of work. The overall progress here is not repeated in the Basque Country regions in France. This is indicative of the importance of support for a minority language in an international context.

Even in the Basque Country it is deemed necessary to pay more attention to the language in the family and in the community domains. One view is that too much effort has been put into education at the expense of the family.

The Basque Country, which has a fairly similar population to Wales, and also a relatively similar percentage of minority language speakers, is an obvious example for Wales to emulate and learn lessons from.

**Catalonia**

Language planning featured prominently in Catalonia in the early twentieth century. This was disrupted by the Civil War and the reign of Franco, who banned the use of the language in public institutions, except the church. The language had to survive just as a family language.

Following a measure of self-government in 1979 Catalan Promotion Acts were passed in 1983 and 1998, making the normalization of the language in the country's systems a goal. The language became the main language of education, and when private radio and television stations were established they had to broadcast at least half of their material in Catalan.

The aim by then was to make the language a normal language to be used in all aspects of public life. There is a discussion to be had on the aim here: whether it is enough to make it possible for a language to be used in all domains, or whether the way to achieve the normalisation of language is to ensure that the majority of the population uses it as a primary language. This is a discussion that should be had in Wales: giving an opportunity to use Welsh is not sufficient to cause people to use it. There needs to be an increase in the use of it as a first language.

In Catalonia there has been a significant increase in the number of young people able to speak the language, and there has been an extensive programme of teaching the language to adults. Use of the language is increasing in public domains, but this is not always reflected in the daily life of the population.

Catalonia is the richest economic region in Spain, and a large proportion of the thousands of economic migrants who come to live in the region set about learning the language in non-governmental courses due to the linguistic demands associated with a large number of posts in the region.[[16]](#footnote-16)

The situation of the language is quite different from Wales. The language is spoken by half the population and about half of parents speak the language with their children. However, the decrease in the birthrate is one problem for the language.

**Ireland**

In Irelandthere was a particular interest in promoting the Gaelic language in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This was followed by political independence for southern Ireland, and civil war.

Although the new government desired to support the language, it would do so without the availability of a precedent in language planning. There was an effort to teach Gaelic in all schools, and specific areas of the country were established as places where the language would receive special support and priority. With a change in economic patterns, the aspiration of the young to move for better jobs, came an awareness that the linguistic policies were not working as they should.

45% of southern Irish households are in the Gaelic speaking areas – the Gaeltachtai – but only 2.3% of the Irish population live there.

The number of Irish secondary schools is very small compared to Wales. In 1973 Gaelic was ceased to be a compulsory subject when leaving secondary education, and there was a lack of opportunities to use the language socially and in the world of work.

Despite the efforts of a great many of the language's adherents, and organisations of volunteers, the Irish language remains fragile in the south of Ireland, waiting for positive conditions to bring about a revival.

The percentage of those with some knowledge of Gaelic in the north has risen to 12.5%, but only 5,959 speak the main language, in a population of 1.9 million. This, however, is an increase from 4,164 in 2011.

With Gaelic now an official language in northern Ireland, on terms similar to the Welsh Language Act 1993, and with the movement to increase Irish schools on the rise, there are signs that Gaelic is slowly recovering.

Enthusiasm for the language and Government support are likely to create favourable conditions for the revitalization of Gaelic in northern Ireland, but there are significant steps to be taken, however, before the language can begin to become a language for numerous communities.

One factor that may be prevalent in the Basque Country, Catalonia, Wales and Ireland is that enthusiasm for the language is strongest when it has suffered persecution and when it has to be fought for. There is an argument that Government's support of a minority language needs to run parallel to responsibility and to the efforts of native speakers and supporters.

**Some other countries**

Linguistic uniformity did not have to happen within a state. Some states in Europe have managed to maintain more than one official language, and more than one community or linguistic identity.

**Switzerland** is a prominent example, where the country's national identity includes several linguistic communities, including Swiss German and Romansch, in addition to the larger languages of German, French and Italian. In a decentralized federal system, with different linguistic rights in different cantons, it is possible to maintain state unity and promote multilingualism at the same time.

**Belgium** has adopted a system of bilingualism by creating relatively rigid divisions between the Walloon and Flemish population, without unduly disrupting national identity. The different parts of the country have their own language policies in terms of education and administration.

Other European countries have successfully adopted linguistic diversity that recognises the country's minorities. In **Italy** South Tirol has its own federal government, and education system, which allows German and Italian speakers to choose the language of education, and their language of communication with authorities, and support is given in the education system where Ladin is spoken.

**Finland** has reached an arrangement with the Swedish minority, and it is possible following the Language Act 1922 for communities to be categorised as Finnish, Swedish or bilingual if more than 10% of the population belongs to either group.

**Conclusion**

Based on what is seen in these countries it is fair to conclude:

* Countries that have systemized linguistic conditions that make it possible for minority language to be a majority language in parts of the country can succeed in ensuring the prosperity of the minority language.
* Support and action by the population is essential to ensure prosperity for the minority language.
* Having Government policies that allow for an extensive measure of minority language use in the education and public service system is a condition to minority language prosperity.
* There is a need to increase the number of first language speakers, by placing greater emphasis on language use in households, by having parents and prospective parents taking linguistic responsibility. This can come through an extensive programme of linguistic awareness and language teaching.
* Economic prosperity proportional to the needs of local communities is inextricably linked to language prosperity.
* An increasing number of employment prospects with language skills need to be offered as young people leave school.
* The position of the language in local societies and organisations needs to be strengthened, so that the language becomes a normal language for use in these places.
* There needs to be policy coherence between institutions of Government so that all aim at the same goal.
* Far greater resources need to be devoted to ensure a real impact that could lead in the middle term to the sustainability and prosperity of the minority language.

**What should be the criteria for judging whether a minority language should receive official status?**

This depends on the definition of minority language, and of official status.

* It may be necessary to define whether a minority language is a language or a dialect. This includes the population's attitude to the language/dialect and the government's attitude towards it.
* The population's perception of the use of the language/dialect can influence the type of status to which it could be attributed.
* Is the dialect primarily a spoken language?
* Is it primarily connected to a particular mode of life, or to predominantly rural areas?
* Another issue is the history of the language/dialect.
* How long has it been a language in an area?
* Does it have a long history of speaking and of literature?
* In what period was the language introduced to an area?
* Has it been a language of an area or country before the language that became a majority language?

Care needs to be taken that policies are not forced from the top down, and that the most attention, or equal attention, is given to developing the language at its roots, with emphasis on individuals, families and communities. Joshua Fishman warns that primary attention needs to be paid to the development of the language in the home and in the community, rather than to what we generally perceive to be 'status'.

This means that in situations where the minority language is weak, there is a need to give significant space to adult learning, to use the language in schools, and then to create networks of language speakers. In situations where there are a significant number of speakers in a community, sound economic policies are needed to ensure the prosperity of communities.

'Official status' can be divided into stages, according to the number and percentage criteria of speakers, and their location:

1. In all situations, recognition of the language in the education system, and specific targets to increase its use, with concrete targets to develop an education workforce that can teach the minority language and can teach through the medium of the minority language.
2. In all situations, the language is supported in reading material and in the media, to give children, young people and adults a linguistic environment.
3. In areas where the minority language is at its strongest, status and support are given to the language in terms of housing conditions and local planning and economic planning
4. In areas where the minority language is strongest, or desired to be strongest, status should involve making it the primary public engagement language
5. Where the minority language is acknowledged, in historic terms, as the primary language of a country or region, that language should be granted full official status.
6. Full official status needs to be defined. In our view, it should include the activities of public bodies at all levels, and specific standards should also be set for the private sector. It should also include print, broadcast and electronic media.

**What should be the role of the UK Government in supporting and developing indigenous minority languages?**

Given that the UK has been one of Europe's most centralised states, and has disregarded and harmed indigenous minority languages within it, it needs to compensate for this, in a similar way that the government needs to compensate for years of supporting slavery in the past.

1. We need a statement from the UK Government that it wants to support the UK's indigenous languages, and wants to see them flourish.
2. The UK Government should recognise the minority languages in its parliament, in the same way that different languages are recognised by the European Parliament.
3. Policies relating to the flourishing of the minority language should be worked on closely with the devolved governments of the UK and supported beyond current funding.
4. Devolved governments should receive specific additional funding to increase adult language learning, particularly improving the language skills of teachers and prospective teachers.
5. Adequate funding should be given to devolved administrations to support print, broadcast and electronic media in the minority languages
6. Specific guidance should be given to housing planning in areas where the minority languages are comparatively strong, so that the next generation of the local population can live and work there.
7. Economic plans should be created that favour areas where the minority languages are strongest.
8. Where there is no devolved parliament, explicit support should be given, e.g. in Cornwall, for the development of the minority language in its county.
9. In the case of Wales, the UK Government should allow the judicial system to be transferred to Wales, so that it can follow suitable linguistic policies.
10. The minority language should be recognised as acceptable language by the UK for full citizenship.
11. A plan is needed to present the history of the native languages of the British islands to all its inhabitants as levels of awareness of these are alarmingly low. This will also contribute to reducing the prejudice that continues to exist among the majority culture towards the minority cultures of these islands, which is often seen on the mass and social media including by individuals elected to public office.

1. Fishman, J, *Reversing Language Shift,* Clevedon, Multilungual Issues, 1991. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The Welsh Government has conducted research into language transmission in families. (*Trosglwyddo a defnyddio'r Gymraeg mewn teuluoedd,* 2017.) It is noted here that 82% of children aged 3-4 speak Welsh in households where both parents speak Welsh, 53% in households with a lone Welsh-speaking parent, and 45% in a two-parent household, with one speaking Welsh. In each case, the transmission of the language at home weakens from one generation to the next. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Fishman, Idem, 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Gruffudd, H, *Y Gymraeg a Phobl Ifanc,* University of Wales Swansea, 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The Act of Union of 1536 states that all courts should be held “in the Englisshe Tonge… and all other of officers iuries enquestes … done in the Englisshe tonge. And also that … no personne or personnes that use the welsshe speche or langage shall have or enjoy any maner office or fees with the Realme of Englonde Wales… onles he or they use and exercise the speche or langage of Englisshe.B” [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of education in Wales,* William Clowes and Sons, 1848. Part 2, number 9, p 66, "The Welsh language is a huge disadvantage to Wales, and a heavy-handed obstacle to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to overstate its evil effects." [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. A summary of the story of the Welsh language is given by Davies, Janet, *The Welsh language,* University of Wales Press, 1993. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. *Welsh Language Act 1993,* [*https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-act-1993*](https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-act-1993) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Welsh (Wales) Measure 2011.* [*https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-wales-measure-2011*](https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-wales-measure-2011) [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Davies, John, *Broadcasting and the BBC in Wales,* University of Wales Press, 1994. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *Considered as Strategic Education Plans (Wales) Regulations 2019 ,* https://www.legislation.gov.uk/wsi/2019/1489/made [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. *Cymraeg 2050 A million Welsh Speakers,* Welsh Government, 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Councillor Craig ab Iago, Housing leader Gwynedd County Council, <https://www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/revealed-proportion-gwynedd-houses-bought-18728443> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Gw. Garner, N, Puigdevall I Serralvo, M, and Williams, C., 'Language Regeneration in a comparative context: Ireland, the Basque Country and Catalonia', in Williams, C, *Language regeneration,* University of Wales Press, 2000, p. 301-361. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. See Gardner, Nick *Basque in Education in the Basque Autonomous community,* Eusko Jaurlaritza, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2000. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Pujolar, Joan, ‘Immigration and Language eduction in Catalonia: Between National and Social agendas’, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/286776294.pdf>. Compare Chiswick, Barry R., ‘Tongue Tide: The economics of language offers import lessons for how Europe can best integrate migrants’, *https://www.elibrary.imf.org/view/journals/022/0053/003/article-A012-en.xml* [↑](#footnote-ref-16)