



PhD-FHSE-2023-028
The Faculty of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences

DISSERTATION

Defence held on 26/05/2023 in Esch-sur-Alzette
to obtain the degree of

DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DU LUXEMBOURG

EN Sciences du Langage

by

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN LUXEMBOURG AND THE GERMAN-SPEAKING
COMMUNITY OF BELGIUM: IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed entirely by myself. The work contained herein is my own, except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement. I also declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

31.03.2023

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Abstract

The language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium (GC) exhibit fundamental differences, yet interesting similarities that so far have not been subject to a discourse analysis from a mixed framework of linguistic anthropology and discourse linguistics (*Diskurslinguistik*). On the basis of a corpus consisting of current language policy texts and semi-structured interviews with key actors involved in current policy design and implementation, this research aims to answer the question regarding the interplay of ideology and discourse in the design and implementation of the language policy of Luxembourg and the GC. The bulk of the analysis is made up of three layers for each case. Starting point of the analysis is a historical overview that identifies ideologies and language policy discourses that emerged, predominated, and transformed from the 19th century until the 21st century in each case. The second layer is a discourse analysis of current language policy texts with a focus on the ideologies informing current discourses about Luxembourgish in Luxembourg and German in the GC. Finally, the third layer is a discourse analysis of interview extracts with equal focus on ideologies.

Through a combined thematic and discourse analysis based on the social semiotics of language, this research provides a description of the discursive patterns of the linguistic structure of passages of each text and interview with the aim of linking these patterns to the identified ideologies that inform the policy discourses. It was found that the connecting node between Luxembourg and the GC lies in the tension between the two themes of standardization and multilingualism. It is shown that standardization and multilingualism are thematic centers from which discourses about language, identity, and nation emanate in these two cases. Through the combination of the historical overview and the meticulous analysis of discursive patterns identified in the linguistic structure of language policy texts and interview extracts, it is not only shown how ideology informs current language policy discourses in Luxembourg and the GC, but also why language policy discourses transform or sediment through time.

Zesummeffaassung

Déi sproochpolitesch Diskurser vu Lëtzebuerg an der Däitschsproocheger Gemeinschaft vun der Belsch (DG) weisen fundamental Differenzen, mä och interessant Ähnlechkeeten, déi nach net de Sujet vun enger Diskursanalys aus engem gemëschte Kader vu linguistescher Anthropologie an Diskurslinguistik waren. Baséierend op engem Corpus aus aktueller sproochpolitescher Texter a semi-strukturéierten Interviewe mat Schlësselakteuren, déi an der Gestaltung an der Ëmsetzung vun der aktueller Sproochpolitik involvéiert sinn, soll dës Fuerschung d'Fro beäntweren iwwer d'Zesummespill vun der Ideologie an dem Diskurs an der Gestaltung an der Ëmsetzung vun der Sproochpolitik vu Lëtzebuerg an der DG. Den Haaptdeel vun der Analys besteet aus dräi Niveaue fir béid Fäll. Den Ausgangspunkt vun der Analys ass en historeschen Iwwerbléck, deen Ideologien a sproochpolitesch Diskurser identifizéiert, déi a béide Fäll entstane sinn, dominant waren a vum 19. bis zum 21. Joerhonnert geännert hunn. Den zweeten Niveau ass eng Diskursanalys vun aktueller sproochpolitescher Texter mat engem Fokus op d'Ideologien, déi d'Basis vun den aktuellen Diskurser iwwer d'Lëtzebuergesch zu Lëtzebuerg an d'Däitsch an der DG sinn. Schlussendlech ass den drëtten Niveau eng Diskursanalys vun Interviewextraite mat deemselwechte Fokus op Ideologien.

Duerch eng kombinéiert thematesch Diskursanalys op der Basis vun der sozialer Semiotik vun der Sprooch (*social semiotics of language*), gëtt dës Fuerschung eng Beschreiwung vun den diskursiven Mustere vun der sproochlecher Struktur vun Text- an Interviewextraite mam Zil dës Mustere mat den identifizéierten Ideologien ze verbannen, déi d'Basis vun de sproochpoliteschen Diskurser sinn. Et gouf erausfonnt, datt d'Verbindung tëscht Lëtzebuerg an der DG an der Spannung tëscht den zwee Theeme Standardiséierung a Méisproochegkeet läit. Et gëtt gewisen, datt Standardiséierung a Méisproochegkeet thematesch Zentren sinn, vun deenen Diskurser iwwer Sprooch, Identitéit an Natioun ausginn. Duerch d'Kombinatioun vum historeschen Iwwerbléck an der akribescher Analys vun diskursiven Mustere, déi an der sproochlecher Struktur vu sproochpoliteschen Texter an Interviewextraiten identifizéiert goufen, gëtt net nëmmen gewisen, wéi Ideologie déi aktuell sproochpolitesch Diskurser zu Lëtzebuerg an an der DG präägt, mee och firwat sproochpolitesch Diskurser am Laf vun der Zäit sech veränneren oder sedimentéieren.

Zusammenfassung

Die sprachpolitischen Diskurse Luxemburgs und der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft Belgiens (DG) weisen grundlegende Unterschiede, aber auch interessante Gemeinsamkeiten auf, die bisher noch nicht Gegenstand einer Diskursanalyse in einem gemischten Rahmen von linguistischer Anthropologie und Diskurslinguistik waren. Auf der Grundlage eines Korpus aktueller sprachpolitischer Texte und halbstrukturierter Interviews mit Schlüsselakteuren, die an der aktuellen Sprachenpolitikgestaltung und -umsetzung beteiligt sind, zielt diese Untersuchung auf die Beantwortung der Frage nach dem Zusammenspiel von Ideologie und Diskurs in der Sprachenpolitikgestaltung und -umsetzung Luxemburgs und der DG. Der Hauptteil der Analyse besteht aus drei Ebenen für jeden Fall. Ausgangspunkt der Analyse ist ein historischer Überblick, der Ideologien und sprachpolitische Diskurse identifiziert, die vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert in jedem Fall entstanden, vorherrschend waren und sich verändert haben. Die zweite Ebene ist eine Diskursanalyse aktueller sprachpolitischer Texte mit dem Schwerpunkt auf den Ideologien, die den aktuellen Diskursen über das Luxemburgische in Luxemburg und das Deutsche in den DG zugrunde liegen. Schließlich besteht die dritte Ebene aus einer Diskursanalyse von Interviewauszügen mit dem gleichen Fokus auf Ideologien.

Durch eine kombinierte thematische Diskursanalyse auf der Grundlage der sozialen Semiotik der Sprache (*social semiotics of language*) liefert diese Untersuchung eine Beschreibung der diskursiven Muster der sprachlichen Struktur von Text- und Interviewauszügen mit dem Ziel, diese Muster mit den identifizierten Ideologien zu verknüpfen, die den sprachpolitischen Diskursen zugrunde liegen. Es wurde festgestellt, dass der verbindende Knotenpunkt zwischen Luxemburg und der DG in der Spannung zwischen den beiden Themen der Standardisierung und der Mehrsprachigkeit liegt. Es wird gezeigt, dass Standardisierung und Mehrsprachigkeit thematische Zentren sind, von denen Diskurse über Sprache, Identität und Nation ausgehen. Durch die Kombination des historischen Überblicks und der akribischen Analyse diskursiver Muster, die in der sprachlichen Struktur sprachpolitischer Texte und Interviewauszüge identifiziert werden, wird nicht nur gezeigt, wie Ideologie aktuelle sprachpolitische Diskurse in Luxemburg und der DG prägt, sondern auch, warum sich sprachpolitische Diskurse im Laufe der Zeit verändern oder sedimentieren.

Résumé

Les discours de politique linguistique du Luxembourg et de la Communauté germanophone de Belgique (CG), présentent des différences fondamentales, mais aussi des similitudes intéressantes qui, jusqu'à présent, n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une analyse du discours à partir d'un cadre mixte d'anthropologie linguistique et de linguistique du discours (*Diskurslinguistik*). Sur la base d'un corpus composé de textes de politiques linguistiques actuelles et d'entretiens semi-structurés avec des acteurs clés impliqués dans la conception et la mise en œuvre des politiques actuelles, cette recherche vise à répondre à la question concernant l'interaction de l'idéologie et du discours dans la conception et la mise en œuvre des politiques linguistiques du Luxembourg et de la CG. L'essentiel de l'analyse se compose de trois niveaux pour chaque cas. Le point de départ de l'analyse est une vue d'ensemble historique qui identifie les idéologies et les discours de politique linguistique qui ont émergé, prédominé et se sont transformés du 19^e siècle au 21^e siècle dans chaque cas. Le deuxième niveau est une analyse du discours des textes actuels de la politique linguistique, qui met l'accent sur les idéologies qui sous-tendent les discours actuels sur le luxembourgeois au Luxembourg et l'allemand dans la CG. Enfin, le troisième niveau est une analyse du discours des extraits d'entretiens, également axée sur les idéologies.

Grâce à une analyse thématique et discursive combinée basée sur la sémiotique sociale du langage (*social semiotics of language*), cette recherche fournit une description des schémas discursifs de la structure linguistique des passages de chaque texte et entretien dans le but de relier ces schémas aux idéologies identifiées qui informent les discours de politique linguistique. Il a été constaté que le nœud de connexion entre le Luxembourg et la CG réside dans la tension entre les deux thèmes de la standardisation et du multilinguisme. Il est démontré que la standardisation et le multilinguisme sont des centres thématiques à partir desquels les discours sur la langue, l'identité et la nation émanent dans ces deux cas. Grâce à la combinaison de l'aperçu historique et de l'analyse méticuleuse des schémas discursifs identifiés dans la structure linguistique des textes de politique linguistique et des extraits d'entretiens, il est non seulement démontré comment l'idéologie informe les discours actuels de politique linguistique au Luxembourg et dans la CG, mais aussi pourquoi les discours de politique linguistique se transforment ou se sédimentent au fil du temps.

Acknowledgements

Doing a PhD in these times is a daring choice. My experience was not an emotional roller coaster, but rather a feeling of liminality. Indeed, I was sandwiched between the feeling of pointlessness aggravated by a pandemic and the will of perseverance in the face of a macro-sociological calamity and micro-sociological family-related adversities. Perseverance prevailed thanks to the support of those whose presence in my life, be it in geographic or emotional proximity, was never doubted or questioned.

Due thanks go to my supervisor, Mélanie Wagner, whose patience is perhaps infinite. Despite the physical distance imposed by the pandemic and the moments of despair, her support led the ship to port. Equal thanks go to the members of the committee, Christoph Purschke and Jeroen Darquennes, who also showed an infinite amount of patience. I am surprised that my theory-juggling propensity to ramble did not drive them insane (that I know of). I am equally grateful for the collegial environment that reigns at the corridor of the Institute of Luxembourgish Studies. My previous colleagues, Nathalie, Sara, and Daniela, deserve thanks for their nice company during most of the PhD studies. I am indeed the last one of that generation.

The gratitude I feel for my family is ineffable. This is especially true for the thankfulness I feel for my mother, my grandmother, and my father. Despite the distance, their presence was permanent. Their support for me during this PhD, the topic of which may be the object of skepticism for many, was never-waning. Furthermore, I am highly grateful for my tiny circle of friends from Puerto Rico and from Luxembourg, who are always there for talks of all sorts. I hope this tiny circle expands with the new colleagues at the Institute of Luxembourgish Studies, who have very much made the end of this PhD the most pleasant. Thank you, Jacques, Lou, Flame, Melissa, and Cosimo.

My ultimate gratitude is felt for the one person who bears the best, the worst, and the mediocre of me: Gabi. Never would I have thought to have been married before the end of this process, yet here we are. It was the right choice. A little poem encapsulates my feelings:

*An empty shell under black sand,
Picked up by a being of light
Whose luminous voice at hand
Sang into the shell full of night
A powerful command
Against emptiness' might.*

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I. Introduction

Taking language ideologies as our point of departure, we can have a new look at language policy [...] The artifactual, denotational image of language is the one most often used in institutionalized environments, it is important to realize that this view in itself is the product of language-ideological processes, and that analyses of language policy, consequently, should aim at understanding such processes long before their implementation stage (Blommaert, 2006, p. 515)

Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium (GC) may not have much in common at first sight. Political differences, such as the sovereignty of Luxembourg vis-à-vis the autonomy of the GC as an entity of the Belgian state, may be the most striking. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the two polities also exhibit major differences. As such, Luxembourg is a multilingual society in which four languages are officially recognized (Luxembourgish, French, German, and German Sign Language) and almost 50% of the resident population are third-country nationals. On the other hand, the official language of the GC is, unsurprisingly, German, and its tiny population mainly consists of German speakers¹. However, fruitful points of comparison may be found in the language policy of the two polities.

These points of comparison are found less on the official language policies (as text artefacts) of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium, and more on the processes that characterize the interplay between ideology and language policy as discourse. Indeed, language policy is one of the loci where ideologies become salient. Ideologies become particularly salient in the two main processes that characterize language policy, namely design and implementation in institutional settings. These institutional settings are *ideological sites* (Silverstein, 1998), i.e., “institutional sites of social practice as both object and modality of ideological expression” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 136).

Two of the main sites of language policy design and implementation are the public sphere (Gal & Woolard, 2001) and the school system (Menken & García, 2010). Sites are part of language regimes (De Schutter, 2021) or regimentation (Parmentier, 1994). The production of written discourse (here referred to as *text*) that regulate the use of language in both sites corresponds to policy design, while the discourses *about* these policy texts, both instantiated by the actors

¹ “German” here is used in broad terms to include Standard German and the three traditional varieties spoken in the GC: Low South Franconian, Ripuarian, and Moselle Franconian (all three called *Platt* by the local population). This is nuanced in the overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the GC found below.

(Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011) involved in these sites, correspond to policy implementation. Furthermore, the discursive construction of such texts, be it in design or implementation, is mediated by ideologies (Silverstein, 1998, 2003, 2014, 2021). Ideological differentials lead to their reinforcement or contestation in practice (e.g., in the classroom or through public petitions).

I.1. Research Aims and Questions

Based on this background, the focus of this research lies in the analysis of the interplay between ideology and language policy as discourse in Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium through a linguistic anthropology framework, particularly the “Silversteinian” framework variedly called “dialectic semiotic pragmaticism”, “semiotic realism” (Silverstein, 2004), and “social semiotics of language” (Silverstein, 2023). This last name has been chosen in the context of this research to refer to this specific framework. Silverstein’s framework has been developed further by Agha (2007) and Nakassis (2020), which have been taken as points of departure for this research.

Because of the highly theoretical character of the social semiotics of language, this framework is complemented by Spitzmüller & Warnke’s (2011) framework based on *Diskurslinguistik* (discourse linguistics). This is further justified by the recent approximations between linguistic anthropology in general and discourse linguistics in the German-speaking world (Spitzmüller, 2013, 2019, 2022). A fruitful theoretical dialogue has ensued between these two traditions. This research thus aims to take the theoretical to the practical by applying central concepts from both frameworks to two cases, namely the language policy of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium.

On the one hand, most studies about language policy in Luxembourg take either a Bourdieuan sociology approach (Fehlen, 2009, 2011, 2015, 2018, 2019), a historical approach (Péporté et al., 2010), a sociohistorical (Gilles & Moulin, 2003), a linguistic (Gilles, 2000, 2019, 2022), a sociolinguistic (Wagner, 2015, 2020; Purschke, 2020, 2021; Entringer et al., 2021), or a language ideological approach (Horner & Weber, 2008; Horner, 2005; Weber & Horner, 2012; Bellamy & Horner, 2019). On the other hand, most studies about language policy in the GC take a sociohistorical approach (Bouillon, 2019), a dialectological approach (Möller, 2017a, 2017b), and a historical-sociolinguistic approach (Boemer & Darquennes, 2012; Boemer, 2015). The two cases have been studied jointly, with a recent study being Vari & Tamburelli (2020, 2021), who take a language attitudes approach on an analysis of two specific varieties, namely the Luxembourgish variety of Clervaux and the Moselle-Franconian variety of St. Vith and its surroundings in the GC.

However, there is to date no study on these two cases' language policy as metapragmatic discourse. This research seeks to begin to fill that gap.

More precisely, the focus of the research lies on the current language policy developments concerning Luxembourgish in Luxembourg and German in the GC. It has three aims:

- 1) To provide a history of language policy discourses in Luxembourg and the GC in order to account for their periodical crystallization and subsequent transformation.
- 2) A discourse analysis, guided by a thematic analysis, of select language policy texts in order to identify and describe ideologies informing the language policy discourse.
- 3) A discourse analysis of ideologies that inform the discourse of institutional actors.

These aims are guided and narrowed down by the following research questions:

- 1) What are the ideologies that inform the language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community in the available corpus?
- 2) What are the discursive patterns that index language ideologies in the language policy texts and interview extracts of institutional actors of Luxembourg and the GC?

For the first aim, a historical overview is provided for each case following the concept of “pathways” developed by Wortham & Reyes (2020). These pathways are a useful analytic to show how discourses “travel”, how they consolidate, and are transformed with time. For the second aim and third aims, the DIMEAN model developed by Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011) is used. It allows for a multi-level discourse analysis, particularly for the linkage between linguistic structure and ideology through thematic divisions in the structure of the text. No distinction is made between policy texts and interview transcripts for the analysis.

For the linkage between ideologies and language policy discourses through time, language policy texts are defined as *intertexts* (Silverstein, 2005), i.e., as artefacts linked together by not only thematic, but also ideological commonalities. By positing language policy discourse as resulting from and as creative of semiotic chains (Wortham & Reyes, 2020), actors' discourses and policy discourses are regarded as extensions of each other, whether they contradict each other or not.

I.2. Thesis Structure

Chapter II delves into the literature review, providing an overview of language policy and linguistic anthropology as parallel developments. The overview is followed by a review of the literature on language ideologies, as the central concept of this research.

Chapter III expands on the theoretical framework undergirding this research. The social semiotics of language and its main concepts are elucidated. Following the explanation of these main concepts is the overview of discourse linguistics as presented by Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011). Particular attention is given to the links that can be established between these two frameworks. The research is thus supported on two theoretical pillars. While the social semiotics of language forms the pillar regarding the concept of ideology and indexicality, discourse linguistics forms the pillar regarding the concepts of discourse and actor.

Chapter IV describes the methodology of the research. It briefly overviews the data collection and analysis processes, followed by a definition of qualitative research and quality criteria. Interviews as research methods are described in general, followed by their use in the context of this research coupled with the participant selection process. The profiles of each participant are then provided. Finally, a description of the method of analysis, namely DIMEAN (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011), the discourse analysis of Wortham & Reyes (2020), and the terminology of Gal & Irvine (2019).

Chapter V is a historical overview of the language policy developments in Luxembourg. Chapter VI delves into the discourse analysis of contemporary policy texts, particularly two public petitions from 2016, the draft law on the promotion of the Luxembourgish language of 2017, and two course programs for Luxembourgish as an L1 school subject. Chapter VII is a discourse analysis of the interview extracts of the informants of this research.

Chapters VIII to IX delve into the case of the GC. They follow the same structures as the three previous chapters. The data analyzed consists of four decrees from 1998 to 2008, two curricula for German as school subject, two curricula for French as school subject, and a recent brochure about the multilingual policy of the GC. The final chapter provides an analysis of the interview extracts.

The conclusion synthesizes the findings through the comparison of the two cases. This is followed by a description of the shortcomings of this research and ending with the future directions to be taken. It was deemed necessary to provide the interview transcripts as annexes to the thesis.

II. Literature review

Language Policy and Planning (LPP)² and linguistic anthropology have the commonality of belonging to a broad epistemological framework that has developed gradually, with points of continuity and discontinuity, from the 19th century until today. Indeed, both fields faced the difficulty of disciplinary classification from the second half of the 20th century until the beginning of the 21st century. In other words, they were either subsumed under ethnology, linguistics, anthropology, or sociology due to the burgeoning epistemological shifts that characterized the emergence of new approaches to language, culture, and society. Within these mutating fields, LPP and linguistic anthropology are still subject to classificatory disputes, lying between sociolinguistics and applied linguistics.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the development of these fields according to determined periods. As such, it is chronologically structured. It features a general overview that is then narrowed down to the cases of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community.

It may seem like an overview of the development of both fields is akin to interweaving two different stories. However, their common epistemological origins overlap with institutional actors that influenced the emergence and periodical transformation of each field in parallel ways. Thus, much of the early and mid-20th century scholarly literature that is nowadays considered foundational for LPP and linguistic anthropology was produced by a common network of institutional actors in the United States and in Europe (which does not preclude the contribution of scholars of the “global South” to this literature).

II.1. Periodization

While linear narratives might not capture the complexity of the epistemological and societal shifts that marked the circulation of scholarly discourses retroactively classified as, for example, “early LPP”, and “early linguistic anthropology”, periodical divisions are helpful for a structured overview. As such, two chronological accounts of the intellectual histories of these two fields serve as periodical guidelines for the 19th and 20th century: Ricento (2000) for LPP and Duranti (2001, 2003) for linguistic anthropology. These two chronologies have remained canonical. Due to their datedness, however, they are complemented here by 21st century literature to cover the elapsed period between their publication and this research.

² Language policy and LPP are used interchangeably in this research to refer to the field of study the development of which is described in detail in this chapter. See section 5.2. in this chapter for the origin of this terminological usage.

Ricento (2000) and Duranti (2001, 2003) both propose a three-stage chronology of LPP research and linguistic anthropology, respectively. However, the first stage of each author's chronology exhibits fundamental differences. While Ricento (2000) situates the first stage in the 1960s, Duranti's (2001, 2003) chronology begins at the end of the 19th century. The reasons for this lie in the different scope of each author and the perceived continuity of scholarly discourses. On the one hand, Ricento (2000) reduces the scope to LPP as an emerging academic discipline as a result of state-supported language planning efforts of the 1960s. On the other hand, Duranti (2001, 2003) encompasses in the chronology scholarly work that showed a conjunction between anthropological and linguistic discourses, situating this work in the end of the 19th century. For this reason, a pre-stage is added here for the chronology of LPP, adapted from Jernudd & Nekvapil (2012).

II.2. Pre-Stage and First Stage

For the first stage of LPP, Ricento (2000, p. 197) lists the *macro sociopolitical factor* as decisive in the development of the field. This factor can also be applied to a pre-stage of LPP in the formation of nation-states in the 19th century.³ In 18th and 19th century Europe, philosophical discourses that linked language, culture, and identity circulated. One of the main exponents of these discourses was Johann Gottfried von Herder, whose influence extends to both LPP and linguistic anthropology.⁴

His influence on language policy and planning is framed in the context of the formation of nation-states in the 19th century. Although linguistic and cultural demands did not overlap necessarily with political discourses that legitimated the calls for independence of nation-states (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012, p. 19), language planning occurred in multi-ethnic states such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This involved the selection of a linguistic variety for codification and the subsequent implementation of the created standard in scientific and artistic domains (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012, p. 20).

³ It can be argued that there are much earlier examples of language policy and planning. However, the scope is limited here to the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe.

⁴ In sociolinguistic research with a focus on language ideologies, Herder has become a target based on value judgements against nationalist discourses and monolingual policies (Bauman and Briggs, 2000, 2006). However, recent scholarship has shown that Herder's discourses are more complex than what is assumed in sociolinguistic research (Piller, 2016).

II.2.1. Linguistic Anthropology

Herder's influence on what would become linguistic anthropology occurred indirectly through Wilhelm von Humboldt, who synthesized his ideas. More precisely, these ideas reached Franz Boas at the end of the 19th century (Stanlaw, 2021, p. 622). Boas, considered the "father of American anthropology", posited a four-field anthropology in which the nexus of language, culture, archeology, and biology was deemed indispensable for anthropological study. This was mainly applied to the study of Native American languages and cultures, which became the "Americanist" tradition of anthropology". The germ of linguistic anthropology was then developed by Edward Sapir (one of Boas' students) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (one of Sapir's students) in the first half of the 20th century. Importantly, the idea of linguistic relativity was developed, whereby ways of thinking may arise by analogy with ways of speaking (Duranti, 2001, p. 14).

This period was characterized by an epistemological tension between grammatical description of languages as a gateway to the mind and a theoretical isolation of language as a rule-governed system (Duranti, 2003, p. 326). Indeed, the first half of the 20th century was marked by competing frameworks in the emerging 'schools' of American linguistics. This led to the formation of different approaches to language. In Europe, the 1920s saw the development of the Prague Linguistic School, spearheaded by Bohuslav Havránek, Vilém Mathesius, Jan Mukařovský, Nikolai Trubetzkoy, and Roman Jakobson, whose ideas spread in the United States thanks to Garvin's (1964) translation of main Prague school texts. While Havránek's, Mathesius', and Mukařovský's theories of standard language and cultivation were influential in the development of LPP (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012, pp. 21-22), Jakobson's functional approach to language, undergirded by Peircean semiotics, contributed in large part to the development of linguistic anthropology (Mertz, 2007, p. 339).

II.2.2. LPP

The production of scholarly texts on LPP in the 1960s, influenced by this background, corresponds to what Ricento (2000) calls the first stage. LPP in this stage was characterized by concerns over language conflicts in polities that had recently gained independence or autonomy from previous colonial powers. It also gained impetus from linguists who were interested in the structural issues of language and who saw potential explanations in the understudied languages of post-colonial countries. The aim of this early approach was the top-down accommodation of linguistic diversity through language planning. Such planning efforts were based on a view of language as a discrete

entity that could be altered in order to meet political and social needs (Blommaert, 1996). This period is also known as “classic language planning” (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012, p. 22).

Pioneering work by Haugen (1959, 1966, 1972, 1983) set the stage for not only a particular view of language, but also a systematic application of outlined principles on different language varieties (Lechevrel, 2010, p. 75). Haugen (1959) defined language planning as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (p. 8). This definition would later be renamed as one of the conceptual pillars of LPP, *corpus planning*. Ten years later, another core concept of LPP was introduced, namely *status planning* as theorized by Kloss & Verdoodt (1969), which points to the allocation of functions of a language, such as its presence in judicial settings, its presence in the media, its presence in the education system, and its presence in state affairs.

LPP research of the 1970s focused on the refinement of the bipartite view of language planning as corpus planning and status planning. The predominant view of language planning in the early stage of LPP was that exposed by Rubin and Jernudd (1971): “Language planning is deliberate language change, that is, changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes” (p. xvi). In other words, it is framed as a top-down process that includes both corpus planning and status planning.

One of the main contributions to such developments was, again, Haugen (1966, 1983). He proposed a *fourfold model* for language planning consisting of *selection*, *codification*, *implementation*, and *elaboration* (Haugen, 1983, p. 270). Selection refers to the language variety that would be chosen for further codification, which is the development of a standardized written form. These two would correspond to *corpus planning*. Implementation refers to the intentional spread of the codified variety, which is then continually maintained through elaboration. These two would correspond to *status planning*. It is framed as a matrix “defined by society/language and form/function axes and comprising selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation of function, and elaboration of function as the four dimensions” (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28). It also adds two important ingredients, that of ‘cultivation’ as proposed by Neustupný (1974) and that of ‘evaluation’ as proposed by Rubin (1971).

These developments resulted in important terminological divisions. In particular, the distinction between LPP *types* and LPP *approaches*. Hornberger (2006) defines these distinctions as follows:

The policy approach, seen as attending to matters of society and nation, at the macroscopic level, emphasizing the distribution of languages/literacies, and mainly concerned with standard language, is often interpreted to be the same as the status-planning type, while the cultivation approach, seen as attending to matters of language/literacy, at the microscopic level, emphasizing ways of speaking/writing and their distribution, and mainly concerned with literary language, is often interpreted to be synonymous with corpus planning. Yet the match is not perfect (p. 28).

At the same time, the period between the 1950s and 1970s saw the flourishing of approaches to study language, culture, and society, from generative grammar (Chomsky, 1957, 1965) to variationist sociolinguistics (Labov, 1963, 1966, 1972, 1973), the approach conversely called linguistic anthropology/sociolinguistics/ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Silverstein, 1976, 1979), and the sociology of language (Fishman, 1965, 1972; Ferguson, 1959).

The flourishing of research centers and committees allowed a network to develop between linguists. Such an example is the Center for Applied Linguistics (1959-1967), directed by Charles Ferguson (who developed the influential concept of *diglossia*), in which the archival issue of the world's natural languages became a main theme. Of note is also the Linguistics and Psychology Committee (1952-1961) ran by Joseph Greenberg as part of the Social Science Research Council. Encouraged by Greenberg, Ferguson was charged with organizing a program on the links between society and language, which resulted in the christening of the Sociolinguistics Committee in 1963 (Lechevrel, 2010, p. 79).

It is also in this period that language planning as a field began to take shape in the constant interplay of theory and practice. Some of the most renowned publications are the following: *Language problems of developing nations* (Fishman et al., 1968), *Can language be planned?* (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971), and *Language planning processes* (Rubin et al., 1977). These foundational texts laid the groundwork for the field.

II.3. Second Stage:

II.3.1. Linguistic Anthropology

In contrast to Chomsky's focus on the competence of the native speaker as the locus of linguistics, the emerging sociolinguistic and linguistic-anthropological approaches situated the study of language in performance, or in what Dell Hymes called "communicative competence" as opposed

to “linguistic competence” (Duranti, 2003, p. 329). Hymes, who was a student of Roman Jakobson, had an interest in language as a cultural activity. Upon meeting John Gumperz, who was mainly interested in dialects and linguistic variation, the *ethnography of communication* was born (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). This approach defined context, patterns in speech activity, and the speech community as central concepts. Hymes adapted Jakobson’s (1960) six communication factors of language, namely, addresser (sender), addressee (receiver), context, message, contact, and code. Hymes expanded this model into 16 components that were then synthesized in the acronym SPEAKING, which referred to: Setting and scene, Participants, Ends, Act sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre (Spitzmüller, 2022, p. 170). It is also in this period that the concept of *contextualization cues* became a hallmark of the analysis of language in context. These are defined as those *indexical* signs that speakers rely on in interaction, which allow for interpretation by pointing to a *frame* in the interaction.

Other approaches to study the nexus of language, culture, and society began to develop, such as the use of statistics in large corpora for the analysis of language change in urban speech (Labov, 1966), the analysis of face-to-face encounters from a sociological perspective (Goffman, 1981), which introduced fundamental concepts such as *footing* and *participation framework* to describe talk in interaction, and conversation analysis based on the analysis of turn-taking (Sacks et al., 1974). At the beginning, these were all encompassed under the umbrella term *sociolinguistics*. However, a methodological division began to occur among the emerging sociolinguistic approaches, with Labovian sociolinguistics being described as quantitative, macro, and urban, while Gumperz’ sociolinguistics was characterized as qualitative, micro, and interactional (Duranti, 2001, p. 6). This division led to a gradual fragmentation of sociolinguistic approaches, which also resulted in the classificatory ambiguity of linguistic anthropology as either a part of or separate from sociolinguistics and anthropology.

From the 1960s to the 1990s, linguistic anthropology research was guided by four main concepts: performance, primary and secondary socialization, participation, and indexicality (Duranti, 2003, p. 330). The theoretical underpinnings of performance were de Saussure’s *langue et parole*. While *langue* was interpreted as competence, particularly that which corresponded to the locus of generative grammar, performance was linked to *parole* as language in context subject to the speaker’s evaluation and to stylistic demands. Primary and secondary socialization referred to language acquisition as a lifelong process. A particular breakthrough was Ochs & Schieffelin (1984) with regard to the application of the consolidating linguistic anthropological framework to socialization. The third concept, participation, referred to the development of Goffman’s

participation framework and footing coupled with Bakhtin's work on reported speech through Voloshinov's work (Duranti, 2003, p. 331).

The fourth concept, indexicality, revolutionized the theoretical orientation and the analytical scope of linguistic anthropology. The concept was mainly developed by Michael Silverstein, who was also Roman Jakobson's student. Jakobson adapted one of Peirce's sign trichotomies, namely the icon, index, and symbolic triad to linguistic study. In short, Peirce posited, in contrast to Saussure, that signs were a triad instead of a dyad. This triad was the sign, the object, and the interpretant. The sign is that which stands for the object, while the interpretant is that which has an effect on the interpreter.

In this triadic configuration, icons are signs that have a relation to an object based on *likeness* (e.g., bathroom signs based on gendered images), indexes are those signs that are in existential contiguity to an object, i.e., they point to an object (e.g., smoke may be an index of fire), and symbols are signs based on conventions, i.e., they require background knowledge to be understood (e.g., words written according to an alphabet). In language, onomatopoeia is an example of iconicity. Deictic forms such as pronouns "I", "you", "he", and adverbs of time and space such as "here" and "now" are examples of explicit indexicality. Symbols are the words themselves. Silverstein (1976) expanded Jakobson's understanding of this trichotomy. Importantly, Silverstein (1979) proposed the definition of *ideology of language*, a concept that has become central to current sociolinguistic research: "Sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193).⁵ These two articles were steppingstones for the development of what would be called the "Silversteinian framework" (Mertz, 2007, p. 342) that would become the cornerstone of what Spitzmüller (2022) has called "metapragmatic sociolinguistics" (discussed in detail in chapter III).

While the first stage of linguistic anthropology was marked by a grammar-centric study of language as a gateway to the mind, the second stage shifted toward the significance of variation and speaking in the organization of culture and society (Duranti, 2003, p. 332). The third stage was characterized by the expansion of research parameters towards the interplay between language and identity formation, language and community, and language and power (Mertz, 2007, p. 342).

⁵ It is important to note that the concept of ideology, as it developed in linguistic anthropology, is not related to the Marxian tradition according to which ideology is false consciousness. Rather, ideology is understood as a necessary conceptual link between the virtual and the actual, i.e., that which mediates between linguistic structure and language use, explaining the regularities of culture, society, community vis-à-vis the events of the here and now (Silverstein, 2021).

II.3.2. LPP

For LPP, this second stage is characterized by the critical examination of earlier research, leading to the blooming of critical theory in LPP and to its culmination in the 1990s. It is, again, at the crossroads of emerging sociolinguistic frameworks that such developments came to be. The aforementioned approaches, coupled with critical linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979), were all feeding the breeding ground of LPP research (Lechevrel, 2010, p. 78).

Although the ethnography of communication was not directly linked to research on LPP, it is considered an important antecedent to the ethnography of language policy that developed in the 1990s (Johnson, 2013, p. 32). The transition of the 1970s to the 1980s was marked by the proliferation of post-structuralism and critical social theory, which found a place in the LPP field that was becoming ever more critical of the earlier language planning literature. As power, discourse, social construction, social inequality, ideology, and the relationship between language and power became the main conceptual staples of post-structural theories and critical social theory, so too did these concepts begin surfacing in the LPP literature, albeit in the 1990s. The ‘critical’ turn in linguistics shaped future research on LPP (Johnson, 2013, pp. 30-33).

One of the most important developments was the addition of a third LPP type, namely *acquisition planning* as first formulated by Cooper (1989). This third LPP type refers to the “efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages/literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both” (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28). In other words, it deals with the teaching and learning of a language. It thus led to *language-in-education policy* becoming a subfield of interest in LPP. Another important contribution by Cooper (1989) was the formulation of the ‘micro-level’ in LPP research. By taking as an example the changes in language use effectuated by ‘bottom-up’ language planning as part of a feminist campaign for gender-neutral language, Cooper (1989) extended the scope of LPP in order to encompass individual actions (micro-level) that may accumulate until becoming a collective practice (macro-level). This represented a point of convergence between LPP and linguistic anthropology (Silverstein, 1985a).

It is also in this period of buzzing innovation that the LPP framework was also expanded into LPP *goals*. Kloss (1977), Nahir (1977, 1984), and Ruiz (1984) presented analyses of language planning and policies that acknowledged their ideological character. Kloss (1977) distinguished between *tolerance-oriented* and *promotion-oriented* policies, the former being the permission to use a (usually minority) language as well as its cultivation in the private sphere, and the latter being the

active use of a (usually minority) language and the allocation of resources for its use in the public and private spheres. Ruiz (1984) proposed three ‘orientations’ for language-in-education policies, which he called language-as-problem orientation, language-as-right orientation, and language-as-resource orientation.

Finally, Nahir (1977, 1984) described 11 goals of language planning: purification, revival, reform, standardization, lexical modernization, language spread, terminology unification, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, language maintenance, and auxiliary-code standardization. The importance of the formulation of *LPP goals* was the acknowledgement of ideology in any language planning effort: “Scholars like Kloss and Ruiz developed frameworks to describe the goals and/or ideological orientations to language planning, a clear move towards a critical approach since there was the assumption that language policies had ideological orientations” (Johnson, 2013, p. 37).

This first diversification of approaches in LPP and linguistic anthropology set the ground for the third stage, in which fixed categories and macro-level processes were questioned.

II.4. Third Stage

II.4.1. Linguistic Anthropology

The 1980s and 1990s were a time of consolidation, terminological refinement, and internal reshuffling of the linguistic anthropology framework. The postmodern ethos that became predominant led to a questioning and an ultimate rejection of “meta-narratives” that were said to be based on overarching concepts such as “culture”, “nation”, and “language”. Thus, anthropology in general was faced with the challenge of redefining itself. Linguistic anthropology did not come out unfazed, but its core remained the same. As such, the 1980s and 1990s were characterized mainly by terminological refinement of key concepts such as “genre” (Hanks, 1987; Briggs & Bauman, 1992), “context” (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992), “text” (Silverstein & Urban, 1996), “metapragmatics” (Silverstein, 1993), and “ideology” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Schieffelin et al., 1998).

This terminological refinement led to, on the hand, the application of the framework to other fields and subjects of interest, such as the politics of identity (gender, race, sexuality, citizenship), globalization, and nationalism (Mertz, 2007, p. 341). On the other hand, this expansion also led to the diminishment of the once central role of language in research on linguistic anthropology. Language analysis, in this third stage, became a means to reach an understanding of complex social

processes (Duranti, 2003, p. 332). Thus, the third stage was characterized by a theoretical and analytical reintegration of linguistic anthropology into anthropology in general, while maintaining language as one of the central concepts for the study of culture and society.

II.4.2. LPP

With the critical turn and the ethnographic turn in linguistics and sociolinguistics, new methods and approaches emerged and were consolidated in LPP research. The most prominent approach born out of the critical turn was the historical-structural approach (Tollefson, 1991). Concomitantly, ethnographic methods were being applied in LPP since the end of the 1980s (Hornberger, 1988). Nevertheless, the historical classification of ethnography in LPP is more difficult to pinpoint due to the broader definitions that LPP has gained throughout the 1990s. Let us take a brief look into the historical-structural approach before elucidating the ethnography of language policy and planning.

The foundations of the historical-structural approach are critical theory and Foucault's work on discourse. Tollefson (1991) places power and social class at the core of language policy. His approach presupposes that language policies are instantiated to serve the interests of dominant social classes and that they generally lead to the subjugation of minority language groups. The historical-structural approach seeks to uncover the development of language policies in specific polities and to propose alternative policies that respond to claims of social justice. Methodologically, it is very thin. Texts are analyzed according to the notions of power and social class without much more that can guide the researcher in their interpretation.

The historical-structural approach received criticism for its mainly top-down view of language policies and the lack of agency of local actors in the shaping of such policies (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The historical-structural approach then branched out to incorporate other elements that were grouped under the label of Critical Language Policy (CLP) (Tollefson, 2006). A melting pot of theories stemming from the sociology of Bourdieu (1991), the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony, and the Foucauldian concept of governmentality are now integral parts of CLP. Moreover, Pennycook (2002, 2006) shifted the top-down approach of CLP to micro-level interactions that showed how power circulates among different social actors, not merely from a monolithic governing body.

In order to attempt a reconciliation between macro-level processes and micro-level processes, the ethnography of language policy (ELP) was developed. However, ethnography in LPP can be

situated both in the broader context of the shift towards ethnography in sociolinguistics and be specifically pinpointed at the turn of the century. In other words, a broader definition of LPP can trace it back to the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964). However, a narrower understanding of LPP would place the development of ethnographic approaches in LPP in Hornberger (1988), Jaffe (1999), Heller (1999), and McCarty (2002).

The main aims of the ELP are the analysis of the LPP types (corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning), with a focus on the processes pertaining to the LPP types, such as design, implementation, interpretation, or appropriation. Moreover, it seeks to account for agency on the multiple layers where the aforementioned processes take place as well as for the importance of societal and local policy texts, discourses, and discourses. In order to do so, the ethnography of language policy is based on typical ethnographic methods such as participant observation, thick description of the observed events, interviews with the social actors involved in the LPP processes, and a direct incorporation of the researcher in the processes while acknowledging critically the privileged position of the researcher.

II.4.2.1. A Plethora of Definitions

Just as the expansion of the linguistic anthropology framework into other fields led to the development of new strains characterized by differing foci, LPP was being framed according to a diversity of approaches that stemmed from the impetus to understand complex social processes through language. Therefore, a clear, concise, and direct definition of LPP was required in order to account for the developments of the field. The result was a plethora of definitions, five of which are exposed in Johnson (2013), summarized as follows:

- 1) Governmental regulations that aim to change language dynamics in a given polity (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi). This does not mean that LPP is necessarily a top-down process. It simply indicates that LPP is also made up of texts written by governing bodies, be they the state or a grassroots language association.
- 2) Unofficial principles and sociocultural constructs as *linguistic culture* (Schiffman, 1996, p. 276). Linguistic culture refers to the rather vague idea of ‘cultural’ baggage, whereby speakers’ beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, and customs are meant.
- 3) Tripartite set –language practices, language ideologies, and language management (Spolsky, 2004). The first refers to the use of language varieties by speakers in a speech

community. The second refers to the beliefs and attitudes of the speakers towards their language varieties and others'. Finally, the third refers to the regulations instantiated by governing bodies (which can be grassroots movements as well).

- 4) A complex sociocultural process and modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power. Language policies are not merely top-down or bottom-up, but multi-layered. Normative claims of legitimacy and illegitimacy are part and parcel of 'policy' as an everyday negotiation (McCarty, 2011, p. 8). This view is the cornerstone of New Language Policy Studies (McCarty et al., 2011).
- 5) Mechanisms that regulate language and produce power inequalities. Institutionalization is viewed as a basis for distinctions among social groups and language policies not only create inequality, but can also be geared towards a minimization of inequality (Tollefson, 1991, p. 16)

Despite their variation, these definitions are illustrative of the shift towards the social and the cultural that occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s.

II.5. The First Quarter of the 21st Century

With the ethnographic and critical turns in LPP, the new millennium was met with an emphasis on discourse and ideologies (Ricento, 2006, p. 15). This has led to terminological cross-fertilization in a broad epistemological framework that has been encompassed under the term "sociolinguistics". Indeed, linguistic anthropology, partially thanks to Blommaert (2010), has renewed its ties with research done under the banner of sociolinguistics. As such, central concepts such as "language ideology", "metapragmatics", "contextualization", and "chronotope" have spread to other subfields, of which LPP is one (cf. Tollefson & Pérez-Milans, 2018).

II.5.1. Education and LPP

Amidst these developments, language-in-education policy became a major point of analysis. Despite the existence of acquisition planning as an LPP type since Cooper (1989), it seems that the agency of educators was not put on the spotlight until the end of the 1990s. The role that educators play in the LPP processes became an equally important aspect of LPP, although it was undertheorized until the 2000s (García & Menken, 2010, p. 251). In LPP research, educators are embedded in the multiple layers of schools as institutions, as sites where discourses and LPP

processes are constantly negotiated (Corson, 1999). Schools are taken to be sites where top-down policy processes coexist with bottom-up or micro-level processes that affect the implementation of language policies through their interpretation or appropriation by educators.

García & Menken (2010) provide some terminological distinctions to language policy in education. They distinguish between *language education policy* and *language-in-education policy*: “Whereas language in-education policy is concerned with decisions only about languages and their uses in school, language education policy refers to decisions made in schools beyond those made explicitly about language itself” (p. 254). Moreover, Johnson (2013) expands on this and proposes the term *educational language policy*, which would consist of the “official and unofficial policies that are created across multiple layers and institutional contexts (from national organizations to classrooms) that impact language use in classrooms and schools” (p. 54). These policies are thus “interpreted, appropriated, and instantiated in potentially creative and unpredictable ways that rely on the implementational and ideological spaces unique to the classroom, school, and community” (Johnson, 2013, p. 54).

II.5.2. Definitions of LPP: Multifaceted and Overlapping

Research on LPP has witnessed the proliferation of different theoretical frameworks that add richness to the analyses, but make it difficult to talk about a cohesive field. Nevertheless, there have been attempts at integrating many elements of LPP into a more coherent framework (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Spolsky, 2004, 2019; Hornberger, 2006; Hornberger et al., 2018). Before delving into such attempts, it is important to look at the different definitions of LPP that mainly surfaced in the turn of the century in order to understand the current developments.

For a general definition that attempts to grasp the complexity of all these aspects, Darquennes (2013a) states that while language policy is “the whole body of oral and/or written (in) formal texts that aim at (re)affirming or changing the language dynamics in society” (p. 12), language planning is ‘an attempt to change the language dynamics in a society by means of concrete measures’ (Darquennes, 2013a, p. 12). This is a broad definition that, as the author states, has to be taken with a pinch of salt. Johnson (2013) synthesizes these many conceptualizations as follows: “A language policy is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, use, or acquisition of languages” (p. 9).

This leads to the view of LPP as:

- 1) processes that may consist of or rest on written governmental regulations aiming to change the function, use, or acquisition of language, with such regulations being instantiated through a multiplicity of institutional layers comprised of social actors such as educators, linguists, citizens, and policymakers.
- 2) However, LPP may also be covert and implicit, not necessarily based on governmental regulations, especially in contexts where speakers with strong language ideologies may regulate language use.

The inevitable question that arises is: Why Language Policy *and* Planning? For this, I refer to the succinct explanation in Hornberger (2006):

The truth is that the LPP designation is useful, not just as a reminder of how inextricably related language planning and language policy are (and in recognition of the important role of each), but also as a way around the lack of agreement on the exact nature of that relationship [...] LPP offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn of its insertion in processes of social change (p. 25).

Therefore, I propose the following definitions of LPP for the purposes of this research:

- 1) A collection of texts stemming from multi-layered institutional settings comprised of different social actors whose aim is the regulation of language dynamics in a given polity.
- 2) Actions from different individuals that create, reproduce, or contest patterns of language use in certain settings (not necessarily institutional), which may be motivated by different language ideologies, but need not be.

The extension of the definition of LPP as not only written texts, but also as sociocultural processes that may be shaped by individual language ideologies, takes us back to the LPP *orientations*, but also opens up a new chapter in the research, particularly language ideologies.

Two different frameworks that emerged almost simultaneously form the backbone of the two traditions where standardization features prominently. In the 1960s and 1970s, the language planning literature of the ‘first stage’ proposed standardization as not only a cluster of processes such as selection, codification, elaboration, and acceptance (Haugen, 1966), but also as a process of *spread* of one language variety over others (Ferguson, 1968). The other tradition that would theorize about standardization was linguistic anthropology, in particular the focus on its

ideological aspect (Silverstein, 1979, 1987, 1998, 2017; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Gal & Irvine, 2019; Kroskrity, 2004). This latter approach forms the bulk of this section and of subsequent chapters. Standardization has been defined from various standpoints ranging from structural linguistic approaches to sociological and anthropological approaches. However, this research frames its understanding of standardization from the social semiotics of language. Chapter III delves into standardization from this framework. What follows is a brief synthesis of the plethora of definitions of language ideology in linguistic anthropology.

II.5.3. Definitions of Language Ideology

The concept of language ideology was not new in the 1990s. There are, unfortunately, a myriad of definitions of language ideology, but most of them boil down to the beliefs about languages held by speakers. The concept stems from linguistic anthropology, in particular from Silverstein (1979, see Section II.3.1.). Silverstein's definition is a capsule of many views of the time that responded critically to the generative-transformational grammar paradigm. As stated by Kroskrity (2004): "Silverstein's (1979) article represents a dramatic reversal of traditional linguistic theorizing, one which rescued linguistic awareness from ongoing scholarly neglect" (p. 499). An alternative is found in Irvine & Gal (2000), who define language ideologies as relational phenomena: "[T]he ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (p. 402).

As mentioned before, the important precedents were Hymes' ethnography of communication and what Kroskrity (2004) calls:

[A]n emphasis on practice theory and the agency of social actors as well as a syncretic attempt to wed Marxist materialism with a Weberian idealism (Ortner 1984: 147) in an attempt to achieve analytical balance in the representation of human agency within the structure of social systems (Giddens 1979)" (p. 500)

These two aspects were instrumental in legitimating language ideologies as a subject of research. However, the increase in research on language ideologies also led to a multiplicity of definitions. Kroskrity (2004) thus synthesizes language ideologies into five 'levels':

- 1) "Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" (p. 501). In other words, political-economic interests are pervasive in speakers' positions in relation to their social or cultural background or belonging. Kroskrity (2004) adds:

Nationalist programs of language standardization, for example, may appeal to a modern metric of communicative efficiency, but such language development efforts are pervasively underlain by political-economic considerations since the imposition of a state-supported hegemonic standard will always benefit some social groups over others (see Woolard 1985, 1989; Errington 1998, 2000) (p. 501)

- 2) “Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple” (p. 503). Multiplicity refers to the variation in ideologies due to social categories such as gender, class, sexual orientation, and race. Such variation may lead to clashes, contestation, or contradictions. This aspect also includes differing ideologies from members of the same community.
- 3) “Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies” (p. 505). Awareness is not always as rational as Silverstein (1979) makes it out to be. Certain language ideologies become dominant and are ‘naturalized’ in a speech community, so much so that they may go unquestioned. This would represent a ‘low degree’ of awareness. High degrees of awareness may lead to contestation of language ideologies. Important for this is what Silverstein (1998) calls ideological sites: “[I]nstitutional sites of social practice as both object and modality of ideological expression” (p. 136).
- 4) “Members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk” (p. 507). Mediation refers to how certain beliefs about language and the social organization of the community may overlap to create social differences. It also refers to the ways such differences are expressed through specific ways of speaking (certain registers, for example). Irvine & Gal (2000) propose the terms iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure as tools for studying this specific aspect of language ideologies.
- 5) “[L]anguage ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity)” (p. 509). In other words, certain beliefs about language, such as purism, may result in social and ethnic stratification. However, certain multilingual and code-switching practices may also surface as a ‘celebration of hybridity’ and as a way of indexing identity.

Following this review of the concept of language ideology is the description of research regarding language in Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium.

II.5.4. Luxembourg

This section reviews sociolinguistic literature that has as its focus Luxembourg in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, corresponding to the period described above.

Early research on Luxembourg's multilingualism framed the emergence of the country's multilingual policy as a consequence of the conditions that characterized Luxembourg since its historical inception. Robert Bruch, a seminal figure in the development of Luxembourgish linguistics, espoused this view in the 1950s (Fehlen, 2013a). This was framed as an inherent bilingualism. Furthermore, early historiographic work also delved into the description of language use in 19th century Luxembourg, exemplified by Albert Calmes' multi-volume set of books from 1932 to 1957.

In the second half of the 20th century, studies about the development of Luxembourgish from linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches were published (Bruch, 1953; Kloss, 1952). This was coupled with studies on the emergence of the multilingual situation of Luxembourg (Reimen, 1965; Verdoodt, 1968). Fernand Hoffmann (1979), who was Bruch's student, provided a historical account of the development of Luxembourg's multilingual situation according to sociolinguistic terminology adapted from Kloss (1952) and Ferguson (1959). As such, he described the Luxembourgish language of his time as an *Ausbausprache*, i.e., a language in the process of functional expansion, and the multilingual situation of Luxembourg as *triglossia* based on the distinct functions between French and German in the written domain, and Luxembourgish in the spoken domain. This presupposed distinction between a spoken monolingualism and a written bilingualism would become the object of criticism of contemporary sociolinguistic studies, particularly Horner & Weber (2008).

Prominent studies with historiographic, linguistic, or sociolinguistic frameworks with a focus on Luxembourgish and Luxembourg's multilingualism were published in the 1990s and early 2000s. Historiographic studies included Trausch (1992), Spizzo (1995), and Calmes & Bossaert (1996). All three allude to the language laws of the 19th century and 20th century, but do not delve into the reasons for their emergence. Newton (1993, 1996, 2000) did studies on the linguistic structure as well as on the sociolinguistics of Luxembourgish. For the former, he provided a synchronic description of Luxembourgish phonology (Newton, 1993). For the latter, he described the development of Luxembourgish spelling since 1824 (Newton, 2000).

Three other prominent studies that exhibit similar foci on linguistic structure and on sociolinguistic issues are Gilles (1999, 2000) and Gilles & Moulin (2003). While Gilles' (1999) first study provides an analysis of the linguistic structure of Luxembourgish according to the distinction between koinéization and dialect leveling, his second study focuses on the debates concerning the existence of a Luxembourgish koiné, which circulated in 20th century linguistics discourses (Gilles,

2000). Gilles & Moulin (2003) is an overview of the development of Luxembourgish from linguistic and sociolinguistic frameworks.

More recent studies on the period between the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century have emerged. Gilles (2015) provides a chronological description of the LPP processes concerning Luxembourgish from the 19th century until the 21st century. While pointing out the discontinuities in language policy and planning in 19th century and 20th century Luxembourg, he describes the corpus planning activities that were undertaken first by literary and linguistics actors in the 19th century, then by institutional actors, such as Nicolas Welter, in the beginning of the 20th century. Status planning activities are described for the second half of the 20th century.

With the exception of recent variationist studies (Entringer et al., 2021), most sociolinguistic research about Luxembourg is coupled with the study of discourses through a textual analysis of primary sources such as legal texts, newspaper articles, literary works, and early descriptive and prescriptive linguistic publications. Herman (2003) analyzes the discourses of 19th century language purists and language nationalists who espoused a Pan-Germanic position and were thus critical of the multilingual policy of Luxembourg and the use of French.

Based on a Bourdieuan sociology, Fehlen (2011, 2013b, 2015) applies a socio-historical analysis of the development of the multilingual policy of Luxembourg. In particular, the concepts of “linguistic market”, “milieu”, and “linguistic capital” are the main analytics that grant explanatory power to his idea that Luxembourg’s multilingual policy had its origins in class distinctions shaped by political ideologies favorable to French and/or German. For the beginning of the 20th century, Fehlen (2013c) provides a textual analysis of newspaper articles whereby language ideologies (although not explicitly formulated as such) regarding French and Luxembourgish are elucidated according to the socio-historical context of the time.

II.5.5. German-speaking Community of Belgium

The scholarly literature regarding the German-speaking Community of Belgium is encompassed under research about German in Belgium. For this reason, a review cannot decouple it from studies that focus on the German of *Altbelgien*, i.e., the German-speaking population that formed part of Belgium upon the inception of the state in the 19th century. This is more so the case for a review of literature that has its focus on the period between the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (literature produced in that period as well as literature *about* that period).

Early research about German in Belgium was marked by descriptive endeavors of either the local German varieties or the cultural practices of the German-speaking population. Such studies were deemed as precursors of later dialectological and sociolinguistic research (Darquennes, 2013b, pp. 359-360). However, most research on German in Belgium came about with the emergence of sociolinguistics, particularly with the foundation of the *Forschungszentrum für Mehrsprachigkeit* (FFM) in 1977 at the Catholic University in Brussels, headed by Peter Nelde (Darquennes, 2013b, p. 360). Synchronic studies of language use were complemented by studies with historiographic foci, such as Pabst (1979). Other historiographic work includes the research activities of the local historical societies (*Geschichtsvereine*) of the GC.

From the second half of the 20th century to today, a relatively rich research landscape focused on German in Belgium, particularly on the German-speaking Community of Belgium, has developed. On the one hand, linguistic standardization processes as pertaining to the German of the GC and, on the other hand, the language policy of the GC, have been studied from various sociolinguistic perspectives (cf. Magenau, 1964; Nelde, 1974, 1987; Riehl, 2001, 2002, 2007; Ammon, 1995; Ammon/Bickel/Lenz, 2016; Boemer/Darquennes, 2012; Möller, 2017a, 2017b).

II.6. Conclusion

The literature review has delved into the parallel historical development of LPP and linguistic anthropology. While they both developed in periods of the burgeoning epistemology of sociolinguistic research, there was not much dialogue in the first stage of their emergence. However, the second and third stages saw an explosion of what some might call a fragmentation, others an enrichment, of the epistemological frameworks pertaining to sociolinguistics. The fourth stage was characterized by an indirect *rapprochement* of linguistic anthropology and LPP through terminological and methodological cross-fertilization. Concepts such as ideology, chronotope, discourse, and metapragmatics have become of common usage in LPP research of the 21st century.

The next chapter delves into the theoretical framework of this research. As stated in the Introduction, the mixed theoretical framework underpinning this research is a combination of the *social semiotics of language*, which is centered on the work of Michael Silverstein, and *discourse linguistics* as developed by Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011). An in-depth definition and elucidation of the main concepts that characterize each of these frameworks is provided first in order to establish the conceptual links between the two frameworks.

III. Theoretical Framework

III.1. Early Beginnings: Semeiotic

It all leads back to the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, whose unsystematic formulation of a triadic theory of signs between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was monumentally influential for not only the study of logic, but also for the study of language and culture. Peirce himself did not envision an application of his semeiotic to language (from a linguistics framework, not logical framework), much less to culture.⁷ However, the entry of semeiotic to linguistics was (relatively) soon spearheaded by Roman Jakobson, one of the founding members of the Prague linguistic circle. As Roman Jakobson fled to the United States and eventually landed a position at Harvard University, his particular functional approach to language spread through, and was developed by his pupils: on the one hand, the ethnography of communication formulated by Dell Hymes, and on the other hand, the linguistic anthropology of Michael Silverstein.

Although mediated through Jakobson, Peircean semiotics formed the cornerstone of these incipient approaches to language and culture. The main theoretical contribution of semeiotic to these approaches is found in Peirce's trichotomies. Out of the ten trichotomies of signs formulated by Peirce, the second trichotomy has remained the one with most import: the *icon*, the *index*, and the *symbol*. In order to understand Jakobson's and Silverstein's interpretation of semeiotic, a detour into Peirce's theory of signs is necessary.

Peirce devised a system based on triadicity, that is, on relations between three categories. This system divides each category into three possible categories. In what he called interchangeably his *phaneroscopy* or *phenomenology*, he presented three main categories unoriginally called *firstness*, *secondness*, and *thirdness*. These three are categories pertaining to what Peirce defined in a vague manner: "Phaneroscopy is the description of the *phaneron*; and by the *phaneron* I mean the collective total of all that is in any way or in any sense present to the mind, quite regardless of whether it corresponds to any real thing or not" (CP. 1.284).⁸

⁷ Semeiotic is sometimes used to refer specifically to Peirce's theory of signs, whereas semiotics encompasses other approaches to signs. 'Semeiotic' and 'Peircean semiotics' are used interchangeably here.

⁸ The citation conventions accepted and used by the community of Peirce scholars are followed in the context of this research. *CP* refers to the *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* series edited by Charles Hartsthorne and Paul Weiss and published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. The numbers that follow *CP* correspond to the volume of the CP and to the paragraph number of the text. As such, 1 is the first volume of the *CP* and 284 is the paragraph number.

Firstness is generally understood as *possibility*, secondness as *actuality* (what occurs) and thirdness as *law*. Short (2007) summarizes firstness and secondness as follows:

Possibility is an element in the actual. Anything actual is some possibility actualized. We never encounter quality except as occurring, yet it is not reducible to its occurring. For, in itself, a quality remains a possibility even when actualized. When we abstract the quality from its occurrence – from its being experienced or remembered or imagined – we abstract the possibility from its actualization (p. 78).

Importantly, Short (2007) synthesizes the three categories:

In 1stness, the relation of experience to its object is one of identity: the quality we feel is the quality of our feeling. In 2ndness, the force experienced is correlative with one's resistance to it. The two are alike in being opposed, and neither could occur without the other. In 3rdness, experience is a step further removed from its object; in it alone is error possible, for in it alone is there judgment. But when accurate, the experience of 3rdness mirrors its object: thought's conditional expectations diagram the laws they represent (p. 86).

These distinctions are an allusion to the type-token distinction that will be discussed further below concerning the framework developed in Irvine & Gal (2000) and Gal & Irvine (2019). Let us now move on to the other main concepts.

III.2. Sign, Object, Interpretant

A sign is one *relatum* of a triadic relation, the other relata being the object and the interpretant. This last concept is better understood as a *response* to a sign by the sign-interpreter⁹. This triad is what constitutes signhood. There is a prior relation of the sign to its object called the *ground*, which allows for the division of the three main categories object-sign-interpretant into further combinations of categories. The concept of ground clarifies another key concept, *significance*. The latter is understood in Short (2007, p. 162) as *grounded interpretability*. Significance is what constitutes a sign. However, the meaning of *sign* is obscured by the plethora of definitions provided by Peirce.

⁹ Interpretant has received many interpretations by Peirce exegetes. Liszka (1996) covers the breadth of the concept by defining it as a process and effect, while Short (2007) defines it as a response, thus more akin to *effect*.

A basic principle found in semeiotic is that an object determines a sign and a sign determines an interpretant. What it means is that an object limits the sign and the sign limits the interpretant. As stated in Short (2007):

Our definition of ‘sign’ agrees with Peirce’s definitions in this wise. It is, first of all, triadic, making interpretation (actual or potential) essential to the relation between sign and object. Second, it agrees with the trend of Peirce’s definitions in making interpretability, not interpretation, to be requisite to signhood. Third, it is as broad as Peirce’s definitions came to be, not in limiting interpretation either to conscious thought or to further signs. Finally, it is consistent with the idea that objects determine their signs and signs determine their interpretants...” (pp. 67-68).

What follows is a description of the relevant divisions that were afterwards appropriated in linguistic anthropology.

III.2.1. Taxonomy of Signs

Since semeiotic was formulated in an unsystematic way, the taxonomy of signs proposed by Peirce was amended time and time again in his later years. There are three main trichotomies that have remained most influential, but it is important to note that there are ten trichotomies in total with 66 classes of signs. These additional trichotomies came about in Peirce’s later years and have been deemed incoherent and obscure (Short, 2007, p. 260). Hence, the three main trichotomies are prioritized here. Moreover, there are three aspects of any sign that Liszka (1996) calls the *presentative character*, the *representative character*, and the *interpretative character*. He states: “[A]ny sign can be analyzed in three aspects which correspond to the first three formal conditions of the sign: the sign qua sign, that is, the sign in regard to its ground; the sign in regard to its object; and the sign in regard to its interpretant” (p. 35).

The sign divisions are based on Peirce’s phaneroscopy/phenomenology (1stness, 2ndness, and 3rdness), as he states: “The principles and analogies of Phenomenology enable us to describe, in a distant way, what the divisions of triadic relations must be” (EP2, 289¹⁰). The first trichotomy consists of signs ‘in themselves’, which means that they must be either a quality, an existent, or a

¹⁰ This is another example of the citation conventions of the community of Peirce scholars. EP2 refers to the second volume of *The Essential Peirce*, a collection of texts Peirce wrote between 1893 and 1913. The number that follows it corresponds to the page number.

law. There is thus a parallel between these and the three phaneroscopic categories. The categories for this first division, corresponding to the *presentative character* of signs, are the following:

- 1) Qualisign – It is understood as a quality that can only *act* a sign if it is actualized. Its actualization, however, “has nothing to do with its character as a sign” (EP2, 291). An example given in Short (2007): “...the color embodied in a cloth sample; in itself, that color is a mere possibility, its actually occurring in the sample being an addition to it; and what it represents is nothing other than itself, not as embodied but as a possibility that might be realized elsewhere or nowhere” (p. 209).
- 2) Sinsign – It is an occurrence, an actual existent thing or event. It consists of qualisigns. It can be understood as an instantiation of a type.
- 3) Legisign – It is a law established by convention. It is a general type that, through convention, has gained significance. Moreover, it is conceptually linked to the sinsign, since every legisign must have an instantiation of it, a *replica*. Each replica is a sinsign. This is also understood as the type/token distinction. As stated by Peirce:

Thus, the word ‘the’ will usually occur from fifteen to twenty-five times on a page. It is in all these occurrences one and the same word, the same legisign. Each single instance is a replica. The replica is a sinsign. Thus, every legisign requires sinsigns. But these are not ordinary sinsigns, such as are peculiar occurrences that are regarded as significant. Nor would the replica be significant if it were not for the law which renders it so (EP2, 291).

A clearer example of legisign and replica is money. The legisign as type is conventionally established and thus remains significant *in spite of* variation of the replicas/tokens (different shapes or figures imprinted on the one euro coin, for example). One of the main differences between legisigns and the rest are that “the purpose they have to signify constitutes their significance [...] Signs of other categories may be used or produced purposefully in order to signify, but their significance does not depend on that purpose” (Short, 2007, pp. 210-211). One must also be careful and avoid any equivalence of legisign to convention. Short (2007) nuances this such: “[N]ot all that exists for a purpose or is done for a purpose is created or is done with conscious intent, much less by express agreement with others. Peirce said only that ‘every conventional sign is a legisign’, not that every legisign is conventional.” (p. 211).

Legisigns consist of two laws, one which defines replicas/tokens and one which determines their interpretation. There has to be an intention to signify through a ‘rule of interpretation’. This law is conventional, customary, or instinctual. Short (2007) provides another colorful example: “No matter how clearly the parrot enunciates a string of swear words, it is not swearing, whereas no matter how much a grouchy and profane old man mumbles and slurs and mispronounces his words, he is swearing” (p. 212). For replicas to come about, the second trichotomy comes to the fore¹¹.

The second trichotomy is the most well-known and the most relevant for linguistic anthropology, but it still depends on the first and the third trichotomies. It pertains to the *relation* of a sign to its dynamic object. This relation is the aforementioned *ground*. This would correspond to the *representative character* of the sign. The three signs are the following:

- 1) Icon – the relation of resemblance or likeness that a sign has to its object. There is a distinction between a pure icon and other icons. A pure icon is, according to Peirce, “independent of any purpose. It serves as sign solely and simply by exhibiting the quality it serves to signify” (EP2, 306). ‘Impure’ icons, on the other hand, always have an indexical component, which leads us to the next category.
- 2) Index – it is a sign that is in an existential or contiguous relation to its object. It ‘points’ to the object. As Peirce stated:

A sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand (CP. 2.304).

- 3) Symbol – It is a law or general type. They are thus legisigns. It is “a sign of that object that is assigned to it by a rule of interpretation” (Short, 2007, p. 221). Being legisigns, they must be replicated as well. The difference between them is that a legisign refers to general

¹¹ “To be a replica, an icon of the legisign must be produced in order to replicate that sign: it must occur for that purpose. It follows that a replica is related to the legisign replicated not only iconically but also indexically” (Short, 2007, p. 212).

types, whereas symbols signify a general concept. As stated by Peirce: “[T]he demonstrative pronoun ‘that’ is a Legisign, being a general type; but it is not a Symbol, since it does not signify a general concept. Its Replica draws attention to a single Object” (EP2, 295). Replicas of one legisign can thus signify more than one object.

The third trichotomy is not as clearly defined by Peirce as the previous two. There is, first of all, a variety of terms for each category. Term, proposition, and argument are the point of departure. The most well-known categorization of these are rheme, dicisign/dicent, and argument, but there is also seme, pheme, and delome. Since rheme, dicisign/dicent, and argument are the ones used in linguistic anthropology, I will adhere to their use from now on. This trichotomy would correspond to the sign’s *interpretative character*:

- 1) Rheme – it “functions like an icon, merely bringing something to one’s attention” (Short, 2007, p. 233). Like the other categories, it can be an icon, index, or symbol. According to Liszka (1996):

[A] rheme [...] will have a tendency to determine the interpretant to focus on the qualitative characteristics of the sign rather than on any existential or lawlike properties it might have [...] One could say that for a rheme its interpretation will be directed more toward the sense, the connotation or depth, of the sign than toward its reference, its denotation, or breadth (pp. 40-41).

- 2) Dicisign/dicent – it simultaneously refers and portrays. Peirce states: “I define a dicent as a sign represented in its signified interpretant as if it were in a Real Relation to its Object” (1977, p. 34). According to Liszka (1996): “[It] connects sense with reference [...] that is, connects rhemes into a higher interpretive organization, and so its interpretation allows one [...] to ascertain that a certain characteristic is true of a certain object...” (p. 41). Short (2007) provides an example of it: “Thus, ‘Fire!’, uttered with sufficient emphasis in the right sort of context, is to be interpreted as an index of its cause, though [...] it is also descriptive; hence, it is taken or may be taken, rightly or wrongly, as descriptive of its cause” (p. 233).

- 3) Argument – It appeals to a law that relates premise to conclusion. It is a symbol. According to Liszka (1996): “[I]t determines the interpretant toward the inferential form or rulelike character of the sign” (p. 42). There are three arguments in Peirce’s semiotics: abduction, deduction, and induction. The first one is the most important, as it relates to Gal & Irvine’s approach. Abduction refers to explanatory hypotheses that are introduced by conjectures (Short, 2007, p. 319).

Of relevance and importance here is the concept of ‘compounds’. It allows the ‘coexistence’ of signs, such as the phenomenon of onomatopoeia, which is understood as a compound of icon and symbol, i.e., it resembles the object and at the same time signifies it. Another important distinction is that between a pure icon and an ‘impure’ icon. A pure icon is a possibility, thus it corresponds to 1stness. Color is a typical example of a pure icon. This also makes it correspond to the *qualisign* as a first. It cannot signify by resemblance because there is no particular object. Thus, “particulars can only be signified *indexically*” (Short, 2007, p. 215, emphasis added), since particulars are instantiations (tokens) of types, such that impure icons have either an indexical or a symbolic component (Short, 2007, p. 218). How all these categories should be combined is explained by Short (2007, p. 236).

This overview of Semeiotic is a prelude to the framework developed by Silverstein (1976, 1979, 1993, 2003, 2017, 2021) and Gal & Irvine (2019).

III.3. Linguistic Anthropology: Michael Silverstein

As mentioned above, Jakobson appropriated Peircean semiotics with a clear preference for the second trichotomy (icon, index, symbol). This, however, was not without interpretive caveats (Gvoždiak, 2017; Short, 1998). Nevertheless, his influence on Silverstein is manifested early on in his work on shifters (Silverstein, 1976). Another major influence on Silverstein was Benjamin Lee Whorf, who tried to find the links between culture and language. Silverstein (1976) builds the foundations for further work on what would become known as *indexicality*.

One of the most important distinctions in Silverstein’s framework is the difference between semantics and pragmatics. The former is narrowed down to the “study of pure referential meaning, embodied in propositions coded by speech”, while the latter is understood as “the study of the meanings of linguistic signs relative to their communicative functions” (Silverstein, 1976, p. 19). The explanation of referential meaning through language itself (using language to describe language) is called *metasemantics*. As he states: “Glossing speech events take language itself, in

particular, the semantics of language, as the referent, or object of description. These events use language to describe the semantics of language, and are thus *metasemantic* referential speech events” (Silverstein, 1976, p. 16). This metasemantic property is what “makes semantic analysis (and hence semantically based grammar) possible” (Silverstein, 1976, p. 16). It is supposedly unique to language in comparison to all other cultural codes of communication.

Pragmatics relates to the functions of speech in socially situated action. Here is where the second category of the trichotomy, the index, predominates. As mentioned before, indexes are instantiations of types. In speech, this means that they are tokens dependent on the context of occurrence (Silverstein, 1976, p. 29). There are referential and nonreferential indexes. The former are called *shifters* or *duplex* signs and are distinguished from symbols (Silverstein, 1976, p. 29). The latter, also called pure indexes, are those that tell something about the context and about the people involved in the speech event. They are purely pragmatic and thus separate from symbols. They usually come about in combination with referential indexes of person. Deference indexes are an example of this. The use of different pronouns in contexts where people of different gender, age, status, etc. are involved indexes these very same sociological categories while also referring to speaker and hearer.

The use of such indexes shows indexical *presupposition*: they *presuppose* aspects of the context, such that their reference is only understandable if there is knowledge of the situation. Deictics (“this” or “that”, for example in “this cat” or “that cat”) are an example of presupposing indexes, since it presupposes a spatio-temporal and cognitive frame where participants can identify the referent (the cat). The use of such linguistic tokens presupposes aspects of the situation that make sense of its use. Moreover, their use can be mistaken, thus leading to misinterpretation and confusion.

Their use also shows indexical *creativity* (called entailment in later texts, cf. Silverstein, 1985a). Certain languages, for example, index social gender through marked morphology on verbs, or on the second-person pronoun. “I” or “we” also show indexical presupposition and creativity by delimiting the roles of speaker/hearer in a specific spatio-temporal setting. However, such indexes need not be found merely in linguistic types that are instantiated in morphological marks (we can think of pitch or intonation as indicative of social gender as well).

However, we stumble into a problem when we realize that only a portion of indexes in speech are shifters (referential indexes). Pragmatics cannot depend on semantics in order to understand how indexicality in language works. Silverstein (1976) proposes a distinction of functions in order to

take into account the interplay between semantico-referential, pragmatic, and cultural aspects of speech. Such functions are purposive function₁ and function₂. Purposive function₁ is the use of language as goal-directed, as a means to description, whereas function₂ is the indexical function.

These functions were then expanded to three in Silverstein (1987), with their subscripts reversed: referential function₂, pragmatic function₁, and pragmatic function₂. The first corresponds roughly to the definition of semantics and metasemantics above, i.e., the referential meaning of language as expressed in propositions. Pragmatic function₁ corresponds to the previous function₁, namely, language as purposive action, thus its use has intentional social effect. Pragmatic function₂ corresponds to the previous function₂, that is, the indexicality of language.

Presupposition and creativity/entailment thus pertain to pragmatic function_{1,2} of language. Now, here is where Silverstein takes his own path. By taking a critical look at the respective works of Franz Boas and Benjamin Lee Whorf, he takes Boas' concept of *secondary explanation* (renamed *secondary rationalization*) and Whorf's concepts of *cryptotype* and *selective category* (renamed the *principle of projection and objectification*) in order to bring *ideology* into the picture. His interest is in how the referential character of language, as just one aspect of it, is extended ideologically to the whole of language, as if it encompassed every single function of it. Silverstein seeks to explain certain generalizations about language change as the result of a dialectic process between ideology, language structure, and language use.

III.3.1. Silverstein's Definition of Language Ideology

Boas posited a dyadic structure of language and culture, in which there are primary explanations for linguistic and cultural phenomena ("grammar" in the case of language) and secondary explanations, which are 'explicit' rationalizations about cultural patterns, or about language. Thus, another main question that Silverstein (1979) asks is what parts of language are susceptible to *secondary rationalizations*. Whorf took up Boas' framework and proposed various concepts, of which two are of importance here: the *cryptotype* and the *selective category*. The former is the equivalent of 'covert' grammatical features (types) that are instantiated in words (tokens). Selective category refers to the semantic and grammatical properties pertaining to a word when selected.

This leads to Silverstein's formulation of the *principle of projection and objectification*, which forms the basis of his concept of language ideology. He assumes with Whorf that speakers have "habitual thought patterns" about language as a "propositional system representing and talking

about what is ‘out there’” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 201). Objectification is understood as a secondary rationalization, whereby speakers project cryptotypes (such as number, gender, size, substance) onto words as actual attributes or features of the object.

To be sure, this does not mean that language shapes thought or cognition, but rather that speakers ideologically objectify features of their language and project them onto objects as real attributes, thus establishing language as that which refers to things in nature or reality. By renewing this framework and applying it to an anthropological account of language, linguistic ideology could come into the picture with explanatory power, defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193).

III.3.2. Ethno-Metapragmatics

Ideology mediates between language structure and language use of referential function₁ (propositional, referential, and denotational) and pragmatic function_{1,2} (language as purposive action and as indexical meaning). This leads to what Silverstein (1979, p. 207) calls *native metapragmatic theories* or *ethno-metapragmatics*. He subsumes metapragmatic features into ethno-metapragmatics and then explains what he means by ethno-metapragmatics: “[M]etapragmatic features of language constitute a functional₁ subsystem of referring-and-predicating use of language, where *language use itself happens to be the topic of discourse*” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 208; added emphasis). He then proceeds to define ethno-metapragmatics as a rationalization of the pragmatic system of a language with an ideology of language centering on reference-and-predication.

What this means is that the referential aspect of language is taken for granted as a bearer of truth of reality or nature, as if the symbolic character of language truthfully ‘stood for’ or represented social reality. It encompasses ideologically the pragmatic functions of language and thus language use becomes dependent on the referential aspect. Moreover, this ‘metaphor’ of ‘literal’ referential-and-predicational meanings is then literalized once again in a dialectic process.

Such is the historical case of the disappearance of the singular second-person pronoun ‘thou’. The grammatical categories of person and number were considered metaphors of amount and person addressed. These categories were, then, literalized as actually referring to amount of people and status: An ideology of egalitarianism surfaced in 16th century England among very specific religious groups, the ethno-metapragmatics of which led to the exclusive use of ‘thou’ among

religious groups and ‘you’ among everyone else. ‘Thou’ was said to be a one-to-one correspondence between speakers, while ‘you’ was said to be a pronoun of plurality that perpetuated inequality. Consequentially, ‘thou’ became an index of solidarity among members of such religious groups, while ‘you’ became an index of non-adherence to said ideology.

This brings us back to the issue of *metapragmatics*, in particular, metapragmatic discourse. In comparison to *pragmatic* as “effective action in specifiable cultural contexts” (Silverstein, 1981, p. 3), *metapragmatic* refers to the description of rules that link ‘culturally-constituted’ features of the speech situation with certain forms of speech. To talk about or to give such rules is “to engage in meta-pragmatic (sic) discourse” (Silverstein, 1981, p. 4). If we come back to the idea that choice of language itself can be an indexical sign, then an example of metapragmatic discourse is not only talk about the appropriateness of so-called high or low registers in specific contexts, but also of certain languages themselves in specific contexts. Thus, the absence of Luxembourgish in Parliament until the second half of the 20th century, and the discussions on the use of French or German in the school system of Eastern Belgium, are a matter of metapragmatic discourse.

III.3.3. Reshuffling of Functions

Silverstein (1985b, pp. 218-219) further divides the functions of language from a Peircean semiotic framework. Thus, he presents six different functional realms of language with potentially pragmatic and semantic characteristics:

- 1) True reference (also named dicent indexical legisigns) – it has the pragmatic characteristic of presupposing the existence and ‘uniqueness’ of a picked out entity.
- 2) Attributive reference, denotation (also named rhematic legisigns) – it has the semantic characteristic of defining attributes of picked out entity, which includes rhematic indexical legisigns that determine denotation and other aspects that determine nonindexical denotation.
- 3) Sense (also named rhematic symbolic legisigns) – it has the pragmatic characteristic of presupposing the sign system as organized in Saussurean grammar; its semantic aspect involves “characterizability conditions of denotata systematically describable according to a Saussurean grammar with underlying syntactic structure for the signs” (Silverstein, 1985b, p. 218).

- 4) Metasemantics – As mentioned above, it's the analysis of the meaning of language through language itself (such as glossing in linguistics)
 - a. “Naturally occurring” – it has the pragmatic characteristic of presupposing an “equational sentence form within the Saussurean grammar”. Its semantic characteristic involves analytic truths and definitional equivalences of surface expressions.
 - b. Virtual (also named cryptotype or ‘logical form’) – it represents semantically lexical items and expressions with appropriate formalisms under assumptions of Saussurean grammar.

- 5) Pragmatics (also named indexicals or functions₂) – it has a pragmatic characteristic of “speech event-bound presuppositional and entailment relations between linguistic tokens and contextual factors” (Silverstein, 1985b, p. 218). It encompasses indexical relationships of sign to its context of use.

- 6) Metapragmatics (also named functions₁ or purposive use of language in events) – its pragmatic characteristic is the denotation of speech events and their components -
 - a. “Naturally occurring” – Its pragmatic characteristic is found in explicit performative words (such as *to say* or *to promise*, for example) as well as indexical denotationals (demonstrative pronouns, for example). Its semantic aspect characterizes denotata in terms of speech events as institutions of language.
 - b. Systematic-virtual – shows no pragmatic or semantic characteristics, but is implicit in language use systematically, which can be described as “a theory of language function as purposive use of language in events of communication” (Silverstein, 1985b, p. 226). This systematic-virtual metapragmatics underlies speakers’ ability to interpret indexicals.

This multiplicity of functions may seem intertwined, but it is not. Semantics is distinct from pragmatics, as stated in Silverstein (1993):

Semantics can be coherently understood as the semiotic realm of *sense* [...] that abstractable constancy in denotational capacity of grammatically constructed expressions that corresponds to [...] the formal organization of grammar [...] By contrast, in the realm of pragmatics, we are very much concerned with actual events of language use, and with such generalization over and about them as can be achieved [...] Pragmatics is thus the semiotic realm of indexical meaning, including both denotational and nondenotational signs [...] an indexical sign points from the ever-moving here-and-now occurrence of some signal (token) to its *presupposed* 'context' and to its *entailed* 'consequences' (pp. 41-42).

This is where it gets quite tricky. The characterization of the *appropriateness* or *effectiveness* of the use of some linguistic expression is a metapragmatic representation. By saying that certain linguistic forms are, or are not, appropriate or effective in certain contexts, we are stating this with a notion (aware or unaware) of the presupposing and entailing character of the indexical meaningfulness of said linguistic forms. On the other hand, by 'giving the meaning' of a linguistic form we are engaging in metasemantics, of which dictionaries are an example. Metapragmatics *regiments* the indexicality of language (Silverstein, 1993, pp. 42-43).

Moreover, metasemantics is actually a 'special case' of metapragmatics (Silverstein, 1993, p. 43) because it frames discursive interaction along the referential-and-predicational aspect of language; it *entextualizes* discursive interaction, in other words it construes such an interaction as text, whereby expression-types are evaluated according to their referential-and-predicational aspect. What this means is that discourse in context is framed, it has a textual structure that is presupposed or entailed. Metasemantics also presupposes grammar, as the expression-types are understood as expression-tokens (instantiations) with sense and value. Figure 1 illustrates these functions.

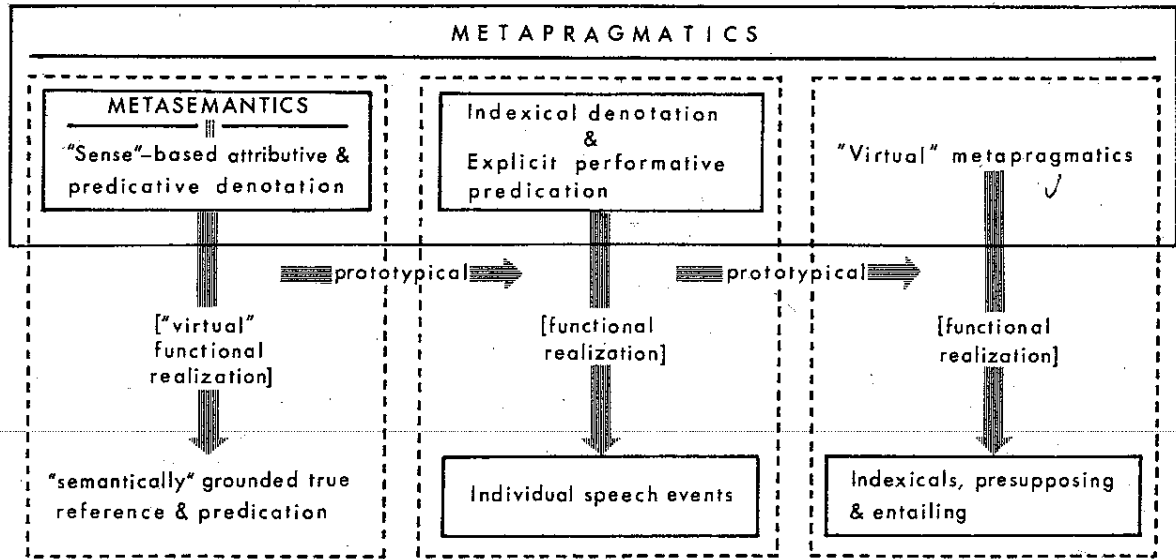


Figure 1: Metapragmatic Functions (Silverstein, 1985b, p.229)

In this vein, Silverstein (1993) presents three categories of what he calls pragmatic calibration: the reportive, the reflexive, and the nomic. Calibration is the way in which a metasemiotic event, also called the “signaling event” regiments the semiotic event, also called the “textualized event structure” (Silverstein, 1993, p. 48). Each calibration depends on what he calls *denotational explicitness*, which is a scale of implicit-to-explicit regimentation for the semiotic event. Calibration is the way metapragmatics regiments language use, in other words, it gives discursive interaction a structure that is recognized implicitly and/or explicitly by speakers:

- 1) *Reportive calibration* is the here-and-now of a speech event and is strongly explicit. It includes deictic and highly presupposing indexical systems for the reporting of a semiotic event. For example, the use of the present tense and of demonstrative pronouns pertains to reportive calibration.
- 2) *Reflexive calibration* is a framing of the speech event in implicit and explicit ways. Implicit reflexive calibration is the metricalization of interaction as text, called the “poetic function” following Jakobson’s functions of verbal communication. Explicit reflexive calibration is deixis, i.e., use of pronouns, adverbs of space and time, performative verbs, which point to the speech event itself.
- 3) *Nomic calibration* is the “stipulative non-comparability” of the signaling event (metasemiotic event) and the textualized event structure (semiotic event) “within any possible framework relevant to mutually locating them by presuppositions” (Silverstein,

1993, p. 52). It refers to two different, disjointed ‘ontic’ realms, such as myth expressed through ritual.

Table 1 illustrates these calibrations and their relationship to each other:

Table 1: Calibration Types (Silverstein, 2021, p. 14)

Denotational status	Event indexical calibration type		
	Reflexive (within-token)	Reportive (type/ token-focus)	Nomic (type-focus)
Implicit	Metricalization (“poetic function”)	Iconic indexicality (= <i>renvoi</i>)	“Voicing” through enregisterment
Explicit	Deixis; [metapragmatic verb in explicit primary performative]	Citational repetition	Rationalizing metadis course

III.3.4. Back to Ideology

How exactly is this related to language ideology? Silverstein (1998) comments on Woolard’s (1998) definitional “archeology” of the concept of ideology. By means of reviewing each of Woolard’s (1998) concept-clusters of ideology, he expands his own previous definition of ideology with the more ‘refined’ conceptual background that I illustrated. Ideology as intensional, i.e. mental, leads to the issue of its *sharedness* in a population or social group, as well as to the relationship of it to individual consciousness, similar to the sharedness of culture or language. Moreover, the concept has a socially situated character that has led to its use as an analytic tool against “objectivist” scientific claims while also referring to the stances of social movements that denounce discourses of the powerful and the oppressive.

Silverstein (1998) analyzes this variation as the result of “Putnamian stereotypes” and “indexical presuppositions” that are associated with the term ideology. The former are understood as “beliefs about denotata of a word or expression that are not derived from strictly linguistically mapped sense categories, but that, notwithstanding, give descriptive backing to uses of the term” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 127). More clearly, they are beliefs about that referred to by words, beliefs that may not be ‘accurate’, but that allow for a description of the object referred to. These ‘stereotypes’ become associated with words and expressions by means of their usage of specific, historically located groups of users.

Therefore, the term ‘ideology’ itself has become an example of Silverstein’s proposal of ideology. The essential part is that ideology is defined, once again, as a mediator. The difference lies in that

which is mediated. While ideology was previously (Silverstein, 1979, 1985a) construed as that which mediated between language structure and language use, the refined proposal is that “ideology mediates what can only be called a *dialectic process of indexicality* in many orders of contextual abstraction and on many distinct planes of sociality and of social process” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 128, emphasis added). Thus, in a rare moment of clarity, Silverstein (1998) states:

We now recognize that the ‘realities’ of meaningful social practices emerge from people’s situated experience of indexical semiotic processes that constitute them [...] So, for social actors as well as for us analysts, in a cultural situation in which at least one cultural ‘text’ is generated, meaningfulness is a dialectical property of social semiotics. And the rub is, the only way analytically to enter into understanding such dialectical systems is with the inherently ironic concept of ideology (p. 128).

These indexical processes are the *presupposition and entailment* of signs, i.e., those processes that point to a presupposed context of occurrence and/or an entailed/created context of occurrence. Since, according to Silverstein (1998, p. 128), every indexical process depends on some metapragmatic function for coherence, ideologies *constitute* certain ‘default’ metapragmatics. This means that ideologies ‘frame’ the here-and-now of interaction, they allow participants to understand the context through the presupposition that they share certain interpretation of the context according to perspectives or “interested” positions dependent on social positionality such as group membership (for example). In other words, “ideology construes indexicality by constituting its metapragmatics” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 128).

In such a way, ideologies show ‘schemata’ that explain or interpret ‘the flow of indexicals’ (Silverstein, 1998, p. 129). They are part and parcel of the process of *entextualization*, that is, making the flow of indexicals into a coherent and relatively long-lasting *text* in interaction. The schemata presented by ideologies are rationalizing, systematizing, and naturalizing. Such schemata explain the indexical value of signs through presupposition. This ties in with what he calls the *orders of indexicality*. As Silverstein (1998) explains on footnote 4, this concept replaces the earlier distinctions of referential function and pragmatic functions (Silverstein, 1979, 1987). It encompasses the previous functions because of the dialectic between ideology and indexical signs.

There is the *first-order indexicality* and the *second-order indexicality*. However, the planar orders of indexicality are unbounded and are therefore more than just two, thus they are generalizable to n th and $n+1$ st. This notation means that there are many planes composing the orders of indexicality. In another rare moment of clarity, Silverstein (1998) summarizes his main point succinctly:

One can approach the analysis of social signs by observing that every system or modality of social signs is infused with indexicality; that, therefore, all such indexicality is possible only in a dialectic process mediated by ideological formations. So there is no possible *absolutely* preideological—that is, *zero-order*, social semiotic—neither a purely ‘sense’-driven denotational system for the referential-and-predicational expressions of any language nor a totalizing system of noncontextual and purely "symbolic" values for any culture (p. 129).

III.3.5. Register/Enregisterment

An example of the mediation of ideology in this dialectic of semiotic processes is the concept of *register*. It is a minimally binary concept for basically ‘saying the same thing’ in different ways. There are linguistic forms that are *presupposed* in certain contexts due to factors such as social positionality and ritual. Certain linguistic forms can become associated to certain contexts. These linguistic forms may therefore be linked to a context of occurrence and thus index characteristics such as, for example, “formality” vs. “informality” in certain settings. That these are understood to be “equivalent” in meaning (from a Saussurean idea of “sense”) is the work of ideology, according to Silverstein (1998, p. 130).

The concept of register also intersects with identity:

The register concept, moreover, allows us to capture something of what it means to have a *linguistic community* in which we find an ideology of ‘speaking the same language’. In every such linguistic community, indexical processes can be observed and documented that dialectically balance (presupposing) *dialectal* and (potentially entailing) *superposed* formal variability in usage [...] And there is constant reciprocal interconvertibility of the status of formal linguistic variation as now dialectal, now superposed, through different orders of indexicality (Silverstein, 1998, p. 130).

First-order indexicality would be the linking of some linguistic forms to a specific context of occurrence. Second-order indexicality would be the awareness of such linkage of forms to context, resulting in the purposive use of either presupposed linguistic forms or deviant linguistic forms to index one’s social positionality in the context of occurrence. Again, the example of ‘thou’ and ‘you’ as deference pronouns involves both orders of indexicality, as ‘thou’ indexed informality and ‘you’ formality/authority (first-order indexicality) and, through the mediation of an ideology of egalitarianism, the use of ‘thou’ also indexed solidarity and favor to said ideology while ‘you’

also indexed the user's positionality against such an ideology. This presents not only the presupposition of the context of occurrence, but also the entailment of certain uses in context. It is "a consequence of the actual dialectic manner in which ideology engages with pragmatic fact through metapragmatic function, in a kind of spiral figurement up the planar orders of indexicality" (Silverstein, 1998, p. 131).

Register shows the naturalizing and *essentializing* effects of ethno-metapragmatics (rationalizations about the use of language constituted by ideology). Essentialization is the assignment of "qualities or characteristics predicable-as-true of individual things (including persons, events, signs of all sorts), and in particular predicable-as-true independent of the micro-contextual instance of presentation of the thing at issue" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 202). Essences are long-lasting, and, upon naturalization, they are grounded in "cosmic absolutes, or at least relatively more cosmic and absolute frameworks-of-being than the micro-contextual indexicality with respect to which they manifest themselves" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 203).

This is an attempt to explain cultural values as emerging from essentializations during the micro-contextual interaction. These essentializations seem to stem from a 'logic' of evaluational stances (which seem to be binary, as he provides the example of good/bad, preferred/dispreferred, normal/deviant). This 'logic' underlies "social partitioning as presuppositions/entailments of semiotic action that instantiate such partitions of social space" (Silverstein, 2003, p. 202). This is what Gal & Irvine have called contrast and comparison, forming the basis of axes of differentiation.

What grounds essentialization is *ritual*. It is that which ties signs to specific contexts of occurrence and legitimates the evaluational stances of users. Ritual exists through *indexical iconicity* (Silverstein, 2003, p. 203).

In other words, first-order and second-order indexicalities are licensed by rituals, yet these are not absolutely fixed in time, as if signs were monolithic. They are contingent, hence prone to shifts, since the dialectic process is dynamic. Therefore, conflict can come about. Ideology comes in as users' presuppositions of linguistic forms in contexts of occurrence differ, which entails new contexts of occurrence. Silverstein (2003) phrases it so:

Politico-economic and other interests clash in a social system particularly when competing n+1st-order (*second-order*) presuppositions yield different n-th-order (*first-order*) entailments; and such n+1st order presuppositions are probably effective via different

ideological positions, licensed in-and-by very different ritually-supported essentializations that ground their indexical values (pp. 203-204, added emphasis).

How do such different factors such as political interests come together with individual utterances? Silverstein refers to two processes that are linked to a *microcontext* and a *macrocontext*.

III.3.6. Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality

Interdiscursivity and intertextuality both play on Bakhtin's concept of the *chronotope*. The chronotope refers to the spatio-temporal setting in which narrated characters are situated. Silverstein (2005) considers discourse as semiotic production to be chronotopic, in the sense that it circulates through spatio-temporal settings of social organization. The here-and-now usage of language and other semiotic modalities is potentially linked to discourse of a different spatio-temporal setting.

While interdiscursivity gives primacy to discourse and to indexicality, intertextuality focuses on iconicity, on the likeness of texts in spite of different spatio-temporal settings (Silverstein, 2005, p. 9). *Genre* is, then, intertextual. It suggests a *frozen time*. However, there is an interplay between interdiscursivity and intertextuality, as the former may result in the latter. Interdiscursivity, as situationally located, links the here-and-now interaction to either another discursive event in time or to an internalized notion of a type or genre of discursive event. This is called *sourcing*, as in linking a discursive event to a source that can be pointed to (indexed). The source can be a token or a type (genre). It is *presupposed*. Moreover, it is possible to *entail a target*, in other words, to bring a discursive event (token) or a type (genre) into the current interaction and to consider it a manifestation of it (Silverstein, 2005, pp. 9-10).

In such a way, there is continuity and regularity in discourse giving meaning to the things referred to: "If we could discern no principles of regularity across occasions of making denotational text, there would be the absence of anything usefully termed a language community" (Silverstein, 2005, p. 10). Framing this from a language policy perspective, texts that refer to the language or language variety are inherently interdiscursive insofar as they participate in the reproduction of such continuity or regularity. They form an intertext constituted by the ritualized micro-contextual discursive interaction defining the characteristics of that which is referred to in policy texts as a *type*. In particular, many policy texts are built upon the assumption that there is a specific register that encompasses a whole language. This register is usually the standard language.

III.3.7. Microcontext and Macrocontext

Silverstein (2003, pp. 201-202) proposes that there is an interplay between macro-contextual semiotic processes and micro-contextual discursive interactions. What he calls *inhabitable categories of identity* are composed of different discursive and semiotic processes in *frameworks of social differentiation*, i.e. partitions and gradations of social space. The semiotic and discursive processes hinge on presupposition and entailment. The processes are the *partitions of social space*, the *values associated with such partitions*, *essentializations*, and *authorization of ritual practice*. Silverstein (2003, p. 201) seems to suggest that these processes are continuously bearing on each other and on the microcontext (Figure 2).

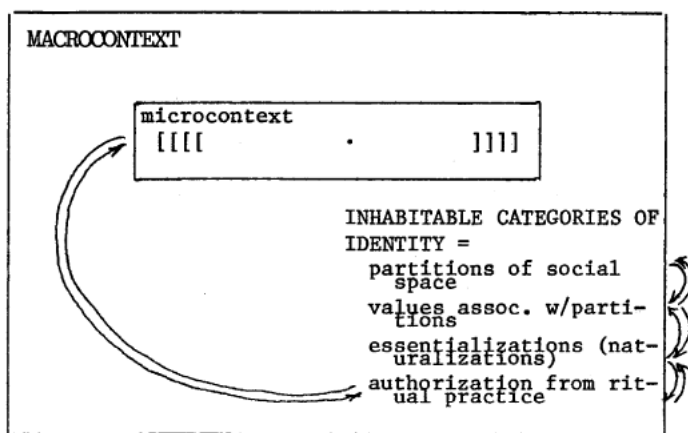


Figure 2: Interplay between Macrocontext and Microcontext (Silverstein, 2003, p. 201)

The microcontext is the *micro-realtime dialectics*, what we have been seeing so far as the interplay between ideology, metapragmatic function, and discursive interaction. In micro-realtime, an indexical linguistic form or sign is manifested in a contingent historical moment on a timeline of discursive contingency. Such socially conventional signs as *types* (indexical legisigns) are “balanced dialectically between indexical presupposition and indexical entailment” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195). The presuppositional and entailment processes are mediated by *metapragmatic function* for the regimentation of what would constitute the *text-in-context*. Although metapragmatic function can be explicit (such as performative verbs and direct quotation), it is mainly implicit.

Metapragmatic function is ideologically saturated. This means that “such ideologically-informed metapragmatics shapes and, in the statistically measurable sense, biases our verbal and other interactional behavior; it endows otherwise mere behavior with indexical significance that can be

“read” in relation to conventional norms” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 197). In other words, ideology as a mediator of such semiotic processes is necessary for entextualization, for discursive interaction to be a *text-in-context* (Figure 3). That is why Silverstein believes that there is a ‘poetic’ structure in the text-in-context that incorporates the denotational textual structure as well as the “grammaticosemantic structure” of the discursive interaction. Text-in-context is irreducible to any of these. There is a “nestedness” of routines-within-routines that depends on the “continuing relevance of metapragmatic parsing of interaction at a certain point on the basis of which the interactants know how to complete a subroutine and continue on with the relevantly framing higher one” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 200).

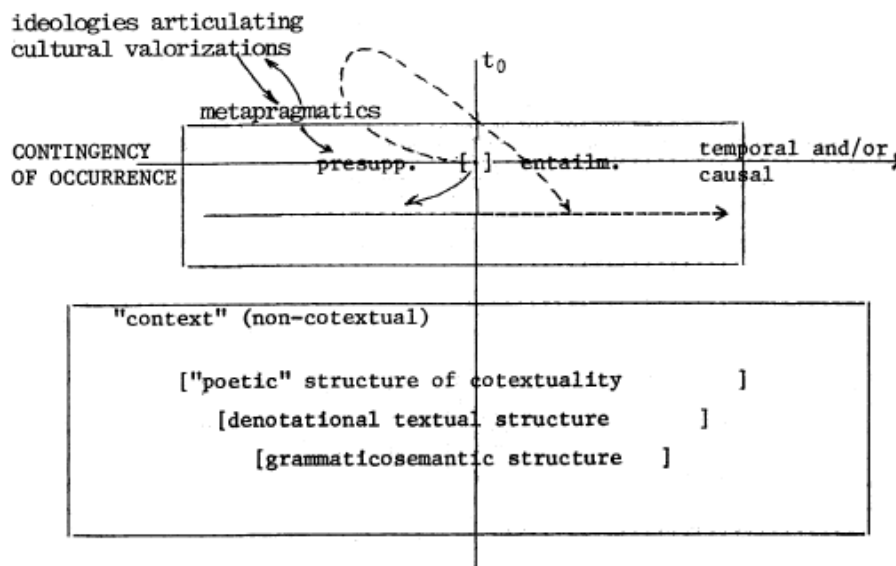


Figure 3: The dialectic semiotics of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195)

Now, in the face of all this, how do the macrocontext and the microcontext come together? Regarding microcontextual-realtime, such interactions are events of interpretable cultural meaning to the extent that they indexically invoke macro partitions of social space, which articulate cultural values indexically (Silverstein, 2003, p. 202). These cultural values are ideological in the sense that they come up in the microcontextual dialectic as essentializations.

III.3.8. Register and Enregisterment: Standardization

By taking Gumperz’ (1968) distinction between dialectal vs. superposed variability and Labov’s (1971) triad of sociolinguistic indicators vs. markers vs. stereotypes, Silverstein (2003, 2014,

2017) sought to show the interplay of 1st and 2nd orders of indexicality in standard-language communities. He considers Gumperz' model ostensive of both orders of indexicality insofar as the model proposes, on the one hand, that there is a use of distinct linguistic forms by different groups of speakers (dialectal variability). Such speakers are indexed by the use of such-and-such dialect (first-order indexicality). On the other hand:

‘Superposed’ variability [...] is constituted by a set of variant forms normatively used by members of some group or category, the switching among which in various contexts of speaking is expected as a *repertoire of alternatives* a single Speaker controls. The superposed variety is informed, in other words, by a group-internal *cultural expectation of alternation*, one that [...] is characteristically expressed through an ethno-metapragmatic model of enregisterment: ‘superposed’ varieties are obviously $n+1$ st-order indexicals with respect to n -th-order, ‘dialectal’ ones (Silverstein, 2003, p. 217).

This superposed variety is the standard register. Its use presupposes indexically the social positionality of the speaker and the variability of language itself, not just the link between speaker and linguistic form. In other words: “The superposed variability is a 2nd-order indexicality depending on a folk- or ethno-metapragmatics of standard register and its potential gradient availability as an alternative “way of saying ‘the same’ thing” for everyone anxious about indexing identity” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 220).

Regarding Labov's three concepts, indicator is a dialectal variant realized by speakers whose membership to a group is indexed by such usage, usually correlated through frequency-of-use or percentile score: “the numerical indicator for a particular speaker points to (indexes values in) a macro-social partition of a sampled population of speakers that is independent of all other variables. Only the variable(s) of speaker macro-social identity are at issue (for example social class, age, ethnicity) being indexed by one's verbal performance” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 217). Markers are social and stylistic variants that index not only the social category (socioeconomic class, for example) that a speaker may pertain to, but also the contexts of occurrence of a variant. This is performed through a series of tests that implicitly form a standard vs. non-standard continuum according to the socioeconomic class of the speaker. Stereotypes are conscious markers, that is, the purposive use of said variants in order to index a social type.

Of interest is the phenomenon of “hypercorrection” in which many middle-class speakers incur in Labov's tests. Upon linguistic insecurity, speakers produce “hypercorrect” variants that indicate

not only their own positionality, but also their awareness of the standard vs. non-standard divide. This is 2nd order indexicality. As Silverstein (2003) succinctly phrases it:

Standard register in well-developed standard-language communities is [...] hegemonic in the sense that ideologically it constitutes the “neutral” top-and-center of all variability that is thus around-and-below it. This hegemony of standard register differentially sweeps up people of different groups and categories into an anxiety before standard (p. 219).

This means that standardization, as a social-semiotic structure, muddles up the ‘intuitions’ of speakers regarding every variant form. This leads to the conflation of the standard register as sociolinguistic normativity with the intuitions of a Saussurean and Chomskian norm of grammar/langue. As such, “to this extent langue/grammar might be almost impossible empirically to distinguish from intuitions of standard-register-informed sociolinguistic normativity” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 220). This has led to shifting enregisterments that show higher orders of indexicality within standardized language. In conclusion:

[S]tandard [is] nothing more than a particular macro-sociological condition of enregisterment caught at every moment between dialectal/superposed or indicator/marker/stereotype indexical values in micro-contextual realtime usage. Such ‘order’ly indexical processes engage with the grammatically-locatable surface words and expressions onto which the indexical values at issue are laminated along with their ‘literal’ denotational meanings in particular complex grammatical expressions, so as to create *sites of indexical innovation* that spread through analogical space (Silverstein, 2003, p. 222).

Silverstein thus posits a culture of standard that is normative (it comes across as what one *ought* to use).

III.4. Diskurslinguistik

The social semiotics of language as developed by Silverstein provides the terminology to understand the dialectic process of ideology and indexicality with a focus on language. However, the concepts of discourse, text, and actor, which can be useful analytics to understand the interplay between ideology and discourse as expressed through actions, are not elaborately defined. For this reason, a discourse analysis based on linguistic anthropology can be enriched by the conceptual framework of what has developed in German-speaking scholarship as *Diskurslinguistik* (discourse linguistics). This field developed in the 1990s. A text that is deemed canonical is Busse & Teubert (1994). However, the field has been developed by Warnke (2004, 2007, 2008) and Spitzmüller &

Warnke (2011). Discourse linguistics is linked to another framework that emerged in German-speaking scholarship, namely *Textlinguistik* (text linguistics). Discourse linguistics are considered an extension of text linguistics.

As diverse as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has become, so do Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011) describe Diskurslinguistik as a bundle of heterogeneous approaches ranging from *Textlinguistik* to Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. However, a common theoretical basis between all these approaches is Michel Foucault's vague concept of discourse. Precisely because of its vagueness, however, has such a rich variety of approaches emerged. Discourse is defined as a transtextual context of reference of utterances that are thematically bound together (Warnke, 2008, p. 37). Despite its diversity, there are two main currents of discourse linguistics: the textualistic and the epistemological discourse linguistics. The former has as foci the thematic and functional overlaps in texts, while the latter seeks to understand these in connection to the production of knowledge in specific periods of time. In other words, textualistic discourse linguistics is interested in the links between linguistic structure and discourse, while epistemological discourse linguistics studies the discourses of specific periods under the conditions that constrain the agency of the actor.

Discourse is thus an essential conceptual pillar that allows for the analysis of knowledge and power structures through intertextual links (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, p. 117). Accordingly, *text* is the other main conceptual pillar of this framework. Text is defined as "eine Vielheit von Aussagen mit syntaktisch-semantischen Bezügen und einem/mehreren *thematischen* Zentrum/Zentren in einer formalen oder situationellen Rahmung" (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, p. 137; emphasis added).¹² The other main concept is *actor*. The authors define it as follows:

Es sind die Handelnde im Diskurs, die Wissen hervorbringen, zum Verschwinden bringen, regulieren und befördern. Handelnde jedoch nicht im Sinne personaler und kontextfreier Sprachteilhaber, nicht im Sinne entscheidungsfreier Subjekte, sondern Handelnde mit sozialen Rollen, die durch Möglichkeitesbedingungen der Aussage bestimmt sind und die ebensolche Determinanten durch ihre Aussagen hervorbringen [...] Akteure kontextualisieren Sprache in Wissensbeständen und bringen Wissen durch Sprache hervor (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, p. 137).

¹² The thematic center(s) resonate with the thematic analysis adopted in this research.

Their concept of actor is used in place of traditional terms in linguistics and sociolinguistics, such as speaker, hearer, addresser, and addressee. Furthermore, actors are not only individuals in this framework, but can encompass non-personal entities such as institutions, political parties, and media (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, p. 172). Importantly, actors are the mediating link between the intratextual and the transtextual levels. The former refers to the analytical units within a text, exhibiting semantic and syntactic relations with thematic centers. The latter is understood as the totality of the transversal (textübergreifend) discourse phenomena (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, pp. 136-137). This is explored in more detail in Chapter IV.

III.5. Implications for this Research

Following the “characteristic analytic move” (Woolard, 2020, p. 1) of linguistic anthropology, this research subscribes to the definition of ideology as that which mediates between language structure and language use (Silverstein, 1998, 2003). In this mediating role, enregisterment is made possible as a social process “whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, nonlinguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them” (Agha, 2007, p. 55). When referring to linguistic signs in the process of enregisterment, they are called “registers of discourse,” which are cultural models that link personhood to speech forms. A register can be analyzed through a minimum of three variables: its repertoire, its social range, and its social domain. As Agha (2015, p. 28) explains succinctly: “It is expressed or made manifest through criterial behaviors (its repertoires), which have stereotypic indexical values (its social range) for persons who recognize or perform such signs in their practices (its social domain).”

Taking this as a starting point and responding to Pennycook’s (2021) call for a “turn” away from interdisciplinarity to “semiotic assemblages,” language policy is defined in the context of this research as metapragmatic discourses, generally tied to a collectivity (state, family, school), the effects of which institutionalize linguistic signs into registers by establishing or maintaining “semiotic ranges” (Agha, 2007, p. 22) linked to stereotypic emblems of personhood through ideology. The institutionalization of linguistic signs is founded by semiotic chains that bring about the circulation and reanalysis of the linguistic signs in a dialectic of norm and trope (Agha, 2007, pp. 295–98). This process may sediment into state traditions with their own path dependencies for language policy (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015).

Put plainly, language policy is the effect of utterances that link linguistic forms to specific types of people in particular contexts recognized by a social domain (i.e., a group of people). It aims to

normalize the linkage between linguistic forms (ideologically taken to be denotational of “things”) and types of people (as indexical of behaviors) in particular contextual configurations, thus creating emblems of personhood (and nationhood). The materiality of language policy is not only its written form but also utterances, kinesic acts, and space in interaction (Pennycook, 2021, p. 117).

Language policy is restricted here to the metapragmatic discourses whose effects institutionalize linguistic signs in specific social domains such as those of the state and the school. Indeed, “socially routinized metapragmatic constructs” (Agha, 2007, p. 29), such as norms and beliefs that are specific to a social domain, can be found in spaces defined by national borders. The socialization of people in a specific nation-state can lead to the institutionalization of particular metapragmatic vocabularies, or “ethnometapragmatic terminology used to typify the form and meaning of behaviors, and to classify persons, identities, group membership, and other facts of social being in relation to behavior” (Agha, 2007, p. 74). This does not preclude the existence of a diversity of ethnometapragmatics nor does it imply a necessary link between culture and nation-state as a 1:1 equivalence. Rather, it allows us to frame language policy as diverse metapragmatic discourses. In the case of the nation-state, language policy is constituted by and constitutive of pathways solidified by the power of the state in regulating linguistic signs inside its borders.

The next chapter delves into the methodology of this research. A comprehensive description of qualitative approaches together with the specificities of data collection and analysis of this research is provided. Following this description is an in-depth presentation of the discourse analysis tools that were applied for data analysis.

IV. Methodology

Given that the aim of this research is the analysis of ideology in language policy discourse in Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium, fitting methods fall within the realm of qualitative research or mixed methods. However, qualitative approaches were deemed more suitable in the context of this research. The suitability of qualitative research methods was determined by factors pertaining to the nature of the collected data and to the conditions to which the data collection process was subject. Particularly, the constraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic hindered the creation of a sizable corpus that would have allowed for a mixed methods approach to the analysis. Nevertheless, the application of the selected qualitative approaches proved to be fruitful due to their strong theoretical underpinnings and the richness of the data.

An overview of qualitative research is followed by a description of the data collection process and the collected data, concluding with the presentation of the method of analysis.

IV.1. Research Design

The research design process was characterized by an exploratory initial stage guided by the approved research proposal. The research proposal provided a frame for the research topic, namely sociolinguistics (despite its epistemological breadth as a field), with particular focus on the intersection between language policy and language ideology in the cases of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium. The guiding question was the following:

- How are the language policies ideologically shaped, reshaped, contested, and reproduced by the social actors taking part in these processes?

The envisioned data to be collected were on the one hand documents related to language policy (legal texts, course programs, and curricula) and, on the other hand, interviews. The latter was divided according to each case, namely Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium. Semi-structured interviews were selected as the model for data collection. Basic parameters were established, such that it was determined that the informants would be teachers of Luxembourgish and actors of the by then newly founded language institutions in Luxembourg, and teachers of German and actors of policymaking institutions in the German-speaking Community of Belgium. In this initial stage, the design and application of a questionnaire was also considered as a possible way to achieve triangulation. It was intended to create three corpora out of the data to be collected.

Before data collection began, it was deemed helpful to delve into theory. Thus, the initial stage also involved the elaboration of a theoretical framework upon which the research would be based. This, in turn, involved the exploration of a plethora of theories and methods that had become staples of sociolinguistic research, ranging from Critical Discourse Analysis to language ecology and linguistic anthropology. The draft of the theoretical framework remained open-ended.

IV.1.1. Initial Data Collection and Analysis

The second stage of the research was characterized by textual data collection, mainly language policy legal texts of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries in Luxembourg. These data were collected through the website www.legilux.public.lu. 19th century and 20th century texts pertain solely to the state language policy of Luxembourg, while 21st century texts pertain to the state language policy, the school system, and civil language policy (i.e., petitions). The collected texts were submitted to a simple coding process consisting of an in-depth reading of the text coupled with highlighting of passages related to language use in Luxembourg. A fine-tuning of the coding process occurred after the discovery of thematic analysis in the third stage (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019).

Textual data from the German-speaking Community was collected in the third stage. An initial analysis of these textual data was attempted through the application of two different theoretical frameworks, namely Political Discourse Analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and language ecology (Mufwene, 2001, 2008). These proved to be unsatisfactory due to the incompatibility between their foci and the textual data.

Hindered by the COVID-19 pandemic, interview conduction only began in October 2020. The first group of informants was limited to Luxembourg, as data collection for the German-speaking Community had not begun. There was no strict limit on the sample size. Rather, the goal was an estimated 15 to 20 interviews for each case. Data collection for the case of Luxembourg ended in April 2021.

IV.1.2. Second Data Collection and Third Stage

Interview conduction for the case of the German-speaking Community began in October, 2021 and ended in May, 2022. The specific modalities of interview conduction and transcription are discussed in section IV.4.

The third stage involved the rediscovery of linguistic anthropology literature, particularly Michael Silverstein's framework. The submersion into linguistic anthropology recentered language

ideology as the main concept of the research and reinvigorated the analysis of textual data. Coupled with the discovery of discourse linguistics (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011), fruitful links were established between this framework and the linguistic anthropology framework. These links were then consolidated in the final stage through the discovery of a linguistic anthropology approach to discourse analysis (Wortham & Reyes, 2020) and Spitzmüller's (2013, 2019, 2022) recent work. The first application of this framework to the data led to a reformulation of the original research question and to the addition of two questions:

- 1) What are the ideologies that inform the language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community in the available corpus?
- 2) What are the discursive patterns that index language ideologies in the language policy texts and interview extracts of institutional actors of Luxembourg and the GC?

Language policy legal texts from the German-speaking Community were collected in this third stage. The decrees were collected through the search engine of the Belgian official journal: http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/doc/rech_f.htm. The Belgian official journal, also known as *Moniteur belge/Belgisch Staatsblad/Belgisches Staatsblatt* in the three community languages of Belgium, has the function of publishing the legal texts of Belgium, such as laws, royal decrees, decrees, and so on.

The collected texts span the period of 1998 to an unspecified date between 2013-2019. This lack of specificity is due to the fact that the most recent text was produced within that period, yet it does not feature a date of publication. They were subject to the same coding process as the language policy texts of the case of Luxembourg, guided by the thematic analysis.

The final stage was characterized by the organization of the data into a less chaotic corpus, the iterative process of reading and re-reading the data, and the selection of themes for the discourse analysis of linguistic structure. Theme selection was based on the reformulated research questions, that is, on the links between linguistic structure and ideology in written texts and in metalinguistic evaluation. Furthermore, restriction of the data was necessary in order to avoid lengthy repetition without sacrificing the comprehensiveness of the analysis.

What follows is a general overview of qualitative research, a discussion of interviews as a research method, a summary of participant selection and their profiles, transcription conventions, and, finally, the method of analysis.

IV.2. Research Approach

Research that falls within the umbrella term of “qualitative” has been produced for over a century. Indeed, it may be relevant to point out, in the context of this research underpinned by linguistic anthropology, the fact that Franz Boas’ research is considered exemplary in its qualitative orientation (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 36). However, the term “qualitative” was not in circulation at the beginning of the 20th century. Rather, the term arose in the second half of the 19th century in the wake of challenges to quantitative approaches. A seminal work was Glaser & Strauss (1967) on what they called *grounded theory*.

In social research, the use of quantitative methods arose from a desire to emulate the objectivity toward which natural sciences strove. Quantitative social research is characterized by the use of numbers, a priori categorization, the preference of variables over cases, the use of statistics, and standardization procedures. These characteristics are determined by the quest for generalizability and for the description of universal laws (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 33-34). It is important to note, however, that quantitative social research still exhibits fundamental differences from natural science research because of the social and cultural character of the phenomena that form its object of study (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 32). While there seems to be a consensus about the main features of quantitative research, such is not the case for qualitative research. As such, qualitative research is known for its epistemological and methodological diversity. However, its philosophical underpinnings are largely shared by qualitative researchers.

The epistemological point of departure is interpretation, undergirded by the assumption that subjectivity is inherently tied to the research process (which does not preclude a rigorous analysis of data). Qualitative research is furthermore underpinned by an ontological constructionism, whereby social reality is inseparable from the positionality of the subjects – researcher and participants alike – which, nevertheless, does not preclude the description of regularity in social and cultural phenomena. These philosophical underpinnings make the understanding of context-bound social and cultural phenomena the nucleus of qualitative research, or one of its main goals. In light of these foundations, qualitative research is characterized by the following:

- 1) An emergent research design, i.e., openness and flexibility in the research process, involving open-ended questions as guidelines that are narrowed down gradually, which leads to the definition of categories during the research (instead of a priori categorization). However, the degree of openness and flexibility varies (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 39).

- 2) Interview transcripts, documents, field notes, images, videos, and, increasingly, experiences as the main sources of data. The data are generally formed into text. Because data are deemed as a reflection of the complexity of social reality, they tend to be unfocused, heterogeneous, and messy (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 125).
- 3) Small sample size due to the focus on the description and clarification of a human experience rather than the discovery of a mean experience among a large group of people. However, data may be quantifiable if a mixed methods approach is applied.
- 4) Insider meaning, i.e., the description of the meaning-making activities of the participants as part of their subjective experiences. Qualitative research has a focus on the *emic* view of the participants, that is, on their insider experiences (Spitzmüller, 2022, p. 183).
- 5) The analysis is mainly interpretive, contingent on the theoretical framework and on the positionality of the researcher. In order to avoid cherry-picking and biased results, the data collection and analysis processes are iterative, involving clear organization and coding of the data that allow the researcher to revisit the data throughout the research.

In the context of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, this may be summarized as follows:

Table 2: *Quantitative vs. Qualitative Approaches, adapted from Spitzmüller (2022, p. 185)*

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Goal	Generalization	Particularization
Focus	Typicality	Specificity
“Good” Data	Comparative	Rich
Perspective	Top-Down	Bottom-Up
Categorization	A priori	During
Formulation of research questions	A priori	During
Researcher subjectivity	To be avoided	Inevitable; to be disclosed and analyzed

This is particularly predominant in interactional sociolinguistics. As shown in the introduction of this research, however, metapragmatic sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (to which this research subscribes) seek to understand the processes that define typicality and specificity through the analysis of discourse *in* and *across* events (Spitzmüller, 2022, p. 244). This is based on the theorization of agency (social action) and structure as a dialectic process.

The next section delves into the quality criteria for qualitative research.

IV.3. Quality Criteria

The question of quality in research is linked to the question of validity. The differences between quantitative and qualitative research approaches are reflected in this aspect as well. While quality criteria for quantitative research comprise terms such as reliability, measurement validity, and research validity (which have their own weaknesses), qualitative research faces the challenge of defining quality criteria that stand in tension with, on the one hand, its epistemological and ontological underpinnings and, on the other hand, its interpretive analysis of data. This entails two two major risks in qualitative research. First, the analysis of *insipid data* based on the focalization of individual meaning leads to repetition and truisms. Secondly, cherry-picking data due to space constraints or to lack of a systematic analysis leads to the problem of anecdotalism, whereby specific chunks of data are chosen according to their suitability for the predetermined analysis of the researcher (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 55-56).

The internal diversity of qualitative research has led to the formulation of various evaluation criteria characterized by distinct terminology that either replaces or redefines “validity”, such as “trustworthiness”, “authenticity”, “plausibility”, and “adequacy” (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Two of the most prominent proposals for qualitative research evaluation criteria defined according to this divide are Lincoln & Guba (1985) and Maxwell (1992). While the former proposal replaces validity with “trustworthiness”, the latter adapts it to qualitative research. Lincoln & Guba (1985) define trustworthiness according to four components developed in a parallel fashion to the quantitative concepts of “internal validity”, “external validity”, “reliability”, and “objectivity”. Given that the evaluation criteria were defined as parallel criteria to these four used in quantitative research, it is necessary to provide a brief definition of each:

- 1) *Internal validity*: criterion contingent on the outcome of the research as the function of the measured, controlled, or manipulated variables of the study, i.e., if there were no ‘threats’ to the findings, such as unintended factors, flaws, or events (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 52)
- 2) *External validity*: The generalizability of the findings (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 52)
- 3) *Reliability*: the extent of the production of consistent results in a given population across multiple circumstances (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 50).
- 4) *Objectivity*: the “neutrality” of the findings.

The parallel criteria for qualitative research are defined by Lincoln & Guba (1985) as:

- 1) *Credibility*: the ‘truth value’ of the research; corresponds to “internal validity”
- 2) *Transferability*: the extent of the application of the findings to other contexts; corresponds to “external validity”
- 3) *Dependability*: the consistency of the results; corresponds to “reliability”
- 4) *Confirmability*: the “neutrality” of the findings; corresponds to objectivity.

These four components of trustworthiness can be established through different techniques:

Table 3: Four Components and Techniques

Credibility	Transferability	Dependability	Confirmability
Prolonged engagement	Thick description	Inquiry audit	Confirmability audit
Persistent observation			Audit trail
Triangulation			Triangulation
Peer debriefing			Reflexivity
Negative case analysis			
Referential adequacy			
Member-checking			

Maxwell (1992) proposes a different terminology with slight normative differences:

- 1) *Descriptive validity*: the facticity, or factual accuracy, of the researcher's account.
- 2) *Interpretive validity*: the quality of the analysis regarding the participants' perspectives
- 3) *Theoretical validity*: the extent to which the theoretical framework provided by the researcher has explanatory power of the studied phenomena.
- 4) *Generalizability*:
 - a. *Internal generalizability*: the extent to which the findings can be generalized within the studied community or institution.
 - b. *External generalizability*: the extent to which the findings can be generalized across communities or institutions.
- 5) *Evaluative validity*: the accuracy of the researcher's assessment of their study.

Given the nature of the data, the theoretical framework, and the scope of this research, Maxwell's (1992) taxonomy is more suitable as quality criteria. The next section elucidates interviews as a research method.

IV.4. Interviews as Qualitative Method of Inquiry

Interviews are a genre with their own turn-taking conventions, participant roles, and registers (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 134). Indeed, interviews are denotational *and* interactional texts where the positionality of the participants features prominently in the discursive unfolding of the interaction (Briggs, 1986, pp. 45-46). In other words, the interview-as-denotational text points to reference and predication of a state of affairs, the "content" of the speech, while the interview-as-interactional text points to the participant roles, the positionality of each participant, and to discursive maneuvers such as variation in prosody, pauses, gaze, and movements (Perrino, 2022, pp. 163-164). However, as a method of inquiry, interviews-as-denotational text have stood out (cf. Kvale, 1996, 2007).

Kvale (1996) describes interviews as a professional conversation with the aim of "obtaining descriptions of the lifeworld of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena." (pp. 5-6). Because interviews are interactional texts as well, they are sites of identity and knowledge co-construction through the positioning of the speech participants, which leads to the performance of their identities (Perrino, 2022, p. 165). Researchers conducting interviews are thus in a double position of knowledge and ignorance, whereby they have expertise in certain research topics while being ignorant of the participants' lifeworlds (Roulston, 2019, p. 32). It is important to note that interviews as research method are themselves contingent on political power. It is defined by socio-cultural assumptions where a specific participation framework is taken for granted. Interviews are not exempt from the institutional inequalities that shape interactions (Briggs, 1986). Thus, the acknowledgement of power differentials defined by institutional inequalities, as a researcher participating in the co-construction of identity and knowledge in the interactional text, is necessary.

Because of the inevitability of the co-construction of knowledge that ensues with this method, qualitative interviews have faced criticism due to the predominance of subjectivity and to potential bias. In other words, they are perceived as anecdotal, descriptive, and illustrative. While the description of the interviewee's lifeworld as a goal cannot in any way be objective, the acknowledgement of subjectivity and potential bias in qualitative interviews is of utmost importance for research integrity.

There are three types of one-to-one interviews:

- 1) Structured interviews: interviewers have a pre-prepared interview guide consisting of a standard list of questions that are asked precisely as phrased in the interview guide.
- 2) Semi-structured interviews: Interviewers have a pre-prepared interview guide that offers direction to the conversation, but questions can be open-ended and exploration into spontaneous topics is encouraged.
- 3) Unstructured interviews: interviewers allow maximum flexibility, i.e., deviations and unpredictability are the norm.

For details on these and focus group interviews, see Dörnyei (2007).

IV.4.1. Interview Selection, Participant Selection, and Ethical Considerations

Given the possibility of exploratory and open-ended questions in a framed conversation, semi-structured interviews were chosen as one of the methods of inquiry of this research. The semi-structured character of this type of interview allows for thematic constraints that give direction to the conversation and limit the scope to specific topics (with potential deviations). Through a division of open-ended and theory-driven questions, the former leading to longer responses and the latter to link themes from the conversation to research themes, the possibility of asking open-ended and theory-driven questions (Galletta, 2013, p. 24) also balances out the denotational text of the interview. Despite the acknowledgement of the interview as interactional text, the discourse analysis of interview extracts was almost completely focused on the denotational text. The focus on the denotational text had consequences for the transcription of the interviews.

Qualitative research, with its focus on the particular and on processes that can link the particular to the general (and viceversa), features small samples as a rule. As Dörnyei (2007) states:

At least in theory, qualitative inquiry is not concerned with how representative the respondent sample is or how the experience is distributed in the population. Instead, the main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn. This goal is best achieved by means of some sort of ‘purposeful’ or ‘purposive’ sampling (p. 126).

In purposive sampling (also called non-probability sampling), the researcher targets a specific group without neglecting the awareness that such a sample is not representative of the entire

population. The reasoning behind the sampling process is the recruitment of individuals who are relevant to the research topic and are most likely to contribute important insights to the topic. Furthermore, the participant selection process may open even after initial analysis of informant accounts in order to expand on or challenge the initial findings through *iteration*. This iterative process should stop when reaching saturation, or the point where additional data may not develop further the research topic.

In this research, the network of institutional actors in both cases is relatively small. For the case of Luxembourg, there were two criteria of inclusion in the sample:

- 1) Membership or affiliation to a school as a teacher of Luxembourgish in Luxembourg
- 2) Membership in the institutions mentioned in the 2018 law on the promotion of the Luxembourgish language, namely the CPLL, the ZLS, the Commissioner, and the SCRIPT.

For the case of the German-speaking Community, there were equally two criteria of inclusion:

- 1) Membership or affiliation to a secondary school as a teacher of German in the GC.
- 2) Membership in an institution involved with language policy design and implementation, such as the department of pedagogy at the Ministry of the GC.

At the beginning of the research, gatekeepers were relied on to gain access to the members of the teaching staff of various schools. This allowed for the incrementation of the sample. Thus, snowball sampling became the predilect data collection technique.

Owing to the Covid-19 pandemic, every interview was conducted and video-recorded online. Only the recorded audio was used for the analysis. Each interview was conducted in either Luxembourgish (for the case of Luxembourg) or in German (for the case of the German-speaking Community). The online setting made explicit the participant roles of the interview as a genre, which may have led to lack of spontaneity in some interviews. An additional reason for lack of spontaneous interaction were the language constraints of the researcher. Although the researcher is proficient in Luxembourgish and German, lower proficiency vis-à-vis L1-speakers may have contributed to constraint. As such, the semi-structured frame of the interview was less exploratory than expected.

Active consent was sought after. Participants were approached by e-mail with an information sheet containing a brief biography of the researcher and a synthesis of the research topic. Upon

agreement to participate as an interviewee, each participant received a consent form written in either Luxembourgish (for the case of Luxembourg) or German (for the case of the GC) in accordance with the policies of the University of Luxembourg and with the previous approval of the Ethics Review Panel.

IV.4.2. Anonymity and Confidentiality

For purposes of comparison between datasets from the recorded interviews of research participants of both cases and in consideration of the relatively small size of the dataset, reversible pseudonymization was implemented. Aliases were used to reduce the linkability of the particular datasets with the identities of the research participants. This also helped to provide a more natural tone to the transcriptions of the interviews and simultaneously protect the identity of the subject. A spreadsheet file containing all the names and their aliases was used in order to have the possibility of identifying the aliases with the research participants.

The next section provides an overview of the participant profiles of each case followed by a detailed description of each profile.

IV.4.3. Participant Profiles: German-Speaking Community

For the case of the German-speaking Community, seven teachers and one non-teaching actor were interviewed. Table 4 shows their roles, the schools, the school network (discussed in chapter IX), the levels of each school, and the tracks each school offers.

Table 4: Details about informants and the schools they teach in

Teachers	Roles	School	School network	Levels	Tracks
Albert	German/Dutch Teacher in 5 th and 6 th grades secondary school	César-Franck Athenäum Kelmis	GUW	Primary & secondary	Mainly general
Fabian	German/Drama teacher for every grade of secondary school	Pater-Damian Schule Eupen	FSU	Primary & secondary	Mainly general
Xenia	<i>Stadtverordnete</i> ; German teacher, secondary school; middle manager	Robert-Schuman-Institut Eupen	GUW	Primary & secondary	Technical & vocational
Laura	German teacher, secondary school	Bischöfliches Institut Büllingen	FSU	Secondary	General, technical, & vocational
Mandy	German teacher, secondary school				
Raquel	Teacher, secondary school	Königliches Athenäum St. Vith	GUW	Primary & secondary	General & technical
	Middle manager;				
Jasmin	Teacher, secondary school				

Note: "Levels" and "Tracks" concern the school's organization, not the informant's tasks.

Their profiles are the following:

- 1) Victoria is a school inspector working for the department of pedagogy at the Ministry of the GC. Before she became a school inspector, she was a primary school teacher. She worked for more than 20 years as a teacher in different primary schools of the GC, joining the Ministry of the German-speaking Community in 2004. She passed the necessary examination to become a school inspector and has been involved in the language policy design and implementation processes since then. Her responsibilities not only include the inspection of schools, but also the design of syllabi and core curricula, and the oversight of their implementation.
- 2) Jasmin is a teacher at the *Königliches Athenäum St. Vith* (Royal Atheneum of St. Vith, or RASV), which belongs to the network GUW. She studied *Germanistik* (=German Studies) in Belgium with a specialization in German and English and then obtained the *Lehrbefähigung*¹³. She has been a teacher at the RASV for 25 years. Jasmin also works part-time as one of the two middle managers of the school (75% of the workload). As such, she only teaches one class in secondary school in the fifth and sixth years (11th and 12th grade).
- 3) Raquel has been teaching at the RASV since 2007. She studied German Studies and specialized in German and English. She teaches the fourth year (10th grade) of secondary school.
- 4) Laura works at the *Bischöfliches Institut Büllingen* (Episcopal Institute of Büllingen, or EIB), belonging to the FSU network. Laura did her bachelor at the University of Luxembourg in *Cultures européennes*, with a focus in German Studies. She then continued onto a Master in German Studies in Trier. She then began teaching at the Maria-Goretti school in St. Vith, but changed to the EIB. She taught for four years at St. Vith and has been teaching for three years at the EIB.
- 5) Mandy is a teacher at the EIB as well. She obtained her high school diploma from the EIB, studied German Studies at the University of Liège with a specialization in German and

¹³ The *Lehrbefähigung* is a requirement that, once obtained, allows the title holder to teach at the higher levels of secondary school. The *Autonome Hochschule* of the GC offers a course (*Lehrbefähigung CAP+*) that qualifies teachers. Teachers may also obtain an equivalent title in other Belgian universities, called *agrégation de l'enseignement secondaire supérieur*.

English. She then also specialized in Dutch. She has been a teacher for 16 years, but was part-time at the moment of the interview because of a political mandate as alderman (*Schöffin*) in Bütgenbach, a neighboring municipality. She was also the team leader of the group of German teachers (*Fachleiterin*) at the time of the interview. Throughout her teaching experience, she has taught German, English, Dutch, and History at every school level.

- 6) Xenia is a teacher of German at the Robert-Schuman-Institute of Eupen (RSI). She obtained her high school diploma in Büllingen, then went on to study German Studies, English Studies, and General Linguistics at the University of Cologne from 2001 to 2006. In 2006 she obtained the equivalent of a Master diploma, previously called *Magister atrium*. She then began teaching and obtained the *Agrégation de l'enseignement secondaire supérieur* at the University of Liège in 2010. Alongside her teaching activities, she was involved in politics, being an MP at the Parliament of the GC and at the Parliament of the Walloon Region under the liberal *Partei für Freiheit und Fortschritt* (=Party for Freedom and Progress). She retired from these two positions. She has not abandoned politics altogether, as she is currently a council member (*Stadtverordnete*) for the city of Eupen. At the RSI, she teaches at the secondary school level for the professional sections (*berufliche Abteilungen*), particularly the fourth, sixth, and seventh years (10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th grades). She is also a middle manager. In addition to these responsibilities, she is a member of the *Association pour la promotion de la langue allemande en Wallonie* (=Association for the promotion of German in Wallonia), which organizes activities in Wallonia and lobbies for the promotion of German in the region.
- 7) Albert is a teacher of German and Dutch at the *César-Franck Athenäum Kelmis* (Cesar-Franck Atheneum of Kelmis, or CSAK). He was 26 years old at the time of the interview. He studied German, Dutch, and English in Brussels, where he obtained a bachelor's degree followed by a master's degree. After the Master, he obtained the *Lehrbefähigung* and began teaching at the CSAK. He used to teach German as a foreign language in the 1st and 2nd years of secondary school, but was mainly teaching German as school subject in the 5th and 6th years at the time of the interview. He teaches Dutch in the 5th and 6th years as well.
- 8) Fabian teaches German and Theater at the *Pater-Damian-Sekundarschule* in Eupen (Father-Damian Secondary School, or PDS). He studied German Studies at the University

of Liège and proceeded to do a Master's in German and English. He then obtained the *Lehrbefähigung*. He has been a teacher for 19 years. Fabian teaches German at almost every stage of secondary school, from the class of 12-year-old school students to the 17-year-old school students.

IV.4.4. Participant Profiles: Luxembourg

For the case of Luxembourg, seven non-teaching actors and nine teaching actors participated in the research. The two groups are presented in Tables 5 and 6:

Table 5: Overview of non-teaching actors

Actor	Roles	Institution
Marc Barthelemy	Previous Commissioner; member of CPLL	Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language
Luc Marteling	Director	ZLS
Xavier	Government adviser	Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth
Myriam Welschbillig	President of CPLL	CPLL
Victor	Professor; member of CPLL	University of Luxembourg; CPLL
Albin	Director of division	SCRIPT
Paul	Lexicographer	ZLS

Table 6: Overview of teaching actors

Actor	Roles	School	Location	Orientation
Shari	Mainly LFL	Lycée Mathias-Adam	Petange	Traditional
Casper	Mixed	Lycée Edward Steichen	Clervaux	Traditional/international
Greta	Mixed	International School of Mondorf-les-Bains	Mondorf-les-Bains	International
Francine	Mainly LFL	Unspecified	Unspecified	Unspecified
Damian	Mainly LFL	Lycée technique de Lallange	Esch-sur-Alzette	Traditional
Heidi	Mixed	International School of Differdange	Differdange	International
Helga	Mixed	Lycée classique Michel Rodange	Luxembourg City	Traditional
Belinda	Mainly LFL	Lycée Mathias-Adam	Petange	Traditional
Evelyn	Mixed	International School of Junglinster	Junglinster	International

Note: “LFL” refers to “Luxembourgish as a foreign language”, while “Mixed” refers to both Luxembourgish as a foreign language and as L1

Below is a detailed description of each participant profile according to their non-teaching and teaching roles.

IV.4.4.1. Non-Teaching Actors

- 1) Marc Barthelemy was the first Commissioner of the Luxembourg language. Before joining the Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, he worked as a math teacher. His interest in the Luxembourgish language led to his membership at the CPLL upon joining the Ministry of Education. He then became President of the CPLL at the beginning of 2017. In 2018 he was named Commissioner of the Luxembourgish Language.
- 2) Luc Marteling is the current director of the ZLS. He majored in Communication with a minor in philosophy and psychology at Munich. Upon his return to Luxembourg, he worked as a journalist first for a weekly newspaper, then for the *Luxemburger Wort* for

four years and, finally, for RTL as Editor-in-Chief for eleven years. In 2019, he was nominated as the director of the ZLS.

- 3) Xavier works as a government adviser (*conseiller de gouvernement*) for the office of the Minister of Education, Children and Youth, particularly the service *Projets et stratégies* (=projects and strategies), which involves close collaboration with the Minister for the oversight of projects and policy processes. At the time of the interview, Xavier was involved with the policies concerning the Luxembourgish language and music education. Before working as an adviser, he was a journalist at RTL. He became a government adviser in 2015 at the Ministry of Culture where he was responsible for communication. He then moved to the Ministry of Education in 2019.
- 4) Albin is the current director of the division in charge of the creation of didactic material for Luxembourgish at the SCRIPT. He oversees all the school-related projects, from primary school to secondary school. Albin studied German Studies and Geography with a major in sociolinguistics at the University of Freiburg. He proceeded to do a PhD at the Institute of Luxembourgish Studies at the University of Luxembourg. His subject concerned the development of Luxembourgish written language in social media. He then worked as a freelance linguist for, among others, the SCRIPT. He was offered a temporary contract with the SCRIPT, which then became permanent since 2016. He worked his way up from *gestionnaire de projets*, where he was responsible for the development of school material for Luxembourgish, to director of the division.
- 5) Myriam Welschbillig is a member of the CPLL. She studied linguistics and translation studies at the University of Heidelberg. After her studies, she worked in computer linguistics in Germany, which she did not pursue further. She works as a translator and proofreader since 2001, with the recent addition of “editor” to her job list. She became a member of the CPLL in 2016.
- 6) Victor is a professor at the University of Luxembourg in the field of Luxembourgish linguistics. He is also a member of the CPLL. He joined the University of Luxembourg in 2006 and has been an instrumental figure in the construction of the Institute of Luxembourgish Studies.

- 7) Paul is a lexicographer at the ZLS, involved with the development of the *Lëtzebuurger Online Dictionnaire*. He first studied physics before switching to linguistics, yet applied a natural science approach to the field. During his time as a linguistics student, he was offered the opportunity to work in the development of a dictionary of Luxembourgish called *Dictionnaire pratique de la langue luxembourgeoise*, which greatly influenced his choice of specializing in lexicography and corpus linguistics. This experience also led to his position as lead lexicographer for the LOD.

IV.4.4.2. Teaching Actors

- 1) Shari Schenten was the president of the *Programmkommissioun* of Luxembourgish at the time of the interview. She studied German Studies and proceeded to obtain the Master in Luxembourgish Studies at the University of Luxembourg. She then worked at the *Institut National des Langues* as a teacher, specifically as *chargée*. Shari Schenten currently teaches at the *Lycée Mathias-Adam* in Petange. She mainly teaches Luxembourgish as a foreign language.
- 2) Casper is a teacher at the *Lycée Edward Steichen* in Clervaux, which is an international school. He obtained a bachelor's and a master's degree in German Studies. He was interested in pursuing a master in Luxembourgish Studies, but the program did not reach the necessary number of students in his year. Thus, he was set on attending the examination¹⁵ (*concours*) for German teachers. However, the Ministry of Education began offering an examination for those wishing to become teachers of Luxembourgish, which captivated his interest despite his lack of academic background in the subject. Before passing the exam, Casper was a *Quereinsteiger*¹⁶ as a teacher of Luxembourgish for two years.
- 3) Greta was a 3rd-year *stagiaire* at the International School of Mondorf-les-Bains at the time of the interview. She did a bachelor's in history and proceeded to obtain the Master in

¹⁵ The *concours* is a required examination divided according to each school subject. It allows those who pass it to do a necessary three-year internship before becoming *teacher fonctionnaires* at the primary or secondary school levels. In principle, every teacher should have this status as a public employee. However, due to a drastic increase in the need for teaching personnel in recent years, there has been a flexibilization of this rule in order to increase the number of teachers.

¹⁶ *Quereinsteiger* are teachers who do not hold a Bachelor of Education and who have not gone through the examination that allows them to do the internship and gain the status of *fonctionnaire*.

Luxembourgish Studies. She then began the teaching internship. For the first two years of her internship, Greta taught at the *Lycée technique* of Ettelbruck.

- 4) Francine is a teacher at an unspecified lycée technique. She attended the *Lycée classique* in Diekirch and majored in art. After secondary school, she first pursued studies in English in England, which ultimately did not correspond to her interests, leading to a different bachelor in translation studies. Francine then obtained a master in translation studies in Ireland, but realized that she was not interested in pursuing a career in translation. Finally, Francine decided to do the Master in Luxembourgish Studies, and rediscovered her interest in teaching. She started teaching in 2019.
- 5) Damian is a teacher at the *Lycée technique de Lallange* in Esch. He went to the *Lycée classique* in Echternach. After secondary school, he began studying communication and media, but switched to German studies. He was interested in pursuing the master's in Luxembourgish Studies, but was initially unable to do so due to a lack of students that year. Damian then began a master's in German studies and, a year later, switched to the master's in Luxembourgish Studies. After obtaining the master's, he worked as a freelance journalist. He then began working as a teacher of Luxembourgish in 2020.
- 6) Heidi was a teacher at the International School of Differdange at the time of the interview. She did her secondary school at the *Lycée de Garçons* of Esch and, afterwards, studied German studies for two years in Vienna. However, she returned to Luxembourg after those two years and finished her bachelor's in German studies at the University of Luxembourg. Heidi then pursued the master's in Luxembourgish Studies, which she finished in 2020.
- 7) Helga is a teacher at the *Lycée classique Michel Rodange* in Luxembourg City. She obtained a bachelor's in German studies. However, she realized that Luxembourgish, not German, was her main interest. She then obtained the master's in Luxembourgish studies and passed the *concours* for teachers of Luxembourgish. She claims to be the first teacher of Luxembourgish as L1 at a *lycée classique*. She also teaches Luxembourgish as a foreign language.
- 8) Belinda is a teacher at the *Lycée Mathias-Adam* in Pétange. She studied at a lycée technique and pursued translation and interpretation studies in Brussels. At that time, she was already interested in the master's in Luxembourgish studies. After obtaining her bachelor's, she

started working and, in 2012, enrolled as a part-time student in the master's in Luxembourgish studies. She lost her job in 2014, which led to her becoming a freelance teacher of Luxembourgish in the evening as part of a municipal association. She finished the master's in 2017 and, since 2020, Belinda is a teacher of Luxembourgish at the same school where she used to teach Luxembourgish in the evening.

- 9) Evelyn was a teacher at the International School of Junglinster at the time of the interview. She finished secondary school at a lycée in Esch and later pursued studies in sociology in Strasbourg. She rapidly realized that sociology was not her main interest and switched to a history major in *Cultures européennes* at the University of Luxembourg. Upon obtaining the bachelor's, Evelyn did not consider that the degree would open doors for her in the job market. Thus, Evelyn decided to enroll in the master's in Luxembourgish studies because she thought of it as more useful and attractive for the job market. She finished the master's in 2019. She suspected there would be a high demand for Luxembourgish teachers at the International School of Junglinster and thus applied. She began working there immediately after obtaining the master's degree. She then passed the *concours* and was thus doing the internship for the position of fonctionnaire.

The following section provides a brief summary of the transcription process.

IV.5. Transcription Conventions

Transcription proceeded the day after conducting each interview. The transcription process for the case of Luxembourg was cumbersome and highly time-consuming due to two factors:

- 1) Lack of transcription resources for a small language such as Luxembourgish
- 2) The researcher's initial lack of spoken, "natural" Luxembourgish hindered a smooth flow of transcription

The initial period was the most cumbersome due to the second factor. However, transcription became smoother after repeated exposure to each recording. Because of this highly time-consuming task, the chosen path was free transcription. The transcription largely follows the written norm. The transcription that emerged naturally from this process is thus:

Pause: ,

Long pause: ...

Incomprehensible segment: [?]

Laughter: [laugh]

Use of italics to mark emphasis of utterance

For in-text citation of interview extracts, filler words such as “uhh”, and “ähh” have been removed for better legibility. They have only been kept in moments of semantic importance, such as hesitation or uncertainty from the participant.

For the case of the GC, the process was characterized by the same free transcription following the conventions of the written norm. The transcription of the recordings was aided by software, namely the transcription feature offered by Microsoft Word. The software was not accurate in its transcription of the recordings, requiring much polishing. However, this process became a part of the iterative process of data analysis, whereby the need to transcribe led to revisiting the data, thus making new findings for the analysis.

What follows is the method of analysis, namely the discourse analysis of Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011) and Wortham & Reyes (2020).

IV.6. Method of Analysis

Linguistic anthropology and discourse linguistics have the same commonality as the one shown between LPP and linguistic anthropology, i.e., they share certain conceptual and theoretical origins. Despite their separate development in geographically and institutionally distant settings (United States and Germany, respectively), their similarities allow for a theoretical and methodical *rapprochement*. Indeed, such has been the step taken by one of the main figures of discourse linguistics, Jürgen Spitzmüller. This theoretical convergence has culminated in Spitzmüller’s (2022) recently published book that serves as an introduction to sociolinguistics for a German-speaking audience. The chapter preceding the end summary of the book is dedicated to two trends that Spitzmüller (2022) calls critical and metapragmatic sociolinguistics. Spitzmüller (2022) directly sources this term from Silverstein’s (1976, 1979, 1993, 2003, 2021) framework. Importantly, these ideas were already brewing in Spitzmüller (2013), which links the stance triangle model defined by Du Bois (2007) with metapragmatics as a system of real-time language regimentation.

Parallel to this is the development of a discourse analysis approach based on the linguistic anthropology framework (Gal & Irvine, 2019; Wortham & Reyes, 2020). This discourse analysis

approach seeks to link the regularities of speech events of the actual (the here and now) with the virtual (discourses that regulate these speech events). They describe these in highly technical terms as the analysis of cross-event linkages solidifying “pathways” (Wortham and Reyes, 2020, p. 20) in semiotic chains that form various ethnometapragmatics. These pathways represent the “traveling” of discourses through space and time, i.e., how discourses consolidate or transform in specific spatiotemporal settings. Semiotic chains are speech-chain networks (Agha, 2007, p. 67) that make signs travel through space and time. In other words, when people speak and write, discourses are being created, reproduced, or challenged, which leads to the production of more discourses based on these semiotic chains. It is a dialectic approach of constant interplay between bottom-up and top-down sign production, consolidation, and transformation.

The point of convergence between discourse linguistics and this discourse analytic approach is the multi-level analysis of linkages between units of discourse, actors, and text. This multi-level approach is called *Diskurslinguistische Mehr-Ebenen-Analyse* (DIMEAN) in Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011). This point of convergence is the key method analysis used in this research. Importantly, both DIMEAN and the discourse analysis of linguistic anthropology have a primarily qualitative orientation, yet allow for corpus-based and corpus-oriented analyses (not incorporated here). What follows is an elucidation of the structure of DIMEAN.

IV.6.1. Diskurslinguistik/Discourse Linguistics

Table 7 shows a visual synthesis of DIMEAN. The left side of the table illustrates the three levels of the framework according to a scalar division and the analytical foci of each level. The scalar approach is horizontally and vertically determined by a macro-micro divide. The middle and the right side of the table show the different categories that must be taken into account in order to proceed with the analysis of each level. The right side of the table consists of the analytical categories that can be identified for an analysis specialized in that level.

This brief sketch of DIMEAN allows us to link it to the discourse analysis proposed by Wortham & Reyes (2020) in the next section.

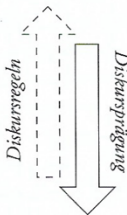
IV.6.2. Discourse Analysis in Linguistic Anthropology

This approach is based on the concept of enregisterment. Enregisterment is a social process “whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, nonlinguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them” (Agha, 2007, p. 55). In

other words, it is a process that links signs in interaction to specific roles and to specific contexts. When referring to linguistic signs in the process of enregisterment, they are called “registers of discourse,” which are cultural models that link personhood to speech forms.

Interactants align themselves into roles during interaction by performing social personae (“voice” or “characterological figures” linked to speech forms and semiotic accompaniments) that may be strategically manipulated to get a desired effect. These role alignments may be symmetric or asymmetric—that is, certain interactants may align due to their belonging to the same social domain and their fluency in the register, but a difference in this respect for one of the interactants may lead to asymmetric role alignments. Through role alignment, “footings” among interactants emerge. Moreover, types of people exhibit prototypical behaviors that can be made explicitly stereotypical through typifying utterances that designate roles functioning as “metasigns” of personhood (a judge, a queen, a wizard, a doctor, etc.).

Table 7: DIMEAN model (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011, p. 201)

Transtextuelle Ebene	Diskursorientierte Analyse	[..]						
		<i>Ideologien, Gouvernementalität, Mentalitäten</i>						
		<i>Historizität</i>						
		<i>Indexikalische Ordnungen, Sozialsymbolik</i>						
		<i>Diskurssemantische Grundfiguren</i>						
		<i>Frames, Topoi</i>						
		<i>Intertextualität</i>						
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Intratextuelle Ebene	Textorientierte Analyse	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Visuelle Textstruktur</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [..] - <i>Text-Bild-Beziehungen</i> - <i>Typographie</i> - <i>Materialität</i> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Makrostruktur: Textthema(ta)</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [..] - <i>Metaphernfelder</i> - <i>Lexikalische Felder</i> - <i>Isotopie- und Oppositionslinien</i> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mesostruktur: Themen in Textteilen</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Themenentfaltung</i> - <i>Textfunktionen</i> - <i>Textsorte</i> </td> </tr> </table>	Visuelle Textstruktur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [..] - <i>Text-Bild-Beziehungen</i> - <i>Typographie</i> - <i>Materialität</i> 	Makrostruktur: Textthema(ta)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [..] - <i>Metaphernfelder</i> - <i>Lexikalische Felder</i> - <i>Isotopie- und Oppositionslinien</i> 	Mesostruktur: Themen in Textteilen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Themenentfaltung</i> - <i>Textfunktionen</i> - <i>Textsorte</i>
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		Wortorientierte Analyse	Mehrwort-Einheiten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [..] - <i>Okkasionalismen</i> - <i>Schlagwörter</i> - <i>Schlüsselwörter</i> 				
Einwort-Einheiten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Nomina continuativa</i> - <i>Nomina appellativa</i> - <i>Nomina collectiva</i> - <i>Nomina propria</i> 							

In the DIMEAN framework, enregisterment would be a process that involves all three levels for the linkage of speech forms, personhood, and discourses. For now, the macro-level of these approaches has been covered. However, to show the interplay between ideology, discourse, and language use, a more specific explanation of the sociocultural processes is required. Gal & Irvine (2019) provide a terminology backed by Peircean semiotics that allows for a robust discourse analysis.

IV.6.3. Analytic Terminology

Susan Gal and Judith Irvine are linguistic anthropologists following the same analytic tradition as Silverstein, yet they have forged their own path. However, the Silversteinian terminological arsenal clears the trail for anyone wishing to follow in their footsteps. Their approach has considerably developed since Irvine & Gal (2000), culminating in Gal & Irvine (2019). A very brief overview of the concepts discussed in Irvine & Gal (2000) will be followed by a more robust exposition of their model as developed in their more recent text (Gal & Irvine 2019). The early formulation comprises only three semiotic processes, while the more developed framework incorporates many more processes. A summary of their general framework is followed by a more in-depth exposition of it.

IV.6.3.1. Main Concepts: Synthesis

Irvine & Gal (2000) put forward the thesis that there are three semiotic processes at play in any social event linking language and culture. These are *iconization*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. According to Irvine & Gal (2000, p. 37), these are the means by which people construct ideological representations of linguistic differences. Such ideological representations are schemata. These schemata are *differentiating*, i.e. they are based on contrast and opposition of qualities or attributes and may thus produce dichotomies.

Iconization goes back to the idea of the *icon* in Peirce's second trichotomy. As a reminder, the second trichotomy is about the relation of the sign to its object, icons being those signs that resemble their objects, i.e., they are likenesses. Irvine & Gal (2000) define iconization as "the transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked" (p. 37). In other words, linguistic features are perceived to have attributes resembling the very same people who utter them. Linking the perceived attributes of linguistic features to a person or people is the ideological construction.

Fractal recursivity is the projection of certain ideological representations onto other levels of social organization. For example, an opposition established between French-speakers and speakers of other languages may recur into differentiating representations of speakers of French varieties, such as French from France vs. Quebec, Senegal, etc. The concept stems from an analogy to fractals in geometry. Irvine & Gal (2000) make the disclaimer that:

In any case, the oppositions do not define fixed or stable social groups, and the mimesis they suggest cannot be more than partial. Rather, they provide actors with the discursive

or cultural resources to claim and thus attempt to create shifting ‘communities’, identities, selves, and roles, at different levels of contrast within a cultural field (p. 38).

Erasure is the process of making invisible anything that does not fit into the ideological representation. Facts may be ignored or “explained away”. Irvine & Gal (2000, p. 38) provide the example of the representation of a language as homogeneous, entailing the ‘erasure’ of its internal variation. Evidently, it is not a literal erasure (as in elimination) of the social fact, even though it could occur eventually. This ‘erasure’ is due to the totalizing character of language ideology, such that there is a fixed interpretative structure for differentiating representations.

These three originally formulated processes were the engine of what Gal (2013, 2018) has called the *axes of differentiation*. These are “models of contrast that organize values and qualities imputed to linguistic practices, speaker types (*personae*), objects and activities so that they index each other and seem similar as against another set of opposed yet co-constitutive qualities in contrasting objects, *personae* and activities” (Gal, 2018, p. 223). This means that axes of differentiation are composed of sets of attributes that contrast with each other, yet constitute each other at the same time. These sets of attributes are projected onto objects. In the cases pertaining to this research, these ‘objects’ are linguistic features, language varieties, and speakers. However, the three processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure are not sufficient to explain the formation of these axes. How do these axes even emerge? What are the other semiotic processes that not only form, but also challenge them?

There are two fundamental notions: *attention* and *contrast*, which make it possible for one to “grasp the sign as figure-against-background” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 18). These two concepts are grouped under *comparison*. Moreover, this is based on the following interpretation:

Action and meaning are two sides of a coin in the Peircean view. Through acts of attention people notice phenomena, in contrast to a background, by taking them to be signs. They make guesses (hypotheses) about what these posited signs might mean. Peirce called such guesses abductions. A guess is both a communication (sometimes only with oneself) and a route to further guesses that comment on the first, as a metasemiotic reaction, by extending the previous guess, or revising it [...] We seek to understand – in addition to the semiotic logic – how existing regimes of value (ideologies) organize and direct even the simplest noticing of any phenomenon as a sign. Social actors, in taking something as a sign, always have projects, interests, motivations. They always already have background knowledge,

experiences, assumptions, forms of attention, expectations; in short, ideologies (Gal & Irvine, 2019, pp. 15-16).

The construal of signs is only possible in a context of situated action that is based on *typified* social scenes. This leads social actors to necessarily adopt *vantage points* according to their previous knowledge, their positionality, their interests, conjectures, and their understanding of typified interactions. These factors form what are called *perspectives*, i.e., “clusters of conventional conjectures that are presumed by ideological work to go together, in some sense, in a particular time-place” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 17). It is worth noting that perspectives are changeable, not fixed. Moreover, they start with vantage points that themselves consist of a *gaze* or *uptake* creating a sign relation, which plays out in a *site of ideological work* as a focus of joint attention (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 22). This gaze or uptake is a metasemiotic move.

Qualities that are instantiated in the moment, called *qualia*, are sometimes processed conjecturally as being iconic and indexical according to the perspectives of those involved. They are indexical in the sense that they point to something, and iconic in the sense that they are likened to an object. This basis of iconic and indexical compound signs can become more complex and lead to two different processes, namely *rhematization* and conjectures of the *diagrammatic icon*. As an example, Gal & Irvine (2019) mention a book titled *Wicked French* in which the sound *ü* points to the speakers who produce it, yet it is constructed as specifically *French*. This leads to a contrast of qualities, which the book provides by comparing such a sound with English sounds. Moreover, through ideological work the qualities of the sound are equated with the qualities of the speakers producing it and, as such, the “relation of contrast between qualities of the signs (the sounds) depicts the relations of contrast in qualities of what the signs represent (national stereotypes)” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 18). This is an example of a *diagrammatic icon*, which Peirce first described through the example of a map depicting a territory.

There can then be a semiotic leap, so to say, to rhematization (cf. the *rheme* category in Peirce’s third trichotomy), which is the process where the contrast of indexes is interpreted as a contrast in depictions. Through conjecture, a contrast of quality in indexical signs is taken to depict a contrast in “the conditions under which the signs were produced” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 19). The conjecture leads to an axis of differentiation, which leads to a schema of qualitative contrast. In other words:

The contrasting qualities in the signs are ‘found’ or projected onto the contrasting phenomena that the signs are taken to index. The specific qualities presumed to be in

contrast depend on the ideologies – background knowledge, interests and projects – that social actors bring to the scene of comparison. Often the contrast itself is erased from attention, making it seem as though the qualities inhere in each entity by itself (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 19).

Rhematization occurs in the example of *Wicked French* by positing the *ü* to be a depiction of French national character in contrast to American character. Thus, the sound itself may be regarded as a sign of snobbishness depicting the French as snobbish. Rhematization also leads to interpretations of causation. That is, the production of the sound is taken to be caused by the national character of the French.

Rhematization is also one of the driving forces behind *enregisterment*. Gal & Irvine (2019) state:

Enregisterment, building here on Silverstein's (2003) definition, is the metasemiotic step of assembling such register distinctions along some axis of differentiation and identifying them as indexing speaker types, for some population of language users. Enregisterment has been discussed mostly as an indexical process. Yet, qualitative contrast is always necessary for the perception of speech and other expressive forms as registers. Rhematization enables speech forms to seem qualitatively similar to the stereotype of the speakers who use them (p. 124).

It seems that rhematization and the diagrammatic icon have replaced *iconization* as one of the semiotic processes of the first formulation (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Rhematization, fractal recursivity, erasure, and axis of differentiation are the analytical basis upon which other processes build. What follows is a more in-depth description of the whole framework.

IV.6.3.2. Further Semiotic Processes

Gal & Irvine (2019) present the following semiotic processes in addition to the aforementioned: Typification, splicing, pivoting, blockage, modeling, anchoring, meta-moves, authorization, explanation, institutionalization, reparametrization, purification, and polarization. In order to understand these processes, conjecture, ideology, qualia, perspective, and diagrammatic icon have to be revisited.

Let us address *conjecture* first. Gal & Irvine (2019) equate Peirce's concept of *interpretant* with "fragments of cognitive activities in which human beings engage" (p. 88). Human beings construe as signs many aspects of the socio-material world. In light of this interpretation, Gal & Irvine

(2019) equate interpretant to *conjecture*. A simple example is the rustling of leaves on a tree. The sign-interpreter conjectures that there is wind. This action is a hypothesis made by the actor, based on previous knowledge and on *contrast*. Conjectures have three main functions: the typification of signs, the creation of iconic, indexical, and symbolic sign-relations, and the transformation of said sign-relations based on further knowledge (Gal & Irvine, p. 88). The crucial moment for conjecturing, however, is the interpretation of two phenomena coinciding in such a way that one is taken as a sign of the other. It is in that moment that sign relations are established. They call this connection of sign and object through conjecturing a metasemiotic move.

Conjecturing thus corresponds, according to Gal & Irvine (2019, p. 93), to what Peirce called abduction, i.e., inference-by-hypothesis. There are *chains of abduction* in the establishment of sign-relations. What this means is that there is the possibility of many contrasting or coinciding conjectures about sign relations, which may be deemed accurate or not. As they indicate:

Through an active, constructive, and reflexive enterprise of successive conjectures (metasemiotic abductions), some guesses are rejected and others come to seem more persuasive and detailed. Existing knowledge is invoked to produce new conjectures, and novel observations become the basis of further conjectures, adding to the frameworks of knowledge. Conjectures never occur in isolation, they are connected and embedded in differences of preexisting knowledge, interests, and values, and in real-time scenes. Conjectures are ideological work. They might mobilize action, be justified by narratives, and may be communicated to a wider network of people (Gal & Irvine, p. 93).

The definition of ideology for these two authors belongs to the broader understanding of it that stems from Schieffelin et al. (1998). Thus, Gal (2006) defines ideology as “those cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices” (p. 163). This seems to be the case as well in Gal & Irvine (2019, p. 2), although slightly modified to avoid the contrast of ideology as either ‘true’ or ‘false’. This definition of ideology differs from Silverstein’s “narrow” use of it –if we can call it so. While Silverstein focuses on ideology as an omnipresent mediating element in culture, Gal & Irvine’s view encompasses institutions.

This leads to one of the semiotic processes: *typification*. It is the making of singular real-time events into *types*. Labeling, for example, makes experiences into instances of types, as a regular, law-like occurrence. In order for typification to come about, icons, indexes, and symbols are linked

through conjecture. Conjectures recognize the *ground* of these signs. As a reminder, the ground is that prior relation of the sign to its object. With the qualia of wetness, for example, there is an iconic and indexical compound sign, one that shows the quality of wetness, such as drops of water (icon) and the other that points to (indexes) its occurrence and conjectured cause (it's morning, hence morning dew, or maybe someone was watering their garden). Gal & Irvine (2019) state:

Typification is involved because any real-time assessments of iconicity and indexicality are tokens of abstract, socially available concepts, that is, types of resemblance and contiguity (co-occurrence, pointing). Social conventions define what 'counts as' similarity and contiguity between signs and objects, in specific sociohistorical scenes (pp. 96-97).

Since indexes incorporate icons, conjectures build on both signs. Moreover, an experience can be interpreted as the instantiation of various potential abstract qualities, while such abstract categories may be instantiated in different ways. In other words, instantiations (tokens) may correspond to various types and conversely. Gal & Irvine (2019) state:

Such tokens and types may be differentially recognized by various populations of social actors, or by the same groups on different occasions. Thus, recognition of qualities is not simply forced on us by objects and signs themselves. Conjectures mediate between phenomena-as-experience and the conventional categories that they "count as" (p. 97).

Speech events can be typified as well and lead to social roles such as a "defendant" and a "witness" in court. In such a way, the long-term regularity of not only speech events, but also actions, can lead to the typification of people in different social roles, what Gal & Irvine (2019, p. 99) call *personae*. This may correspond to stereotypes. People can inhabit roles and 'personae' because roles and personae are considered to be implicit typical forms of conjectures, such that they are conventionalized and/or institutionalized as indicating types of things, qualities, people, actions, and events.

This is where *perspectives* emerge. They are constituted by "clusters of conventional conjectures, indexical of personae" (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 99). Perspectives can be taken up by any individual. However, they are dependent on their social positionality and experiences, which limit their range of ideas of stereotypes and their knowledge concerning typified social roles and personae. The conjectures they make themselves, however, can be of any kind, i.e., it is not a deterministic path. Perspectives, as clusters of conventional conjectures, typify signs, but typification itself is dependent on conventions. Perspectives come into play even for symbols, which are different from icons and indexes in that they are necessarily signs interpreted by a delimited system. The often-

cited example of symbols are words. Upon instantiation, they are tokens of abstract regularities (types). Their understanding requires conjectures that lead to the recognition of abstract “phonolexico-grammatical categories” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 102). However, their interpretation in real-time instantiations requires perspectives that establish indexicality between the speech event and the personae.

Sign relations, as the coincidence of two phenomena linked through conjecture, are the underpinnings of ideologies. The interplay between qualia as instantiations of qualities conventionalized in types allows perspectives to flourish. The positionality of the individual limits the perspective that can be taken up. Thus, social roles and personae are negotiated in interaction.

Let us go back to the idea that through conjectures, sign-interpreters link different signs in order to understand qualia and objects. There is thus also comparison in conjectures. Similarities and differences arise in the comparison of qualities during conjecturing. Similarities of objects are grouped along shared qualities, which leads to an iconic relation between the sign and the object, or between different signs. This is a simple iconic relation.

However, there is also the *diagrammatic icon*, as discussed above. These are similar to analogies, in that a relationship of attributes between one set a:b is projected onto a different set c:d, as if this second set also showed such a relationship of attributes. Qualitative contrast is one such case of diagrammatic iconicity. Qualitative contrast is the first ‘step’ in the formation of axes of differentiation. As such, Gal & Irvine (2019) explain:

Contrasting complementary qualities – formulated as defining each other in some socio-historical imaginary – constitute an axis. Axes usually consist of large clusters of paired, contrasting qualities that make two contrasting multidimensional *images*. Since the qualities of these contrasting pairs are complementary, one ‘side’ of the contrast is ideologically defined as what the other is not. The images constructed out of such clusters are stereotypes: forms of knowledge within an ideological framework. Any axis of differentiation is a totalizing *schema*. When invoked it divides a whole world of phenomena into qualitatively contrasting *images* or ‘sides’ (p. 118).

The next process that forms axes is already familiar to us: typification. Axes themselves are not tokens, that is, they are not instantiations, but rather types. They are sets of abstract qualities that have been typified, and therefore, generalized. Certain qualities are attributed to or perceived to be in objects, but their instantiation, as qualia, is the moment when such qualities as signs determine an interpretant for the sign-interpreter. In other words, qualities as Firsts (possibilities) are only

perceived to “pertain” to a phenomenon, an object, upon their instantiation as Seconds, but their regularity as Thirds is what fixes the belief of the qualities being inherent to the object (regardless of the veracity of the relation of attributes and object). These qualities are compared and contrasted in a dyadic way.

Peirce stated cryptically about diagrammatic icons: “[They] represent the relations, mainly dyadic, or regarded as such, of the parts of one thing by analogous relations in their own parts” (CP.2.275). What all three authors mean is that a set of qualities based on contrast are imprinted on an object, and then such dyadic contrasts are projected onto other objects. In other words, an object is deemed to show a set of qualities such as soft, fragile, passive, in contrast to hard, resistant, and active, and then this dyadic set of contrasts creates two images-objects that embody those qualities. These two contrasting images-objects encompass, each, those sets of properties, forming an axis. Furthermore, each set may also include a *master trope* that encompasses the other qualities or attributes. However, depending on the social positionality of the individual, there are *anchors* that influence axes of differentiation. Anchors are the “best exemplars or most ‘real’ aspects of the schema” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 120).

A brief example in our case would be the axis of North and South in Eastern Belgium. For many people, including academics, North/South, as a geographic category, is one anchor in the axes of differentiation. The North is said to have the following properties: urban, developed, Standard German and French, anonymous. The South is said to have the following properties: rural, undeveloped, Standard German and German dialects, authentic. The North and South are the *images* and the contrasting sets are the qualities. The whole is the axis of differentiation. Similarly, in the case of Luxembourg, *Guttland* and *Oesling* are two images with sets of properties: Guttland is urban, developed, anonymous, and Oesling is rural, ‘undeveloped’, authentic. The master tropes are urban and rural.

The process of *rhematization* adds to this: These axes as schemata are instantiated through indexicality. That is to say, they are instantiated when the signs (in this case, sinsigns, tokens) not only point to the people, objects, and/or practices of the context of occurrence, but their occurrence is also interpreted as resembling (icon) the very same people, objects, and/or practices. In this case, when someone from the South of Eastern Belgium spoke a German dialect, it would point to the qualities in the schema (authentic, rural, undeveloped) and also act as an icon of these properties. The sign (the dialect) and the object (the speaker) are not only an indexical one, but also an iconic one as a resemblance is established between the sign and the object in an axis of differentiation.

The use of a German dialect would not only index the speaker as Southerner, but also as ‘rural’, ‘authentic’, and so on. It then includes more signs, as Gal & Irvine (2019) indicate with their example of Eastern vs. Western land in 19th century United States:

Sign-object relations seen in one conjecture as contiguity are seen via a further (meta-)conjecture as (also) resemblance [...] In rhematization, sign relations are apprehended not singly, but as part of a schema of contrast that is invoked (indexed) to characterize a scene [...] Through rhematization the images of person types arrayed on one side of an axis are apprehended as sharing qualia with the expressive forms that index them, in contrast to the other side. In short, to be able to pick out a speech variety (register) at all, one needs knowledge of the relevant axis and its qualia-contrasts: axes are prerequisites of enregisterment. Contrasting qualia of speech may be projected onto speech, or the qualia of speakers may be seen as primary and projected onto speech (pp. 123-124).

As an effect of *fractal recursivity*, axes of differentiation can subdivide. The image of “South” in that axis of differentiation of Eastern Belgium can subdivide and create either new differentiations based on the same images, or project the same sets of qualities on different images. The two images or sides that would come about correspond to the South from the encompassing comparison of the “North/South” axis, but the subdivided images are compared to each according to the North/South divide with all the properties they show in spite of concerning the South only.

Moving from a narrower to a more encompassing comparison (and vice versa) of the axis of differentiation is called *reparametrization*. Gal & Irvine (2019), following their example, state that “although the referents of ‘East’ and ‘West’ shift considerably in moving between more and less encompassing recursions, many of the same stereotyped qualities are evoked nonetheless” (p. 129). However, the signs and objects may instantiate one side of the axis (with all its qualities) in the encompassing comparison, while they may instantiate the other side of the axis in a narrower comparison, as Gal & Irvine (2019) illustrate briefly through the process of standardization.

The anchor categories of standardization in the 19th century were standard/dialect. In this axis of differentiation, the master trope was high/low, which was already an index of not only functional distribution of language varieties, but also of social positionality. Qualities included anonymity vs. authenticity, correctness vs. incorrectness, beautiful vs. ugly, literate vs. illiterate, to name a few. Due to rhematization, qualities as qualia (instantiated) also indexed people types, such that the speakers of dialect were perceived to embody such qualities.

However, since standardization is embedded in an institutional process involving political and economic centers of authority, it is subject to the changes that may occur in such centers of authority. Thus, the independence of the United States entailed fractal recursion, as a certain variety of American English became the standard and moved the axis from British English vs. American English, to Standard American English to Dialects of American English. This led to a process of *enregisterment* regarding American English. Reparametrization occurred as there were now encompassing and narrow axes of differentiation.

Moreover, in such contexts, another process of encompassment may occur: *splicing*, i.e., a metaphorical interweaving of ends. Splicing is a process that results in the unification of different types having co-constitutive contrasting qualities on an axis. This means that the example of Guttland and Oesling as anchor of the axis of differentiation may change to North/South as a kind of unification where, although the contrasting qualities persist, the types (be it speakers or language varieties in this case) share certain qualities that make them pertain to the same *type* as a process of encompassment (national identity, for example). It is important to emphasize that reparametrization and splicing are part of fractal recursivity. As Gal & Irvine (2019) summarize it:

This second kind of encompassment distinguishes sides/images at one level of comparison, while uniting them at a more inclusive level on the basis of a quality that they share. Yet, that quality identifies a contrast with a category at the more encompassing level. This encompassment envisioned regions as subsumable only in an image of the country as a whole, compared to a stereotyped France, Britain, or Europe (p. 145).

Of relevance to this is that axes of differentiation are chronotopic. Shifts in spatio-temporal settings lead to shifts in elements playing as anchors in axes of differentiation (space, time, people, languages, and language varieties, for example). These shifts only change the *salience* of certain elements that may eventually become anchors. Thus, North/South as spatial anchors may be highlighted in a specific political and historical context, but may then change to other categories, such as “civilization” vs. “savagery”.

Sometimes, differences are institutionalized. The *institutionalization* of differences means that “access to signs necessary to indicate one’s social location with respect to [an] axis depend[s] ever more on law, government, schooling, churches, and occupations” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 153). The location of social actors in institutional set-ups entails experiences that shape their knowledge of the conjectures that are discursively linked to such location and the qualities embodied in a side

of the axis. Such knowledge allows claims of belonging or rejection of such. Claims of identity are influenced by the institutionalization of qualities. However, one is not predetermined to accept institutionalized qualities as inherent nor be accepted in a specific institutional location. That is where *pivot*, *blockage*, and *branching* come along.

(Fractal) *pivoting* is “an interactional move that changes the social actor’s perspective, switching (usually temporarily) to the other side of the invoked axis: easterners acting like westerners; northerners like southerners; Americans like British” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 54). When a social actor pivots *tout court*, the institutionally defined social location of the individual changes. Their perspective changes. On the other hand, fractal pivoting involves a temporary move to the other side of the axis, as is the case with parody, quotation, or theatrical portrayal, as a temporary embodiment of contrasting qualities. However, there are moments when pivoting is not possible.

Such impossibility is due to *blockage*. It is the “imposition of limits by some powerful authority (law, education, church, state) on the personae a speaker may legitimately take up” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 155). One of the institutional causes of blockage is *standardization*. Some speakers who may wish to *pivot fractally* by adopting standard language practices may be *blocked* from doing so due to the qualities that are attributed to them as speakers. Regarding standardization, Gal & Irvine (2019) indicate the following: “Standardization, race essentialisms, and European monolingual nationalisms are among the ideologies that create blockage. Ironically, one *response* to blockage is a fractal reiteration of standardization, creating a new center of authority” (p. 158).

Fractal pivoting also leads to the processes of *purification* and *polarization*, which are constitutive of groups. Purification is the collective action of eliminating practices that pivot to the other side of an axis. By doing so, distinctions among those embodying each side of an axis are accentuated, leading to polarization. And yet, fractal pivoting may also end up creating solidarity among different groups or individuals. In contexts where some may perceive similarities in spite of the major contrasts (such as having the same aim or sharing a quality), a coalition may arise. As such: “Distinct, contrasting registers and the situated (ideological) positions they signal in particular events provide an alternative way of forming coalitions for action, no matter where the social actors are located organizationally or disciplinarily” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 163).

Boundaries are thus not predetermined or automatic in the face of contrasts. On the one hand, it is possible to institutionalize boundaries in such a way that they become embedded in the inner workings of daily life and thus block pivoting. On the other hand, it is also possible to make them disappear by means of inclusive categorization (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 183). Boundaries are a

‘sense’ of limitation and exclusion built ideologically through the selection of a contrast (contrasting qualities) and its further construction as salient and enduring (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 184). Yet, what is the site of a boundary? Is it also the site of ideological work?

As mentioned at the beginning of the section, a site of ideological work is the ‘location’ of sign relations being established through attention and contrast by a sign-interpreter. The sign-interpreter’s *gaze* or uptake is necessarily involved. That is why Silverstein (1998) and Gal & Irvine (2019) playfully describe sites as sights. Gal & Irvine (2019) assert that sites do not stand for something else (they are not a “representamen” in Peircean parlance). They are rather the *hic et nunc* where an indexical sign is taken to have meaning. Thus, sites are the *purview of indexicality* (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 168). They further assert that sites are the *arena of abduction*, where the focus of interpretive attention lies. Any phenomenon that enters the arena of abduction becomes a site of ideology. For analysts, sites can also be:

[C]enterpieces from which an analysis moves outward. In effect, this is what our analyses do – whether starting from an American office building, a nineteenth-century term like ‘Yankee’, or a small town in Hungary or Senegal: they explore how the differentiations ‘internal’ to the centerpiece lead outward to track connections in space and time. Those connections engage our centerpiece site in a branching network of other sites and a series of ideological projections of differentiae onto those other sites (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 185).

It is of utmost importance to note that according to this, the only way of distinguishing the perspective of the researcher regarding ideologies is the necessary *meta-move*, an interpretation of an interpretation (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 189). Approaching the end, what follows is the presentation of the *connections* between sites.

Meta-moves are an umbrella term encompassing the different kinds of connections among sites. The idea of connections is tied to *interdiscursivity* as formulated in Silverstein (2005, 2013), Agha (2007), and Gal (2018). Some of the kinds of connections mentioned are those that exist between a *text and its genre*; those that invoke *regional/economic contrast sets*; connections invoking *typifications*; *temporal connections*; and *institutional connections*. These are connected through *modeling*, which is how a normative prototype is linked to a replica. This is a clear reference to the type/token distinction, as sites of ideology are typified and expected to be instantiated according to the type. Some culturally typified scene can become the reference point for future instantiations (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 200). This brings us back to Silverstein’s (1993, 1998, 2003) *ritual*, which they refer to explicitly:

As Silverstein (2003, 2013b) has shown, ‘ritual centers’ serve as ‘center point[s] of emanation’, having wave-like connections with other social occasions that derive significance from pointing back toward that authorizing scene. Especially important for the emanation is the ritual moment that introduces, for the first time, some indexical relation that will reverberate in subsequent events. Such introductions can be considered ‘ritual centers of indexical baptism’ (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 201).

These ritual centers are called *baptismal sites* by Gal & Irvine (2019, p. 201). They are the particular moments that become types, the instantiations of which all refer back to that very moment. Such sites offer *explanations* as references to a model, as a way of establishing connections between sites. Explanations have an authorizing and regimenting effect on phenomena because the site is typified, i.e., linked to a model that serves as the reference point for every instantiation of it. This may lead to *erasure*, as that which does not fit into the model is ignored. An example of these regimenting and authorizing explanations are *metapragmatic labels* for language varieties:

Those labels capture – and lexicalize – the interpretive move that creates its own site of ideological work. The labels locate the varieties in cultural stereotypes of (categories of) persons or activities, and in so doing, they point to what explains the variation. Moreover, to the extent that the labels enter common parlance, they represent steps in institutionalizing the interpretations they label (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 204).

Anchors come back to the fore as a semiotic process that cements explanations. As a reminder, anchors are those aspects that are perceived as “most real” in an axis of differentiation. Anchoring, as an action, is the “iteration of a differentiation [that] is taken as more ‘real’ or ‘originary’ than others, and therefore afford[s] the explanatory locus – the ‘last analysis’ – for the bundled contrast” (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 205). Anchoring is the ultimate explanation for the occurrence of phenomena, as traditions would show. It is an interdiscursive relation linking phenomena from different spatio-temporal phenomena and typifying them.

These semiotic processes are also part of *scale-making* in general, as is most clearly exemplified by fractal recursivity. Gal & Irvine (2019) distinguish between two models of scale-making: *aperspectival models* and *perspectival models*. The former are scales that are built according to measures deemed natural or universal and therefore seen as independent of the point of view of the measurer, while the latter are built with the perspective of the measurer included. Gal & Irvine (2019) propose that inclusion is a scale. They illustrate this with the language/dialect scale.

The language/dialect relationship is a perspectival model of scale-making because the people involved may disagree as to not just the measures of scale-making but also the categories themselves (language and dialect). Moreover, the ideology of standard language can influence scale-making for the language/dialect relationship. As Gal & Irvine (2019) ask frankly:

Is the “language” described in reference grammars an empirical object? A generalization over variation? A literary standard? A polylectal summary? An imagined type? A normative model? Whichever kind of object the “language” is, do “dialects” or “varieties” inhabit the same ontological realm? And does the “language” contain them? [...] For many linguists, the whole that is a ‘language’ represents not a standard, but a generalization over variation. However, in the ideology of standard language [...] the standard exemplifies the imagined whole, even though the standard as a norm of usage does not itself literally include the dialects. Instead, the standard-of-use is to be considered the best and most elaborated exemplar of the (imagined) type, which does include the dialects. (pp. 221-222)

This does not deny the existence of such a posited relationship in some cases, but it shows how scale-making is involved in the ideological construction of type-token relationships following a notion of inclusion.

IV.7. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a comprehensive explanation of the qualitative research approaches that inform this research, the nature of the data collected, and the tools used to analyze the data. In the following three chapters, the focus of the analysis is the language policy of Luxembourg. Chapter V offers a historical overview of the language policy development of Luxembourg from the 19th century until the 21st century in order to link the broader sociohistorical context to the data pertaining to recent and contemporary language policy. Chapter VI delves into the analysis of contemporary language policy texts. Finally, chapter VII provides an analysis of interview extracts in relation to contemporary language policy in Luxembourg.

V. The Case of Luxembourg

In the intersection between France, Belgium, and Germany lies the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, a constitutional monarchy characterized by a multilingual policy regimenting the use of four languages, namely Luxembourgish, French, German, and German Sign Language, in various domains of the state. With a population of 645,397 residents (STATEC, 2022), of which 47% are foreign nationals, the second-smallest member of the European Union exhibits a “personal” language policy that is the product of historical and sociolinguistic developments from the 19th century until today. Indeed, a prominent example of such historical and sociolinguistic developments is Luxembourgish. Declared the ‘national language of Luxembourgers in 1984, Luxembourgish is in the midst of a standardization process following renewed language planning efforts since 2018.

The aim of this and the following two chapters is the description of the interplay between ideology and language policy design and implementation through:

- 1) a discourse analysis, guided by a thematic analysis, of de jure language policies regarding Luxembourgish, with a major focus on current language policy texts.
- 2) a discourse analysis, guided by a thematic analysis, of interview extracts from interviews conducted with nine teachers of Luxembourgish and seven actors involved in the newly created institutions for the promotion of Luxembourgish.

For the former, de jure language policies are defined as those policy texts produced at the state-level through its public institutions (the Constitution, decrees, laws, and school subject programs). This twofold analysis is supported by a historical overview of Luxembourg and its multilingual policy. For an in-depth analysis of the interplay between ideology and the standardization of Luxembourgish in the 19th century, see Bellamy (2023) and Rivera Cosme (2023).

The next section is a historical overview of Luxembourg. The overview presents a historical background coupled with the main language policy developments of the case study. Brief analyses of some major policy texts from the 19th and the 20th century are applied in order to link the ideologies informing them to the ideologies of current language policy.

V.1. Historical and Sociolinguistic Overview

What ‘began’ as a castle (Lucilinburhuc) for Count Siegfried I in the 10th century experienced different territorial expansions and reductions, becoming a Duchy in 1354 (Pauly, 2013, p. 41). From the 14th to the 15th century, Luxembourg was under Burgundian rule, passing onto Habsburg rule from the 16th to the 18th century, and winding up as a territory of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium-Austriacum) from 1714-1795 (Franz, 2015, p. 275). Following the French revolution, it was incorporated into France and named the *Département des Forêts* from 1795-1814. After Napoleon’s downfall, Luxembourg became a possession of Dutch monarch William I by means of a personal union declared by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which granted him the title of Grand-Duke of Luxembourg (Pauly, 2013, p. 67; Franz, 2015, p. 275). At the same time, the Grand Duchy became a member of the incipient German Confederation. It is thus in the 19th century that most discourses about language and language policy began to circulate.

The dawn of the Belgian revolution in 1830 was met in Luxembourg with conflicting ideological views of, on the one hand, a desire of annexation to incipient Belgium and, on the other hand, of loyalty to the Dutch Crown. There are already some traces of the future bilingual policy in this period. The capital, under the protection of the Prussian garrison, stayed loyal to the Dutch Crown. Consequently, the policies decreed by the Dutch King applied in the capital. One of these policies was the *language decree of 1830*, which stated that French and German could be considered the national languages of Luxembourg (Fehlen, 2011, p. 585).

It is important to note that the Grand Duchy was, from 1815-1839, divided by a language border defined as, on the one hand, the *quartier wallon* (=Walloon quarter) in the West, and the *quartier allemand* (=German quarter) in the East. The language border was determined by a Romance-Germanic distinction, whereby the West was characterized by speakers of Walloon and French, whereas the East had a majority of Moselle Franconian¹⁷ speakers.¹⁸ The dusk of the Belgian revolution, which saw the birth of the state of Belgium, had direct political consequences that reshuffled the borders. It entailed a political separation of the Grand Duchy from the Dutch central administration.

¹⁷ German dialectology specifically classifies these varieties as *Central Franconian*, lying to the West of Moselle Franconian (Gilles & Moulin, 2003).

¹⁸ However, this territorial language border already had a former recognition dating back to the year 1340 (Fehlen & Heinz, 2016, p. 13).

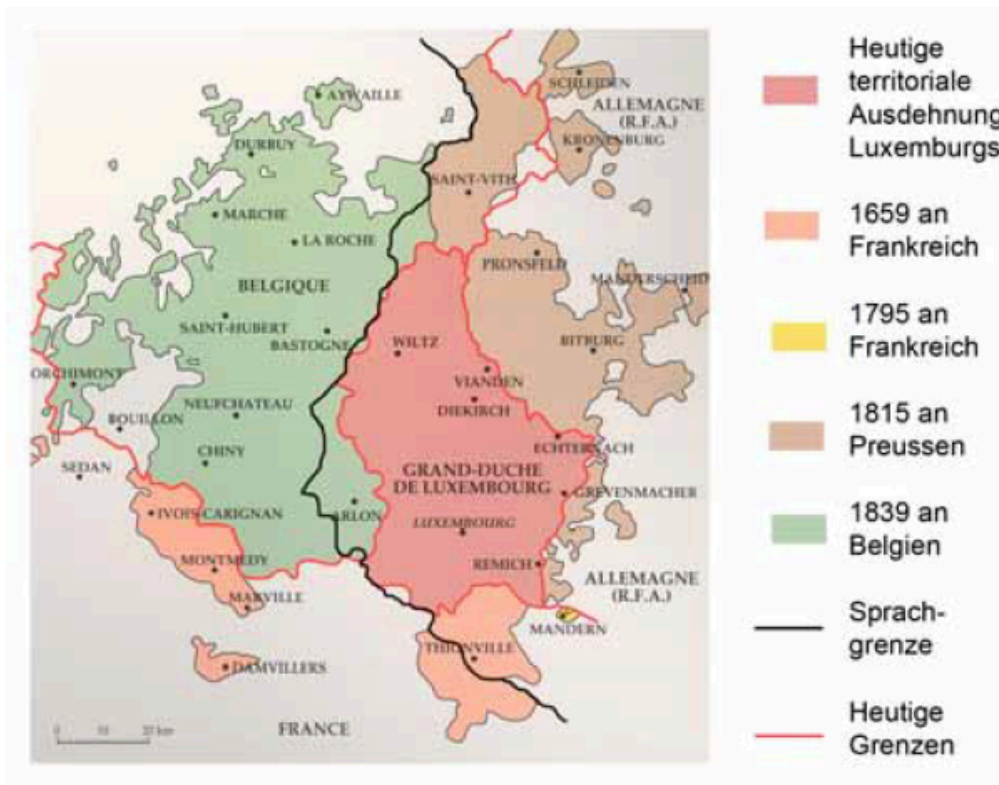


Figure 4: The territorial divisions of the (Grand) Duchy of Luxembourg along the centuries with the linguistic borders (Fehlen, 2009, p.16)

Furthermore, the sociolinguistic situation of the time was marked by the use of French and German among the high and middle classes as mainly written languages for administrative and journalistic affairs, but also of Dutch by officials that were brought in and by certain locals who found opportunities in the teaching of the language (Fehlen, 2011, p. 579). Dutch, however, would never become a relevant language in Luxembourg after 1830. Partially explanatory of this sociolinguistic development is the historical period where the Duchy of Luxembourg was under Burgundian rule (15th century), which led to the consolidation of French as administrative and chancery language. With time, French coexisted as a written standard with Standard German, while Standard Dutch never found wide usage as a written standard in Luxembourg (Neuß, 2016, pp. 230-231). The Moselle Franconian varieties were called *Lëtzebuenger Deutsch* or even *bad German* by scarce journalistic sources, but were spoken in daily life, independently of social class (Fehlen, 2011, p. 573; 2015, p. 66).



Figure 5: Focus on Luxembourg and its surrounding language areas (Möller, 2017b, p. 237)

Part of the reshuffling of borders was an additional reduction of the territorial size of the Grand Duchy as a concession to the nascent Belgian state in the Treaty of London signed by the Dutch monarch in 1839. The territorial concession consisting of the Western part of the Grand Duchy corresponded to the *quartier wallon*.¹⁹ The Moselle Franconian varieties that would later be labeled as Luxembourgish would continue to be spoken by most of the population throughout the 19th century.²⁰ It was also in this period that the incipient Luxembourgish varieties in the Grand Duchy were exposed to the first attempts at expanding their functions in script (Newton, 2000).

A historical turning point regarding the future sovereignty of the Grand Duchy was the decision of the Dutch Crown to concede some degree of autonomy to the Grand Duchy in 1841. The population was thus confronted with the need to create its own state apparatus and infrastructure (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 115;

Pauly, 2013, p. 69-70; Franz, 2015, p. 276), despite the continued personal union with the Dutch monarch. 1839 is henceforth constructed by Luxembourgish historiography as a year in which the process of the independence of Luxembourg began. One of the most important results of this autonomy is the *Education Act of 1843*, which institutionalized the teaching of French alongside German from the very first grade in the primary school system.

The mandatory teaching of French was met with resistance from teachers and parents, sometimes leading to boycotts as well as calls for the elimination of the French course (Fehlen, 2013b, p. 92), even though the Education Act was in its beginnings a mainly symbolic and political gesture. What made it symbolic were the following reasons: lack of infrastructure for the teaching of French in

¹⁹ An exception was Arlon. Although the majority of its population spoke Moselle-Franconian varieties, it was included in the territory conceded to Belgium.

²⁰ Nevertheless, the construction of Luxembourg as a bilingual space lying between so-called *Germania* and *Romania*, even with the territorial break from the *quartier wallon* in 1839, would come about and face various discursive changes from the 19th century to this day in mainly academic and historiographic discourses (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 13-14).

school (Fehlen, 2013b, p. 77) and, more importantly, schooling only became compulsory in 1881, almost forty years later (Pauly, 2013, p. 70; Fehlen, 2018, p. 64).

Despite the lack of resources for the implementation of French as a school subject, the resistance to it led to ideological polarization. Through *rhematization*, the French language ideologically conveyed qualities that were deemed contrary to the national character of Luxembourgers, while Luxembourgish, seen as a token of German, was deemed indexical of such qualities. Moreover, the Education Act can be interpreted as a political gesture because it instantiated the discourse of French as a stronghold against Prussia. It resembled walking a tightrope, as German also held the function of a deterrent for francophone countries that might have had plans of annexation (Stell, 2006, p. 25). Thus, this balancing act was not merely discursive, as political and economic interests informed the language policy decisions (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 90).

Another key moment was 1848, a revolutionary year in Europe. Bad harvests, the high price of bread, unpopular taxes, and unemployment led to protests (Pauly, 2013, p. 72-73). The Dutch monarch, King William II., under the pressure of these revolutionary waves, was forced to certain concessions resulting in an amended Constitution that guaranteed freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. Census suffrage, an electoral system that only granted voting rights to *male* individuals who fulfilled a certain threshold based on their tax revenue (called *census*), was kept, but the census was decreased, thus allowing for a quarter of male citizenry to participate (Franz, 2015, p. 278-279).

The *Constitution of 1848* consolidated the bilingual personal policy of Luxembourg by declaring in article 30 of the Constitution that “Everyone is free to use the German language and the French language; the use of either language cannot be restricted”²¹. A high/low register division was institutionalized. Through the institutionalization of German and French, connections were established in policy as a site of ideological work with other sites, such as public institutions and the school system (Rivera Cosme, 2023). These two texts are sources that created path dependencies for future policy development. However, Luxembourgish was erased in official language policy due to a high/low register division, whereby Luxembourgish was subsumed under German as a *low register* (Rivera Cosme, 2023).

²¹ My translation. The German version: „Der Gebrauch der deutschen und der französischen Sprache steht Jedem frei; es darf derselbe nicht beschränkt werden“. The French version: « L’emploi des langues allemande et française est facultatif. L’usage n’en peut être limité ».

V.1.1. 1849-1912: Caspar Mathias Spoo, Koiné, and a New Orthography

The death of William II in 1849 coincided with the restorationist backlash of the German Confederation. He was succeeded by his son, William III, who rolled back the liberal Constitution of 1848 by reinstating a constitution in 1856 guaranteeing almost absolute powers to the Dutch Crown. The Constitution of 1856 mainly corresponded to the restorationist principles of the German Confederation, since Luxembourg was a member of it. This meant that civil freedoms and parliamentary powers were drastically restricted. The census was increased drastically in 1860 by fixing it to 30 francs, thus leading to an even smaller number of male citizens eligible to vote in comparison to the period before 1848: only 8% of the male citizenry of Luxembourg (Franz, 2015, p. 279). This lasted until 1860, when the legislative elections of 1857 created an oppositional majority in the Assembly of the Estates which paved the way for a new government.

After the dissolution of the German Confederation in 1866, the Dutch Crown became isolated. Without the support of the German Confederation, the renamed Assembly of Estates reinstated a liberal Constitution in 1868, against the will of the Dutch Crown. Even in this liberal Constitution, only male Luxembourgish citizens who were older than 25, who lived in the country, who had their full civil rights (*bürgerliche Ehrenrechte*), and who paid between 10 and 30 francs in direct taxes were eligible to vote. This translates to 7.4% of the total population of adults by 1890 (Franz, 2015, p. 279).

Language-in-education policy debates of this period mainly concerned French as a school subject. Discourses against the implementation of French at an early stage of school circulated. These were informed by an ideology against multilingualism, according to which learning more than one language at an early age hinders the development of the speaker's "mother tongue". However, in an assembly of teachers held in 1871, the 274 participants voted in favor of French as a school subject from the fourth year of primary school (Fehlen, 2018, p. 67).

Socioeconomic and political changes due to industrialization at the end of the 1880s and the 1890s led to the emergence of, on the one hand, working classes and middle classes and, on the other hand, of new political members. The main political change was the reduction of the census in 1892, which allowed for greater political participation and the inclusion of alternative members in a Chamber of Deputies dominated by industrialists and notables. Caspar Mathias Spoo, elected in 1896, would contribute to the enregisterment of Luxembourgish by giving a speech in Luxembourgish during a parliamentary session the same year.

In his speech, he pleads for the use of the language as a tool for further democratization. Various ideologies were at play: an ideology of democratization, of Luxembourgish as an ancestral language, and Luxembourgish as a national language. Indeed, Spoo enregisters Luxembourgish as an emblem of nationhood. His speech is illustrative of strategies common of essentializing discourses (Jaffe, 2007), such as the focus on the language's antiquity, which supports the argument for the dissociation of the language from a language under which it is subsumed. Furthermore, his speech had a resounding effect in the media, so much so that it was sometimes considered the event that led to the inclusion of Luxembourgish as a school subject in the educational reform of 1912 (Fehlen, 2013d).

M. Spoo. Dir Hèren.....

M. le Président. Voulez-vous permettre, M. Spoo, de vous interrompre un instant.

Vous avez l'intention de parler dans l'idiome du pays, comme vous l'avez fait lors de la séance d'ouverture.

Beaucoup de membres de la Chambre se sont adressés au Bureau et ont exprimé des doutes sur le point de savoir si cette manière de s'exprimer était compatible avec le texte de la Constitution, qui porte, dans son art. 29 : « L'emploi des langues allemande et française est facultatif; l'usage n'en peut être

Figure 6: Extract of Parliamentary Debate of December 9, 1896 (Fehlen, 2013d)

The turn of the century in Luxembourg was met with increased industrialization in the South and depopulation in the North, increased Italian and German immigration as workforce, formation of new political parties and movements, relatively increased political participation as well as ideological divisions in the incipient leftist and right-wing politics (Pauly, 2013, pp. 81-82; Fehlen, 2013b). The last one is more complex, having intertwining layers of ideology that do not necessarily fit into two contrastive sides. However, the political polarity could be said to have consisted predominantly of a conservative, clerical side loyal to the Grand-Ducal dynasty vis-à-vis a heterogeneous so-called Left Bloc with an inclination for Francophilia, but also for an awareness of the value of the Luxembourgish language for the people of the Grand Duchy (Fehlen, 2013b, p. 52). This Left Bloc was an alliance formed after the legislative elections of 1908 between the Social-Democratic Party and the Liberal League, solely glued together by their anti-

clericalism, that is, the desire to limit the control held by the Catholic Church in public institutions such as the school system.

In this context, an educational reform was passed in 1912, called the *Education Act of 1912* or *Loi Braun*, one of its aims being the reduction of the control of the Catholic Church on the school system. Relevant here is the introduction of Luxembourgish as a school subject. The inclusion of Luxembourgish as a school subject led to the elaboration of a standardized spelling for the purpose of teaching the language, called the *Walter-Engelmann system* in honor of the two who elaborated the orthography: Nicolas Welter and linguist René Engelmann (introduced below). It was published in 1914 as a reader with the title *Das Luxemburgische und sein Schrifttum* (=Luxembourgish and its Literature).

This orthography had quasi-official status and was modeled on German orthographic conventions. Despite its use in teaching, it was not officially recognized. Furthermore, its aim was mainly to foster reading, as a complementary support for the German course (Newton, 1996, pp. 183-184). Indeed, Luxembourgish was explicitly classified as a German dialect in the introduction of the reader (Gilles, 2015, pp. 130-131). The teaching organization consisted of two branches, *Landesgeschichte* (=history of the country) and *Sprache* (=language), referring to the Luxembourgish language. The lessons were given during one school hour in the first six years of primary school (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 98)²². An in-depth discussion of the parliamentary debate about Luxembourgish as a school subject is provided by Fehlen (2018, 2019).

Two years before the educational reform, linguist René Engelmann published a study of the variety spoken in Vianden. However, the most influential aspect of his study was not the description of the Vianden variety, but his idea of what he called a *koiné*, that is, a dialect understood by all Luxembourgish speakers. Engelmann posited a central variety that had gradually formed out of the many dialects (*Einzelmundarten*) from the features common to these dialects and that each speaker used the new variety with influence from their own dialect (Stell, 2006, p. 14-15). This variety would later be named the dialect of the central area, or central variety (Gilles & Moulin, 2003, pp. 311-312). However, the process that Engelmann describes as *koinéization* corresponds in current linguistics research to dialect leveling. This important distinction has already been explained and elaborated upon by Gilles (1999). Gilles (2000) also addresses the so-called *koiné debate* in Luxembourgish linguistics.

²² However, Fehlen (2018, p. 72) states that the Luxembourgish language course shared this hour of teaching with the national history lesson *specifically* in the fifth, sixth, and seventh school years.

Koiné or not, the term became an ethno-metapragmatic label that referred to a Luxembourgish variety that would slowly be enregistered as the standard language. Regarding language policy, the term became a *source* that was referred to intertextually (Silverstein, 2005, p. 9) in future policy texts (as shown below).

V.1.2. Summary

The 19th century was marked by its bilingual policy. These texts were the result of political decisions informed by the following factors:

- 1) Historical: The consolidation of French as an administrative and chancery language since at least the 15th century. Gradually, Standard German began to coexist with French as a written standard for administrative and official purposes.
- 2) Socioeconomic: Proficiency in French and Standard German as a means of social mobility and prestige. Economic interests, such as business ties with the surrounding countries, also influenced the institutionalization of French and German.
- 3) Ideological: French, Standard German, and Luxembourgish (considered equally as a German dialect and as an essential aspect of national identity) indexed the positionality of the individual. The use of French or Standard German was contingent on the context, as an index of status and of political orientation. Conflicting metapragmatic discourses circulated which disputed the identity of the Luxembourger as bilingual (French and German) or as monolingual (German, inclusive of Luxembourgish as a dialect).

The language policy of the first half of the 20th century was characterized by the continuation of the bilingual policy (until 1948, year of the revocation of article 30 of the Constitution of 1848 as a repercussion of the Second World War). The scarce policy texts of the first half of the 20th century, i.e., before WWII, represent a continuation of the predominant ideologies of the previous century.

V.1.3. From 1946 to 1984

No major developments in the de jure language policy occurred between 1912 and WWII. The German occupation of Luxembourg left its mark in Luxembourg. While the government and the Grand-Ducal family fled in exile, Luxembourg was led by *Gauleiter* Gustav Simon. The

imposition of the German language and Nazi ideology was met with passive and active resistance. Regarding the recognition of Luxembourgish as a German dialect or language, a tipping point is reached during this period. During the occupation, French was excluded from all public institutions and its use was forbidden. The population faced assimilation attempts, as the occupation government considered them to be originally German (Pauly, 2013, p. 94). Socioculturally, the occupation allowed for a contrast between Luxembourgish and German which, out of resistance against the occupiers, led to the enregisterment of Luxembourgish as a separate language. However, this development was mainly discursive, with little effect on language policy and planning, as shown below.

The rejection of German had the consequence that in the post-war period French was used as practically the only state language, while Luxembourgish remained a highly valued vernacular, which gradually became the language of parliamentary speeches and debates (Fehlen, 2015, p. 72), its use in Parliament increasing to 50% by the 1970s and 90% by the 1990s (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 309). Furthermore, the article from the Constitution of 1848 that established the bilingual regime of the Grand Duchy was revoked with the argument that a new law regimenting language use would be passed²³. Despite this development, German was not removed from Luxembourg's language regime. In the language-in-education policy, it continued to play a major role in the school system as language of literacy and of content courses, while Luxembourgish remained marginal²⁴.

One of the few post-war language policy developments was an orthography introduced in 1946. Linguist Jean Feltes and Minister of Education Nicolas Margue devised a 'phonemic' orthography of Luxembourgish that was made official by ministerial decree. One of its aims was to distance Luxembourgish spelling from the German model. To be sure, only spelling, not pronunciation, were the aim of standardization. Moreover, Luxembourgish variation was acknowledged, so much so that the model was applied to some Luxembourgish varieties for illustrative purposes. Nevertheless, the orthography rapidly faced backlash, failing to gather adepts due to its radical departure from German orthographic conventions (Gilles, 2015, p. 131-132).

²³ It would thus take 36 years for such a law to come to light (Fehlen, 2019, p. 293).

²⁴ After WWII, Luxembourgish was introduced in secondary school as a school subject. However, it was only assigned on the first year of secondary school for one hour per week (Fehlen, 2016, p. 424). This only changed recently with the 2018 law for the promotion of Luxembourgish.

From a semiotic perspective, however, the orthography could be regarded as an example of purposive iconicity between grapheme and phoneme as well as 2nd-order indexicality (Silverstein, 2003). Letters derived from the German model, such as <ä>, <ß>, <sch>, <ck>, <ie>, <tz>, were eliminated (Gilles, 2015, p. 131). As an example, some consonants and vowels from the orthography are <sh>, <è>, <èè>, <éé>, <èi>, <èu> (Gilles, 2019, p. 1041). The orthography itself is indexical of the contrast between German and Luxembourgish. The attempted iconicity between the phoneme and the grapheme gains an indexical value whereby the script is enregistered as Luxembourgish in contrast to German. Indeed, a dicentization (Ball, 2014) of the script, as an icon that “shifts upwards” to an index of *Luxembourgish*, is achieved.

Furthermore, a contrast is also established between the Luxembourgish varieties themselves. As such, the introduction of the policy text states the following:

T ortografi séét këngem, vei e shwèze sol, mé neme, vei en daat, vaat e shwèzt, shraive kan. Soulaang et an der shprooch variannte get, fun dééenen èèn net soe ka, vaat fer èng bèsser as vi di aaner, soulaang getet och variannten an der shreft : gemaach, gemaat, gemèèt; ech vaar, ech voor, ech voar; muurjen, muerjen, muejen. Dei rééjelen, di hai haner shti, gelen ievel an eishter lin fiir di sougenannt koiné. Iver t mejjlechkèèt, èusgeshprachen dialèkten zimlech lèutgetrai ze shraive, gi mer e puur remarken zum shlus (Mémorial du Grand-Duché du Luxembourg, 1946, p. 638).²⁵

The *koiné* reappears as the reference point and object of language policy. Through sourcing, the text establishes an interdiscursive link between Engelmann’s description of the so-called *koiné* and the moment of policy design.

This is, to my knowledge, the first policy text in Luxembourg that sources a type (*koiné*) and establishes itself as an intertext (Silverstein, 2005, p. 7). The next policy text is clearly intertextual by its structure (as a ministerial decree) and its discourse (the development of a standard orthography), harking back to the text of 1946.

V.1.4. 1975: Back to the Past

The immediate post-war period was characterized by debates among academics concerning multilingualism and the status that Luxembourgish has and should have. These debates were

²⁵ “The orthography does not prescribe pronunciation, but spelling. As long as there are variants in the language that cannot be identified as ‘more appropriate (or better)’ than any other, then variants can also be included in spelling: “gemaach, gemaat, gemèèt... The rules here exposed pertain mainly to the so-called *koiné*. At the end of the text, we provide some comments on the possibility of faithfully spelling dialects” (my translation).

characterized by the ideological tension between the ideal of an inherent Luxembourgish bi/trilingualism and the equivalence of the nation with one language (i.e., Luxembourgish) under the presupposition of a homogeneous society (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 81). Various metapragmatic discourses circulated under the spectrum of this tension, particularly after the classification of Luxembourgish as a *Halbsprache* (=half language) in an *Ausbau* process (=expansion process) in Kloss (1952). This tension extends, as a clear example of fractal recursivity, to the ideologies regarding Luxembourgish itself, such that language purism becomes an argument against the influence of French and German in Luxembourgish oral and textual production. Such tension is most visible in these discourses when the loss of “pure” Luxembourgish words is used to point to the impossibility of the standardization of Luxembourgish (Fehlen, 2013a). Indeed, linguists’ discourses were characterized in the 20th century by the presupposition that dialectal variation had led to a simplified and common Luxembourgish variety, a presupposition that did not correspond to empirical studies of the language (Gilles & Moulin, 2003, pp. 311-312).

Although the two decades preceding the emergence of the prominent pro-Luxembourgish association *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch* stand out for their paucity, one small journal was founded in 1952 with the aim of promoting Luxembourgish: *Eis Sprooch* (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 293). The journal never gained popular support. The discourse of *Eis Sprooch* was ethno-linguistic with a pessimistic outlook, corresponding to discourses of endangerment informed by an essentialist ideology of Luxembourgish as a language rivalling German in antiquity (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 293). However, its position was contradictory insofar as the journal was against the creation of a unitary standard (referred to as *koiné*), viewed as a threat to the linguistic variation of Luxembourgish. Part of its discourse was characterized by xenophobic stances against the naturalization laws of the government under the assumption that the influx of foreigners represented a menace to Luxembourgish identity. The journal died out in 1962 (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 294).

In the 1960s, a trend towards a service-oriented economy began. In a similar fashion to the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, foreign capital and labor from abroad sustained the Luxembourgish economy. Despite a worldwide oil crisis in the 1970s, the successful transition from industry to services provided a cushion to the economy of Luxembourg. Parallel to this were stark political and demographic changes instantiated by the consolidation of the European Union, a strong trend of immigration comprised of Portuguese-speaking workers, and the gradual increase

of workers from the neighboring countries in the private sector (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 75), which boosted the use of French in daily encounters (Fehlen, 2016, pp. 427-428). In addition to these developments was a regional movement for the recognition and promotion of minority languages in Europe, which were successful in Spain with the recognition of Basque and in Switzerland with the codification of Romansch. Closer to the Grand Duchy were the foundation in 1976 of the Belgian association *Arelerland a Sprooch* and the French association *Wéi laang nach?* in favor of Luxembourgish (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 296).

Amid these multifaceted changes, two important events occurred. The first one, the foundation of the association *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch*, was a direct product of the aforementioned societal changes. In 1971, Aloyse Raths, Charles Malané, Lucien Ludwig (who held the assets of the former *Eis Sprooch*), Emil Schmit, and Jemp Bertrand had the idea of founding a lobbying movement for the promotion of Luxembourgish. The lobby group was strongly supported by the *Comité National de Résistance*, a group committed to the memory of the Second World War resistance movement. Its members mainly comprised civil servants, such as school teachers and public officials (Garcia, 2014). Furthermore, the association positioned itself on the right of the political spectrum despite its political neutrality. As such, some of its members did not shy away from ethnolinguistic discourses exhibiting anti-German and irredentist rhetoric (Fehlen, 2016, pp. 419-420). *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch* was instrumental in the debates that would result in the Language Law of 1984 (discussed below).

The second event was the orthography of 1975, made official through a ministerial decree. The *Luxemburger Wörterbuch*, a multiannual project (1950-1977), brought to the fore Luxembourgish orthography. A new orthography was deemed necessary (Gilles, 2015, p. 133). It is thence that the orthography of 1975 was developed and officialized as a reform of the previous orthography. Importantly, Alain Atten, a founding member of *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch*, wrote the decree (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 302). What follows is a brief discourse analysis of the decree with a focus on the interplay between linguistic structure and ideology.

The 1975 orthography was officialized by a ministerial decree. It was published in the *Mémorial* in 1976. As a ministerial decree, it is an already established genre, interdiscursively tied to the 1946 text, with yet another twist:

Gemengerhand hale mir äis un d'héidäitscht Wuertbild, dat mir gewinnt sin, wou et néideg as, och un dat franséischt. All Sprooch am Land schreift sech esou, ma 't geet ewell duer,

wa mer eng gutt erëmgin: eis Ëmgangsprooch – e Guttlänesch, dat d’Leit iwwerall verstin. Dat heescht nët, jiddere misst et schwätzen, ma nëmmen, all Mënsch kéim dermat zuwee. Wéi ee sonner Sprooche schreift, dovu geet um Enn och Rieds (Mémorial du Grand-Duché du Luxembourg, 1976, p. 1365).²⁶

The first sentence establishes a generalization of use of the German model in writing through the adverb *gemengerhand* and the first-person plural pronoun *mir*, which indexes the positionality of the writer as an in-group member. Moreover, a *habit* of such generality is expressed through the verb *gewinnt* and such general habit is extended to the French model with the disclaimer of necessity, i.e., *wou et néideg as*. The second sentence extends this generalization to every language of the country by using the quantifier *all* and the adverb of manner *esou*. However, a narrowing down (reparametrization) occurs by referring to a *Guttlänesch*, which is then generalized by the adverb *iwwerall* in the embedded clause. The third sentence follows a similar procedure to the 1946 text. The difference lies here in the distinction between duty/obligation and possibility. The deontic modal verb is inflected in conditional, *misst*, as a response to the negative construction preceding it, while the phrase expressing possibility follows suit with a generalization through a quantifier, i.e., *all Mënsch kéim dermat zuwee*.

The term *koiné* is nowhere to be seen. It is, however, instantiated here as *Guttlänesch*, a geographical category indexing the central and southern area of Luxembourg. There is no explanation for the change, but the label seems to correspond to the same concept of *koiné* as a so-called central variety. The policy text as intertext follows the same structure as the one published in 1946. Luxembourgish varieties are mentioned as *sonner Sproochen* (translated here as *particular languages*) and are found at the end of the decree. The *Guttlänesch* serves as a model, as a type, for the illustration of the spelling rules, which are then applied to the other varieties. However, its use indexes the encompassing character of the variously called *koiné*/Guttlänesch/central variety.

V.1.5. 1984: Language Law

Despite the societal changes that had taken place in the 1970s, no language planning efforts were in sight. Subtle language policy measures regarding Luxembourgish were introduced in this time,

²⁶ “In general, we follow the Standard German (*heidäisch*) spelling –which we are used to-, wherever it is necessary. We also follow the French spelling. Every language in the country is written in such a way, but it would be enough to represent well just one: our daily language (*Ëmgangssprooch*), a Guttlänesch, that people understand everywhere. This does not mean that everyone should speak it, but rather, that with it, everyone could get along. At the end of the text, we address how ‘particular’ (*sonner*) languages are written” (my translation).

such as the implementation of a European directive regarding language skills of physicians and veterinarians in host countries in 1977. The proficiency of Luxembourgish among physicians and veterinarians was made an essential condition to exercise their profession in Luxembourg. Another language policy measure that gave some recognition to Luxembourgish was the law of June 10, 1980, which made it mandatory to have sufficient knowledge of the three “usual” languages of Luxembourg (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 303).

However, the process leading to the Language Law of 1984 was marked by more public attention. Péporté et al. (2010, p. 303) and Fehlen (2016, pp. 430-431) attribute the debates that led to the Language Law of 1984 to a reaction against an article published by the far-right *Deutsche Nationalzeitung* in 1980. In the article, the disputed status of Luxembourgish as a dialect or separate language and French as a school subject in Luxembourg are interpreted from a far-right, ethnolinguistic ideology that explicitly frames Luxembourgish identity and language as German, followed by the accusation that Luxembourgers wish to deny their roots by declaring Luxembourgish a language and by teaching French in school. From a sociolinguistic approach, Horner & Weber (2008, p. 111) emphasize the role ideology played in the discourses leading to the Language Law of 1984, particularly the essentializing link between language and national identity, which in Luxembourg lies in the tension between monolingualism and trilingualism. This ideology could have been triggered by the article, since members of the Parliament of Luxembourg submitted two motions in the same year with the aim of declaring Luxembourgish the national language (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 303).

Nevertheless, it would take four years for the law to be passed in Parliament. A special committee was appointed in 1982 to write a report about the Luxembourgish language. It took two years. The presence of the Prime Minister of the time, Pierre Werner, in the debates of the special committee, indexes the importance given to the issue. The debates were informed by the ideological tension between monolingualism and trilingualism, and by the rhetorical links to the experience of WWII as a period that validated the existence of a national language and identity (Péporté et al., 2010, pp. 305-309).

Most members of the committee suggested a “maximalist” approach, according to which all civil servants should respond to letters in Luxembourgish when addressed in the language. On the other hand, a minimalist approach was taken by the government and some MPs, which only favored French and German as administrative languages. The State Council, comprised of jurists and public officials, blocked the legislation in its report on the draft law of 1982 due to the disputed

status of Luxembourgish as a language (Fehlen, 2016, pp. 430-431). The opposition of the State Council was based on a strong standard language ideology whereby a language is defined by its grammatical and lexical “development”, i.e., a simplistic reduction of “language” as rich in vocabulary and complex in grammar.²⁷ Nevertheless, a compromise was found in the adverbial phrase *dans la mesure du possible* (=insofar as possible). The use of Luxembourgish would thus be constrained by this vague formulation.

Indeed, these debates illustrate the two schemas described by Horner & Weber (2008, p. 85):

- 1) An ideology of the ethnic model of the nation whereby one specific language is inherently linked to the nation. Discourses informed by this ideology tend towards essentialism, romanticism and monolingualism as a normative goal.
- 2) An ideology of the civic model of the nation with an instrumentalist approach to language, linking identity to trilingualism. Discourses informed by this ideology tend towards economic and social considerations that link the prosperity of the nation to its openness, of which the trilingual policy is deemed exemplary.

These two schemas are not clear-cut, elements of each can intertwine. As such, the link of identity with one language can be formulated following the civic model of the nation, while the linkage of Luxembourgish identity to an inherent trilingualism can also be formulated in ethnic terms.

The law was finally passed in 1984. As metapragmatic discourse, it regimented and authorized the use of specified language varieties. The law is short and simple, consisting of five articles, four of which are metapragmatic discourse concerning the use of Luxembourgish, French, and German. The analysis will focus solely on the first four articles.

Indexical of priority, the first article states that the Luxembourgish language is the national language of Luxembourgers:

La langue nationale des Luxembourgeois est le luxembourgeois (Mémorial: Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1984, p. 196)

The inflected verb *to be* acts as copula and has two arguments. The NP *langue* is accompanied by an adjective and a possessive construction indexing Luxembourgers as a homogeneous and

²⁷ Even academics voiced their opposition, particularly Fernand Hoffmann, a highly respected linguist in Luxembourg, who deemed the declaration of Luxembourgish as national language a peril for the linguistic stability of Luxembourg (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 309).

achronic collectivity, a nomic pattern that essentializes the language and the people. The adjective places language in the political, cultural, and social frame of the nation. The equivalence is established between a language situated in a specific spatio-temporal setting (chronotope or time-space) where nations exist and are instantiated by a homogenous group of people, and the name of the language as a metapragmatic label.

As Silverstein (1998) proposed in a cryptic manner, extensionalizations of a word to a class of things allow for descriptive backings (what he calls *Putnamian stereotypes*) that are then intensionalized. In other words, a referent is linked to the word along with a set of properties. Such a process has occurred here: Luxembourgish is extensionalized to a class of people situated in a specific time-space or chronotope, and Luxembourgish, as metapragmatic label, is linked to the Luxembourgish as a quality of the type. Moreover, the metapragmatic label is also extensionalized to a class of language type that is then linked referentially to the qualities of the type. Phrased differently, Luxembourgish and Luxembourgish are typified, each showing a set of general properties. Then, rhematization occurs, making the use of Luxembourgish indexical of a Luxembourgish figure (Agha, 2005). The use of Luxembourgish thus refers to and portrays simultaneously a Luxembourgish.

The second article concerns the language of legislation, which is French. The article states:

Les actes législatifs et leurs règlements d'exécution sont rédigés en français. Lorsque les actes législatifs et réglementaires sont accompagnés d'une traduction, seul le texte français fait foi (Mémorial: Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1984, p. 196).

As mentioned above, the article, as the text itself, is a self-fulfilling metapragmatic discourse. *Actes législatifs* (=legislative acts) and the possessive construction *règlements d'exécutions* (=implementing regulations) are the NP and adjunct in a passive voice construction. The metapragmatic label "French" refers to a language type that is assumed as such, without any further specification as to its qualities. The second sentence also exhibits a passive voice construction with the same NP. Again, as self-fulfilling metapragmatic discourse, French takes precedence over any translation of legislative and regulatory texts. French, as metapragmatic label, is endowed with the real authorizing power, any other language type being merely denotational of the French type in the legislative context.

The third article regiments the administrative and judiciary uses of language. Here, German surfaces as equal to Luxembourgish and French. The article states the following:

En matière administrative, contentieuse ou non contentieuse, et en matière judiciaire, il peut être fait usage des langues française, allemande ou luxembourgeoise, sans préjudice des dispositions spéciales concernant certaines matières (Mémorial: Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1984, p. 197).

The passive voice construction features once again. A delimitation of the use of the three languages is authorized through a modal verb of possibility. This entails the equivalence of usage (real or not) of the three languages in administrative and judicial contexts. Such entailment thus leads to such languages being *presupposed* in said contexts: a perfectly circular metapragmatics.

The fourth article regiments administrative requests, that is, the use of languages when communication is established with state administration. The statement is the following:

Lorsqu'une requête est rédigée en luxembourgeois, en français ou en allemand, l'administration doit se servir, dans la mesure du possible, pour sa réponse de la langue choisie par le requérant (Mémorial: Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1984, p. 197).

The sentence features both passive and active voice. Passive voice points to the instantiation of textual communication between an anonymous entity and the administration and to the use of the three languages separately in a context of role alignment: the anonymous entity as *initiator* and the administration as *respondent* (Silverstein, 2013). The three metapragmatic labels are all invoked as different language types (glossonyms), divided by a comma and by a conjunction. What follows is an active voice construction that is instantiated, however, by a deontic modal verb that has as one of its arguments the NP 'administration'. It establishes an obligation of the respondent to fulfill the presupposition of language use dependent on the initiator's choice. Yet, this deontic modality is watered down by the adverbial phrase *dans la mesure du possible* (=insofar as possible), which limits the duty or obligation of the administration to respond in the language used by the initiator of the exchange. Thus, the presupposition of language use in this context of aligned roles of initiator (anonymous entity) and respondent (administration) is not necessarily fulfilled in practice. The adverbial phrase entails some flexibility, yet with the constraints imposed by the previous regimentation of use of the three languages.

V.1.6. Summary

The policy texts of the second half of the 20th century are informed by the changes that occurred in Luxembourgish society. The experience of the Second World War led to the development of a

Luxembourgish orthography that shed away all the elements reminiscent of the German model. Its source was the so-called *koiné*, yet the orthography was only thought of as a written standard that could be applied to the other Luxembourgish varieties. However, its radicality encountered fierce resistance from the population, which ultimately led to its failure. Despite its failure, its officialization immediately after WWII and the continued reference to WWII in the political discourse about Luxembourgish during the debates of the Language Law of 1984 illustrate that Luxembourgish had been enregistered as a language by the population.

The social, economic, and political changes of the 1960s and 1970s, followed by the foundation of *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch*, led to a turning point, culminating in the Language Law of 1984, despite the resistance of the government, certain MPs, and even some scholars against the declaration of Luxembourgish as the national language. Essentializing discourses that linked the nation with a specific language through ethnolinguistic vocabulary were countered with civic discourses that linked Luxembourgish identity to an idealized trilingualism exhibiting different functions for each language.

V.1.7. 1990s to Today

Globalization and the consolidation of the European Union have led to the development of the banking and financial sector in Luxembourg. The free circulation of peoples and goods as a result of the Schengen agreement has facilitated mobility within Europe. This has led to increased foreign capital and labor. The rapid increase in population and the subsequent demographic changes have made visible the weaknesses of the Luxembourgish school system, traditionally oriented towards children whose home language is Luxembourgish.

Despite the changes in the sociolinguistic situation of Luxembourg due to the demographic changes of the 1990s until today, the language-in-education policy has hardly changed. On the one hand, Portuguese has become Luxembourg's largest minority language following the immigration of Portuguese workers from the 1970s until today. On the other hand, the globalization of the economy has led to a stronger presence of English in various sectors of the labor market. However, German and French remain the main languages of instruction in the public school system.

TABLEAU 2 : LA POPULATION ÉTRANGÈRE PAR NATIONALITÉ ENTRE 1981 ET 2022

Nationalité	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022	2022 (%)
UE-27 (sans GB)	87 665	101 113	137 350	186 576	245 908	80.8%
Portugal	29 309	39 303	58 657	82 363	93 678	30.8%
France	11 940	13 203	19 979	31 456	49 173	16.2%
Italie	22 257	19 077	18 996	18 059	24 116	7.9%
Belgique	7 854	10 255	14 800	16 926	19 414	6.4%
Allemagne	8 851	8 874	10 052	12 049	12 796	4.2%
Autre Europe	4 735	6 601	16 851	19 167	18 595	6.1%
Royaume-Uni	2 027	3 190	4 331	5 471	4 104	1.3%
République du Monténégro *	-	-	-	3 814	2 855	0.9%
Russie **	-	-	402	930	1 951	0.6%
Ukraine ***	-	-	180	427	1 075	0.4%
Afrique	624	1 723	2 675	5 565	13 668	4.5%
Cap-Vert	301	1 101	1 660	2 472	2 507	0.8%
Maroc	74	120	252	524	1 616	0.5%
Erythrée	0	0	0	21	1 775	0.6%
Amérique	1 025	1 833	2 204	3 817	7 717	2.5%
Brésil	64	147	307	1 203	2 853	0.9%
Etats-Unis d'Amérique	694	1 215	1 127	1 295	2 170	0.7%
Canada	85	140	244	376	561	0.2%
Asie	585	1 612	2 592	4 963	17 691	5.8%
Chine (Rép. pop.)	35	290	1 070	1 610	4 142	1.4%
Inde	65	132	199	569	3 777	1.2%
République arabe syrienne	0	0	1	25	2 696	0.9%
Océanie	33	92	105	187	244	0.1%
Australie	26	56	79	136	188	0.1%
Apatrides	1 024	572	441	197	184	0.1%
Inconnu	98	1 817	67	50	160	0.1%

Figure 7: Foreign resident population of Luxembourg from 1981 to 2022 (Klein & Peltier, 2022)

Language use at the institutional and interactional levels has become more complex. French, German, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, and English now circulate in state and municipal written communication, and in newspaper, radio, and social media. Furthermore, a layering of their use according to specific industries and settings has ensued. This is shown in Figure 8:

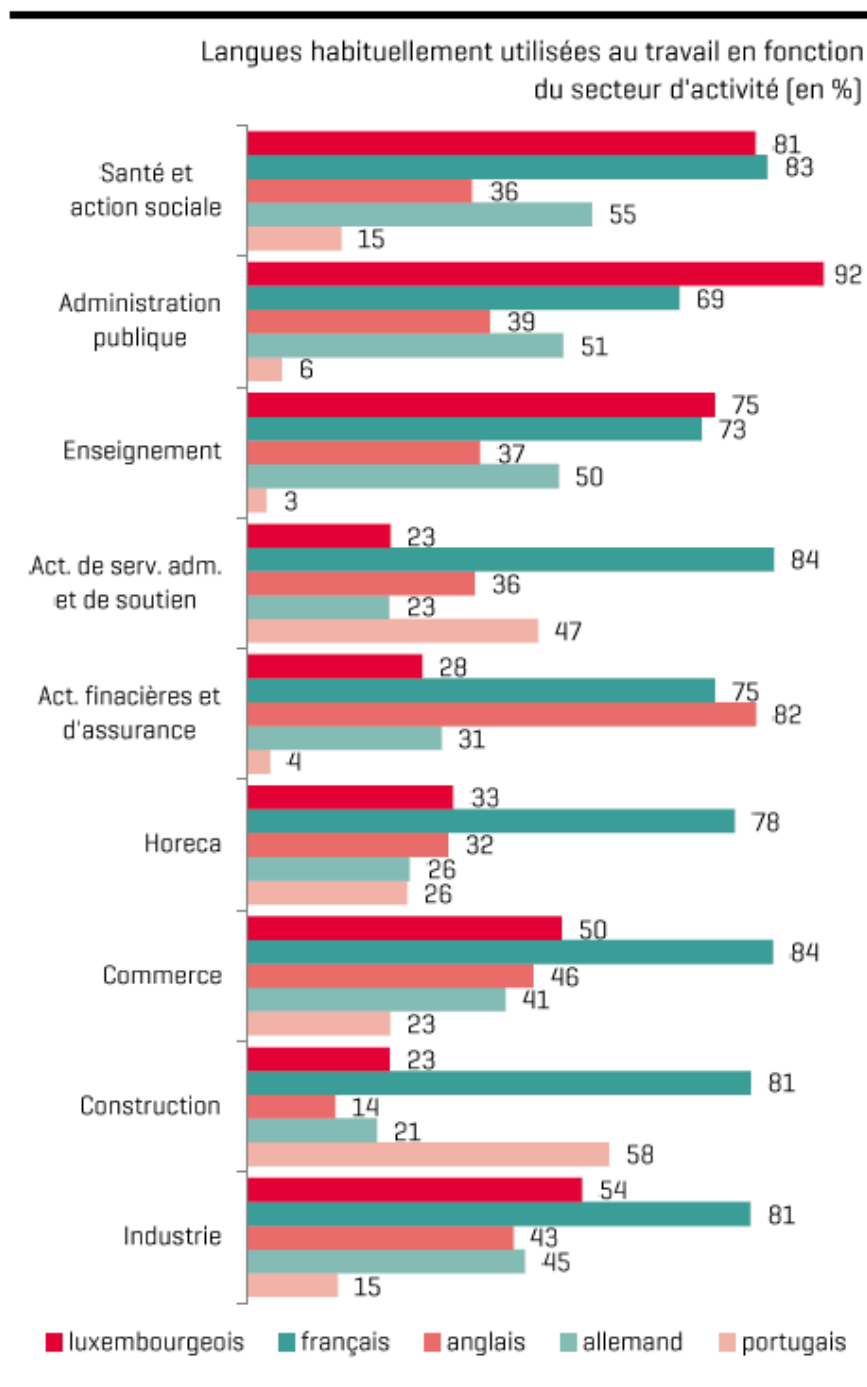


Figure 8: Languages used in each job sector (Reiff & Neumayr, 2019)

Although French is the predominant language in most sectors, the survey concludes that Luxembourgish remains the language most of the resident population evaluates as their best (STATEC, 2019). This survey should, however, be interpreted with reservations given the lack of participant observation illustrating real-time interactional language use in their data collection. A comprehensive survey of multilingualism in Luxembourg is Fehlen & Heinz (2016).

V.1.8. De Jure Language Policies from 1990s to Today

Amidst these societal developments, Luxembourgish has expanded in use in media (films, television, and newspapers) and in the written domain, particularly in online communication (Gilles, 2019, p. 1040). The demand for Luxembourgish-as-a-foreign-language courses has highly increased in the past decade, as interest in learning the language continues to grow (Hoffmann, 2022). Textbooks following the Common European Framework of Reference were developed for the A1, A2, and B1 levels as material for Luxembourgish as a foreign language. Current textbooks are being developed for Luxembourgish as L1 in school (discussed in the next chapter).

Regarding the policy development, the period between 1984 and 2018 saw the foundation of the *Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise* (=Permanent Council of the Luxembourgish Language, or CPLL) in 1998, the aim of which was originally corpus planning and status planning. It worked through the reform of the orthography of 1975, publishing in 1999 the revised version, with relatively minor changes. More recently, a law for the promotion of Luxembourgish was passed in 2018. As a result, various institutional sites were founded for the further standardization of the language: The *Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch* (=Center for the Luxembourgish Language, or ZLS) and the *Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch* (=Commissioner of the Luxembourgish Language). The aim is to support the codification of Luxembourgish through grammar books and orthography, through the recognition of the language at EU level without the translation requirement of legal documents, and through both the expansion of courses for Luxembourgish as L1 and as a foreign language in the school system, at the Institut national des langues Luxembourg (=Luxembourg National Institut of Languages, or INLL). In this context, the CPLL has remained a consultative organ for the Ministry of Education and the two new institutions.

The approval of the law was, however, preceded by intense societal debates concerning Luxembourgish identity, culture, and the possibility of extending voting rights to foreign residents of Luxembourg. For the latter, a referendum was held in 2015 consisting of three questions, one of which regarded the possibility of extending voting rights at the national level (i.e., legislative elections) to foreign residents having already participated in the municipal or European elections and having lived in Luxembourg for at least ten years. The results of the referendum for each question showed an overwhelming majority against such measures. This was followed by two petitions in 2016, each having as its subject the current language regime of Luxembourg. The next chapter addresses these two petitions in detail.

V.1.9. Contemporary Institutional Network

The ZLS carries out the main corpus planning activities, such as another revision of the orthography, published in 2019. It was not an overhaul of the model, but rather model-internal changes that were meant to give it more coherence in order to serve other purposes, such as acquisition planning. Because of the scarcity of grammar books, the ZLS is also in the midst of creating a detailed grammar of Luxembourgish as part of its codification. Other activities regard the popular dissemination of the language through actions that are more folkloristic in character, such as the documentation of archaisms or traditional words and the publication of a bilingual (Luxembourgish-French) map of Luxembourg showcasing toponyms, issued in collaboration with the Commissioner for the Luxembourgish language (Commissioner from now on). The ZLS also organizes other activities revolving around *microtoponymy* and the Lëtzebuerger Online Dictionnaire, which is being further developed by a team of lexicographers in the ZLS.

The *Service de Coordination de la Recherche et de l'Innovation pédagogiques et technologiques* (SCRIPT from now on) is the driving force behind acquisition planning for the school system. A division of the institution deals primarily with the creation of didactic material for schools. The activity is coordinated conjointly with the development of new courses that will be implemented in certain public schools from September 2021. Luxembourgish as a mandatory course will be moved to *4ème* and will also be offered as an optional course in the *A section*, which is destined for students wishing to specialize in languages in the classic track of the public school system. The optional courses will include Luxembourgish literature, orthography, culture, and history as their main axes.

The Institute of Luxembourgish Studies of the University of Luxembourg (“the Institute” from now) is not directly involved in the language policy process. However, its academic activities overlap with the language policy developments. Academic output is taken up by the different institutional actors mentioned above, sometimes as a guiding tool for the further corpus or acquisition planning of Luxembourgish. There is collaboration among the members of the Institute, the ZLS, and the Commissioner regarding activities mainly involving status planning.

Another institutional setting involved in the educational domain is the *Programmkommissioun*, a commission in charge of designing course programs for Luxembourgish. The members of the commission are teachers of Luxembourgish, independently of their affiliation to either a public school or international school. Their work incorporates all the developments that are brought forward by the aforementioned institutions, but they are also a ‘bridge’ between the multi-layered

settings of the standardization process. In other words, there seems to be a strong dialogue among teachers in the field, as actors who also drive forward the development of didactic material in a collaborative manner.

V.2. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historical and sociolinguistic overview of Luxembourg with short analyses of major policy texts from the 19th century to the 20th century. Central to this chapter has been the description of the interplay between ideology and language policy design as a trajectory characterized by relative stability from the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century and by transformation from the second half of the 20th century contingent on major societal changes in Luxembourg. The following chapter focuses on contemporary language policy texts.

VI. Policy Texts

The main aim of this chapter is a discourse analysis of the following contemporary language policy texts:

- 1) Petition 608 in favor of Luxembourgish as sole *official* language of Luxembourg
- 2) Petition 725 in favor of the maintenance of the current language regime of Luxembourg
- 3) Draft law on the promotion of Luxembourgish
- 4) Two Luxembourgish course programs from 2008 and 2018, respectively

The discourse analysis consists of a micro-analysis of the linguistic structure guided by a thematic analysis. The selection of the four texts was based on their thematic content connected, on the one hand, to current language policy developments (draft law and Luxembourgish course programs) and, on the other hand, to current discourses about language policy (petitions), with the aim of linking the discourses and ideologies of the *de jure* language policies with discourses about the general language regime in Luxembourgish society. It is important to note that the draft law on the promotion of Luxembourgish was influenced by the discursive clash of the two petitions (Hawkey & Horner, 2022, p. 205). As such, their relevance in connection with the draft law cannot be understated.

VI.1. Petitions 698 and 725: Languages in Dispute

Following the referendum of 2015, two petitions gained public attention. The first one was petition 698, which had the aim of making Luxembourgish the sole official language of Luxembourg. The argumentation provided for the justification of the proposed measure rested on national and identity concerns corresponding to a discourse of endangerment. It had a wide impact, as it garnered 14,000 signatures in six weeks.²⁸

In the wake of this petition arose a counter-petition, numbered 725, which argued against the normative goal of petition 698. In the name of Luxembourg's multilingualism (particularly the trilingual configuration of Luxembourgish, French, and German), the petition argued for the maintenance of the current language regime as a measure that has proven to be beneficial economically and socially for the country. Furthermore, the arguments of petition 698 were regarded as nationalistic and xenophobic. Petition 725 garnered more than 5,000 signatures in six

²⁸ For a petition to be discussed in Parliament, the minimum quorum is 4,500 signatures.

weeks. A close analysis of each text provides a clearer picture of the ideologies that informed their discourses.

Every public petition in Luxembourg has three main components: the title, the aim, and the motivation of the petition for general interest. Each of these sections is built as a question/response format. The parts of the text corresponding to these components of the form are in italics. Furthermore, petitions can be written in any of the three recognized languages (Luxembourgish, French, German).

The text of each petition is partitioned according to identified themes. Elements that are emphasized in the analysis are found in bold in the source material. The first object of analysis is petition 698.

VI.1.1. Petition 698

The following themes were identified in this petition:

Table 8: Themes of Petition 698

Luxembourgish as National, Official, and School Language
Exclusive Multilingualism
Luxembourgish and National Identity
Non-Recognition of Luxembourgish in the European Union
Endangerment of Luxembourgish

Luxembourgish as national, official, and school language is the overarching theme of which the rest are derivative, i.e., subthemes. Illustrative of this thematic structure is the title of the petition:

Intitulé de la pétition 698: Lëtzebuerger Sprooch als 1. Amtssprooch an Nationalsprooch gesetzlech fir all Awunner zu Lëtzebuerg festzeleeën (Welter, 2016).

The title already indicates the purpose of the petition, namely the establishment of Luxembourgish as first official and national language for all residents of Luxembourg. Of interest are two elements, namely, the quantifier *all* preceding *Awunner* (=residents) and the adverbial phrase *zu Lëtzebuerg* (=in Luxembourg). The former maximizes the scope of the officialization of Luxembourgish, implying that it should be not just officialized, but used by every resident, while the latter situates

the scope to the confines of Luxembourg's borders. The discourse of the other components of the petition is characterized by this overarching theme as the ultimate normative goal of the petition, with subthemes inclusive of other normative goals that are derived from the main one, as is shown in the following sections concerning the aim and the motivation of the petition.

VI.1.1.1. Luxembourgish as National, Official, and School Language/Exclusive Multilingualism

But de la pétition: D'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch als 1. Amtssprooch an Nationalsprooch gesetzlech fir **all Awunner zu Lëtzebuerg** festzeleeën an **an de Schoulen zu Lëtzebuerg verstärkt ze ënnerriichten an och als Schoulsprooch festzeleeën**. Dass all Administratioun fir hir Publikatiounen a Matdeelungen, sief et per Post oder per offizielle Communiqué, **Lëtzebuergesch zu alleréischt benotzt soll ginn**. Fir Auslänner, **déi nach net der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch mächteg sinn**, soll automatesch op all Bréif eng Traductioun op franséisch an däitsch sinn. Ausserdeem soll erëm e Chamberbliedchen op Lëtzebuergesch publizéiert ginn (Welter, 2016).

The first sentence of this section repeats the title and adds two other goals, i.e., reinforced teaching of Luxembourgish and the recognition of Luxembourgish as a school language in Luxembourg, thus proposing a change in the language-in-education policy. The second sentence is an embedded clause concerning the use of Luxembourgish as first language in all written communication of the state. It is phrased in passive voice, expressing a normative claim through the modal verb *sollen*.

The third sentence is a plea for a transitional language policy, corresponding to the subtheme of *exclusive multilingualism*, whereby foreigners who have *not yet* (*nach net... mächteg sinn*) learnt Luxembourgish would be included by a translation in French and German of every governmental written communication, thus implicitly excluding other major languages in Luxembourg, such as Portuguese and English. An implicit normative claim is expressed through the adverbial phrase *nach net*, indicating an expectation of language acquisition.

VI.1.1.2. Luxembourgish and National Identity

Dovunner ofgesinn **soll déi franséisch Sprooch net méi** vun der Regierung **ausschliisslech als Amtssprooch benotzt ginn**, och Uerteeler vun de Gerichter sollen op mannst op Lëtzebuergesch matgedeelt ginn. **D'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ass en Deel vun onser Nationalitéit a soll et och bleiwen**. Déi am Virfeld schonn an de Gesetzestexter verankert Artikelen an och all Reglementer sollen doropshin ofgeännert ginn, **fir dass ons Lëtzebuenger Sprooch erëm ons Haaptprooch zu Lëtzebuerg gött** (Welter, 2016).

The first sentence is an explicit normative claim phrased in passive voice. It is assumed that there is an exclusive use of French in governmental and judiciary matters, which is then deemed inappropriate through the modal verb *sollen* and a negation. In contrast, another normative claim

is raised for the use of Luxembourgish in governmental and judiciary affairs. French is referred to as *Amtssprooch*, roughly translated as *official language*, yet this entails a contradiction in the argumentation of the author, as will be shown in the next section. The second sentence is perhaps the most explicit of all: it consists of two clauses, both phrased in present tense.

The first clause is rich in indexical signs that point to a nationalist ideology of language, mainly the NP *Lëtzebuenger Sprooch* (=Luxembourgish language) and the pronoun *onser* (=our) followed by the NP *Nationalitéit* (=nationality). The second clause is a normative claim with the modal verb *sollen* and the verb *bleiwen* (=to remain), implying a historical continuity. The adverb *erëm* (=again) and the NP *Haaptsprooch* (=main language) in the last sentence index a past period where Luxembourgish was the predominant language. In the context of the entire text, it can be interpreted that the presupposed historical continuity is deemed threatened.

VI.1.1.3. Luxembourgish as Official and National Language

Motivation de l'intérêt général de la pétition: Eng **offiziell Sprooch** (op däitsch Amtssprache) ass eng Sprooch, déi an engem Stat (oder engem Deel dovun) duerch d'Konstitutioun als déi Sprooch definéiert ass, an där d'Gesetzter geschriwwe sinn, an an där de Stat a seng Verwaltunge mat de Bierger kommunizéieren. **Zu Lëtzebuerg gëtt et keng „offiziell“ Sprooch:** d'Lëtzebuenger Konstitutioun verweist op e Gesetz, mä de Législateur gebraucht am Gesetz iwwert de Sproochegebrauch just d'Termen **Nationalsprooch, Gesetzessprooch a Verwaltungssprooch** (quell. Wikipedia) Loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues. Art. 1er. Langue nationale: La langue nationale des Luxembourgeois est le luxembourgeois. Art. 2. Langue de la législation: Les actes législatifs et leurs règlements d'exécution sont rédigés en français. Lorsque les actes législatifs et réglementaires sont accompagnés d'une traduction, seul le texte français fait foi. Dëst Gesetz muss ofgeännert ginn. **Zu Lëtzebuerg gëtt et eng offiziell Orthographie**, an der Annex de Lien vun dësem groussherzogleche Reglement. lien:http://www.cpll.lu/pdf/ortho_1975.pdf (Welter, 2016).

The first sentence is a definition of *official language*, according to which an official language is the language of legislation, of administration, and communication of the state. In the second sentence, the specific language regime of Luxembourg is addressed, noting the absence of any designation of an official language. The third sentence is a reproduction of the 1984 language law as an illustration of the language regime of Luxembourg. The fourth sentence is a normative claim for change phrased in passive voice and expressed by the deontic modal verb *mussen* (=must), its referent being the 1984 law. The fourth sentence is a statement of the existence of an official orthography of Luxembourgish.

Taken together with the previous sentence, there is an implication that the mere existence of an official orthography is sufficient for the use of Luxembourgish as an administrative and legislative

language, ignoring on the one hand the multilingual pragmatics in play, and, on the other hand, the structural aspects of Luxembourgish, such that certain registers such as legal language have not (yet) developed. Informing this extract is a combination of the nationalist ideology of language and the standard language ideology, according to which Luxembourgish can become an official language fulfilling all the functions of the other two administrative languages only based on its orthography.

VI.1.1.4. Non-Recognition of Luxembourgish in the European Union

D'Europäesch Unioun (Ofkierzung: EU) ass eng Vereenegung vun 28 europäesche State mat enger totaler Awunnerzuel vu 490 Milliounen Mënschen an ass um Bruttoinlandsprodukt gemooss de gréisste Wirtschaftsraum vun der Welt. **Déi eenzeg Sprooch, déi net am offiziellen Amtsblatt vun der EU vertrueden ass, ass Lëtzebuergesch, wat als Diskriminéierung unzegesinn ass** (Welter, 2016).

The first sentence is a description of the European Union (EU) in terms of population size and GDP. In the second sentence, it is stated that Luxembourgish is the only language that is not represented in the official journal of the EU. Interpreted in conjunction with the first sentence, it is implied in the second sentence that the non-representation of Luxembourgish in such a powerful union is inadmissible. The sentence ends with an embedded clause built with the verbal construction *ass als Diskriminéierung unzegesinn* (=is to be seen as discrimination). The non-representation of Luxembourgish is thus regarded as an unfair treatment vis-à-vis the represented languages. Reparametrization is the main discursive strategy of this extract. Here, the argument shifts upward (from the national to the EU-level) to frame Luxembourgish as a disadvantaged language.

VI.1.1.5. Endangerment of Luxembourgish

D'Regierung geet vun enger Awunnerzuel vun 1,2 Milliounen an nächster Zukunft aus. **Domadder ass ons Nationalsprooch, ewéi d'Verfassung et virgesäit, zum Ausstierwe verdaamt.** Et ass vun engem **nationalen Interessi**, dass ons Sprooch als **national** ewéi als **1. administrativ Sprooch** erhale **muss** ginn (Welter, 2016).

The first sentence indirectly quotes the government of Luxembourg with the statement that the population will increase to 1,2 million people in the near future, which is then tied to the eighth sentence by correlating the population growth to the death of Luxembourgish. The assumption behind such initially unrelated statements is that the language is endangered due to the influx of immigrants who do not speak and never will speak Luxembourgish. The structure of the eighth sentence is characterized by affective lexemes such as the shifter *ons* followed by *Nationalsprooch*

and the adverbial phrase *zum Ausstierwe verdammt* (=condemned to extinction). Closing the text is then the ninth sentence, which links the language to the nation to such an extent that the preservation of the language is equivalent to the preservation of (a part of) the nation. This linkage of the language to a national group is expressed by the indexical pronoun *ons*, while the normative claim is expressed by the deontic modal verb *mussen*. The normative goal is thus twofold: the preservation of the status of the language as *national* and the reconfiguration of the language regime of Luxembourg to place Luxembourgish as the first administrative language and, therefore, as the language of legislation, administration, and public communication.

VI.1.1.6. Summary

The analysis of petition 698 has shown that the overarching theme *Luxembourgish as national, official, and school language* is expressed through a discourse informed by a nationalist ideology, corresponding to the first schema theorized by Horner & Weber (2008, p. 85), where an ethnic model of the nation is presupposed. The overarching theme and its normative goal (officialization of Luxembourgish as main language) trickle down, forming subthemes in discourse where new, yet related normative goals are formulated (such as the recognition of Luxembourgish at the EU-level).

The following section has petition 725 as its focus.

VI.1.2. Petition 725

The theme and subthemes identified in the text are:

Table 9: Theme and Subthemes of Petition 725

Essentialized Openness Against Closedness
Rejection of Luxembourgish as First Official Language
Reliance of Foreign Labor and <i>Vivre Ensemble</i>
Condemnation of Nationalist, Populist, and Xenophobic Discourses
Multilingualism as Cause of Prosperity
Rejection of Luxembourgish as School Subject
Luxembourgish as a Spoken Language in Flux

Although the title of the petition is the rejection of Luxembourgish as first official language, which guides the argumentation of the entire text, the discourse is based on an *essentialized openness against closedness*, thus that which derives from this theme was classified as a subtheme. The overarching theme is explicitly described in the motivation of the petition below.

VI.1.2.1. Rejection of Luxembourgish as First Official Language

Intitulé de la pétition 725: « NEEN » zu **eiser Mammesprooch** als ëischt offiziell Sprooch. « NON » à la langue luxembourgeoise comme première langue officielle en matière administrative et judiciaire. « NEIN » zur luxemburgischen Landessprache als erste Amtssprache (Schloesser, 2016).

The title of the petition is trilingual, indexing already the ideology of language and the intentionality of the author behind the petition. The title is a negation of the officialization of Luxembourgish. However, most intriguing is the difference in text of Luxembourgish vis-à-vis French and German. The Luxembourgish text differs in its indexicality. Through the pronoun *eiser* (=our) and the NP *Mammesprooch* (=mother tongue), a collectivity in which the author includes themselves is indexed, thus making these lexemes indexical of the positionality of the author(s) as in-group member(s). In French, however, there is no collectivity or author indexed through pronouns or a noun referring to a ‘mother tongue’, rather the NP *langue* followed by the adjective *luxembourgeoise*. Thus, the frame changes to a third unknown party through an impersonal construction. The same holds for the German sentence, with the small difference that the NP is

Landessprache (=language of the country) instead of only *Sprache* (=language). There is indeed a shift in participation framework. The Luxembourgish text can be interpreted as the ‘voice’ of the Luxembourgers positioning themselves against petition 698, while the other two texts are written in the other two recognized languages of Luxembourg, yet they do not index any Luxembourgish voice.

But de la pétition: Inviter tous les habitants de notre pays, Luxembourgeois ou non ainsi que tous les travailleurs transfrontaliers, à soutenir la présente démarche. Toute la procédure se déroule en ligne. Veuillez consulter sur le net la rubrique « Exercer son droit de pétition au Luxembourg ».

Es werden, alle Einwohner unseres Landes, sei es die Luxemburger oder die Ausländer sowie alle Grenzgänger, dazu eingeladen unsere Bittschrift zu unterstützen. Die gesamte Prozedur erfolgt über Online. Bitte in der Rubrik „Sein Petitionsrecht in Luxemburg ausüben“ nachschlagen (Schloesser, 2016).

A bilingual description of the purpose of the petition follows. The only noteworthy aspect is the absence of Luxembourgish. Nevertheless, there is no description of the actual petition, so the discourse analysis will focus mainly on the next section. Since the text is longer than that of petition 698, the analysis will follow the spatial divisions already established by the text to make it more accessible to the reader. Some sentences will be analyzed in more detail than others due to their relevance.

VI.1.2.2. Essentialized Openness Against Closedness

Motivation de l'intérêt général de la pétition : Nous devons, comme nous l'avons toujours fait, rester ouverts envers les autres et ne pas nous refermer sur nous-mêmes (Schloesser, 2016).

The section begins with a deontic claim expressed by the pronoun *nous* and the inflected deontic modal verb *devons* (=must). This is followed by an embedded clause characterized by a verbal construction in present perfect and the adverb *toujours* (=always). The continuation of the sentence is a verb followed by an adjective and a preposition of directionality and the plural NP *les autres* (=the others). After the conjunction, a negation which continues the normative claim is followed by a verb and a preposition, the sentence ending with a pronoun. Regarding the content of the sentence, it is a normative claim where favor of openness to the *other*, i.e., non-Luxembourgers, and resistance to closedness among Luxembourgers, is expressed. The NP *les autres* and the pronoun *nous-mêmes* (=ourselves) index the positionality of the author, voiced as a Luxembourger by the use of *nous-mêmes*, vis-à-vis foreigners. The verbal construction in present perfect, *nous l'avons toujours fait*, naturalizes the openness of Luxembourgers.

VI.1.2.3. Reliance of Foreign Labor and *Vivre Ensemble* : “It’s the Economy, Stupid!”

Notre pays a toujours eu et aura toujours un grand besoin de main d’œuvre **étrangère**. Ces travailleurs résidents et frontaliers représentent, actuellement, près de 72% de la population active contre 28% de Luxembourgeois. **Nous avons le devoir et il y va de notre intérêt, à tous, d’accueillir ces personnes dans les meilleures conditions**. Il est essentiel que le contact s’établisse **dans une langue compréhensible pour tous** et les formulaires administratifs et autres documents officiels **devront être rédigés, dans l’une des trois langues, obligatoires, enseignées à l’école**.

Certes, il est vrai que les travailleurs étrangers ont besoin de nous, mais il n’est pas moins vrai que nous avons autant besoin d’eux (Schloesser, 2016).

The first sentence of the paragraph is most relevant because of its possessive pronoun, two verbal constructions in present perfect and future, the adverb *toujours* and the adjective *étrangère* (=foreign). These structural features are a support of some features of the ideology motivating this petition:

- 1) the division of the Luxembourger figure and the foreigner figure,
- 2) the naturalization of Luxembourgish openness (narrowed down to *multilingualism* in the following paragraphs).

The argumentation that follows in the second sentence is a factual description of the economic reality of Luxembourg. The sheer number of foreign residents and commuting workforce serves as a justification of the deontic claim articulated in the third sentence through the constructions *Nous avons le devoir* (=It is our duty), arguing for the *accommodation* of foreign workers.

One of the accommodation strategies deemed essential is language, hence language policy comes to the fore. Yet, the argumentation becomes contradictory in the fourth sentence, firstly by proposing that contact should occur in an understandable language (begging the question, why not Luxembourgish?) and, secondly, when defining the language used in administrative forms and official documents. Expressed through the deontic modal verb *devoir* (=must), it is proposed that the forms be written in *one* of the three recognized languages of Luxembourg. The force expressed by the adjective *obligatoires* and the focus on the languages being taught at school may be interpreted as an emphasis on their officiality. The last sentence is a concession, expressed by the adverb *certes* (=of course), regarding the mutual necessity of Luxembourgers and foreign workers.

VI.1.2.4. Condemnation of Nationalist, Populist, and Xenophobic Discourses

Il faut condamner, très fermement, les **propos populistes, nationalistes voire xénophobes** que certains tristes individus se sont crus autorisés à tenir dans leurs réponses aux médias. Ils ne sont que quelques-uns, mais c'est déjà trop, et **il ne faut surtout pas** que ce genre de comportement **ne fasse tache d'huile** (Schloesser, 2016).

In the first sentence, a normative claim for the condemnation of discourses deemed populist, nationalistic, and xenophobic is formulated and, in linguistic-structural terms, expressed emphatically by the impersonal modal verb *falloir* and the adverbial phrase *très fermement* (=very strongly). No examples are given of these discourses, yet it can be deduced by the context in which this petition emerged, namely as a counterargument against petition 698, that the discourse of petition 698 and those discourses favorable to it are deemed as such. In the second sentence, the discourse execrated as nationalist, populist, and xenophobic is attributed to a minority. However, a normative claim is formulated in the second clause of the sentence through the negation with the modal verb of necessity *falloir* (=to be necessary) and the metaphor *faire tache d'huile* (=to spread like wildfire, create ripples), whereby this discourse is to be confined to a minority of individuals.

VI.1.2.5. Multilingualism as Cause of Prosperity

C'est grâce à notre multilinguisme que nos gouvernants ont réussi à maintenir notre pays dans **sa prospérité de naguère**. L'avenir ne s'annonçait pas aussi prometteur à la fermeture du dernier haut-fourneau à Esch-Belval en 1993. Pourtant et heureusement, des sociétés comme Good-Year et plus d'une centaine de Banques, **ont été, notamment, séduites par notre multilinguisme** et se sont installées chez nous (Schloesser, 2016).

In the first sentence, multilingualism is described as the cause of Luxembourg's continued prosperity. This is expressed by the prepositional phrase *grâce à* (=thanks to). The pronoun *notre* (=our) preceding the NP *multilinguisme* indexes not only the positionality of the author once again, but also a specific multilingualism, one particular to Luxembourg. The other index is the prepositional phrase *de naguère*, which in the context of the text could be translated as *former*, thus *its former prosperity*. Reparametrization occurs here by shifting downward, that is, narrowing down the scope from the "openness" described in the title to "multilingualism".

The reader, now situated in the past, is introduced to a specific chronotope (timespace) in the second sentence. Here, an event (the closure of the last high-furnace) is linked to a specific period (1993) in a determined place (Esch-Belval). In the third sentence, time and space are not specific, rather events (companies moving to Luxembourg) take centerstage in an unspecified chronotope

of the 1990s and 2000s. These events are judged as positive through the adverb *heureusement* (=fortunately) and their cause is stipulated to be Luxembourg's multilingualism. This is expressed by various structural features, such as the passive voice construction in present perfect *ont été* (=were, have been) – which makes the NP *multilinguisme* the agent –, the adverb *notamment* (=especially), the possessive pronoun *notre*, and, particularly, the inflected verb *séduites* (=seduced). Through the personification of Luxembourgish multilingualism, the argumentation highlights principally the economic virtues of multilingualism.

VI.1.2.6. All or Nothing: Rejection of Luxembourgish as School Subject

Apprendre le luxembourgeois à l'école, mais où les élèves prendront-ils le temps ? Sera-ce au détriment d'une des trois autres langues obligatoires ? D'autant plus que la langue luxembourgeoise sera nettement plus difficile à étudier, à enseigner et surtout à retenir. Le portugais mériterait, également, d'être plus étudié à l'école. C'est la sixième langue la plus parlée au monde, plus de 270 millions de locustes, et il y a plus de 93000 Portugais (16,3%) qui résident chez nous (Schloesser, 2016).

This paragraph begins with an interrogation that is likely a reaction to the language-in-education policy proposal of petition 698. The use of the conjunction *mais* (=but) to create a contrast between the declarative first clause and the interrogative second clause casts doubt on the original proposition found in petition 698. The second sentence continues the inquiry by formulating a rhetorical question, i.e., it is already assumed that learning Luxembourgish at school would distort the established language-in-education policy. It is noteworthy that a mistake in this sentence is the NP *trois autres langues obligatoires*, since Luxembourgish is the third mandatory language alongside French and German (unless they refer to English as the third language). The third sentence begins with an adverbial phrase that emphasizes the argument formulated in the rhetorical question and adds another argument, namely the difficulty of learning and teaching Luxembourgish.

No backing is provided for this argument, thus being a mere assumption that results in a fallacy. The fourth sentence has as its subject the NP *portugais* (=Portuguese) and the verb in conditional *mériterait* (=would deserve) as its predicate. The adverb *également* (=as well) links the sentence to the previous one, adding Portuguese to the list of languages that *ought* to be learned as well. A justification of this normative claim is provided in the last sentence based on the number of speakers worldwide and the number of Portuguese residents in Luxembourg. Through an argumentation reminiscent of *whataboutism*, the reasoning seems to be that it is hypocritical to plead for the reinforcement of Luxembourgish in school while neglecting Portuguese.

VI.1.2.7. Luxembourgish as a Spoken Language in Flux

Le luxembourgeois qu'on parlait il y a 150 ans n'a rien de comparable avec celui qu'on pratique de nos jours. Entretiens **s'y sont rajoutés tellement de mots étrangers** que nos ancêtres n'y comprendraient plus grand-chose. Et il est très probable que la langue de nos compatriotes, dans 150 ans, sera du charabia pour nous. **Une langue est vivante tant qu'on la parle.** Qui peut, donc, croire que la langue luxembourgeoise est « condamnée » à disparaître. **Notre langue évolue et se métamorphose. Elle ne s'éteindra qu'avec le dernier Luxembourgeois** et cela ne sera pas pour demain. Alors pourquoi cet alarmisme ? (Schloesser, 2016).

The last paragraph of petition 725 begins with a comparison based on language change. The verb *parlait* in imperfect and the impersonal verb construction *il y a* referring to past time situate the reader in an imaginary chronotope of the past, where the Luxembourgish spoken then differs from *celui qu'on pratique de nos jours* (=the one we use these days). The second sentence begins with the adverb *entretiens* (=meanwhile), which links that imaginary chronotope of 150 years ago to today. It is proposed that massive lexical loaning has altered the language so much that it differs from its implicitly *pure* or *original* state, so much so that it would be incomprehensible for the speakers of that past chronotope. Phrased as a factual description, it can be interpreted as a reparametrization, narrowed down to the Luxembourgish language. Lexical loaning is a phenomenon of *openness* that is formulated as the changes the language has gone through.

The third sentence then transposes the reader to a future chronotope through the verb in future tense *sera* (=will be). The same argument formulated in the previous sentence is repeated, i.e., that the language will be incomprehensible for us in 150 years. Thus, the argumentation is characterized by jumps from a past chronotope to the current time and to the future. The fourth sentence follows a nomic pattern, that is, the non-past construction of verbs supporting a supposedly factual description of a transhistorical truth. The fourth sentence makes explicit one of the ideologies of language motivating the petition: that language is *alive* and, therefore, changes with use. Consequently, as is phrased in the fifth sentence, the discourse of endangerment formulated in petition 698 is rejected on the basis of the continued usage of Luxembourgish.

Most interesting is the seventh sentence, whereby the language is indexed by the NP *le dernier Luxembourgeois*. In other words, being a Luxembourger is equated to being a Luxembourgish-speaker. This is left unclear, as there is no further specification of what *luxembourgeois* as a noun refers to. The argument is, then, that the continued existence of Luxembourgers entails the survival of Luxembourgish. The conclusion, a final interrogation that directly addresses the discourse of endangerment, is another rhetorical question the answer to which is already found in the previous premises of the paragraph.

VI.1.2.8. Summary

The main subtheme of petition 725, namely the *rejection of Luxembourgish as first official language*, was not the overarching theme guiding the argumentation in the discourse. The idea of an inherent openness, essentialized through the phrase *comme nous l'avons toujours fait*, overarched the other themes. Thus, the economic, cultural, social, and linguistic themes that followed were framed according to *openness* with a clear rejection of everything related to *closedness*. The discourse and the ideologies that informed it correspond to the second schema described by Horner & Weber (2008, p. 85), namely those presupposing the civic model of the nation, which exhibits an instrumentalist approach to language and links identity to trilingualism.

Regarding the specific ideologies informing the discourses of petitions 698 and 725, these are an ideology of language and an ideology of the nation. The petitions only differ in the latter. The ideology informing petition 698 links the Luxembourgish language to the Luxembourgish nation, which engulfs a culture and an identity. The language is deemed as threatened by Luxembourg's language policy, and such a threatened state represents, therefore, a threat to the nation. It is thus a discourse of endangerment. A nationalist naturalization of language and identity is given.

On the other hand, petition 725 is built on premises of economic prosperity guaranteed by Luxembourg's multilingualism. The author(s) also tie the Luxembourgish language to the Luxembourger, but argue that the continued existence of Luxembourgers guarantees the survival of the language. Moreover, the linkage between the glossonym (Luxembourgish language) and the demonym (Luxembourger) serves to reject the discourse of endangerment of petition 698. The same ideology, where language is an essential part of identity, leads to different conclusions in the proposed arguments because of the distinct ideologies of the nation.

The linguistic structure of each text shares commonalities in the use of modal verbs of necessity and obligation (*mussen, sollen; devoir, falloir*) and the first-person plural possessive pronoun (*ons/eis; notre*, which indexes the positionality of the authors as in-group members, or speaker origo, cf. Agha, 2007, pp. 26, 39). However, petition 698 is characterized by passive voice constructions, while petition 725 is mainly in active voice. There is a clear agent in petition 725, *nous*, the Luxembourger voice in favor of the traditional multilingual policy. In petition 698, the normative goals are described as impersonal actions. These differences support the interplay between the ideologies that inform the discourses and the policy text. The indexicality of these linguistic constructions is key:

- A) 1st-order indexicality: they point to descriptive and normative argumentation, complying with the formal and ideological requirements of the genre (petition).
- B) 2nd-order indexicality: the compliance with the formal and ideological requirements gives legitimacy to the text.

These two petitions may be considered the germ for the 2018 law on the promotion of the Luxembourgish language. So much so that in the draft law, analyzed below, the following quotation of the Parliament is found:

À l'issue des débats publics de lundi, les députés ont constaté un besoin de promotion de la langue luxembourgeoise tout en soulignant l'importance du multilinguisme. L'objectif est de trouver un consensus politique quant aux mesures à entreprendre (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 20).

Most important in this citation is the predicate of the first sentence. Particularly, the simultaneity that is expressed by the construction *tout en* + gerund preceded by the argument of the verb *constater* (=to note). The NPs *un besoin de la promotion la langue luxembourgeoise* (=a need for the promotion of Luxembourgish) and *l'importance du multilinguisme* (=the importance of multilingualism) index once again the tension between Luxembourgish and multilingualism. As mentioned above, this has been central in language policy debates since the inception of Luxembourg, instantiated in discourse in particular ways following the prominent ideologies of a given period. The stance taken by the policymakers is thus that the promotion of Luxembourgish should be coupled with the acknowledgement of multilingualism. As is shown below, this is taken up in the sixth section of the draft law.

VI.2. Promotion of the Luxembourgish Language

A draft law, called a *projet de loi* in Luxembourg and in other countries such as France, is a law proposed by a member of the Government (i.e., the executive branch) and introduced to the Parliament in the name of the Grand Duke (Chambre des Députés du Grand Duché du Luxembourg, n.d.). In this case, the “government” in the draft law refers to the Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, although it virtually includes every ministry. The draft law (*projet de loi*) of the 2018 law on the promotion of the Luxembourgish language contains various documents necessary for all draft laws. These are:

- 1) The grand-ducal order for the introduction of a draft law (*arrêté grand-ducal de dépôt*)
- 2) The explanatory statement (*exposé des motifs*)

- 3) Text of the draft law (*Texte du projet de loi*)
- 4) Commentary of the articles (*Commentaire des articles*)
- 5) Financial statement (*fiche financière*)
- 6) Impact assessment form (*fiche d'évaluation d'impact*)

The authors of the draft law are Alex Folscheid, *Premier Conseiller* (=first adviser) at the Ministry of Education, and Marc Barthelemy, who became the first Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language. The draft law was written in 2017 and subsequently turned into law in 2018. The focus of the analysis will be the second and third sections of the draft law. Noteworthy is that the *exposé des motifs* (EM) is written in Luxembourgish, rarely used in the legislative context. A justification is provided in the introduction of the EM:

D'Gesetz iwwert d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ass op Franséisch geschriwwen, well Franséisch d'Sprooch vun der Legislatioun a vun der Justiz ass zu Lëtzebuerg an dofir all gesetzlech Texter mussen an där Sprooch geschriwwe ginn.

Mee fir administrativ Zwecker ginn zu Lëtzebuerg souwuel Franséisch ewéi Lëtzebuergesch an och Däitsch gebraucht. Well d'Beschreibung vun de Motiver fir e Gesetzestext, den Exposé des motifs, **keng gesetzlech oder juristesche Relevanz** huet, mee **e reng administrativen Text** ass, gëtt fir dat heite Gesetz iwwert d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch deen Exposé **op Lëtzebuergesch presentéiert** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 2; added emphasis).

This metapragmatic preamble is an explanation of the language regime of the Luxembourgish state, i.e., an explanation of how specific languages are used in such-and-such domains. What makes this first sentence metapragmatic is the explicit description of one aspect of the pragmatics of French in Luxembourg, which is generally presupposed in the legislative context. The second sentence is a justification of the use of Luxembourgish as the language of the EM through an interpretation of the allowances of the administrative and legislative distinction for language use as stipulated in the 1984 language law. In terms of linguistic structure, the use of passive voice, present tense, and copulae are common.

VI.2.1. Exposé des Motifs

The *exposé des motifs* (EM) follows a hybrid genre requiring a specific register for its elaboration (Devriendt & Monte, 2015, pp. 70-71). The register is characterized by two main aspects: a specific text and argumentative structure. Prevalent in the structure of the text is the explanatory sentence (x is y, because of z). Furthermore, the explanatory discourse moves towards an argumentative discourse, by which the measures proposed in the draft law are justified. Figurative language is

avoided. This hybrid genre presupposes a specific participation framework with focused interaction (Goffman, 1981).

The participation framework is comprised of the Members of Government, the Members of Parliament, the Council of State, and the Professional Chambers as ratified participants. The Members of Government play the production roles (principals and authors), while the Parliament, the Council of State, and the Professional Chambers play the reception roles (readers). The Council of State and the Professional Chambers then play production roles by giving their opinion on the draft law.²⁹ Unratified participants are the readers who have no link to these institutions. While the authors are the writers of the draft law (Folscheid and Barthelemy in this case), the principal, i.e., the one responsible for the produced discourse, is the Government.

The EM of this draft law consists of eleven chapters or sections, which are the following:

- 1) Luxembourgish, a language! (*Lëtzebuergesch, eng Sprooch!*)
- 2) Luxembourgish before WWII (*Lëtzebuergesch virum Zweete Weltkrich*)
- 3) Luxembourgish after WWII (*Lëtzebuergesch nom Zweete Weltkrich*)
- 4) Languages in Luxembourg today (*D'Sproochen zu Lëtzebuerg haut*)
- 5) Luxembourgish and/in Europe (*Lëtzebuergesch an Europa*)
- 6) The 2015 referendum and the 2016 petitions (*De Referendum 2015 an d'Petitiounen 2016*)
- 7) The 2017 government strategy (*De Strategiepabeier vun der Regierung 2017*)
- 8) The cultural and linguistic institutions (*Déi kulturell a sproochlech Institutiounen*)
- 9) Official orthography; CPLL and LOD (*Offiziell Schreifweis; CPLL an LOD*)
- 10) What does this law say? (*Wat steet an deem heite Gesetz?*)
- 11) Translation to Luxembourgish (*Iwwersetzung op Lëtzebuergesch*)

Sections 1 to 6 are a chronological explanation of the emergence of Luxembourgish as a language from the 19th century until 2017. Sections 7 to 11 deal with the current developments of language policy, present the proposed strategy, and, lastly, provide a translation to Luxembourgish of the legal text. The discourse analysis will focus on specific extracts of the text guided by the themes and subthemes identified.

The theme and subthemes identified in sections 1 to 4 of the EM are:

²⁹ In the case of this draft law, the University of Luxembourg and the CPLL were participants in reception and production roles as well, as they had to give their opinion on the draft law.

Table 10: Theme and subthemes of the draft law of 2017

Linear Historical Development of Luxembourgish
The Structural-Legal Interface
The Social-Functional Interface

The structure of the EM from the first to the fourth section is based on the *linear historical development of Luxembourgish*. The argumentation of the EM is clearly based on a sociolinguistic framework, thus the formulation of the development of Luxembourgish is framed according to two subthemes, here called the *structural-legal interface* and the *social-functional interface*. While the former refers to the connection between the linguistic structure of Luxembourgish and official policy decisions, described in the text mainly through the adjectives *strukturell* and *legal*, the latter refers to the uses of the Luxembourgish language, described through the noun *Funktioun(en)* and the adjectives *sozial* and *funktionell* in the text. These two subthemes mostly intertwine. However, they are listed separately here for analytic purposes.

The overarching theme of the fourth section is *multilingualism in Luxembourg* (Table 11). For the fifth section, only one theme was identified as relevant for the analysis, namely *Luxembourgish as an official language of Luxembourg*. The sixth section links the language policy strategy proposed in the draft law with events that preceded it, namely the 2015 referendum and petitions 698 and 725 of 2016, explicitly stating that the draft law was a reaction of the government. From the seventh section onwards, the overarching theme is *new language policy measures*.

VI.2.2. The Structural-Legal and Social-Functional Interfaces

The first section, titled “Lëtzebuergesch, eng Sprooch!” (=Luxembourgish, a language!) is a metalinguistic discussion of the distinction between language and dialect, as Luxembourgish was subsumed under German during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century in scientific, literary, and popular textual productions. By quoting the 2004 edition of the *Atlas des langues*, according to which the distinction between the dialect and language categories is mainly sociopolitical (illustrated by Max Weinreich’s famous aphorism regarding an army and a navy), the 1984 Language Law is described as the source that performatively makes Luxembourgish a language. Yet it is not regarded as a sudden event, but rather as the culmination of a longer process. Thus, the report states:

Och wa Lëtzebuerg eng Arméi an eng Marinn huet, ass dat net de Critère, deen dozou gefouert huet, datt aus dem *Lëtzebuenger Däitsch* d'Sprooch *Lëtzebuergesch* entstanen ass. Do ass et déi am leschten Alinea ugefouert **legal Demarche**, déi **Lëtzebuergesch als Sprooch definéiert huet**, sou wéi dat och fir d’Romanescht an der Schwäiz de Fall war.

Lëtzebuergesch ass am Sproochegesetz vun 1984 als Sprooch definéiert ginn; **dat war den Ofschluss vun enger Entwécklung**, déi **fir de grouse Public** hiren Depart am **Referendum am Zweete Weltkrich** hat, mat deem d’Nazien **d’Lëtzebuenger zwénge wollten**, **sech als däitsch an däitschsproocheg** ze deklaréieren (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 3; added emphasis)

The basis for the definition of Luxembourgish as a language is thus regarded as mainly social, with a brief mention of structural independence. “Social” is implicitly equated to specific “functions” performed by Luxembourgish in distinct “domains” of life, while “structural” is assumed to be the phono-lexico-grammatical system, or PLG system (Agha, 2015), as implied by the following sentence:

Den aktuellen Zoustand ass awer esou, datt Lëtzebuergesch **strukturell a legal** eng eegestänneg Sprooch duerstellt, déi **funktionell** bedeitend **Aufgaben** an der aldeeglecher Kommunikatioun huet. Lëtzebuergesch huet zanter 1984 offiziell de Statut vun enger Sprooch, vun enger *nationaler Sprooch*. Mee **d’Geschicht an d’Entwécklung vum Lëtzebuergesche gi vill méi wäit zeréck**. Lëtzebuergesch huet am Verlaf vun de leschte Joerzénge wichteg **sozial a funktionell Rollen** an der Kommunikatioun ageholl, dat an enger historiesch gelieferter a gewuessener méisproocheger Situatioun (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 3; added emphasis).

Furthermore, Luxembourgish is defined as an *Ausbausprache*, i.e., as a language in the process of functional expansion, or standardization (see the historical overview above). It is acknowledged that Luxembourgish has been embedded in a multilingual environment that led to its emergence as a language. Interestingly, this sociolinguistic framework is transposed to the legal framework in order to provide a base for the justification of the draft law.

VI.2.2.1. The Social-Functional Interface

The second and third sections are called “Lëtzebuergesch virum zweete Weltkrich” (=Luxembourgish before WWII) and “Lëtzebuergesch nom zweete Weltkrich” (=Luxembourgish after WWII), respectively. It is thus presupposed that WWII is a crucial moment in the development of Luxembourgish. The second section provides an overview of the literary, scientific, and political discourses about Luxembourgish from the beginnings of Luxembourg until

the 20th century. It ties different moments that are considered milestones in the emergence of Luxembourgish as a historical overview.

The third section delves into WWII and post-war events in relation to Luxembourgish. It deals, again, with specific moments that are considered milestones for the ‘development’ of Luxembourgish. The first one overviewed is the census of 1941, where the lexeme *Luxembourgish* was used threefold for nationality, language, and ethnicity (*Volkszugehörigkeit*), instead of the lexeme *German* originally intended by the occupants. It was a sign of resistance that is cited as a milestone. It is demonstrative of the fact that Luxembourgish was enregistered, i.e., recognized by a large social domain, as an identity, a language, and a culture apart from German.

The other events include the Margue/Feltes orthography, the foundation of the language activist association *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch*, the 1984 Language Law, and the use of Luxembourgish as a liturgical language. The idea that written Luxembourgish was not developed enough is formulated as a justification of the uptake of French of those “functions” after WWII, “functions” that were shared with German before the war:

Lëtzebuergesch war net genuch entwéckelt am Schrëftlechen, fir all Beräicher vun der Kommunikatioun ofzedecken. Well nom Krich erëm eng Kéier déi däitsch Sprooch *lingua non grata* war, sinn **d’Funktoun** an de Prestige **vum Franséischen** nach emol staark gewuess; **d’Gesetz** si just nach op Franséisch publizéiert ginn an net wéi virum Krich mat enger däitscher Iwwersetzung. Dat huet net derzou bäigedroen, datt déi Texter bei de Leit gutt verstane gi sinn (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 11; added emphasis).

The “function” of French here refers to the written domains, of which “legislation” is presented as an example. That is, French became the only language available for legislation. Interestingly, this is the only example given that illustrates the reduction of “functions” of German. It is important to note that, despite the negative indexical values of German after the war, most Luxembourgish newspapers kept publishing in German. The last sentence describes the consequences of written legislation in French, presupposing that the majority faced difficulties in their reading comprehension of French.

VI.2.2.2. The Social-Functional and Structural-Legal Interfaces

The ‘development’ of Luxembourgish is formulated as a functional expansion in written domains vis-à-vis an already consolidated “function” in spoken contexts:

Lëtzebuergesch ass gebraucht gi fir **mëndlech** Kommunikatioun. Dëse Rôle huet et och am Enseignement gehat; dat ass haut nach ëmmer esou a Lëtzebuergesch ass wichteg als Integratiounssprooch an de Schoulen. Offiziell war dës **Fonctioun** awer net [...] Nom Echech vun der Schreifweis vun 1946 huet et gedauert, fir d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch virunzeentwéckelen. Et gouf 1975 **eng nei offiziell Orthographie mat engem ministeriellen Arrêté festgeluecht**, déi sech un där inspiréiert huet, déi de Robert Bruch entwéckelt hat fir den éischte Band vum *Luxemburger Wörterbuch*, deem 1950 erauskoum. 1999 koum et **mat engem Règlement grand-ducal zu Adaptatioune vun deene Reegelen** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 12; added emphasis).

Once again, the lexeme “Fonctioun” (=function) surfaces here to refer to the use of Luxembourgish in spoken contexts. Here, it is specifically in the educational system that such a “function” is acknowledged, despite its unofficial character in the 20th century. The verb *virunentwéckelen*, meaning “to develop further” is used in this extract to refer implicitly to the written domains, even though the verb’s argument is *d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch* (=the Luxembourgish language) as a whole. The reporter proceeds to mention the two decrees that legitimated a new orthography in 1975 and its modification in 1999. Backed by the state, the orthography was cemented as the basis of further orthographic reforms. A Janus-faced description of the language as having a “developed” spoken domain and an “underdeveloped” written domain, which bears the risk of creating a false dichotomy between orality and script, characterizes this extract.

VI.2.2.3. Summary

From the first to the third sections, the metalinguistic discourse is informed by an ideology of language where concepts such as *legality*, *sociality*, and *function* play a prominent role. These concepts are extracted from a sociolinguistic framework (as exemplified by the citation of the 2004 *Atlas des langues*), serving as the lens through which a linear historical development of Luxembourgish is formulated. Throughout the three sections, there is an emphasis on the distinction between an “oral function” and a “written function” in a multilingual context (where different languages would ‘neatly’ fulfill specific functions in determined domains). For language policy purposes, it allows for the description of language as that which can be modified from a usage-based approach, which then provides justification for any legislative measures involving language planning.

VI.2.3. Section 4

The fourth section *D’Sproochen ze Lëtzebuerg haut* (=Languages in Luxembourg today) provides an overview of the multilingual situation of Luxembourg. Backed by demographics and statistics

on language use according to age and nationality, the authors attempt to explain the role Luxembourgish plays in a setting characterized by heterogenous language practices among speakers vis-à-vis an officially recognized trilingualism.

The identified theme and subthemes are:

Table 11: Themes of section 4

Multilingualism in Luxembourg
Luxembourgish in a Multilingual Society
Luxembourgish in a Multilingual School System

The overarching theme is *multilingualism in Luxembourg*, with two subthemes regarding the role Luxembourgish plays in a multilingual country and in the school system.

VI.2.3.1. Luxembourgish in a Multilingual Society

The following sentence encapsulates the intersection between the discourse about multilingualism in Luxembourg and the language policy discourse about Luxembourgish:

Déi haiteg Méisproochegkeet huet sech **am Laf vun der Zäit** entwéckelt an ëmmer erëm verännert. De Gebrauch an de Stellewäert vum Lëtzebuergesch hu sech **net duerch Aktiounen vu staatelecher Säit verännert**, mee de Status a Prestige dovun sinn an der Gesellschaft gewuess. **Et fënnt een et haut wichteg**, datt Lëtzebuergesch a senger **mëndlecher a schrëftlecher Form** eng **dominant Roll** an der Gesellschaft **spillt** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 16; added emphasis).

In the first sentence, multilingualism in Luxembourg is situated in a specific time, indexed by the adjective *haiteg* (=current), the development of which is described as gradual and ever-changing. It is not clear whether Luxembourgish is encompassed under multilingualism, or if it is formulated as separate from it in the first and second sentences. Nevertheless, a deontic claim is made without any modal verb expressing normativity. *Fannen* (=to find NP + adj.), inflected for the impersonal construction, conveys either facticity or collective feeling. The temporal indexical adverb *haut* (=today) grounds the claim in a specific period and the following adjective *wichteg* (=important) expresses the value required for the second argument of the verb. The embedded clause explains what is considered important, namely the role of Luxembourgish in society in its written and spoken forms. This role is described as *dominant*. Interpreting the sentence in its entirety leads to

the conclusion that this is a normative claim despite the absence of any modal verb of obligation or duty. In other words, the sentence conveys normativity, yet it is linguistically structured as factual description.

A sentence that stands out after the previous statement is the following:

Lëtzebuergesch war nach ni déi eenzeg Sprooch am Land a kann dat och net sinn! (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2015, p. 16)

Relevant for the analysis is not only the linguistic structure and content, but also the graphic design of this sentence. In comparison to the rest of the text, the sentence is in bold. This indicates emphasis on the message rather than an aesthetic element. Regarding the linguistic structure, the proposition can be easily taken apart: Two clauses make up the sentence, joined by a conjunction. The second clause is elliptic, referring to the subject *Lëtzebuergesch* through the inflected modal verb *kënnen* (=to be able to, can). The sentence ends with an exclamation mark, another sign of emphasis.

The proposition is a factual description that can be interpreted as a normative claim. The negation in the second clause reaffirms the negation of the first clause. The first clause describes that which already occurred (factual description), while the second clause denies any possibility of becoming. If the exclamation mark and the bold font are considered, then the conclusion of the proposition's normativity may be plausible, because of the intensity supposed to be conveyed by these two semiotic elements.

Upon a comparison of this sentence with the last sentence of the previous extract, in which the dominant role of Luxembourgish is considered important, a hierarchy is implied, or a contradiction occurs. This would only mean that the dominance of Luxembourgish is considered either reconcilable with the dominance of other languages in Luxembourgish society, or that Luxembourgish becomes more prominent in society than other languages. This is contingent on interpretation, since both meanings can be attributed to it.

The focus of the next section is the subtheme of the multilingual school system and Luxembourgish.

VI.2.3.2. Luxembourgish in a Multilingual School System

Amid the data presented in tables and graphs regarding the composition of the population and the languages spoken at work, there is a description of the consequences of the language-in-education

policy for disadvantaged school students whose first language is Portuguese. The authors relay a rather critical conclusion:

D'Schoul zu Lëtzebuerg ass **kee soziale Lift no uewen; d'Selektioun no soziale Critèren** ass ganz **staark**. Dozou passt, datt et zu Lëtzebuerg kaum Nofro gëtt, fir Portugisesch ze léieren. Dobäi ass Portugisesch eng vun de verbreetste Sproochen am Land, an och weltwäit no Englesch a mat Spuenesch déi zweetmeescht gebrauchten europäesch Sprooch. Wéi schonns 1848 stellt ee fest, datt den individuelle Gebrauch vun der Sprooch de soziale Standing vun der Persoun erëmgëtt (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 17; added emphasis).

Phrased entirely in present-tense and in third-person constructions, the extract comes across as a mere description of facts. Although it rightly puts salt on the wound of Luxembourg's language-in-education policy, the following sentence, also phrased as a presentation of facts, may imply that a remedy for such inequality is the Luxembourgish language:

Dat ass ëmsou méi wichteg, wéi verschidden Indicateure weisen, datt bei der Jugend **den Intressi um Lëtzebuergesch**, um **geschriwwene Lëtzebuergesch** an de soziale Medien eropgeet. Grad bei **den immigréierte Jugendlechen** ass Lëtzebuergesch dacks d'Kommunikatiounssprooch. **Dat gëtt doduerch favoriséiert**, datt déi Jonk, déi am Alter vun 12 bis 16 Joer an d'Land kommen, an de Lycéeën an de sougenannten Insertiounsklassen opgefaang ginn an do nieft dem Franséischen och **vill Stonne Kommunikatioun a Lëtzebuurger Sprooch** hunn (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p.

This extract follows the preceding paragraphs' structure: present-tense, third-person constructions, and passive voice. Content-wise, ties are established between the increased interest towards Luxembourgish and the inequality of opportunities in the educational system of the preceding extract. The interest young people have towards Luxembourgish is relayed as a fact. However, by linking the previous sentence, i.e., the claim that the social standing of a person is reflected in their use of a specific language in context x or y, to this description of facts, the implication is that Luxembourgish is playing a role of social integration. This is further implied by the mention of the use of Luxembourgish as *Kommunikatiounssprooch* (=language of communication) among immigrant school students. An explanation of this phenomenon is offered by appeal to the language-in-education policy in place for immigrant students between 12-16 years old, which provides language courses in French, German, *and* Luxembourgish.

Section 4 ends with a description of the development of Luxembourgish courses as L1 and as a foreign language in the 21st century, such as the institutionalization of the position "teacher of Luxembourgish" in 2009. The development of textbooks for Luxembourgish as a foreign

language, such as *Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?* and *Wat gelift*, and for Luxembourgish as L1, such as *Lies de Bal* and *Literaresch Welten*, are referred to as current material for the language-in-education policy.

VI.2.3.3. Summary

The overarching theme *multilingualism in Luxembourg* is described as a phenomenon that has developed historically, yet without a linear pattern. Indeed, multilingualism is formulated as ever-changing in Luxembourg. This is contrastive of the overarching theme of the first to the third sections, namely *the linear historical development of Luxembourgish*. Furthermore, contemporary multilingualism is framed according to the relationship between state trilingualism, “new” languages (Portuguese), and Luxembourgish. This relationship manifests in the school system, where the weaknesses of the current language regime become tangible, resulting in student inequality. A transition from the explanatory to the argumentative structure occurs, such that normative claims for the promotion of Luxembourgish in the school system are formulated and justified vis-à-vis the inequality of the system.

VI.2.4. Section 5

Section 5 deals with the presence (or absence) of Luxembourgish at a European scale. It mainly describes the presence of Luxembourgish in the countries surrounding Luxembourg, particularly Belgium and France. Germany is, however, not mentioned, even though Moselle Franconian varieties have traditionally been spoken in the German territory close to Luxembourg. Reparametrization occurs, as the discourse shifts upward to the European scale by providing a linear historical overview of the emergence of the European Union and the recognition of the languages of the member states. Yet the most relevant theme is found in the conclusion, identified here as *Luxembourgish as an official language*. The conclusion was considered the most relevant aspect of the section because of the direct discursive link between Luxembourgish and language policy.

VI.2.4.1. Luxembourgish as an Official Language

The following statement concludes the fifth section:

Am Moment ass et **natierlech** esou, datt **keng Sprooch zu Lëtzebuerg am Gesetz als *langue officielle* bezeechent gëtt**. Mee **Lëtzebuergesch gëtt als Amtssprooch definéiert**, doduerch, datt ee kann op Lëtzebuergesch un eng Administratioun schreiwen an och eng Äntwert an där Sprooch erwaarde kann. Dat huet als Konsequenz, datt **Lëtzebuergesch eng offiziell Sprooch vum Land ass**, grad ewéi **Däitsch a**

Franséisch, och wann dat net *expressis verbis* esou geschriwwen ass (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 19; added emphasis).

The linguistic structure of the text is characterized by passive voice and impersonal constructions, which supports the argumentative structure of factual description. Indeed, the text begins with a description of the lack of explicit declarations of official languages in Luxembourg. The adverb *natierlech* (=of course) indexes the evident facticity of this in the law. In the second sentence, however, it is argued that Luxembourgish is an official language because of the possibility of written communication between public administration and citizens in Luxembourgish (ignoring the famous clause *dans la mesure du possible* that constrains its usage). This possibility is described as an implicit officiality of not only Luxembourgish, but also of French and German. This is exemplary of what Hawkey & Horner (2022) call the *strategic ambiguity* of de jure language policies, an ambiguity that allows for a variety of interpretations regarding the language regime of the country.

The next sections of the EM delve into the proposed language policy measures, directly linking the emergence of the draft law to recent events marked by polarizing discourses about the language regime of Luxembourg.

VI.2.5. Sections 6 and 7

The sixth section is a brief discussion of the 2015 referendum and petitions 698 and 725. It reproduces the text of the referendum and the two petitions as an illustration of their discourses. The seventh section gives a detailed description of the measures proposed as a “strategy” for the language policy concerning Luxembourgish. The description of the measures is first provided in Luxembourgish and then in French. The analysis will not go into details of each measure due to space constraints, rather a brief description and classification of the measures as status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning will ensue.

The theme and subthemes of this section are the following:

Table 12: Theme and subthemes of sections 7 to 9

Proposed Language Policy Measures
Government as Agent of Policy Measures
Luxembourgish vis-à-vis or in Multilingualism

The overarching theme is *proposed language policy measures*. Although there is no change in the discourse and ideologies informing it in the rest of the draft law, the linguistic structure changes from the seventh section onwards. Specifically, the section exhibits a shift from the factual description and impersonal constructions that characterized the previous sections of the EM to deontic modality through verbs (*sollen, wëllen, müssen, sech engagéieren*), future constructions (*wäert*), and the predominance of the NP *d'Regierung* as the agent of the sentence. The distribution of specific lexemes is illustrated in Table 13. As such, one of the subthemes is the *government as agent*, i.e., as the main actor from which the language policy trickles down. The policy measures are described following the balancing act of Luxembourgish and multilingualism. However, Luxembourgish and multilingualism are either described as two different entities or Luxembourgish is encompassed under multilingualism. Therefore, the other subtheme is *Luxembourgish vis-à-vis or in multilingualism*.

Table 13: Occurrence of specific lexemes according to sections 1-6 and sections 7-9

Lexemes	Sections	Tokens
<i>ginn (passive voice)</i>	1-6	40
	7-9	71
<i>gëtt (passive voice)</i>	1-6	20
	7-9	52
<i>gouf(en) (passive voice)</i>	1-6	31
	7-9	11
<i>gëllen (et gëllt...)</i>	1-6	0
	7-9	1
<i>solle(n)</i>	1-6	4
	7-9	12
<i>soll</i>	1-6	8
	7-9	10
<i>sollt(en)</i>	1-6	7
	7-9	0
<i>wäert(en)</i>	1-6	0

	7-9	9
<i>wëllt/wëllen</i>	1-6	1
	7-9	4
<i>musse(n)</i>	1-6	2
	7-9	5
<i>muss</i>	1-6	4
	7-9	2
<i>misst(en)</i>	1-6	1
	7-9	1
<i>sech engagéiert/engagéieren</i>	1-6	0
	7-9	4
<i>Regierung</i>	1-6	1
	7-9	25

Note: out of the 8 occurrences of *soll* from the first to the sixth section, 6 occur in quotes from historical figures or from petition 698; out of the 4 tokens of *muss* from the first to the sixth sections, 3 occur in quotes from historical figures or from petition 698.

The introduction to the seventh section directly links the language policy strategy of the government to the 2015 referendum and petitions 698 and 725. Indeed, the strategy is described as a reaction to the implicit and explicit deontic claims made in the discourses that circulated widely through the referendum and the two petitions. Furthermore, the participation framework becomes explicit by shifting to the *Regierung* (=government) as the principal. From the seventh section onwards, the NP *d'Regierung* is the subject that indexes the origo, i.e., from *where* and from *whom* the discourse is produced:

Et war **d'Äntwert vun der Regierung** op déi **Entwécklungen an Diskussiounen vun 2015 an 2016**. Am Mäerz 2017 gouf e Strategiepaper fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch ugeholl, **deen awer och d'Importanz vun der Villsproochegkeet ënnerstrach huet** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 21; added emphasis).

The first sentence does not make any sense without linking it to the title of the seventh section, namely *De Strategiepaper vun der Regierung 2017* (=2017 Government Strategy). Formulated as a factual description, the first sentence is a presentation as well as a justification of the language

policy measures to be listed. The embedded clause of the second sentence points to the equal status assigned to the other element, namely multilingualism. The significance of multilingualism is not to be neglected under the new language policy strategy.

Once again, the tension between the recognition of the Luxembourgish language (manifested here as the promotion of the language in a new language policy strategy) and the acknowledgement of multilingualism comes to the fore. This time, the reconciliation of the two is manifested in language policy measures framed from the civic model of the nation. Moreover, the balancing act is framed as a synthesis of the opposing ideologies that formed the backdrop for the argumentation of the two petitions, a compromising discourse that has appeared previously in language policy debates (cf. Péporté et al., 2010, pp. 305-307).

Following the short introduction to section 7 is a subsection subtitled *Eng laangfristeg Sproochen- a Kulturpolitik* (=a longterm language and cultural policy). Although the opening paragraph exhibits both subthemes, it was divided for the purpose of legibility.

VI.2.5.1. Government as Agent of Language Policy Measures

D'Regierung erkennt d'Wichtigkeet vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch als **Kommunikatiouns-, Integratiouns- a literaresch Sprooch un. Och wann et scho vill Moossname gëtt**, fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch ze **fërderen**, wëllt **d'Regierung** hiert Engagement fir d'Sprooch **nach eng Kéier verstärken** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

The paragraph begins with the NP *d'Regierung* (=the government) as agent of the verb *unerkennen* (=to recognize), which has as its object another NP, *d'Wichtigkeet vun...* (=the importance of...). The government now directly addresses the reader. There is a presupposition of the division of functions of Luxembourgish (communication, integration, and literature), which the government as agent says to recognize. The second sentence consists of two clauses in a contrast established by the adverbial phrase *och wann* (=even though). The second clause is characterized by the conditional inflection of the modal verb *wëllen* (=to want) and the adverbial phrase *nach eng Kéier*. The first clause presupposes the sufficiency of language policy measures for the promotion of Luxembourgish. The second clause is characterized by the presupposition of the government's support for Luxembourgish through the adverbial phrase *nach eng Kéier*. Such abundance of measures is untrue, as attested by the analysis of previous language policy texts. But the use of the two adverbial phrases positions the government as a highly engaged actor in language policy matters concerning Luxembourgish.

VI.2.5.2. Luxembourgish vis-à-vis Multilingualism

Mee och d'Méisproochegkeet ass eng Charakteristik vu Lëtzebuerg. Nieft dem Lëtzebuergesch, dem Däitschen an dem Franséische sinn am Alldag **nach aner Sproochen** am Gebrauch. **Zesumme präge si d'Identitéit vun eisem Land an droen e wesentlechen Deel zur sozialer Kohäsioun bäi.** Dofir engagéiert sech d'Regierung mat der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch och gläichzäiteg fir d'Promotioun vun der Méisproochegkeet (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

The first sentence establishes another contrast, this time between two referents, Luxembourgish and multilingualism, through the conjunction *mee* (=but) and the adverb *och* (=too, as well). In the second sentence, reparametrization occurs: Rather than encompassing Luxembourgish into *multilingualism*, they are predicated upon as separate entities linked to Luxembourg. Thus, Luxembourgish and multilingualism are encompassed under *Luxembourg* as both requiring a language policy strategy. In the fourth sentence, multilingualism is illustrated according to the trilingual state policy, with the addition of Portuguese and *other languages* (*aner Sproochen*).

Languages are considered separate entities (or systems) that circulate through their usage. Yet the implicit language diversity addressed is described in the fifth sentence as not only a factor of social order, but also as a cultural characteristic of Luxembourg. Based on this argument, the language policy strategy is to be designed towards both the specific case of Luxembourgish and multilingualism. The last sentence shows the positionality of the government as an agent of the metapragmatic verb *sech engagéieren* (=to commit to sth.) as a commissive speech act. The separation of Luxembourgish and multilingualism as distinct phenomena allows the government to define the main goal of the language policy strategy as the promotion of Luxembourgish *and* multilingualism.

Nevertheless, inevitable ambiguity arises due to the unspecified content of *Méisproochegkeet*. It is presupposed in the argumentation that multilingualism consists of the use of multiple distinct languages in a given chronotope. Following this argumentation, the promotion of multilingualism would need to have measures entirely of its own for each language. A likelier interpretation is, however, that the *concept* of multilingualism is to be promoted, not any particular language besides Luxembourgish. Strategic or not, this ambiguous formulation is reminiscent of the concept developed by Hawkey & Horner (2022), as mentioned in subsection VI.2.4.1.

The next section illustrates how the overarching theme and its subthemes become most explicit by the individual description of each measure in section 7 of the EM.

VI.2.5.3. Proposed Language Policy Measures

Following the subsection *Eng laangfristeg Sproochen- a Kulturpolitik* are four policy goals that roughly correspond to status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. These policy goals are titled *Véier stark Engagementer vun der Regierung* (=Four strong commitments of the Government), followed by a sentence in active voice where the Government is said to commit “concretely” to the following four measures:

- 1) To strengthen the importance of Luxembourgish,
- 2) To further the norming (=Norméierung), usage, and the study of Luxembourgish
- 3) To promote the learning of the language and the culture
- 4) To promote culture in the Luxembourgish language.

Goals 1 and 4 correspond roughly to status planning. Goal 2 corresponds to corpus planning and goal 3 to acquisition planning. Regarding the measures to be taken for the realization of such goals, a list of 40 measures is presented. A synthesis of the 40 measures is provided in Tables 14 and 15 according to their correspondence to corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning. Out of these 40 measures, three are overarching. In other words, a proposed 20-year plan for the promotion of Luxembourgish and the foundation of the Commissioner and the ZLS are included as measures. The 20-year plan is the main guideline for the language policy strategy, while the Commissioner and the ZLS are actors that implement such measures. Thus, these three have been left out of Tables 14 and 15.

Table 14: Status planning and corpus planning measures

Status Planning	Corpus Planning
<p>Possibility of written communication between EU institutions and citizens in Luxembourgish</p> <p>Establishment of Luxembourgish as the national language in the Constitution</p> <p>Documentation of the linguistic history of Luxembourgish in a multilingual environment</p> <p>Translation of governmental internet sites into Luxembourgish</p> <p>Financial support for cultural projects promoting Luxembourgish and language diversity</p> <p>Declaration of a National Day of Luxembourgish language and culture</p> <p>Foundation of a national Price for Services in favor of the Luxembourgish language</p>	<p>Improvement of the Lëtzebuerger Online Dictionnaire</p> <p>Norming of orthography and grammar according to themes determined by the Commissioner and the CPLL</p> <p>Continued support for a helpline on matters of Luxembourgish stylistics or translation</p> <p>An inventory of all measures published in a platform featuring projects and financial support</p> <p>Cooperation between universities</p> <p>Support for a study about youth language and communication</p>
<p>Emphasis on the importance of cultural institutions in the preservation of Luxembourgish as cultural patrimony</p> <p>Public dissemination of research on the linguistic situation of Luxembourg</p>	

Elementary school	Secondary school	Adult education
Luxembourgish in nurseries (alongside French)	Complementary teaching material for LFL	Further development of teacher trainers
Adaptation of Luxembourgish in 1st school cycle (elementary school)	Support for fostering literacy in Luxembourgish through an anthology of renowned texts, with a pedagogical focus	Increase in countrywide offer of Luxembourgish courses (in collaboration with municipalities)
Creation of a program and teaching material for Luxembourgish-as-foreign-language (LFL) for children	Optional course on orthography	Improvement of teaching material (mainly for LFL) for higher levels (A2-B2)
Production of multilingual teaching material	Optional course on Luxembourgish culture and literature	New offer of Luxembourgish courses for people with asylum seeker status (DPI) or beneficiaries of international protection (BPI)
Obligatory Luxembourgish courses in international schools of Luxembourg	Optional course on creative writing in Luxembourgish	A paid leave with the aim of learning or improving Luxembourgish language skills (<i>congé linguistique</i>)
Literary contest for children's literature	Obligatory Luxembourgish courses in international schools of Luxembourg	<p>Reinforcement of learning Luxembourgish and one of the other two recognized languages for those working in the family, social, and therapeutic sector</p> <p>Expanded offer of Luxembourgish courses for hospital personnel</p> <p>Continuation of the <i>Contrat d'accueil et d'integration</i>, led by the <i>Office luxembourgeois de l'accueil et de l'integration</i> (OLAI) which offers language courses and a necessary civics course for those wishing to participate in Luxembourgish society</p> <p>Continuation of the <i>Lëtzebuurger Integratiouns- a Sozialkohäsiounscenter</i> that complements the CLAI</p> <p>Luxembourgish courses for older people living in Luxembourg</p>

	Continuation of research led by the <i>Université de la Grande Région</i> , which gathers five regions and six universities.
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Table 15: Acquisition planning measures

The tables show a disparity in the proposed measures between the three language planning schemes. Notably, acquisition planning may seem like an exhaustive list of measures in comparison to corpus planning and status planning. The reason for this impression is not so much the comprehensiveness of the measures, but rather the more detailed organization of the acquisition planning measures according to the elementary school, secondary school, and adult education domains. No such division is provided for the other two language planning schemes.

Although at first sight there might seem to be a lack of institutional transparency in the language policy strategy, there is a description of each actor with respective tasks in the text of the draft law provided after the EM. These are mainly the *Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language*, the *Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch*, and the *Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise*. A noteworthy absence is the *Service de Coordination de la Recherche et de l'Innovation pédagogiques et technologiques*, which oversees the development of curricula and didactic material for the Luxembourgish school system.

VI.2.5.4. Government as Agent of Language Policy Measures

The measures are framed as the result of the decision-making of the Government. Particularly, the NP *Regierung* occurs as either the agent of the verb or is phrased in a way that expresses the will of the government. The measures are formulated as necessities or as normative goals expressed through the modal verbs *sollen* and *mussen*. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the commitment of the government expressed through the NP *Engagement*, through the verb *sech engagéieren*, or through the future verbal construction with *wäert*. Some examples are found in the first five measures, extracts of which are reproduced here and divided according to the distribution of linguistic features:

- **Necessity**

Well dëst praktesch all d'Beräicher vun der Ëffentlechkeet an och all d'Ministère concernéiert, ass **d'Regierung der Meenung**, datt et dofir **muss** eng eenheetlech Strategie ginn, déi vun alle gedroe gëtt an op déi all hischaffen (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

- **Commitment**

Fir dësen 20-Joresplang auszeschaffen an **der Regierung hiren Engagement fir d'Lëtzebuergesch nach weider ze stäerken**, gëtt de Poste vun engem Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch geschafen (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

- **Necessity/Normative Goal**

An eiser méisproocheger a multikultureller Gesellschaft huet d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch e ganz besonnesche Stellewäert: Si ass Kommunikatiouns-, Integratiouns- a literaresch Sprooch zugläich. Dëse Stellewäert **gëllt et** net nëmmen ze erhalen, mee och ze stäerken. **Dofir ass d'Regierung der Meenung**, dass d'Lëtzebuergesch als Nationalsprooch an der Verfassung **soll verankert ginn** (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

- **Future Actions as Commitment**

Dës Strategie fir d'Fördere vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch **wäert** zesumme mat allen Acteure vun eiser Gesellschaft ausgeschafft ginn (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 22; added emphasis).

D'Regierung wäert mat den europäeschen Institutiounen Negociatiounen ophuelen, fir mat hinnen en Accord iwwert en „arrangement administratif“ ze fannen, esou wéi en an de Conclusiounen vum EU-Conseil ënnert der Lëtzebuenger Presidence 2005 festgehale gouf (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 23; added emphasis).

Before the authors delve into the description of each proposed measure, the promotion of Luxembourgish is once again placed in the multilingual setting of Luxembourg.

VI.2.5.5. Luxembourgish in Multilingualism

Nieft dësen iwwegeuerdente Mesuren huet d'Regierung eng ganz Rei vun Initiativen ergraff, fir d'Roll vum Lëtzebuergesch – ëmmer am Kontext vun der méisproocheger Situatioun am Land – an der Gesellschaft ze stäerken (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 23; added emphasis).

The clause in em dashes serves as a clarification that the promotion of the language is framed according to the multilingual context. Indeed, Luxembourgish is reparametrized, this time it is not separated from multilingualism, but encompassed under it.

VI.2.6. Summary

The discourse analysis has focused on sections 5 to 7. The affirmation of the officiality of Luxembourgish in section 5 is based on the possibility of written communication between public administrations and citizens. A specific register, i.e., written Luxembourgish for administrative

purposes, is considered the threshold for the implicit officiality of a language in Luxembourg. Thus, all three languages are official, according to this reductionist definition. Such an interpretation is the result of the ambiguity of the Language Law of 1984. Indeed, its ambiguity allows for various interpretations according to the ideologies of language of the interpreter. Thus, it can be just as well denied that Luxembourgish, French, and German are official languages based on the same argument, i.e., that administrative written communication is not enough to deem a language as official.

The language policy strategy is linked to the referendum of 2015 and the petitions of 2016 in sections 6 and 7. The thematic analysis identified *Proposed language policy measures* as the overarching theme, with the two subthemes *Government as agent of policy measures* and *Luxembourgish vis-à-vis or in multilingualism*. Because of the sheer number of measures and their description, a synthesis of the measures has been provided in Tables 14 and 15. Only select extracts have been subject to a discourse analysis as examples of the predominant discourses and ideologies of the section. An analysis of each measure would have proven not only derivative, but also illegible.

While section 7 delves into a description of the language policy measures, these are formulated through specific linguistic features that show a shift from previous sections, as illustrated in Table 13. Indeed, certain aspects of the linguistic structure preceding section 7 change. The NP *(d')Regierung* features extensively in the section, particularly as the agent of the verb in extracts of policy measures. This is accompanied by a predominance of deontic modality through *sollen* and *mussen* (with one occurrence of *gëllen* as verb of necessity), and commitment through the NP *Engagement*, the verb *sech engagéieren*, or future constructions with *wäert*.

The discourse analysis of section 7 has shown that the Government, as principal of the discourse relayed by the two authors, positions itself in the draft law as the main actor driving the policy design and implementation processes. Although it is stated that the language policy strategy will be developed with “all the actors of our society”, the Government is situated at the top, from which the policy design then trickles down. It is a collaborative top-down approach to language policy. This is explicitly stated in both the Luxembourgish and French versions of the legal text provided after the EM, with some minor differences in wording between the two versions.

VI.3. Synthesis of Legal Text of the Draft Law

This approach is called the *transversal policy of the Government*, as indicated in the first article of the legal text of the draft law, a formulation that was kept in the approved law:

La politique de la langue luxembourgeoise est une approche **transversale** du Gouvernement (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 41; added emphasis).

The use of the contracted article *du* following *transversale* indicates a relation of belonging. When incorporating the subject of the clause into the analysis, the result is a top-down language policy. Interestingly, the translation to Luxembourgish of the first article uses different wording:

D'Politik iwwer d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch gött **transversal** vun der Regierung ëmgesat (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 37; added emphasis).

The translation does not feature a copula nor an equivalent for *approche*. Rather, the clause is constructed in passive voice, ending with the participle *ëmgesat* (=implemented). Up to here, the message seems to be equivalent in both versions, with the difference that the French text (the one considered binding) makes no explicit mention of implementation. Most importantly for this hermeneutic exercise is the lexeme *transversal*. The definition of 'transversal' is paramount because it characterizes the kind of language policy to be implemented.

In order to understand the transversal policy of the government, it is necessary to provide a brief summary of the legal text.

The text consists of three chapters, which are:

- 1) Objectives and realization of the language policy of Luxembourgish
- 2) Organization and missions of the different bodies in the language policy of Luxembourgish
- 3) Amending, abrogative, transitional, and final provisions (shortened in the approved law by removing "abrogative")

The first chapter delineates the four policy goals described above and mentions the 20-year plan of action. The second chapter founds the position of Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language, the interministerial committee accompanying this position, and the Center for the Luxembourgish language. Each institution is dedicated a section in the chapter, where the responsibilities and composition of each are determined. Furthermore, the CPLL is renewed with a consultative function, i.e., they give their opinion on matters concerning the execution of the language planning measures, on the rules regarding the orthography, the grammar, the phonetics

and “good usage” (= *bon usage*) of Luxembourgish, and on any bills (*projets de loi* and *propositions de loi*) concerning Luxembourgish and the language situation of Luxembourg. The third chapter describes all the necessary annulments, amendments, transitional provisions (until the approval of the law), and final provisions of the law. Most importantly, all articles relevant for this research remained unchanged in the approved law. Having explained the main aspects of the text, the transversal policy can now be elucidated.

Transversal is a geometric concept understood as the condition of a line cutting across a longitudinal axis. More generally, it also has the usage of something that cuts across something else. Importantly, the adjective is used figuratively in the French-speaking world to refer to something that cuts across various sectors or disciplines. This figurative usage likely corresponds to the usage of transversal in the text. According to this interpretation, a *transversal* language policy would mean a top-down approach that, however, groups different layers of the state and of civil society in the design and implementation of the policy.

The section *Commentaire des Articles* (=Commentary of the Articles) provides more details about the transversal policy of the government. In the commentary of the first article of the legal text, the following statement is given:

L'article 1er, alinéa 1er, consacre les quatre pierres angulaires sur lesquels est fondée **la politique transversale** de la langue luxembourgeoise du Gouvernement [...] Dans ses alinéas 2 et 3, l'article 1er instaure **l'obligation pour le Gouvernement d'adopter un plan d'action** sur la langue luxembourgeoise et définit son champ d'application temporel. Il ressort de la disposition que le Gouvernement est, dans **la mise en oeuvre** de la politique de la langue luxembourgeoise, **épaulé** par les intervenants instaurés par la présente loi et que **le plan d'action détermine des lignes directrices** en vue de la mise en oeuvre de cette politique (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 45; added emphasis).

In the first and second sentences, the transversal policy is linked to the obligation assigned to the government of developing an action plan and determining its application in a specific timeframe. The government is thus the point of departure of the policy design process. The implementation of the policy is addressed in the third sentence through the NP *la mise en oeuvre*. In the implementation process, the government is supported (*épaulé*) by the institutions that would be founded upon the approval of the draft law, namely the Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language, the ZLS, and the CPLL. The plan of action, that is, the 20-year plan for the promotion of Luxembourgish, is the guideline for the implementation of the policy. Thus, the government and these institutions are defined as the main drivers of policy design and implementation. Insofar

as the new institutions were a product of this draft law proposed by the government, the main actor is effectively the government.

The commentary of the sixth article of the legal text describes how the Commissioner is to be supported by an interministerial committee due to the transversal character of the policy. However, most important for the elucidation of the transversal policy is the commentary of the seventeenth article:

De par sa nature même, la politique sur la langue luxembourgeoise revêt un **caractère transversal** exigeant du titulaire de la fonction de commissaire à la langue luxembourgeoise de faire preuve de **connaissances transversales**. En effet, pour pouvoir assumer ses missions, le commissaire doit non seulement **connaître les priorités du Gouvernement, soutenir par son expérience et son savoir-faire le Gouvernement** dans l'**exécution de la politique** sur la langue luxembourgeoise, mais doit également disposer d'une sensibilité pour les difficultés rencontrées en matière de l'emploi et de la promotion de la langue luxembourgeoise (Folscheid & Barthelemy, 2017, p. 46; emphasis added).

As stated in the second sentence, the requirements of the position of commissioner are tied to the goals of the government in the implementation of the policy, expressed through the modal verb *doit* (must) and the verbal phrases *connaître les priorités du Gouvernement* (=know the priorities of the government) and *soutenir...le Gouvernement* (=to support... the government) in the implementation (*exécution*) of the policy. Because of these requirements, the government is clearly the main actor in terms of the lines that must be followed for the policy design and implementation.

VI.3.1. Summary

The transversal language policy is a top-down approach to policy. The Government establishes the priorities. The language policy design and implementation processes are, however, a collaborative effort by multiple public actors, such as the Commissioner, the ZLS, and the CPLL. Because the collaborative effort is subject to the priorities determined by the government, the policy of the promotion of the Luxembourgish language is defined here as a collaborative top-down approach. It is characterized by the oversight of the executive branch and by the inclusion of multiple actors in various institutional layers in the design and implementation processes. Nevertheless, the government ultimately calls the tune regarding the path to be taken in the design and implementation of the policy, or at least its role is described as such in the de jure language policy.

The next section delves into the language-in-education policy of Luxembourg. After a description of the education system of Luxembourg, two course programs of Luxembourgish as L1 stand at the center of the analysis.

VI.4. Education System of Luxembourg: An Overview

Luxembourg's education system is renowned for its strong focus on language learning, with German and French featuring as main languages of instruction. In order to understand the organization of language teaching in the school system, a brief overview of the school system structure is necessary. The focus lies on the language-in-education policy of the school system.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has almost 160 public schools and almost a dozen private schools. Schooling is compulsory from the age of 4 until the age of 16.³⁰ However, since the introduction of early childhood education (*éducation précoce*) in 1998, free and optional schooling is offered for children 3 to 4 four years old (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 14). Furthermore, there are subsidized collective education and childcare facilities (*maisons relais* and *foyers scolaires*) regulated by a childcare cheque scheme, called *chèque-service-accueil* that coexist with private childcare facilities (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 25).

As part of the will to reinforce the link between formal and non-formal education, childcare facilities have also gained a pedagogical dimension, regulated by a National Reference Framework on Non-Formal Education (*Cadre de référence nationale sur l'éducation non formelle des enfants et des jeunes*), which includes since 2017 a plurilingual education program introducing children to Luxembourgish and French while also encouraging them to express themselves in their home language (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, pp. 14-15).

There are various coexisting structures in Luxembourg's school landscape. The national public school system (discussed below) coexists with an international public school system and private schools. For primary education, six international public schools offer an educational pathway based on a European curriculum from primary school, with a French-, a German-, or an English-speaking section. One international public school offers the International English Curriculum (Cambridge). Some private schools follow the national curriculum, with other private schools

³⁰ In 2022, the Minister of Education proposed a law that made schooling mandatory until the age of 18. However, its enforcement will take roughly three years after the publication of the law (Morizet, 2022)

having their own. Two European schools are intended for the children of EU staff (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 28).

For secondary school education, three public international schools follow an international curriculum for secondary school, which leads to the International Baccalaureate (two in French and one in English). One secondary school follows the International English curriculum (Cambridge). Five private schools follow the national curriculum, one follows the International Baccalaureate in French, with another offering it in English. Furthermore, three schools follow France's official curriculum, and the two European schools also have secondary school education. A visual overview is provided in Figure 9.

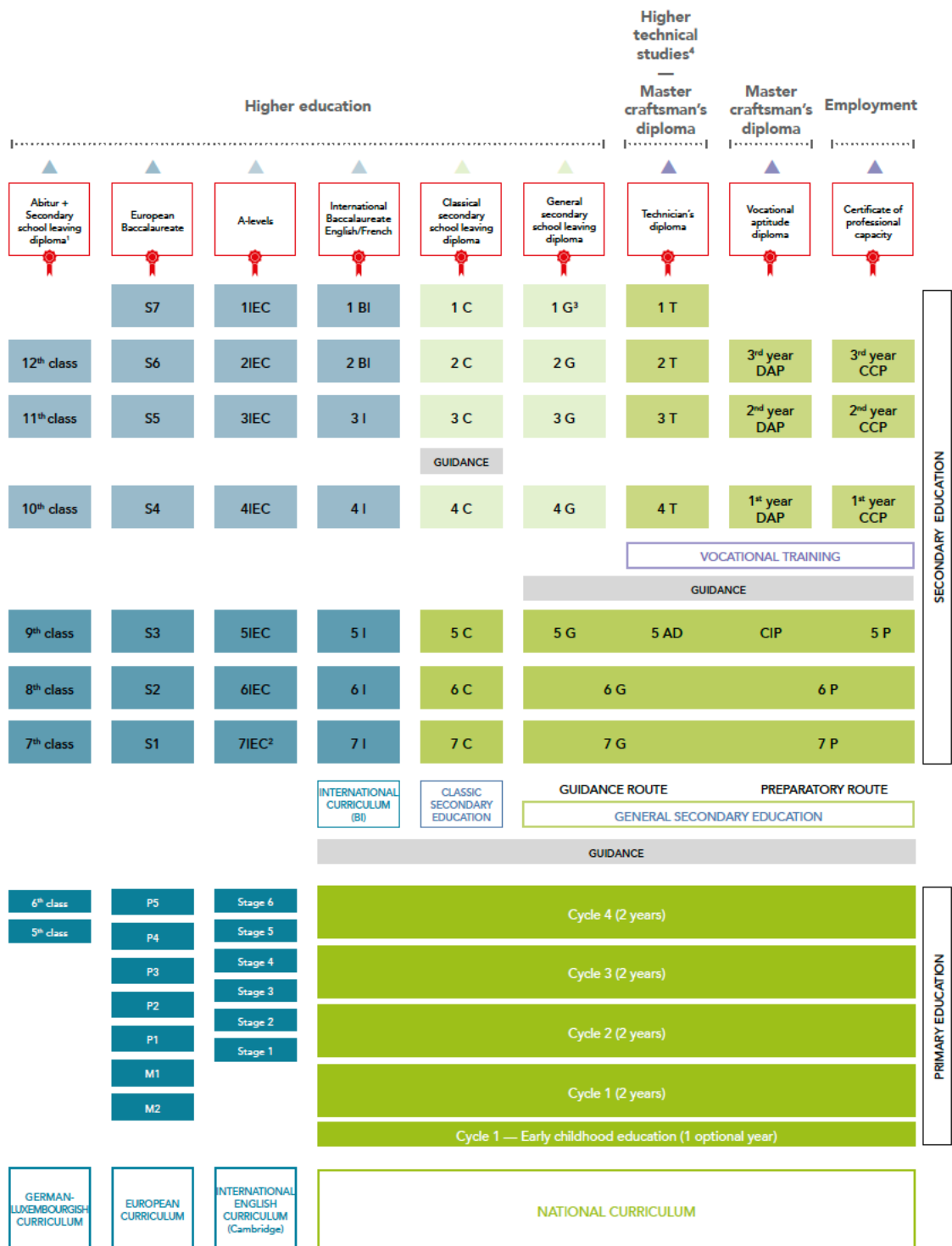


Figure 9: Overview of School Systems in Luxembourg (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 24)

VI.4.1. Public National School System

The organization of primary education is based on various levels of responsibility. At the top of the teacher hierarchy lie the directors. There are fifteen directorates for primary education, each headed by a director, who represents the teachers of each directorate and serves as the contact person for parents. There is a panel called the *collège des directeurs de l'enseignement fondamental* for regular meetings among the directors. Regarding schools themselves, they each have a school committee comprised of members elected from the school staff. The president of the committee serves for five years and is responsible for the supervision of the school and for the oversight of the relations between the municipality and the parents of the school students. Furthermore, parents elect at least two parent representatives for three years. These representatives meet with the school committee at least three times a year to talk through the organization of the school and the development plan. Finally, each class of school students is headed by a teacher called the *titulaire*. There are teaching teams comprised of teachers and other educational staff responsible for a single cycle, which meet according to a cycle coordinator (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 27).

At the municipal level, there are school commissions that oversee the implementation of the organization of the school and the development plan, plus review the school budget and the extracurricular supervision plan (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 28). At a national level, there are national commissions for elementary education (commissions nationales de l'enseignement fondamental) which are responsible for updating and developing the school syllabi (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 27).

Development plans (*plan de développement de l'établissement scolaire*) are created by each primary and secondary school in conjunction with the parents. They are redesigned every three years. Development plans have the aim of addressing the main challenges and priorities of each school. Each development plan establishes at least one goal to be achieved by the school. In primary education, the design of each development plan is aided by 15 teachers specialized in school development. The organization of secondary schools has some differences that lead to different design and implementation processes of the development plans.

Each secondary school has a director (appointed by the Grand Duke based on a proposal by the government) responsible for the good functioning of the school. At a national level, directors and deputy directors meet (called the *collège des directeurs de l'enseignement secondaire*). There are various structures that have a consultative, an elaboration, or an implementational function. These

are the class council (*conseil de classe*), the school conference (*conférence du lycée*), the school inclusion commission (*commission d'inclusion scolaire*), the school development unit (*cellule de développement scolaire*), the orientation unit (*cellule d'orientation*), the school students committee (*comité des élèves*), and the education council (*conseil d'éducation*). Moreover, there are two services called the Psychosocial and Scholastic Assistance Service (or *SePAS*), which oversees activities for the wellbeing of the school students, and the socio-educational service (*service socio-éducatif*), which works alongside the *SePAS* or forms a part of it and organizes extracurricular activities. In a similar fashion to the *titulaire*, each class is headed by a teacher (*regent de classe*) nominated by the school director from the teachers of that class. The development plan is designed and implemented by the school development unit in conjunction with the education council (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 36).

Despite this multi-layered education policy process, the language-in-education policy in the public national school system is homogeneous throughout the school system, with some recent changes, as is shown below.

VI.4.2. Primary and Secondary School

The public school system of Luxembourg comprises two main levels, primary education and secondary education. The curriculum follows a competence-based approach guided by *socles de compétences* (translated as *skills bases* in the consulted text). It is necessary to achieve certain competences in order to progress in school (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 26).

Primary education is divided into four two-year long cycles:

- 1) Cycle 1:
 - a. (optional) early childhood education (3-year-olds) and pre-school education (4- and 5-year-olds).
 - b. Language teaching: the main aim is the development of oral skills in Luxembourgish. Children are also introduced to French, which is framed as a continuation of the plurilingual education program introduced in 2017 in the optional early childhood education offer (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 16).
- 2) Cycles 2 to 4 are for children aged between 6 and 11:

- a. Language teaching: German is the language of literacy (*langue d'alphabétisation*).³¹ It is the language of instruction for all subjects except French.³² Cycle 2 continues the focus on the development of oral skills in French as preparation for the development of written skills in cycles 3 and 4. Furthermore, Luxembourgish language and literature is taught for one hour a week.
- b. Newly arrived children or school students who do not have proficiency in Luxembourgish or German upon the start of school can receive language support classes (*cours d'accueil*) for Luxembourgish and/or German.

Secondary education is divided between the classical and the general. Both cover a period of seven years, marked regressively in the public national school system (7th year is the first and the 1st is the last). The transition from primary to classical or general is contingent on an orientation procedure between the class teacher (*titulaire*) and the parent(s) of the child. In case of disagreement on the child's secondary education path, an orientation commission holds a meeting to decide on the matter (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 27).

Classical and general secondary education have some differences in structure and in language-in-education policy:

- 1) Classical secondary education: focus on general knowledge and skills as a preparation for higher and university studies
 - a. Language teaching: German is the language of instruction for the first three years. From the fourth year onwards, French is the language of instruction for all subjects except German and the other language chosen.
 - b. At the end of the fourth year, students choose a subject area that then provides specialized courses on the subject (called *sections*). There are currently ten subject areas named with letters (A to R). In section A (modern languages), Luxembourgish is offered as an optional course.

³¹ This is built on the assumption that teaching Luxembourgish in cycle 1 would be helpful as a steppingstone to learn German due to their linguistic similarity (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 16).

³² A pilot project in four primary schools that made French the language of literacy began in the 2022/2023 school year. Language teaching is reversed: cycle 2 focuses on the development of oral skills in German, with cycles 3 and 4 focusing on written skills in German (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 16).

2) General secondary education: focus lies on professional education. It is divided between the guidance route and the preparatory route. The latter is intended for students who have not achieved the necessary competences at the end of primary school. It is based on modules instead of subjects in order to develop skills at the students' pace (Luxembourg Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth, 2023, p. 34). After the first three years, students choose to either follow one of five streams (called *divisions*), which are subdivided into subject areas or vocational training:

- a. Language teaching: In the first three years, German is the language of instruction of all subjects except mathematics (taught in French). Afterwards, German remains the language of instruction with the exception of a few subjects taught in French.

In secondary school, Luxembourgish was taught for one hour in the 7th year. Since 2022, the Luxembourgish course has been moved to the 4th year, which entailed changes in the course program. In public international schools, Luxembourgish is offered in primary schools and in secondary schools according to the division between *beginners* and *advanced*.

The next section is a discourse analysis of two course programs for Luxembourgish as a content subject, namely the 2008 program and the 2018 program. Unfortunately, the most recent course programs for Luxembourgish could not be obtained in the context of this research.

VI.5. Language-in-education policy: A comparison of two programs

The course program for Luxembourgish as a content subject was updated in 2018. A comparative analysis of the 2018 program with a previous program from 2008 sheds light on changes in the ideology of language shaping the language-in-education policy of Luxembourg. There are seemingly minor changes, with certain omissions in the newer program that may be indicative of a push for standardization. The 2008 program is the reference point for the 2018 program. By serving as a reference point, the 2008 program establishes itself as the source of future intertextual connections. As such, the 2018 program is an intertext that sources directly the 2008 program, not without going through some changes along the way.

The fragments in bold on the 2008 program are either omitted or rephrased in the 2018 program, while the underlined fragments point to such changes, added content, or rephrasing. It can be argued that such differences are minimal. In terms of policy implementation, they may be. Nevertheless, these changes, however small, carry heavy ideological weight. The omissions in the

2018 program speak loudly. Indeed, such silences may be heralds of a potential shift in the discourse of Luxembourgish in language-in-education policy and the ideologies that inform it. The texts are presented side by side in the following discourse analysis.

<p>D'pädagogesch Aarbecht vum Fach Lëtzebuergesch soll doranner bestoen, den Elèven op 7 e ze weisen, datt d'Lëtzebuenger Land eng eege Sprooch a Literatur huet.</p>	<p>D'pädagogesch Aarbecht vum Fach Lëtzebuergesch <u>besteet</u> doranner, de <u>Schüler</u> ze weisen, datt d'Lëtzebuenger Land eng eege Sprooch, Literatur a <u>Kultur</u> huet.</p>
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The first sentence is rephrased, and a word is added in the 2018 program. While in the 2008 program the inflected modal verb *soll* is made use of, it is omitted in the 2018 program. This modal verb may be understood as expressing a recommendation rather than an obligation, which might have led to its elimination in the newer program. The sole use of the verb *bestoen* in an inflected manner indicates a factual description of the course objectives. The addition of the NP *Kultur* points to an extension of the definition of that which pertains to the *Luxembourgish country*, which may be interpreted as equating the country with a single culture, language, and literature. If such an interpretation is held, then this equation faces a contradiction in the next few sentences.

<p>Dozou muss een de Schüler och déi wichtegst Etappen an der Geschicht vun eisem Land bäibringen, fir datt se déi speziell Situatioun vun haut verstoe kënnen</p>	<p>Dozou muss een de Schüler och déi wichtegst Etappe vun der Geschicht vum <u>Lëtzebuenger Land</u> bäibréngen, fir datt si déi speziell Situatioun vun haut verstoe kënnen</p>
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The change of the possessive pronoun *eis* to the NP *Lëtzebuenger Land* is reparametrization. In this case, it is an encompassing strategy that anonymizes the voice of the text and goes beyond any possible distinction between an *us* vs. *them*. While drafting the 2018 program, the use of the pronoun *eis* in the 2008 program might have been interpreted as an exclusionary pronoun establishing a contrast between a Luxembourgish *type* vis-à-vis non-Luxembourgers. By rephrasing it to *Lëtzebuenger Land*, the aim might have been a generalization effacing any contrast between a unitary identity and alterity.

<p>Ënnerscheeder zu de groussen Nopeschsproochen</p> <p>Däitsch a Franséisch sollen erausgeschafft ginn</p>	<p>∅</p>
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This is the first omission of the text. There is an underlying assumption in both: the need to distinguish Luxembourgish from German and French, or the lack thereof. Through the modal verb *sollen*, a recommendation is given to establish unnamed differences between the languages. An axis of differentiation is created, in which the main contrasted qualities are *small* vs. *big*. Luxembourgish is implicitly described as small, whereas French and German are explicitly called big. While French and German are explicitly labeled metapragmatically, Luxembourgish is not. The message is: Luxembourgish should be its own type as a language distinct from the big neighboring languages. The omission of the passage in the newer program may index this possibility: the effects that the ongoing standardization of Luxembourgish has had in the language-in-education policy, here the implicit recognition of Luxembourgish as a standard language (thus, there would be no need to point to differences between the languages).

<p>Duerch d'Wiel vun den Texter soll och klor ervirgoen, datt am Letzebuergeschen all Literaturgattungen (Epik, Lyrik, Dramatik) präsent sinn.</p>	<p>Duerch d'Wiel vun den Texter soll och kloer ervirgoen, datt <u>Lëtzebuerg eng eege Literatur huet</u> an där all Literaturgattungen (Epik, Lyrik, Dramatik) präsent sinn.</p>
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The rephrased form here concerns the understanding of literature. The original phrase *am Lëtzebuergeschen* (=in Luxembourgish) refers to a Luxembourgish literature, while the updated version *datt Lëtzebuerg eng eege Literatur huet* reframes the focus to literature in Luxembourg. This is another reparametrization, arguably with the purpose of encompassment. In the 2008 program a delimitation of Luxembourgish literature to literary works written in Luxembourgish is explicit, thus typifying once again the Luxembourgish language: it establishes indexical signs linked to place, time, and a literature. Thus, literature written in French, German, and English in or about Luxembourg is excluded. However, the encompassing strategy in the 2018 program may be interpreted as an avoidance of that implicit exclusion.

<p>Do derniewent sollen d'Schüler eng Aféierung an eis Schreifweis kréien. Dës Aféierung soll de Kanner hëllefen, d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch besser ze verstoen, se besser liesen ze kënnen an och vläicht hiirt Schreiwen ze verbesseren. D'Schreifweis duerf awer bei deene villen Dialekter, dei d'Kanner an de verschiddene Schoule schwätzen, net zu enger Diskriminatioun vun eenzelne Sproochgewunnéchte féieren a soll dofir och zimlech wéineg bei der Note zielen. Iwwert d'Literatur eraus soll och op den deegleche Gebrauch vum Lëtzebuergeschen an eisem Land higewise ginn an et kann een de Kanner weisen, datt et am Lëtzebuergeschen Radio- an Televisiounsprogrammer, Film a Video, Compact Disc a Cassetten asw. grad wéi an anere Sprooche gëtt.</p>	<p><u>Iwwert d'Literatur eraus soll och op d'Dialektvarianten, op den deegleche Gebrauch vun de verschiddene Sproochen, déi zu Lëtzebuerg geschwat ginn, an op de méisproochege Kontext higewise ginn. Déi Inhalter kënnen am Zesammenhank mat engem Text aus dem Buch „Lies de bal“ thematiséiert ginn.</u> Derniewent sollen d'Schüler och eng Aféierung an d'Schreifweis vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch kréien.</p>
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The remaining text shows the most striking differences in terms of rephrasing and omission. Sentences have been reordered in the 2018 program, which makes a reinterpretation of the objectives clear. The most important aspect is the omission of the description concerning orthography and how it should be taught. In the 2008 program, the implementation of a standard orthography is recommended as a way of improving students' literacy in Luxembourgish. However, this recommendation is immediately watered down by the following sentences. The use of the adverbs *och* (=also) and *vläicht* (=maybe) in the second sentence imply that the objective of improving the students' writing skills is a secondary concern. The third sentence is based on the explicit assumption that there is a multiplicity of dialects (*deene villen Dialekter*) and “manners of speaking” (*Sproochgewunnéchte[n]*). This creates a contrast between dialects and a standard variety, in other words, an axis of differentiation between standard and dialect. The leading contrasting qualities between them are *literacy/orality* and *uniformity/diversity*.

This contrast leads to the idea that the standard, as a unifying force, is a potential threat to *diversity*. As such, the resulting policy is non-enforcement of the standard during evaluation, as expressed

in the phrase ...*soll dofir zimlech wéineg bei der Note zielen* (=should count minimally for grading). The omission of these two sentences in the 2018 program might be a result of the furthered standardization of Luxembourgish. It could also be interpreted as a shift to a stricter language-in-education policy regarding the implementation of a written standard. Both interpretations allow for the underlying assumption that a standard is well established institutionally and can be enforced. The scale of inclusion of language varieties in the 2008 program is exclusive to Luxembourgish.

However, in the 2018 program, a broader view comes to the fore. This time, the multilingual context is mentioned as an encompassing frame for not only Luxembourgish and its “dialectal variants” (=Dialektvarianten), but also for the different languages present in Luxembourg. Since literature was reframed (through reparametrization) as inclusive of other languages, literature becomes one of the vectors for the implementation of the policy. The last sentence recommends the teaching of the orthography without any qualms regarding dialectal diversity. This might be, again, an effect of furthered standardization through institutionalization and a consequence of the encompassing reparametrization that led to a more inclusive scale for language and literature in the context of Luxembourg³³. Finally, the replacement of the pronoun *eis* (=our) with *Lëtzebuenger Sprooch* echoes the whole reparametrization through encompassment that is characteristic of the 2018 program. This strategy anonymizes the voice of the text and tries to avoid any indexical link to a Luxembourgish type (generalized qualities linking a people with a language, a place, and a culture) that may be exclusive.

VI.6. Conclusion

This chapter has delved into the discourse analysis of current language policy texts from the state-level to the citizen-level. The thematic analysis that guided the discourse analysis showed how the two schemata proposed in Horner & Weber (2008) have remained present in the language policy discourses that circulate in Luxembourg.

The next chapter provides a discourse analysis of interview extracts of what have been grouped as, on the one hand, teaching actors and, on the other hand, non-teaching actors. It shows a continuity between the ideologies that inform the language policy discourse in its design and implementation.

³³ This leads to the question of whether *Kultur* (as an addition in the 2018 program) is also defined by such an inclusive scale.

VII. Interviews: Teaching- and Non-teaching Actors

The aim of this chapter is a discourse and thematic analysis of interviews extracts of the sixteen participants of this research. As mentioned in Chapter IV, the interviews were conducted from 2018 to 2021. For purposes of analysis and legibility, the informants have been divided into two groups: teaching and non-teaching actors. The former are those actors mainly involved with language teaching at school, while the latter are actors who have no pedagogical responsibilities regarding Luxembourgish. However, there is no clear-cut division between actors participating in the language policy design and actors involved in the language policy implementation. Due to the small size of the country and to the novelty of the language policy processes for the promotion of Luxembourgish, there are overlapping roles among the interviewed actors.

The discourse analysis of interview extracts is guided by themes identified through close readings of each interview transcript. Furthermore, the discourse and thematic analyses are divided according to each group of informants. While most themes overlap between the two groups, there is a clear thematic difference in the group of teaching actors as a result of their pedagogical responsibilities. The themes identified for each group are shown in Tables 16 and 17:

Table 16: Themes of interview extracts of non-teaching actors

Themes
Institutional Collaboration
Luxembourgish/Multilingualism
Promotion of Luxembourgish
Standardization
Luxembourgish as Language of Integration

Table 17: Themes of interview extracts of teaching actors

Themes
Course Planning and Collaboration
Luxembourgish/Multilingualism
Writing vis-à-vis Orality
Standard vs. Nonstandard

Each subsection links interview extracts to a common theme. Certain themes are based on conceptual pairs subject to comparison and contrast in informants' discourses, such as standard vs. nonstandard and Luxembourgish vs. multilingualism. Some themes group actors from different institutional settings, regardless of their role in the design or implementation of the language policies. However, certain themes cut across language-in-education policy and are therefore predominated by interview extracts of teachers, as primary actors in the design and implementation of language-in-education policy.

Five of the teachers interviewed for this research work in the national school system, while the other four work in the "international" school system. International schools in Luxembourg refer, in this case, to state-funded schools that follow an international curriculum and that therefore organize language education differently to the national school system. Illustrated in Figure 10 is the distribution of teachers of Luxembourgish according to the municipalities in which they work. Tables 18 and 19 show the pseudonymized actors divided according to their role(s).



Figure 10: Distribution of teachers according to the municipality where they work

Throughout these themes, we find a confirmation of what Costa, De Korne, and Lane (2018) describe as the particularities of small-language and minority language standardization due to the sociopolitical and economic changes of the 21st century:

[U]nlike dominant state languages, the stages through which minority language standardisation is achieved are a contemporary occurrence, documented, accessible and visible. As such, this impedes (or complicates) the naturalisation processes that rendered dominant language standards unquestionable (Woolard 2008). Minority language standards are consequently subject to negotiation, debate, contestation and appropriation by various types of social actors in very diverse circumstances. In addition to this, current processes of standardisation occur within new historical conditions which generate new sets of tensions with respect to language (Heller 2010) and in which states no longer have a monopoly over the production of legitimate knowledge (Duchêne and Heller 2012).

Consequently perhaps, while previous tensions emerging from language revival movements from the 19th century onward involved *negotiating authority with respect to authenticity, rootedness and language rights*, new sets of tensions have emerged in late modern societies given the rise of new types of linguistic markets and new roles for language(s): *as marketable competences on the one hand, and as repositories of commodifiable authenticity on the other* (Flores 2013; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009) (p. 12, added italics).

To be sure, Luxembourgish is no minority language in national terms, but it shares features of minority languages in international as well as language policy terms, as exemplified by its lack of official recognition at the EU level and the relatively incipient corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning processes. Indeed, its survival is not at stake, but being a small language the standardization of which is relatively recent makes it prone to the factors affecting minority languages. Moreover, the coexistence of two standard languages in the language policy of Luxembourg (French and German) reinforces these features. As such, a major theme that inevitably came up during the interviews was the one that follows the two tables below.

Table 18: Overview of non-teaching actors

Actor	Roles	Institution
Marc Barthelemy	Previous Commissioner; member of CPLL	Commissioner of the Luxembourgish language
Luc Marteling	Director	ZLS
Xavier	Government adviser	Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth
Myriam Welschbillig	President of CPLL	CPLL
Victor	Professor; member of CPLL	University of Luxembourg; CPLL
Albin	Director of division	SCRIPT
Paul	Lexicographer	ZLS

Table 19: Overview of teaching actors

Actor	Roles	School	Location	Orientation
Shari	Mainly LFL	Lycée Mathias-Adam	Petange	Traditional
Casper	Mixed	Lycée Edward Steichen	Clervaux	Traditional/international
Greta	Mixed	International School of Mondorf-les-Bains	Mondorf-les-Bains	International
Francine	Mainly LFL	Unspecified	Unspecified	Unspecified
Damian	Mainly LFL	Lycée technique de Lallange	Esch-sur-Alzette	Traditional
Heidi	Mixed	International School of Differdange	Differdange	International
Helga	Mixed	Lycée classique Michel Rodange	Luxembourg City	Traditional
Belinda	Mainly LFL	Lycée Mathias-Adam	Petange	Traditional
Evelyn	Mixed	International School of Junglinster	Junglinster	International

Note: “LFL” refers to “Luxembourgish as a foreign language”, while “Mixed” refers to both Luxembourgish as a foreign language and as L1

VII.1.1. Institutional Collaboration

There are two main levels of institutional collaboration:

- 1) Communication between the ZLS, the Commissioner, the SCRIPT, or the CPLL regarding the current developments or intended projects.
- 2) Collaborative production of material related to corpus planning (orthography) and acquisition planning (textbooks), and organization of public activities such as training courses for Luxembourgish orthography,

For the first level, there was a consensus among the non-teaching actors at the time of the interviews (2020-2021) that institutional collaboration was running smoothly. Communication among the representatives of the ZLS, the SCRIPT, the Commissioner, and the CPLL was described as successful. The second level is more complex due to the involvement of various actors with different institutional backgrounds, such as members of the ZLS, the SCRIPT, and teachers from the *Programmkommissioun*. This second level of institutional collaboration is the focus of the analysis.

When asked whether teachers were involved in the production of teaching material with the SCRIPT, Albin, the director of division of the SCRIPT, replied with an emphatic affirmation and added:

Exclusiv. De ganzen Aarbechtsgrupp ass exclusiv en **Aarbechtsgrupp aus der Programmkommissioun vun de Lëtzebuenger Enseignant**en, mat enger Liaison mam **Zentrum fir d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch** fir de Volet „Grammaire“ ofzedecken, mee dat kann ee soen, et sinn Experte vum Lëtzebuergesch, vun der Lëtzebuenger Literatur, an der Lëtzebuenger Grammatik, an dem Aarbechtsgrupp.

This affirmative claim is supported by Shari Schenten, the former president of the program commission:

Beim Ministère do schaffe mer virun allem mam SCRIPT zesummen, well si en charge si fir da mat d’Programmer an alles opzebauen, dat heescht, mir hunn an eisem Aarbechtsgrupp [?] vum SCRIPT, dat ass, soe mer, deen e bëssen alles leet [...] An dann effektiv schaffe mer mam Zenter fir d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch zesummen.

At the time of the interviews, the institutional links had been recently established. According to Schenten, the working group comprised three teachers of Luxembourgish plus a representative of

the ZLS. Thus, the first aim of the working group was the design of course programs of Luxembourgish as a school subject. The next phase involved the production of teaching material, such as textbooks. Regarding the role of the program commission in the policy design process, Schenten states earlier in the interview:

De Problem ass, an der Programmkommissioun, **do sinn nach immens vill Däitschproffen**, dat heescht nach net all Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen, an dofir hu mer am SCRIPT vum Ministère en Aarbechtsgrupp gemaach, mat quasi just Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen an och externen Experten [...] dat ass um SCRIPT sou en Aarbechtsgrupp, dee funktionéiert fir d'Programmer di lo kommen opzestellen, an dann wat do opgestall gëtt am Aarbechtsgrupp huelen ech mat an d'Programmkommissioun, **présentéieren dat an der Programmkommissioun, an da kënn do Feedback oder et gëtt ofgestëmmt, fir ze soen, „OK, de Programm ass gutt, den akzeptéiere mer“**, mee u sech **den Aarbechtsgrupp ass schonn e bëssen onofhängeg vun der Programmkommissioun** well mer do net ëmmer di richteg Leit hunn.

The program commission is included in the policy design process as a platform for deliberation regarding the designed course programs, where feedback or approval can be given. However, Schenten establishes a distinction between the working group and the program commission. While the program commission is formulated as the origin of the working group in Albin's statement, Schenten emphasizes the autonomy of the working group vis-à-vis the program commission. The former president of the program commission links the high number of German teachers in the program commission with the inadequacy of the commission to create the course programs independently.

Because of the time difference between the interview and the time of writing, the current organization has changed. Indeed, the representative of the ZLS is no longer a member of the institution. Further information concerning the working group has not been obtained in the context of this research. What follows is a related theme that was identified in every interview transcript of the teaching actors.

VII.1.2. Course Planning

Every teacher highlighted the lack of didactic tools, particularly textbooks. For every single teacher, course planning involved the design of their own material. Out of the nine teachers, only one made a distinction between the lack of material in Luxembourgish as foreign language and Luxembourgish as L1. The rest considered that the available material was inadequate for both courses. Because of this dearth, teachers need to design their own material during course planning.

There were no differing perspectives regarding course planning, rather different strategies. These are:

- 1) The use of official books such as “Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?” with an adaptation of the material for the school level, i.e., an audience redesign of the material.
- 2) The translation of exercises into Luxembourgish from German, French, and English teaching material.
- 3) A collaborative effort among teachers by which they share their material.

These strategies are illustrated through interview extracts of four teachers in order to avoid derivative content.

The first strategy is described by Greta from the International School of Mondorf-les-bains for both LFL and Luxembourgish as L1:

Schonn am Stage hu mer wéi gesot, do hate mer „**Wat gelift?**“ an „**SDL**“ (**Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?**), **op wat ech mech baséiert hunn**. Natierlech gëss du net glécklech domat, also et feele ganz vill Saachen, an ech hunn an deenen zwee Joer respektiv an dësem drëtte Joer, hunn ech ganz vill Saache selwer ausgeschafft, wat ech och benotzen, an ech muss awer soen, et gi verschidde Saache lo z.B. fir den Ortografiscours, déi [ech] fir d’Mammesproochler benotzen, ech hunn den [?] Cours den de Ministère ausgeschafft huet, mat, voilà, all deene Reegelen, dat ass ganz interessant. **Mee di meescht Saache sinn awer éischer meng Saachen.**

Greta planned her courses based on two official books, which proved to be unsatisfactory and led her to design her own teaching material. This value judgement is then contrasted to that of the material for Luxembourgish as L1 through the phrase *ech muss awer soen* (=but I must say). The material for Luxembourgish as L1, particularly for orthography, is deemed interesting enough to incorporate in her course. Nevertheless, Greta’s course planning mainly involves her own material design.

The first and second strategies co-occur among two of the non-teaching actors, Evelyn from the International School of Junglinster and Belinda from the *Lycée Mathias-Adam*. Evelyn stated the following:

Mir kréie vun der Schoul bzw. d’Schüler kréie vun der Schoul den A1 „**Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?**“ vum INL, erëm ass [et] fir Erwuessener ausgeluecht, ass vun deem Programm deen ech lo hei verfollegen och net ëmmer ganz logesch opgebaut. Dat heescht, wat ech maachen,

ech bedénge mech aus deenen verschiddene Léierwierker **an och villen Deutsch-als-Fremdsprache oder English as a Second Language** an ech änneren d'Exercicer ëm wéi ech [?] brauch.

In this case, Evelyn refers to material for LFL. The adaptation of material from “Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?” is complemented by material from German-as-a-foreign-language or English-as-a-foreign-language. Belinda follows suit, yet some differences regarding the choice of material are identifiable:

Ech schaffe **minimal mam Buch** wann et grad super passt, mee ech soen ëmmer d’Buch ass fir all Mënsch gemaa, fir Monsieur/Madame Tout-le-Monde, dat heescht et ass net spezifesch op dat wat een hei an der Schoul brauch [...] Sou dass ech onmoosseg vill selwer maachen, an effektiv och wéi s de gesot hues, op aner Sproochen zréckgräifen. **Manner Däitscht mee éischer Englesch a Franséisch** well ech do d’Optik heiansdo e bëssi méi einfach fannen oder net sou schwéier [?] wéi am Däitschen, **obwuel d’Struktur dann am Däitschen méi no ass.**

Belinda adapts material from the unspecified book, implied as an official book provided by the school or the Ministry of Education. She also takes material from sources of other languages taught as foreign languages. Contrary to Evelyn, however, German plays a lesser role in Belinda’s course planning strategies, despite the recognition of the linguistic-structural similarities between Luxembourgish and German.

The third strategy is described by Casper from the Lycée Edward Steichen:

Ech muss dobäi soen dass all di Enseignants di lo mat mir ugefaangen hunn, mir waren ze zéng oder zwielef Stéck, **mir hunn esou e Grupp op Teams gemaa, wou mir all Saache mateneen deelen**, dat heescht wa vläicht een eng Kéier eppes Flottes huet, dass elo net den Egoismus wi vläicht an anere Sproochen ass [?] mir sinn do ganz oppen, mir deelen dat, **well mer eis bewosst sinn, datt d’Material ziimlech knapp ass**, an datt wann een eng gutt Iddi huet –e Power Point, oder soss Exercissen- datt mer dat einfach mateneen deelen, och Ecouten di mer ophuelen. **Mir schaffen do ganz vill mateneen**

Collaboration among teachers occurs online, according to Casper. Materials and ideas are shared among ten or twelve teachers. Casper attributes the emergence of this collaborative effort to the acknowledgement of a lack of teaching material. It is characterized by an open process whereby exercises, recordings, and power points are shared.

The next theme concerns mainly the relationship between Luxembourgish and multilingualism. The relationship is the object of different discursive strategies regarding reparametrization and polarization.

VII.1.3. Luxembourgish/Multilingualism

One of the most salient themes, its formulation relied on the discursive strategy of reparametrization and polarization. As such, Luxembourgish was sometimes encompassed under multilingualism or separated as a different entity. Furthermore, although multilingualism was never precisely defined in the interview extracts, it was also reparametrized by narrowing it down to named languages or encompassed under the NP *Lëtzebuergesch*. This constant reparametrization led to ambiguity in the discourse regarding policy design and implementation.

- 1) Luxembourgish and multilingualism are sometimes separated as two different elements, sometimes encompassed as one single element. The resulting ambiguity allows the actors to frame the developing language policy as inclusive of both Luxembourgish and multilingualism.

- 2) Luxembourgish and multilingualism are framed as separate elements that should be each tackled differently in language policy design and implementation.

VII.1.4. First Perspective

One of the clearest expressions of the first perspective came from the Commissioner for the Luxembourgish Language, Marc Barthélemy, in the midst of an answer to the question of the meaning of promotion:

Commissioner: ...An dann ass awer och ganz wichteg ze soen...Wann een do d'Introduktioun [of the 2018 law for the Promotion of Luxembourgish] liest, da gesäit een datt et an der Introduktioun méi Zeile stinn iwwer d'Méisproochegkeet wi iwwer d'Lëtzebuergesch. Di zwee Aspekter sinn d'Grundpfeiler [?] vun dem wat Lëtzebuerg ausmécht. **Engersäits Lëtzebuergesch**, op dat een

natierlech ganz staark hält an **anersäits awer och d'Méisproochegkeet**, wat do **eng aner Méisproochegkeet ass wéi an anere Länner** well ze Lëtzebuerg ass d'Méisproochegkeet fir all Mënsch am Alldag ganz present.

The point of departure is the explicit differentiation of Luxembourgish on one side and multilingualism at the other. However, they are not viewed as embodying contrasting qualities, but rather as complementary qualities themselves instantiating “Luxembourg”. The second sentence delimits them as *two* while at the same time reparametrization (encompassment) takes place through the characterization of Luxembourgish and multilingualism as that which makes up Luxembourg. However, immediately after, the third sentence exhibits reparametrization again, this time by shifting downwards, as they are divided by the adverbial phrases *engersäits* and *anersäits*, with a relative clause in between that emphasizes the evidentiality of the importance of Luxembourgish through the adverb *natierlech* while generalizing it through the impersonal third-person singular pronoun *een*. The embedded clause following *Méisproochegkeet* describes multilingualism as particular to Luxembourg, or more precisely, as *different* from other multilingualisms in other countries due to its *omnipresence*. The quantifier *all* preceding the NP *Mënsch* generalizes Luxembourgish multilingualism and that generality in daily life is deemed its defining quality. He then proceeds to say:

Lo huet een awer fir d'Lëtzebuergesch verschidden spezifesche Aspekter di ee fir di aner Sproochen net huet hei am Land: **mir brauchen eis keng Suergen ze maachen, datt Däitsch oder Franséisch muss eng Form kréien, datt do Léierbicher geschriwwen ginn oder Grammatiken** [...] dorëm këmmere [sech?] aner Leit sech? a fir d'Lëtzebuergesch si mir do...

The first sentence reparametrizes again, focusing on Luxembourgish and its particularity through the establishment of a contrast between the language and the other languages in the country, deictically indicating the particularity of the other languages as well (*hei am Land*). It is followed by a statement, that is, the awareness of the language regime instantiated by French and German. The standardized character of the two languages is acknowledged and contrasted to the ongoing standardization of Luxembourgish, although it is phrased as a parallel development instead of an already achieved standardization vis-à-vis an ongoing one. Referring to German and French deictically (*do*), acquisition and corpus planning activities are invoked as the responsibility of

others, indexing the separateness, or perhaps foreignness, of the two languages. For the standardization of Luxembourgish, i.e., the creation of grammars and teaching material in this context, there is a division of *us* and *them* in charge of the other two languages. This polarization is followed by an interesting process of fractal recursivity where he pivots to a position in which the standardization of Luxembourgish is framed from the same perspective as the standardization of French and German. When reparametrized from a narrower to a more encompassing comparison, the particularities of Luxembourgish and multilingualism in Luxembourg are addressed as qualities that point to the necessity for a specifically local approach to language policy.

Xavier, the government adviser (*conseiller de gouvernement*) working for the Ministry of Education, reproduces a similar appraisal of the acknowledgment of multilingualism in the developing language policy:

Eise Kommissär vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ass och kee **Sproochpolitist**, au Contraire, mir hunn ëmmer di **Notioun vum Multilinguisme** an eise Käpp [...] Ech mengen et si **vill Länner, di méisproocheg sinn** a wou eng Sprooch vläicht e bësse manner... Ech soe lo net manner dominant, et ass lo net dass mer lo, dass Lëtzebuergesch just zéng Prozent oder sou géif ausmaachen, mee wou méi Sproochen niewentenee mussen fonctionnéieren a wou vläicht Ängschte sinn [...] ech mengen et gëtt deelweis Ängschten an der Populatioun dass d'Sprooch kéint verschwannen.

The passage begins with a defense of the Commissioner's position expressed by a negation. The Commissioner is no "Sproochpolitist", an interesting NP worth analyzing in this context. Perhaps here "Sproochpolitist" derives its meaning from an assumed division between politics as subjective, ideological matters, and expertise as objective knowledge. To not be a "Sproochpolitist" is to acknowledge the importance of multilingualism in Luxembourg. In the sentences that follow, it is implied that the acknowledgement of multilingualism leads to the rebuttal of a discourse of endangerment of Luxembourgish.

From a more detailed interpretation: in the second sentence, a comparison is established between countries characterized by multilingualism, which allows Xavier to avoid narrowing down the scope to "Luxembourgish vs. multilingualism". Rather, Luxembourgish is considered a part of multilingualism as a societal phenomenon also found elsewhere. By describing Luxembourgish as a "less dominant" language in an environment where *méi Sproochen niewentenee mussen*

fonctionnéieren (=more languages must function next to each other), fears for its disappearance are acknowledged. This next extract makes Xavier's perspective more explicit:

kee mécht sech **Illusiounen** dass... **oder gesäit och de Sënn dran, Lëtzebuergesch als eenzeg Sprooch ze Lëtzebuerg duerchzesetzen**, der Leit di änlech Iddie [hunn?] gëtt et, mee ech mengen an **eisem Ministère** sinn déi net onbedéngt ze fannen, ech mengen et ass illusoresch Abstraktiounen dovunner ze maan (maachen)... dass mer Franséisch an Däitsch an och Englesch, an och nach ganz aner Sproochen hei ze Lëtzebuerg hunn an dat ass och wichtig, an et ass och gutt

The beginning of this extract is striking due to the rephrased clause. "Illusiounen" may be interpreted as a favor to the idea of monolingualism in Luxembourg. Therefore, it is rephrased in a way that conveys the idea of a Luxembourgish monolingual language policy as nonsensical. Xavier indicates that such a perspective exists, but casts doubt on the possibility that those working in the Ministry of Education share that perspective. A recognition to multilingualism is voiced again in the following sentence by naming some of the most visible languages in Luxembourg (yet forgetting/erasing Portuguese) while acknowledging the further existing linguistic diversity.

ech mengen, kengem seng Iddien... fir di aner Sproochen sou wäit ewechzedrécken dass **just nach Plaz fir Lëtzebuergesch wier**, mengen dat wier ganz onglécklech, ech mengen et ass éischer eng Fro vun Facilitateursinn, dat heescht, de Leit d'Moyene gi fir d'Sprooch ze léieren, hinnen Loscht maachen, an hinnen d'Moyene gi fir d'Sprooch ze léieren [...] Also wi gesot de Multilinguisme ass eng absolut Realitéit an **ech gesinn dat net am Widdersprooch zum Developpement vum Lëtzebuergesch**. Wi gesot et ass éischer de Lëtzebuenger Loscht maan un der Sprooch an den Auslänner Loscht maachen d'Sprooch ze léieren [...] Mee, Multilinguisme ass extreem wichtig an ech gesinn d'Lëtzebuergesch absolut dodranner matschwammen.

What follows is a description of the role of the actors involved in language policy: to be facilitators of language learning and valorization. In the next sentence, reparametrization occurs. Luxembourgish is separated from multilingualism, but no contrast is established in terms of qualities. The "development" of Luxembourgish is deemed to be in tune with multilingualism; they can coexist. However, reparametrization occurs again in the last sentence, this time encompassing Luxembourgish into multilingualism, with the nuance that the verb "matschwammen" conveys: that Luxembourgish is a contributing factor to multilingualism, not a separate element. The implications of this perspective for language policy are explicit in Xavier's

discourse: to facilitate the learning of Luxembourgish for both Luxembourgers and foreigners while acknowledging its embeddedness in a multilingual setting.

Paul, one of the lexicographers of the ZLS, describes Luxembourgish and multilingualism similarly as an answer to the question of the compatibility of the promotion of Luxembourgish with multilingualism in Luxembourg:

Ech mengen **et kann een d’Lëtzebuergesch net isoléiert kucken**, ,t ass wi all Sprooch ass sou **beaflosst vun den anere Sproochen**, an dat ass mengen ech fir d’Lëtzebuergesch... **ëmsou méi de Fall**, eeben duerch d’Gréisst, vum Land, duerch, wann een och di... de sproochleche Kontext einfach kuckt, mengen ech wier et, *illusoresch* a komplett *kontraproduktiv*, **fir d’Lëtzebuergesch net an de méisproochege Kontext ze kucken**.

Through an impersonal construction formed by the modal verb *kënnen* (=to be able to, can) and the negative particle *net*, it is asserted that Luxembourgish cannot be looked at as an isolated phenomenon. Reparametrization occurs, shifting upward to a general linguistic phenomenon whereby languages influence each other. Luxembourgish is then placed in this context by narrowing down the scope to Luxembourgish in particular. The emphasized adjectives *illusoresch* (=illusionary) and *kontraproduktiv* (=counterproductive) Paul uses to characterize the action of not situating Luxembourgish in a multilingual context index the normativity of Paul’s position: it is necessary to embed Luxembourgish in multilingualism. In a similar way to the previous extracts, Luxembourgish is sometimes encompassed under multilingualism while being regarded as its own element within that category.

Luc Marteling, the Director of the ZLS, follows the same path, with a less explicit separation between Luxembourgish and multilingualism, yet with a more explicit view of standardization and standard language. The less explicit contrast was invoked during a long answer to the first question asking him to introduce himself.

Director of ZLS: Sou wéi den ZLS net an engem eidle Kontext enstaanen ass, well et do schon e Service gouf, den einfach an den ZLS integréiert gouf [LOD], ass natierlech och d’Sprooch méi lassgeléist vun hirem Kontext, vun hirem sozialen, soziopoliteschen, soziolinguisteschen, geschichtlechen an esou weider esou fort, an eben besonnesch op dem politeschen Aspekt, well d’Fro vun **der Sprooch**, vum **Lëtzebuergesch** an engem klengen Land, an engem multikulturelle

Land, an engem Land mat **ville Sproochen**, mat dräi offizielle Sproochen, sech natierlech ëmmer stellt, an a ville Gesichtspunkten stellt...

The first sentence seems to establish a parallel between the emergence of the ZLS in ‘midstream’ of the historical context and the emergence of Luxembourgish. However, the adjective *lassgeléisst* (detached) poses a contradiction, unless it is taken to mean that it *came off* its context as a synonym for *emerge*. The political aspect is emphasized through the adverb *besonnesch* (especially) and an explanation ensues, which subsumes Luxembourgish under the multilingualism of the country by referring to the official language policy. At the same time, the location is characterized as small (*kleng*) and as multicultural.

In the context of the collaboration between the different institutional entities (the ZLS, the Commissioner, and the CPLL), a comment about Luxembourgish and multilingualism came up again. The same process occurs, where Luxembourgish and multilingualism are construed as separate with their own qualities, yet are then characterized as complementary:

Gläichzäiteg sinn déi dräi Entitéiten... och eng Bekenntnis zu der Méisproochegkeet, dat heescht, **wann een eppes fir d’Lëtzebuergesch mécht, heescht dat grad net, datt een eppes géint déi aner Sprooche géing maachen**, oder wann ee sech fir d’Lëtzebuergesch asetzt oder interesséiert heescht dat net, datt een **aner Sprooche** wéilt devaloriséieren. Nee, dat geet gutt beieneen, Interessi um Lëtzebuergesch, Interessen un der Méisproochegkeet, Interesse un anere Sproochen, dat ergänzt sech.

The three institutional entities are imputed an avowal of multilingualism and thus are united under such an action. The second clause then establishes a division between Luxembourgish and multilingualism (*déi aner Sprooche[n]*), but they are not construed as having contrasting qualities, as the value of ‘other languages’ is made equal to the value of Luxembourgish. The fourth sentence begins with a negation of any possible contrast that could have remained implicit in the previous sentence and proceeds with the construal of every possibly contrasting category as complementary in language policy, ending with a reflexive verb expressing such an idea (*sech ergänzen*).

Albin, the director of the division in charge of the creation of didactic material for Luxembourgish at the SCRIPT, follows this perspective as well:

Wi der sot, mir sinn e méisproochegt Land, **mir waren ëmmer e méisproochegt Land**, mir haten **ëmmer** eng méisproochege Situatioun. Ech mengen sou prominent wéi d'Sprooche Franséisch an Däitsch, an och Englesch, an eiser Schoul, an de Curricula, verankert sinn.

The use of the shifter *mir* in the first sentence encompasses the country and its people, with the inclusion of the speaker. Predication follows through the copula and the adjective *méisproochegt* (=multilingual) with the NP *Land* (=country). Such a quality is naturalized immediately after by the inflection of the verb in [+past] and the use of the adverb *ëmmer* (=always), both being indexical of time. The repetition of the adverb in the following clause emphasizes the sempiternity of Luxembourg's multilingualism. In the second sentence, the traditional language-in-education policy serves as a justification of the possibility for the inclusion of Luxembourgish. This is formulated against two fears: the implementational constraints involved in its inclusion in the curriculum and the ideological aspect that establishes a contrast between Luxembourgish and multilingualism. Albin then states:

Et brauch ee sech keen Gedanken ze maachen, datt Lëtzebuergesch iergendaner Plaz ewechhëlt, also, mir si scho sou ausgeriicht an dat weess och all Politiker an all wichtege Mënsch, datt **Lëtzebuerg ouni seng Méisproochegkeet guer net existéiere kann**, an der realer Welt. Vun dohier, jo, fir mech ass dat absolut kompatibel well di aner, aner Sproochen, déi historesch di Plaz hunn di si hunn, an do wäert een och ni eppes veränneren.

Through the encompassment of Luxembourgish in multilingualism as a part of the whole, multilingualism is tied to the existence of Luxembourg itself in the embedded clause of the first sentence. In the next sentence, the compatibility of Luxembourgish with the 'other languages' is made possible by the historical anchoring of the 'other languages' (e.g., French and German) in Luxembourg. In other words, it is a chronotope or spatiotemporal setting where these languages, understood as discrete denotational codes, are linked to the particular place throughout time. Most importantly in this extract is that multilingualism is essentialized while keeping the reparametrization strategy at different levels, which allows for the distinction between particular languages.

VII.1.4.1. Summary

The discourse analysis of the first perspective has shown that the formulation of Luxembourgish and multilingualism constantly shifts between separation and encompassment. This ambivalence

has effects on the description of the language policy strategy, such as unclear normative goals regarding multilingualism. The NP *Méisproochegkeet* seems to be a flexible category indexing either many languages that circulate in Luxembourg or the officially recognized languages of Luxembourg (with Portuguese and English added to the mix). Furthermore, encompassing Luxembourgish into multilingualism and essentializing multilingualism in Luxembourg allows for the justification of the developing language policy without the risk of falling from the tightrope, that is, without seeming to favor Luxembourgish more than multilingualism or vice versa.

VII.1.5. Second Perspective

Myriam Welschbillig, the president of the *Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise* (CPLL), gives a description corresponding to the second perspective:

Et geet jo net drëms, déi aner Sproochen „auszemerzen“, **et geet drëms ze verhënneren, datt d’Lëtzebuergesch iwwehapt kee Wäert méi zougesprach kritt**, well ee jo gutt eens gëtt ouni d’Lëtzebuergesch. Ouni Franséisch ass dat net de Fall. An duerfir ass et gutt, wann d’Lëtzebuergesch méi present an ënnerstëtzt gëtt. ⁴Déi aner Sprooche brauchen dës Ënnerstëtzung net. Däitsch a Franséisch stinn um Léierplang, vun der Grondschoul bis zur Première (méi oder manner); Tëlee, Kino, Literatur, Zäitschrëften asw.: hei ass Lëtzebuergesch och vill manner vertraueden. Et schuet also näischt, d’Lëtzebuergesch ze fërderen. ⁷Doduerch verléieren déi aner Sproochen näischt.

One of the normative goals is explained through the negation of a possible language policy scenario fixed on the reduction of multilingualism. Welschbillig frames language policy as a *preventive* measure, with the aim of avoiding a decrease in value (significance and utility) of the Luxembourgish language vis-à-vis languages that are seemingly highly valuable. According to Welschbillig, the visibility, significance, and utility of French and German are supported by the language-in-education policy (=Däitsch a Franséisch stinn um Léierplang...) and the media in Luxembourg (=Tëlee, Kino, Literatur, Zäitschrëften...). Their strength is considered unwaning, to the extent that Luxembourgish represents no threat for them even if it is given special attention (=Et schuet also näischt, d’Lëtzebuergesch ze fërderen. Doduerch verléieren déi aner Sproochen näischt). Thus, Luxembourgish requires its own language policy measures in order to survive, according to this perspective.

Victor delves into the language-in-education policy regarding multilingualism and proposes a change in the priority of languages taught:

Mat der Méisproochegkeet selwer ass mengen ech ganz aner... **et ass net [?] eng Fro vum Lëtzebuergesch** mee et ass mengen ech **eng ideologesch Fro**, „wivill Méisproochegkeet wëll een hunn?“ an dat ass dann eng Fro, wat [?] den Status vum Däitschen ass, menger Meenung no. **An di Haaptkonkurrenten si mengen ech Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch an der Méisproochegkeet.** An do muss een eng laangfristeg Léisung fannen, vu dass den Enseignement eigentlech ëmmer méi komplex gëtt, **an eng Alphabetiséierung op Däitsch ass net méi zäitgeméiss**, also dat ass wierklech wat net geet, an do muss een... dat ass mat vill ze vill Schued an Ustrengung fir alleguerte Parteie verbonnen. Do muss een eng aner Léisung fannen, **an eng Alphabetiséierung op Lëtzebuergesch ass am Fong dat wat fonctionéiert. Et wäert wahrscheinlech den Status vum Däitschen am Land reduzéieren, awer de Status vum Däitschen ass souwisou onkloer.** Dass... doduerch dass Däitsch géif verluergoen, **géif ech och net mengen**

In the first and second sentences, Victor describes multilingualism as an ideological question (*eng ideologesch Fro*) separated from Luxembourgish, illustrating the question in quoted speech. Reparametrization occurs by narrowing down the question to German vis-à-vis Luxembourgish, formulated as *main competitors (Haaptkonkurrenten)* in the multilingualism of Luxembourg (encompassing as well German and Luxembourgish in “multilingualism”). In the fourth sentence, he narrows it down further to the site of education, referring to the national language-in-education policy where German plays the role of language of literacy. Following the argument, education is the site where the ideological question of multilingualism is answered. German as language of literacy is described as outdated (*net méi zäitgeméiss*), leading to an unfair situation. Thus, the answer to the question is, according to Victor, to replace German as language of literacy with Luxembourgish. It is implied that by making Luxembourgish the language of literacy, the language-in-education policy would become fairer for all parties. Moreover, multilingualism would remain, albeit with German playing a smaller role in it.

VII.1.6. Summary

The basis of the second perspective is the declared need to address Luxembourgish through specific policy measures. Discursively, this requires framing Luxembourgish as either separate from multilingualism or as a discrete entity coexisting with other languages. The two actors formulate Luxembourgish as a discrete entity that coexists with other languages in Luxembourg.

Myriam Welschbillig bases the normative goal of the language policy on the concept of *value*. The goal is the maintenance and increase of the value of Luxembourgish vis-à-vis French and German. It is formulated as a preventive language policy, founded on the assumption that the value of Luxembourgish may decrease in the future. Education and media are mentioned as sites where language policy measures can be implemented. Victor does not follow suit. Instead, he formulates multilingualism as an ideological issue that, in language policy, boils down to the question of how much multilingualism is desired. As was the case with Welschbillig's discourse, Luxembourgish is formulated as a discrete entity coexisting with other languages. In this vein, it is framed as a competitor of German. The competition metaphor allows Victor to delve into one of his normative goals for language-in-education policy, namely the replacement of German with Luxembourgish as language of literacy. This normative goal is not justified on the grounds of value maintenance or increase, but rather on *function*, i.e., that which works for all the parties involved.

What follows is an analysis of interview extracts where the theme of *promotion* was identified. The promotion of Luxembourgish is a theme that overlaps with standardization. The themes have been separated in order to distinguish between promotion and standardization in the language policy design and implementation processes of Luxembourg.

VII.2. Promotion of the Luxembourgish Language

The 2018 law set the goal of promoting the Luxembourgish language. The promotion strategy follows the traditional language planning path consisting of *corpus planning*, *status planning*, and *acquisition planning*. The distinction between standardization and promotion mostly comes up in the interviews with non-teaching actors. However, the perspectives vary among these actors. A point of convergence among them is the understanding of *promotion* as an umbrella term for standardization processes linked to corpus, status, and acquisition of the language. A few actors distinguish between promotion and standardization by ascribing to the latter the same meaning as *Norméierung*, i.e., the creation of norms. Actors fluctuate between these four main perspectives:

- 1) A broad definition of promotion, as a process leading to the construction of Luxembourgish as a “language in its own right”.
- 2) Promotion is the increase in value of the language through an increase of presence and use in the school system, in the public sphere, in cultural productions, and abroad as a heritage language (roughly acquisition planning and status planning).

- 3) Promotion as the development of a desire to learn (about) the language through public activities and publications divided according to a scientific component and a popular component.
- 4) A criticism of the promotion strategy as largely traditional and symbolic

It is important to note that these are not monolithic views, i.e., all of these are sometimes espoused when describing the promotion strategies of each institution or when asked about more details concerning standardization vs. promotion. In other words, there is no clear division between them. Discourses on standardization narrow down the process to Luxembourgish, i.e., differences between Luxembourgish varieties and literacy vs. orality. On the other hand, discourses on promotion widen the scope to Luxembourgish vis-à-vis multilingualism or language diversity.

VII.2.1. First Perspective

The Commissioner goes on to consolidate this view in an answer to the question concerning the *aim* of the promotion of Luxembourgish:

Q: Wat ass d'Zil vun der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch?

Commissioner: ¹D'Zil vun der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch ass d'Lëtzebuergesch als Sprooch esou z'establéieren wéi eng Sprooch eeben hautzedaags gesi gött, dat heescht et brauch een di ganz Form vun der Sprooch di iergendwou erfaass gött an astudéiert?? gött...

The aim of the *promotion* strategy as policy is making Luxembourgish into a language, according to the Commissioner. The establishment of Luxembourgish as a language is framed as a progressive process that takes as its point of departure an indefinite understanding of language. The adverb *hautzedaags* narrows down the definition of language to a specific time. The implication is that Luxembourgish has not yet reached this level, or, that it does not yet share the qualities indexical of a language as understood *nowadays*. The next clause provides an explanation of the 'method' for achieving the establishment of Luxembourgish as a language. The "whole form" of the language must be "captured". The adverb of indefinite place 'iergendwou' is perhaps used as a filler word here. Nevertheless, the main point comes across, namely that Luxembourgish must be identified and demarcated. It is an example of fractal recursivity: the same qualities assigned to the standard languages are modeled onto the language under standardization.

VII.2.2. Second Perspective

To the question on the definition of *promotion*, Welschbillig provides the following answer:

D'Lëtzebuergesch stäerken, andeems et **méi Presenz** kritt. An engem Land mat ronn 50 % Net-Lëtzebuenger a Franséisch als dominant Verwaltungssprooch ass dat noutwenneg. Fir mech gehéiert dee ganze Kulturberäich, ma och „Klenggekeete“ wéi Stroossennimm, Reklammen op Lëtzebuergesch do derzou. De kulturelle Beräich muss zum Beispill am Beräich vun der Literatur awer op staatlech Ënnerstëtzung kënnen zeréckgräifen, well och dee beschte Roman säi Mann (oder seng Fra) net erhale kann. Een zweete Schantjen ass de ganze Schoulbetrib. Do si mir an enger schwiereger Situatioun. Ma dat brauch ech sécher net auszuféieren (Alphabetiséierung op Däitsch, vill auslännesch Kanner mat ënnerschiddleche Mammesproochen asw.). Mam Fach Lëtzebuergesch op der Uni ass d'Sprooch sécherlech opgewäert ginn – dat ass schon eng enorm „Promotioun“.

Promotion is cemented on *necessity*. This necessity is justified by demographics and the current language policy in which French is the prime administrative language. An axis of differentiation is established, in which Luxembourgish and French stand in a contrast. The main qualities are *invisibility/presence*, respectively. Thus, the aim of promotion is to make Luxembourgish as visible as any other language in order to increase its value vis-à-vis already highly valuable and visible languages (French in particular). Promotion is understood as normative. Consequently, the cultural sector and the school system *should* be the vectors of promotion, as *Schantjen* (=construction sites) implicitly defined as spaces of increased competition between languages (French, German, English, Luxembourgish, Portuguese...).

Albin encapsulates promotion into the broader process of standardization. The vector for this process is education, which is tied to promotion, according to Albin:

Ech mengen dat wat ech lo [vu?] Standardiséierung gesot hunn, ass scho e bëssen, den zweeten Deel war och schon Promotioun, et ass eben dat wat ech soen: mir kënnen eng Ortografi schreiwen, mir kënnen Dictionnairë schreiwen, **awer [wa?] keen dat matkritt, datt dat sou ass, an datt Ännerung[en] do sinn an datt d'Standardvariante festgehal ginn, dann, kann sech eng Sprooch ni weiderentwéckelen an deem Sënn.** An do ass et eebe wichteg eng Promotioun ze maachen, eng Promotioun fir de Grand Public, fir di Leit dobaussen, mee eben och eng Promotioun iwuer d'Schoul, datt di Leit di lo méi jonk sinn, mat der Standardvariant opwuessen an dat eben och weiderdroe kënnen, dat heescht fir mech eebe Promotioun, also keng gelonge Standardiséierung ouni Promotioun.

Here, standardization would mainly involve corpus planning while promotion would refer to status planning and acquisition planning. Standardization (as corpus planning) is defined as a theoretical development that must be coupled with promotion, that is, status planning and acquisition planning, which in turn are understood as application or implementation (practice). It is considered a *necessity* for the development of a language, as stated in the text in bold formulated as a hypothetical sentence. *Standardvariante*[n] here refer to graphemic representations that are standardized. The creation of standard variants is a necessary theoretical development that should, according to Albin, lead to practical implementation. Albin's discourse is founded in the assumption of a necessary linear development for the standardization of language, an explicit standard language ideology. However, the emphasized adverbial phrase *an deem Sënn* gives a glimpse into Albin's openness to other developments that a language goes through.

VII.2.3. Second/Third Perspectives

Luc Marteling fluctuates between the second and third perspectives. In the following extract, he first voices the second perspective and then transitions towards the third perspective:

Bei der Promotioun kann een, mengen ech eng ganz Partie **Levelen ënnerscheeden**, also Promotioun ass fir mech **enk liéiert mam Status vun enger Sprooch**, déi eng Sprooch huet, wann d'Leit sech derfir interesséieren, da klëmmt am Fong hire Status oder hire **Wäert** –ech hunn net vill Bourdieu gemaach, mee e bësse kann een do mäi Job domadder vergläichen. Dat heescht, et gëtt e gudden, et ass e gudden, jo, **Asset**, den een huet, wann ee sech mat der Sprooch e bësse auskennt, egal ob lo linguistesesch oder ortografesch oder semantesch... an dofir wëlle mer... natierlech sollen déi Promotiounsaktiounen, déi mer maachen, dem Status hëllefen, si sollen den Interesse maachen a mir wëlle ganz gezielt am Fong och d'Häerz uschwätzen. D'Sprooch huet ëmmer zwee Voleten, et ass **de Kapp**, an ,t ass **d'Häerz**. An déi zwou mussen iwwerenee stëmmen.

Promotion is connected to the *status* of a language, which is equated to its value in Marteling's discourse. Luxembourgish is constructed as an *asset* following a reference to Bourdieu. It is implied that Luxembourgish, as an asset, increases in value as long as there is demand for it, nurtured by the interest of the people. The images of the *heart* (=d'Häerz) and the *mind* (=de Kapp) possibly convey the division of emotion and reason. According to Marteling, language touches upon both and it is this convergence that must be sought after in the promotion strategy. Reaching people's hearts supposedly drives the promotion strategy of the ZLS. In an extract that is not

reproduced here, he describes the many measures taken for the promotion of the language, such as the free distribution of the 2019 orthography book, publications in print and online media on “typical Luxembourgish words” in different domains such as landscapes and vegetables. Moreover, an etymological analysis of certain words was in the works at the time of the interview. Finally, a temporal connection is also established as the publication of “old” words are also a focus of the promotion strategy through the book series *Lëtzebueger Wuertschatz*.

Apart from these promotion measures, Marteling inscribes the strategy into a bigger picture:

...ech mengen datt d’Jalonen gutt gestall sinn, datt et eppes Nohalteges gëtt, well déi Promotioun, déi mer jo maachen ass vläicht just e klengen Deel an enger grousser Strategie, et ginn extrem vill Lëtzebuergesch-Course gemaach, souwuel fir Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch fir Leit déi d’Sprooch wëlle léiere well se hei wunnen an hei schaffen –also heihinner komm sinn-, et gi gläichzäiteg vill Ortografiscoursen ugebuede fir Leit déi sech wëlle perfektionéieren. Et ginn nei Lëtzebuergesch-Course konzipiert fir de Lycée, wat mengen ech eng immens gutt Saach gëtt an och fir d’Enseignants nei Perspektiven opmecht...

The aforementioned measures are inserted in a broader scheme that includes acquisition planning. On the one hand, Luxembourgish-as-a-foreign-language courses for adults are being increased. On the other hand, Luxembourgish in the school system is being expanded as a school subject.

Xavier, the government adviser working for the Ministry of Education, is a social actor who voices the third perspective. For him, promotion involves measures that correspond to corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning:

Fir mech ass Promotioun, fir d’Lëtzebuergesch ass eng Loscht op eng Sprooch [ze?] maachen. Dat heescht, eng Sprooch, sech bewosst sinn datt mir eng Sprooch hunn, wat d’Lëtzebuergesch ass, wat awer fir mech e ganz Deelaspekt ass vun eiser Sproochesituatioun. Mir si ganz multikulturell an och multilingual [...] an fir mech ass Lëtzebuergesch awer do e ganz wichtege Deel och dodranner, och vun eiser Kultur. An, bon, ech mengen wat e wichtege Aspekt ass vun der Aarbecht di mir am Ministère an och an deene Servicer, di dat begleede, man (maachen), ass eigentlech eng Loscht un der Sprooch entwéckelen, dat heescht mir hunn z.B., also den Zenter fir d’Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch ass jo mam Gesetz vun 2018 geschaffe ginn. [...]

“Loscht” is the defining principle of the promotion strategy. In Xavier’s explanation of *Loscht op eng Sprooch maachen* (translated below), promotion would involve raising awareness of the existence of Luxembourgish as a language. The argument then crosses another theme, *Luxembourgish vs. multilingualism*. Following its use in this extract, *Loscht* could be translated as “desire”, “pleasure”, or more broadly “interest” in the language.

Following this extract is a description of the developing language policy, where Xavier establishes a distinction between a scientific component and a popular component, reminiscent of Luc Marteling’s “heart” and “mind” imagery. On the one hand, Xavier describes the publication of “old” and “traditional” (and speaks on behalf of Claude Meisch, the Minister of Education) as part of the scientific component of the promotion strategy:

Dat sinn och vläicht e bësse mi di méi faarweg Produiten, soen ech lo mol, dat ass z.B., hu mer lo, et läit dem Minister ganz vill um Häerz, **fir och al Sprooch, di traditionell Sprooch** soen ech lo mol ze dokumentéieren, well d’Schwieregkeet ass jo datt ëmmer manner jonk Leit sou Terme benotzen, an datt si da riskéieren aus der Memoire ze verschwannen an dofir ass et eis wichteg dat ze dokumentéieren. **Dat wëll net heeschen dass mer dat alles rëm wëllen eropbeschwieren an en aktive Wuertschatz**, mee et ass awer wichteg dass Leit, di ech so lo eeler Leit, nach matdeelen wéi si fir Saache vläicht gesot hunn oder wéi d’Bom fir Saache gesot huet, oder wi den Urbop fir Saache gesot huet, fir datt alles dokumentéiert kritt fir op d’mannst di Entwécklung vun der Sprooch ze hunn. ³Dat ass e bëssen de wëssenschaftleche Volet.

Xavier’s description of the scientific component of the promotion of Luxembourgish is focused on the documentation of vocabulary that is becoming less common. The use of such vocabulary indexes advanced age, such that the disappearance of the vocabulary might occur with the passing of the speakers. This vocabulary is described by Xavier as *al Sprooch* (=old language) and *di traditionell Sprooch* (=the traditional language). Xavier does not delve into the meaning of these two NPs. However, an index between particular words and a specific time and space is implied.

Regarding the popular component, Xavier describes it as follows:

An de méi populäre Volet dee sech doraus ergeet ass eigentlech datt mer Publicatioune maache mat, lo mat den éischer sou rauskommen, „De Lëtzebuenger Wuertschatz“, eng Serie wou zwielef Bänn geplangt sinn, a wou mer lo den éische rausginn hunn –och e risege Succès- [...] also et mierkt een [dass] alles wat mat der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ze dinn huet ass immens... wat d’Leit

interesséiert, an do hu mer lo z.B. „123 Pärelen aus der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch“, mir hunn et genannt, et sinn am Fong **al Wierder di vill erkennen** [...] Et ass e bëssen sou den, jo, vläicht dat Pädagogesch wat mer dohannert [?] gesinn hunn. Esou e Produit de ganz accessibel ass fir zéng Euro, kann een den an der Librairie kafen [...] Wat ech gesot hunn, einfach d'Loscht maachen, sech mat der Sprooch sou ze beschäftegen...

The popular component is related to “old” vocabulary as well. It matches Marteling’s idea of reaching people’s “hearts” through publications brimming with linguistic forms that index authenticity. The series *123 Pärelen aus der Lëtzebueger Sprooch* establishes temporal connections between the linguistic forms of the past and those in current use. This connection is established by the *recognizability* of the words, as indicated by Xavier. That people can recognize the words makes their indexical value of “old” possible, accentuated by their circulation in the written domain. Their “old” character is tied to tradition and, therefore, to authenticity. They are lexemes of a repertoire used by a restricted social domain (older generations) but recognized by various other social domains. They don’t belong in the emerging standard register, but they hold an important place as markers of tradition.

VII.2.4. Fourth Perspective

The dissenting voice is Victor, who states the following:

D’Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch ass wi si am Aktiounsplang an am Gesetz festgehalen ass, ass jo schon... ech géif soen, **relativ traditionell**. Also et bezitt sech op de Sproochenenseignement fir Ausländer, wat bestëmmt hëllefräich ass fir d’Méisproochegkeet och weider ze vereinfachen mengen ech, an dann op éischer esou **traditionell Saache** wéi e Musée fir d’Lëtzebuergesch, an **historesch, e bëssi folkloristesesch Elementer virzehiewen**, dass et en Dag vun der Mammesprooch gëtt, dat sinn éischer sou **symbolesch** Saachen.

Victor describes the promotion of Luxembourgish as traditional (*traditionell*), based on what the action plan and the 2018 law stipulate. The adjective *traditionell* does not index here the language policy literature, but rather specific measures related to the language as cultural heritage. Indeed, some of these measures are deemed folkloristic in character, with a symbolic purpose. The adjective *symbolesch* (=symbolic) can be interpreted in this extract as an index of the cultural meaning assigned to the language through historical links rather than to language planning efforts. The measures described by Marteling and Xavier may indeed be called traditional and symbolic. An elucidation of this is provided in the following summary.

VII.2.4.1. Summary

The four perspectives, divided only for analytical purposes, as they largely overlap, show that the promotion of Luxembourgish is defined in broad and narrow terms. The first perspective is the broadest, whereby the promotion of Luxembourgish is defined by Marc Barthelemy as the creation of Luxembourgish “into a language”. This broad normative goal can be interpreted as the enregisterment of Luxembourgish beyond discursive means, that is, beyond formal recognition of Luxembourgish as a language. In other words, active language planning is referred to as the means to achieve such a goal.

Promotion is defined broadly by Myriam Welschbillig as well. She refers to specific sites where policy measures should be taken (such as culture and the school system) in order to increase the presence of Luxembourgish. The third perspective is found in Marteling’s and Xavier’s discourses. Marteling mainly frames promotion as status and acquisition planning. For both of them, promotion is also performed as publicity for Luxembourgish by exploiting indexical links between typified words and expressions of yore. In Marteling’s discourse, this is expressed through the metaphor of “reaching people’s hearts”. In the last perspective, voiced by Victor, details are not given regarding the description of the promotion of Luxembourgish as traditional and symbolic with folkloristic elements. However, some examples are provided in the form of measures.

Indeed, these measures and the ones listed by Marteling and Xavier fluctuate between folkloristic and scientific publications that, purposefully or not, negotiate between *authenticity* and *anonymity*, *orality* and *literacy*, and *tradition* and *progress*. On the one hand, words that are deemed typical or old index authenticity, orality, and tradition through temporal and regional connections that establish specific words as tokens indexical of the past and as tokens indexical of a specific place. On the other hand, scientific explanations of the words and the creation of an orthography help enregister the standard variety as “being from everywhere and nowhere at the same time”. The imagery alluded to by Marteling falls within this scope: the “heart” would correspond to the qualities of authenticity, orality, and tradition, while the “mind” would correspond to anonymity, literacy, and progress.

What unites these perspectives is the negotiation between values of anonymity and authenticity, progress and tradition, and orality and literacy. This axis of differentiation is manifest in these actors’ discourses to varying degrees. These actors frame language policy as a struggle to, on the

hand, further the enregisterment of a written standard and, on the other hand, to valorize existing linguistic forms as tokens of authenticity and tradition. The following section delves into the theme of *standardization*.

VII.3. Standardization of Luxembourgish

While answering to the question on the promotion of Luxembourgish, the commissioner Marc Barthelemy added:

...wa mer wëllen, datt Lëtzebuergesch eng Sprooch ass, wat fir zënter 1984 am Gesetz [?].... da brauche mir och e Fong fir di Sprooch an da brauch een einfach gewëssen Démarchen di soen, „hei dat do ass dat wat d’Lëtzebuergesch ausmécht an aner Saachen eben net“ –an brauch een och **Léierbicher...**

In this passage, the commissioner describes the steps for the *construction of Luxembourgish into a language*. It is formulated as an implicative conditional sentence involving the modal verb *wëllen* (=to want) and the verb of necessity *brauchen* (=to need something) in the consequent clause. The shifter *mir* is impersonal and indexes a collective entity, presumably the social domain linked to the place called Luxembourg, all seemingly sharing the same desire. The desire is the making of Luxembourgish into a language, with the implication that that which is required to fulfill that need is the demarcation of Luxembourgish from other languages. The last clause, a metapragmatic strategy of reported speech, makes an interesting use of deixis (*dat do*) to illustrate imaginatively the demarcation of Luxembourgish from everything else.

Regarding standardization, the Commissioner mentions briefly:

...mir hunn elo grosso modo eng relativ standardiséiert Sprooch doduerch datt mer e Reegelwierk hunn iwuer d’Schreifweis...

The assertion that Luxembourgish is a relatively standardized language is based on the idea that standardization is equivalent to a written norm. The use of the adverb *doduerch* conveys the idea that the standard is a direct logical consequence of the existing rules of orthography. Yet, the use of the adverbial Latin phrase *grosso modo*, which expresses relativity, plus the use of the adverb *relativ*, are a pleonasm expressing the view that the standard is in a fragile or neonatal state.

Myriam Welschbillig distinguishes between *Norméierung* and *Standardiséierung*. First, Norméierung:

Ech si mat dem Saz opgewuess: „Du kanns schreiwen, wéi s de wëlls“. ²Domat gëtt de Lëtzebuerger och eens, hie ka „Wo'récht“ genee esou liese wéi „Wourecht“ a kritt och nach e „Schallümme“ an e „Mackiaasch“ entziffert. Wann dat fir de Privatgebrauch och duergeet (an och eng gewësse Flexibilitéit a Phantasie beweist), sou sollt dat net eng allgemeng Opfaassung sinn, well an esou Aussoen matschwéngt: „an et ass och net wichtig“.

Eng Norméierung bedeit fir mech: D'Sprooch ass derwäert, datt een sech mat hir beschäftegt an duerfir suert, datt se eenheetlech gebraucht gëtt – wat awer keng regional, lokal etc. Varianten ausschléisst. Et heescht och net, datt een higeet an didaktoresch Schreifweisen oder e Sazbau etc. festleet, wéi et där Instanz da grad gefält (dofir ass jo dann och de CPLL do :-)). Et ass en deskriptive Prozess, e Kompromëss, mat natierlech preskriptive Reegelen. :-)

Before defining Norméierung, Welschbillig describes the still predominant ideology defining literacy in Luxembourgish. High flexibility and openness in Luxembourgish writing (arguably due to a lack of norm enforcement in institutional settings) has led to a high degree of variation in graphemic representations. According to Welschbillig, this variation has so far posed no problem for reading comprehension, and to prove this, she offers examples ranging from Luxembourgish words to *indexical reappropriation* of French lexemes through graphic representation. Despite the supposed ease of comprehension, graphical variation is relegated to the private sphere. The ultimate consequences of the flexible ideology on Luxembourgish literacy are deemed to be contradictory to *Norméierung* and *Standardiséierung*, as the concluding remark indicates through reported speech: “an et ass och net wichtig” (=and it's not even important). No justification is provided for this conclusion.

Nevertheless, this assumption builds the basis for the following definition of Norméierung. Welschbillig's understanding of Norméierung dances between two waves of fire: uniformity and variation, as expressed by the seemingly contradictory embedded clause: “...datt se *eenheetlech* gebraucht gëtt – wat awer *keng regional, lokal etc. Varianten ausschléisst*.” This cuts across the theme of standard vs. nonstandard discussed below, in which the differences are centered around literacy vs. regional and local variation. Moreover, in terms of implementation, how would this look like in practice? It is left as an open question. This strategy of compromise also translates into language policy design: The top-down approach is questioned in the next sentence. In the last

sentence, the seemingly contradictory perspective is once again expressed, this time by the attempted reconciliation of description with prescription of language use. What we see here is the interplay between ideology and standardization in policy design. This extract clearly shows the ideological underpinnings of Luxembourgish language policy design.

Regarding standardization, Welschbillig distinguishes it from Norméierung:

Standardiséierung kléngt vläicht heiansdo no „vun uewen erof diktéiert“. Ma et ass eng Hëllef, ech kann éierewou nokucken, wéi ech meng Sprooch dann och zerguttst benotzen, wéi ech mech am Sproochgebrauch verbessere kann. Et bedeit och, datt Grenze gesat ginn, datt ee baussent dem Privatgebrauch op d'mannst seng Sprooch sollt fleegen. An et ass och fir Auslänner vläicht méi einfach, se ze léieren, wann se sech un e Standard kënnen halen :-). An ech mengen, vill Leit si frou, wann se Reegele fannen, entweder, déi si an hirer Meenung bestätegt oder awer hinnen dee richtegen „Tuyau“ gëtt.

Eng Standardiséierung heescht net, datt ee guer näischt méi däerf, wat net an engem Reegelwierk steet. Eng Sprooch ass eppes Lieweges, si verännert sech, an dësen Ännerunge soll ee Rechnung droen.

Standardization as a top-down process comes to the fore (=vun uewen erof). It is acknowledged that it may be perceived as top-down, but the use of the temporal adverb *heiansdo* followed by the adverb of relativity or uncertainty *vläicht* indicates that some distance is taken from a top-down approach to standardization. In the following sentence, a *stylistic* function is put forward for standardization. In other words, it is a process of stylistic betterment available to every individual, as indicated by the phrase ...*wéi ech meng Sprooch dann och zerguttst benotzen, wéi ech mech am Sproochgebrauch verbessere kann* (=how I can use my language appropriately, how I can get better at using it). Following this assertion is the *demarkation* of language use into *public* and *private* spheres through defined borders (=datt Grenze gesat ginn). Standardization is also deemed more accessible for new speakers of Luxembourgish, since variation would be reduced. Standardization is thus viewed as a support for language *cultivation* and language acquisition. The last two sentences counter arguments of inflexibility. The metaphor that language is a living thing serves to base standardization as a descriptive process, even though the previous sentences ascribe it a prescriptive character.

VII.3.1. Subtheme: Standard vs. Nonstandard

Because of the multifaceted character of standardization, a subtheme concerning a Luxembourgish standard vis-à-vis linguistic variation was identified in the discourse of four non-teaching actors. This subtheme was characterized by various perspectives concerning the tension between linguistic variation and the process of standardization as a language policy process. Different perspectives were identified:

- 1) The negation of the disappearance of linguistic variation as a consequence of standardization.
- 2) Standardization as an ambiguous category that admits linguistic variation through the *Norméierung* of a selected variety.
- 3) The necessity of standardization and its enforcement in the school system.

VII.3.1.1. First Perspective

One of the most explicit formulations regarding this subtheme was Victor. When asked about the compatibility of standardization with the “diversity” of Luxembourgish, he gave the following answer:

Diversitéit heescht net dass, oder **Standardiséierung heescht net dass d’Diversitéit verschwanne muss**. An d’Diversitéit ass net sou grouss wi ee mengt. Dat ass [?] wat bei eise Schnëssen-Daten rauskënnt. Diversitéit ass do awer di ass net sou riseg an di ass net do wou ee mengt, dass si ass. Si ass, **ech géif och bal soen, et gëtt keng Dialekter vum Lëtzebuergeschen**. Et gëtt wat an der anere [?] Terminologie als *Accent* bezeechent gëtt. Also et sinn *iwwerwéigend* Aussprooch-Ënnerscheeder [...] **di gëtt et fir all Sproochen op diselwecht Manéier, di géif een net als Dialekt bezeechen** [...] Ech mengen hei gëtt **Diversitéit** wierklech als *Wäert* generell geholl.

The first sentence is a negation that standardization leads to the disappearance of linguistic variation, the modal verb *mussen* indexing necessity. From the second to the fourth sentence, Victor argues that the variation of Luxembourgish, particularly dialectal, is exaggerated, which culminates in the negation of the existence of dialects in the fifth sentence. This negation is followed by the classification of the linguistic phenomena as *accent*, defined by Victor as differences in pronunciation. Luxembourgish exhibits linguistic phenomena common to every language. The linguistic variation of Luxembourgish would thus not be unique. By framing linguistic variation as an object of value judgements in the last sentence, the implicit criticism is

that Luxembourgish standardization may be hindered in the name of a linguistic variation that is framed as a value. Victor then conveys the same message as the beginning of the discourse:

An di **Standardiséierung di jo eigentlech och geplangt ass**, di bedeit *net* **dass déi Diversitéit a Fro gestallt gëtt, oder si soll reduzéiert ginn.** ,T ass **just** dass *vläicht* eng **Majoritéitsvariant** ausgewielt gëtt -di souwisou schonn do ass-, an déi gëtt festgeschriwwen, an dat huet Virdeeler fir den Ausbau vum Lëtzebuergesch als Schrëftsprooch. Also ech gesinn do kee grouse Widdersprooch, dat ass meng, **gëtt wierklech ideologesch iwwerkonstruïert, ne? Dass duerch Standardiséierung den eigentlechen ursprongleche Charakter vum Lëtzebuergesch verluer géif goen. Dat ass eng Ideologie, natierlech.**

Standardization is described as evidently planned in the embedded clause, the evidence of it conveyed by the filler word *jo* and the adverb *eigentlech* (=actually). This planned standardization does not lead to the questioning of linguistic variation and does not correspond to a normative goal of reducing linguistic variation. This is expressed by an emphatic *net* (=negative particle). The second sentence provides an explanation of what standardization would involve, mainly the selection of a main variety for a written standard. The adverbs *just* and *vläicht* may be used here to frame standardization as a harmless process. The main variety alluded to is described as already dominant through the embedded clause *di souwisou schonn do ass* (=which is anyway already there). In the third sentence, this process of selection and establishment of a written standard is framed as an ideologically saturated matter, wrongfully perceived as a threat to the original character (*ursprongleche Charakter*) of Luxembourgish. The last sentence defines this perception as an ideology, with the adverb *natierlech* conveying the obviousness of the claim.

Myriam Welschbillig wrote the following statement regarding standard vs. nonstandard language use:

Et gëtt eng „**Héichsprooch**“ – an déi brauch een och, wann een d’Sprooch wëll enseignéieren – an dernieft all méiglech regional Varianten. Ech géif esouguer behaupten, dass d’Beschäftegung mat der Héichsprooch och **dozou féiert**, dass een sech erëm bewosst gëtt, dass mer ganz spannend Varianten hunn (an d’Leit och houfreg drop sinn). Leider gëtt et net méi vill Leit, déi nach esou eng regional Variant wierklech schwätzen. Et bleiwen eenzel Charakteristiken (den „oa“ am Süden: „Goar“, „Poart“, op Plazen am Norde gëtt „genickt“, do gëtt et „engt Bousch“ asw.) Datt dat verluer geet, **huet näischt mat der Standardiséierung duerch Reegelen ze dinn.**

Welschbillig posits the existence of a *Héichsprooch* (=high language). This metapragmatic label is modeled on the high/low register division found in the German-speaking world indexed by the

concept *Hochdeutsch* (see Chapter V, section 1.). As in the German case, the proposed high language is enregistered by Welschbillig as the standard needed for language learning and teaching. However, she declares that the existence of this high language leads to the acknowledgement of other intralinguistic varieties among the speakers.

This view of standardization corresponds to *enregisterment*. During standardization, a register *should* emerge based on the division of private and public, in which forms fit for public discourse are proposed and start to circulate. Public discourse *entails* a context-appropriate language use requiring specific linguistic forms, just like other registers. This corresponds to the ideas espoused by Agha (2003, 2007) and Gal (2006), according to which the standard is a register imbued with cultural values that point to specific *types* in specific contexts. In Welschbillig's discourse, these values are, first, *cultivation*, as expressed by the phrase: "...datt ee baussent dem Privatgebrauch op d'mannst seng Sprooch sollt fleegen." The use of the modal verb *sollen* followed by the verb *fleegen* points directly to the idea of cultivation. Another value is *uniformity*, as implied by the usefulness of rules for speakers and the potential ease that a single norm would afford new speakers. However, the standard is not framed as a transhistorical, fixed register. Its values are subject to the continuous changes of the language as a *living thing* and must thus be adapted to it, according to Welschbillig.

VII.3.1.2. Second Perspective

Regarding standardization, Marteling does not delve into it deeply:

An elo d'Missiounen vum ZLS, déi sinn deelweis méi prezis, dat éischt wäere Reegele fir d'Grammaire, fir d'Schreifweis an d'Grammatik vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch publizéieren. Da si mir bei der Standardiséierung oder bei der Norméierung vun der Sprooch. **Ech zécken... fir ze vill vun enger Standardiséierung ze schwätzen.** Ech mengen, datt et gutt ass, wa mer Normen hunn, well **et einfach zu enger Sprooch gehéiert** a mir brauchen do eng Basis. ⁵Mee **dat heescht awer lo net, datt een nach just wéilt eng Standardsprooch promovéieren**, dat sollt een och net maachen

One of the missions of the ZLS is corpus planning, as explained briefly by Marteling. Standardization immediately comes in the picture. He seems to use *Standardiséierung* and *Norméierung* interchangeably. However, ideological conflict ensues as he voices qualms on standardization. The understanding of standardization as *Norméierung* is defended as a *natural*

aspect of a language through the adverb *einfach* and the verb *gehéieren* as a “just so” explanation (*well et einfach zu enger Sprooch gehéiert*), which implicitly espouses the idea that the aim is to make Luxembourgish into a language in its own right. However, the standard variety is not elevated to sole legitimate variety in the promotion strategy. The clarification that follows with negation and the use of the adverbs *nach* and *just* preceding the modal verb *wëllen* in conditional and *eng Standardsprooch* indicate a strong openness to the definition of standard and other varieties. This is reinforced as a normative duty by the use of *sollen* and the negation.

VII.3.1.3. Third Perspective

Albin, the director of the division in charge of the production of didactic material at the SCRIPT, refers particularly to the role that linguistic variation plays in the developing language-in-education policy:

Also Dialekt an all dat spillt elo manner eng Roll well mer [?] müsse soen, „mir sinn hei op e[ngem] basic Niveau: Introductioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen“, an do gi lo esou Classesaache gemaa, datt lo sollen d’regional Varianten an Dialekter an enger éischer Phas wierklech **manner eng Roll spillen**.

Nonstandard language use, particularly dialects, do not play a significant role due to the introductory level of the course being developed. It leaves the question open of whether linguistic variation, in this case dialectal, would be addressed in the policy design of a more advanced course.

Albin states the following:

Ech mengen, ech perséinlech eng aner Meenung [sinn], well ech och duerch di Schoul gaange sinn, eebe vun der Uni, wou ech mech dann awer froen, **wat ass alles standardiséieren**, wou brauch mer [alles?] standardiséieren, et ass awer kloer datt ech wi gesot lo säit fënnef Joer beim Educatiounsministère schaffen **an all di Prozesser vu Standardiséierung natierlech matkréien**,

In the first sentence, Albin seems to separate his personal view from the official view on standardization. Then, he describes a path of favor towards standardization shaped by his experiences in the Ministry of Education. Albin narrows down standardization to the site of education:

Op der anerer Hand ass natierlech Standardiséierung, ass **d’Educatioun einfach e wichtige Faktor** well mir hunn op der enger Säit all di Organer di kucken eis Sprooch ze standardiséieren, **mee wann d’Educatioun net Generatiounen ausbillt di di Standardiséierung beherrschen**, dann hu mer keng richtig Standardiséierung. Dann hu mer just eng an der Theorie, awer ni an der Praxis. Vun dohier ass dat Eent [?] am Ament ganz wichtig datt mer kucken **no eiser Mëndlechkeet elo virun allem eis Schrëftlechkeet ëmmer méi ze standardiséieren a festzehalen**, an do muss d’Educatioun eebe lo matzéien fir di Standardiséierung eeben och bei deene jonke Leit ze verankeren.

The embedded clause from the last sentence regarding orality (*Mëndlechkeet*) and the written domain (*Schrëftlechkeet*) stands out. The explicit assertion that speech has been standardized points to the idea of *standardization as minimization of variation*. A normative formulation follows such an assertion: now it’s the turn of the written language. Although it is questionable to posit the minimization of variation of Luxembourgish as a result of standardization, the relevant point here lies in the normative call for the standardization of the written language.

Victor shares this perspective, particularly with regard to the importance of education. When asked about the definition of standardization in the current language policy of Luxembourg, Victor gave a long reply using expert terminology:

Am Fong ass et jo Korpus a Status. An, Korpus gesinn ech net, also Korpusplanung gesinn ech als **kee gréissere Problem** un, an do ass eeben, kann ee soen dass an de leschten zwanzeg, drësseg, Joren extreem vill geschitt ass an di Richtung **Kodifizéierung**, an a Korpusplanung u sech [...] fir di zukünfteg Entwécklung gesinn ech och, wat d’Korpusplanung ugeet, eigentlech just **positiv** an deem Sënn dass dat wierklech weidergeet.

Den **anere Punkt, Statusplanung**, den ass méi **diffizil**, an dat ass mengen ech awer och den, wichtige Punkt souguer, deen de **méi wichtig** ass. An der Statusplanung selwer mengen ech sinn ech eigentlech **méi kritesch** wéi aner Leit, fir ze gesinn, **ob dat wierklech als Standardiséierung schon iwwerhaupt an di richtig Richtung geet**. Also et gëtt sou eppes wi Statusplanung, wi mengen ech lo méi forcéiert iwwer den ZLS, an iwwer den CPLL vläicht manner awer den ZLS an iwwer den, Ministere an iwwer de Kommissär mengen ech gemaach gëtt... déi **eng ganz spezifesch Zort vu Statusplanung** envisagéiert, nämmelech **d’Léieren vun der Sprooch fir déi di d’Sprooch net kënnen, ze erliichteren**

Victor defines the standardization of Luxembourgish as corpus planning and status planning. A contrast is established between the two planning efforts through value judgements. These value judgements are formulated through phrases such as *kee gréissere Problem* (=not such a big problem) and *positiv* (=positive) for corpus planning, and *diffizil* (=difficult), *méi wichteg* (=more important), and *ob dat wierklech als Standardiséierung schonn iwwehapt an di richteg Richtung geet* (=whether that, as standardization, is really on the right track) for status planning. Based on this distinction, Victor describes the status planning of Luxembourgish as one-sided toward foreign language education. The planning efforts are described through the verb *forcéieren* (=to force, to push through) as actions from the ZLS and the Ministry³⁴. Furthermore, although Victor praises this development in the next extract, he voices criticism against the one-sided focus on foreign language learning:

Ech mengen et ass di richteg Statusplanung déi am Moment forcéiert vun den ëffentlechen Institutiounen gemaach gëtt. A wat menger Meenung no **vergiess, oder net richteg gemaach gëtt oder net staark genuch forcéiert gëtt** ass Statusplanung och wat **Lëtzebuergesch fir déi ugeet**, déi fir d'Majoritéit am Fong ëmmer nach ugeet, déi **mat Lëtzebuergesch als éischte Sprooch opwuessen**, dass déi Sprooch am Enseignement **net den, korrekten, menger Meenung no, Status anhëlt am Erzéierungssystem an am Sproochenenseignement**, an der Prestigeplanung och vun der Méisproochegkeet, wéi dat *kéint* sinn. Do gesinn ech e **groussen Ënnerscheid**, dass Statusplanung am Fong ëmmer heescht, „wéi kréie mer **Ausländer** sou datt si Lëtzebuergesch léieren?“

In the second sentence, a discursive division occurs between L1 speakers of Luxembourgish and learners of Luxembourgish as a foreign language through the prepositional phrase *fir déi ugeet... déi mat Lëtzebuergesch als éischte Sprooch opwuessen* (=concerning those... those who grow with Luxembourgish as a first language). It is stated that Luxembourgish as L1 in education is not given the appropriate status. In other words, the argument is that the language planning efforts neglect the standardization of Luxembourgish as L1 in the school system. The division between L1 speakers and learners of Luxembourgish comes up again at the end of the discourse in the reported speech clause. Through reported speech, Victor states that status planning is reduced to strategies to attract foreigners (*Ausländer*) to learn the language. Following this argumentative structure, Victor concludes:

³⁴ With the background knowledge of the 2018 law, it can be deduced that the Ministry here refers to the Ministry of Education, Children, and Youth.

An dat ass en **Automatismus** den iwwerall da drauskënnt an **et gëtt vergiess** dass déi, **dass dat just geet**, dass dat **just richtig fonctionéiert**, wann och déi di Lëtzebuergesch als éischt Sprooch schwätzen, op dem selwechten Zuch sinn, ne? **Datt och di dat als standardiséiert Sprooch ugesinn**, mat **standardiséierten Funktiounen** och, déi **par rapport zum Franséischen an Däitschen missten ausgebaut ginn**, an ech mengen dat ass zweigleiseg, et schéngt mir do net zesummenzelafen.

There are two normative claims here. One of them is the standardization of Luxembourgish vis-à-vis French and German as standard language models. This normative claim is expressed in the embedded clause of the third sentence through the verbal phrase in passive voice *missten ausgebaut ginn* (=should be developed). The other normative claim regards the *recognition* of Luxembourgish as a standard language. As a criticism of what Victor describes as an *Automatismus* (=an assumption that is not questioned) of the focus on foreign language teaching, it is claimed there is a primordial need for the recognition of Luxembourgish as a standard language by L1 speakers. Based on the previous extracts, it is implied that education is the site where such a recognition should be realized.

The next section analyzes the theme of *Luxembourgish/Multilingualism* among the teaching actors.

VII.4. Luxembourgish/Multilingualism: Teaching Actors

Teaching actors were asked whether the developing language-in-education policy for the expansion of Luxembourgish courses in school is compatible with multilingualism in society and in school. This question already frames a division between two elements, namely Luxembourgish and multilingualism, which may have created bias for the answers provided by the teachers. Noteworthy is that not every teacher replied to the question (7 out of 9). The following perspectives were identified:

- 1) The inclusion of Luxembourgish in the language-in-education policy can be compatible with the multilingual policy as long as it is not imposed.
- 2) Luxembourgish as L1 course involves learning about Luxembourg and Luxembourgish culture, which creates a tension with the multilingual policy in place.

- 3) The inclusion of Luxembourgish in a multilingual policy is framed as an enrichment. Multilingualism is either essentialized as inherent to Luxembourg or deemed as inevitable in school.

VII.4.1. First Perspective

Damian framed the expansion of Luxembourgish courses in school the following way:

De Problem ass ëmmer wann et [Luxembourgish] **de Leit oktroyéiert gëtt**. Wann s de sees, „**du muss lo dat léieren, soss bass du keen Deel vun der Gesellschaft**“. Ech mengen dat wier e falsche Wee. Ech mengen, et wier éischer drop ze sätzen, dat als flotten Accessoire ze gesinn, an di Leit di dat wëllen, ech mengen, d’Coursen um INL [Institut National des Langues], di si gutt besat, och an aner Institutiounen. Ech mengen do ass jo awer en Interessi do, an di Leit di si scho polyglot, ech mengen di sinn op d’mannst zweesproocheg géif ech soen. **Ech gesi lo net datt dat an iergendenger Form d’Méisproochegkeet hemmt**. Ech gesinn et just problematesch wann s de de Leit dat oktroyéiers, an sees „du muss dat lo léieren“, ech mengen wann et net aus fräie Stécker geschitt, dorum kann ee kee Mënsch ze näischt zwéngen. Voilà.

The problem is the imposition of Luxembourgish, according to Damian. Through reported speech, Damian looks critically at the normative idea of mandatory Luxembourgish learning. The use of the pronoun *du* (=you) followed by the modal verb *mussen* (=must) reinforces the message and leads to the second clause that is built in the same form and brings home the criticized argument: establishing belonging through the forced learning of a language. In the next sentences, a normative counterargument is proposed, namely the promotion of the language as an accessory, thus making it a part of multilingualism, not a separate element or primary language of society. This argument is reinforced through the imputation of the quality of “polyglot” to learners of Luxembourgish. This imputed quality predetermines multilingualism as the natural state and justifies the learning of Luxembourgish *among other languages*. A repetition of the criticism on the imposition of Luxembourgish and a defense of individual freedom to learn the language follow. “Voilà” indicates metapragmatically that the discourse is over.

VII.4.2. Second Perspective

Shari Schenten, the former president of the program commission, stated:

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d’Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Schenten: [Laughs] Dat ass eng ganz komplizéiert Fro! Dat ass komplizéiert. **Jein**. Ech fannen et wichteg, fir een den awer hei ze Lëtzebuerg leeft, fir méi iwwer d'Land, d'Méisproochegkeet, seng Kultur, gewuer ze ginn, dat huet mir am Lycée oft gefeelt.

The first and second sentences are metapragmatic discourse characterizing the question as difficult to answer. Most striking is, however, the third statement encapsulating both affirmation and negation. The complementarity between Luxembourgish and multilingualism in the school context is questioned. In the fourth sentence, Schenten attributes importance to the possibility of learning in school about properties pertaining to the country, while delimiting this to the relation between the speaker and the location. In other words, there is a deictic indication in the relative clause that establishes a connection between the location (*hei ze Lëtzebuerg*) and any person. This 'gives weight' to the preceding statement where different properties of the country are mentioned as instantiations of 'Luxembourg'. Multilingualism and culture are mentioned through the possessive pronoun *seng* preceding *culture*, pointing back to Luxembourg's culture. The sentence ends with a linkage of Schenten's own school experience where she was faced with a lack of Luxembourgish language and culture courses. The extract is followed up by this statement:

An dofir hunn ech och herno de Master gemaach, well du hues da [?] d'Literatur vun anere Länner studéiert, [mee] ech hu kee Buch kannst vu **menger** Literatur. An dofir fannen ech scho **wichteg** dass dat op de Programm kënnt am Lycée, fir awer dass **ee e bëssen Notiounen iwwert säi Land huet**, well, wann een si freet, „nennt e lëtzebuergesche Schrëftsteller“, da kënnt z.B. net vill. An och di aner, soen ech mol, Konscht, Kultur an esou, **ech fannen di hunn awer e Recht och enseignéiert ze ginn**.⁸Voilà.

Schenten's school experience is presented as a motivation to advocate for the inclusion of Luxembourgish as an encompassing course of language and culture. The pronoun *menger* (=my) in the last clause of the first sentence establishes a link between Schenten's identity and Luxembourg. In the second sentence, an implicit deontic claim expressed by the verb *fannen* (=to find sth. + adjective) and the adjective *wichteg* (=important) is based on this link, yet shifts to an impersonal construction in the text in bold. Schenten's normative goal is based on the linkage between Luxembourgish as language and as culture. The last clause of the last sentence consolidates this link as a deontic claim through the verb *fannen* once again.

This last extract synthesizes Schenten's perspective:

Natierlech mam méisproochege Kontext ginn et Leit di soen, „Jo, brauch een dat Lëtzebuergesch, wierklech?“. Ech fannen et geet méi ëm Wëssen iwwert **säin eegent Land**.

The first sentence begins with an adverb indicating the evidential character of the interplay of languages in a multilingual context. Through reported speech, the relation of Luxembourgish to other languages is established, with a taken-for-granted expression of the insignificance of Luxembourgish vis-à-vis other languages. The third sentence reframes the issue through reparametrization. It is not Luxembourgish in relation to other languages, but Luxembourgish as an instantiation of the country (metonym for Luxembourg). Thus, the answer to the question under reported speech becomes the following: that Luxembourgish is not insignificant because it instantiates the country and learning it represents gaining knowledge about *your own country*. A linkage occurs between the person type and the country type through the learning of one of its tokens (language).

While Francine voices this perspective as well, she points out first the limitations in the implementation of Luxembourgish in the school system:

Ech mengen, dass et einfach e bëssen drun happert, dass **net genuch Schoulstonnen** do sinn fir et richtig ze integréieren. Ech mengen, also wat ech e bësse matkritt hunn, wann aner Fächer dann Stonne verléieren zu Gonschte vum Lëtzebuergesch, ech mengen, jo, di sinn net frou di aner Fächer, natierlech (laacht). Also, ech denke schon dass et **iergendwi maachbar wier** an ech denken och dass et iergendwi sënnvoll wier, mee... jo, ech soe lo ze Gonschte vun engem anere Fach eventuell vläicht net, ech weess net.

Francine throws light into the difficulties of integrating Luxembourgish into a multilingual school system characterized by two standard languages, namely French and German. Francine acknowledges the difficulties of reconciling the developing language-in-education policy when faced with the limitations imposed by the varied interests involved in the multilingual system. She states further:

Et gehéiert eeben zum Land, dat heescht di Méisproochegkeet, dat ass elo net dass dat eréischt säit zwanzeg Joer sou ass, mee **di gëtt et jo säit éiweg**. An eebe grad well mer esou vill Leit hunn di vun iwverall kommen... Fannen ech, wier et wichteg dat ze ennersträichen iergendwéi. Mee jo, wi gesot, et ass eeben dat wat **ideologesch** gesinn; vläicht, **ech soe lo net, net onbedéngt richtig mee gutt wier, ass net onbedéngt dat wat eeben praktesch ëmsetzbar ass**.

In the first sentence, multilingualism is essentialized as inherent to Luxembourg through the verb *gehéieren* (=to belong) and the temporal connection established through the adverb *forever* (=éiweg). It is stated that the importance of multilingualism should be highlighted, but what *ought* to be done cannot be implemented in practical terms, according to Francine. In Francine's statement, the inclusion of Luxembourgish in a language regime characterized by an essentialized multilingualism leads to the conflict of what is normatively desirable and what is implementable in practice given the current language policy.

The last one who voices this perspective is Evelyn. She highlights the importance of establishing connections between subjects and languages:

Ech denken, et gëtt hei jo haaptsächlech drëms, wa mer dat Lëtzebuergesch hei wëlle promovéieren, fir och einfach d'Kultur an d'Literatur a Gebräicher, Geografie a Geschicht an de Cours mat anzebauen, den awer denken ech trotzdem deelweis einfach a verschiddeenen anere Fächer feelt. Ech denken och dass **een di aner Sproochen domadder och kann opwäerten**, well di lëtzebuergesch Literatur ass jo net nëmmen Literatur op Lëtzebuergesch. Dat ass och Literatur op Englesch, Literatur op Franséisch, op Däitsch, an do ginn et esou vill flott Texter, an esou vill interessant Auteuren an esou vill flott Momenter an der Geschicht, **di a Relatioun si mat den anere Sproochen a mat den anere Kulturen wou ech einfach géing begrëissen, wann een dat als Ganzt géif gesinn an net sou an d'Tiräng géing leeën a wou jidderee säin eegent Süppche kacht**.

The focus lies in the need for interdisciplinarity in language-in-education policy. Evelyn's call for interdisciplinary teaching translates into a linkage of languages and cultures. This goes a step further than the ideological underpinnings that characterize the previous actors' perspectives on Luxembourgish and multilingualism: reparametrization by encompassing Luxembourgish into multilingualism or by narrowing it to a contrast between them does not occur because of Evelyn's pedagogical insistence on interdisciplinarity. Interdisciplinary teaching in language education

requires an assumption that languages are intertwined. In Evelyn's argument, this is illustrated by the multilingual character of Luxembourgish literature.

VII.4.3. Third Perspective

Belinda states succinctly:

D'Méisproochegkeet, **komme mer net derlaanscht**, an dat ass awer fir d'Lëtzebuergesch immens wichteg *dass* eeben de Parallel vun deenen anere Sproochen do ass, well dat dann awer allkéiers aneschtens opgeholl gëtt

Multilingualism cannot be avoided. For Luxembourgish as a school subject, the coexistence with other languages is emphasized as an important aspect of language learning.

Greta provides a similar account corresponding to this perspective:

Jo, ech fannen et schonn, wi gesot, mir sinn en dräisproochegt Land offiziell gesinn, du hues do verschidden Ecker wou, voilà, méi Franséisch geschwat gëtt respektiv manner Franséisch benotzt gëtt, mee **ech fannen et awer scho wichteg, well mer grad esou eng speziell Situatioun hunn**, datt och déi Sproochen geléiert ginn.

The affirmation at the beginning of the extract refers to the compatibility of Luxembourgish courses at school with multilingualism. The pronoun *mir* (=we) indexes the positionality of Greta as a part of Luxembourg. Importantly, Luxembourg's multilingualism is described as special in the explanatory clause with an emphatic *well* is (=because). Such a particularity is the justification for the importance assigned to language learning in general.

Ech hat lo z.B. virun e puer Wochen, virun der Chrëschtvakanz en Dossier ausgeschafft fir Dialekter. Dat heescht, jo, do hu mer effektiv eis eng Stonn laang mat Dialekter beschäftegt, an ech hat do op Kaarten an Daten, Donnéeë vun der Schnëssen-App zeréckgegraff, an déi mat hinnen ugekuckt an bësselchen erschafft? [?] fir hinnen dat einfach ze weisen. Jo dat war immens flott. An normalerweis fänken ech d'neit Joer op 7^{ème} haaptsächlech och de Modüll? [?] un fir mat hinnen di verschidde Regiounen ze maachen, e bëssen och Recherchë maache fir einfach ze

weisen dass Lëtzebuerg obwuel [?] sou kléng ass trotzdem och verschidde Regiounen huet, jo
(Evelyn)

VII.4.3.1. Summary

The three perspectives of this theme show continuity regarding the ideologies informing the discourses about Luxembourgish and multilingualism. Either Luxembourgish is embedded in multilingualism through an essentialization of this phenomenon as an inherent aspect of Luxembourg, or it is separated from it as a distinct element through reparametrization. Only one actor, Evelyn, avoided this discursive pitfall by framing a potentially interdisciplinary language-in-education policy.

VII.5. Writing vis-à-vis Orality

Another theme that cuts across most interviews is the difference between a *written* standard variety and nonstandard varieties of Luxembourgish. Most discourses show a focus on regional and local differences, subsumed under the label *dialect*. Of importance is the fact that a few actors downplay such differences and consider that there is no correlation between standardization and variation. Standardization is often reduced to the written domain among the teaching actors.

As mentioned before, fractal recursivity occurs through reparametrization, whereby qualities can be contrasted *interlinguistically* or *intralinguistically*. A process of narrowing down contrasts to intralinguistic differences is an effect of standardization. Such an effect is present in the implementation phase of language policy in Luxembourg. In the case of Luxembourgish, such intralinguistic contrasts are established by the focus on the **written domain**. There are three main perspectives represented in the discourses of the interviewed language teachers:

- 1) Luxembourgish has a standard variety mainly in the written domain. Such a standard coexists harmoniously with other varieties (called *dialects* by the interviewees) and is enforced only in very specific contexts of regimentation of language in the classroom. Regional differences are allowed to be represented graphemically. This is backed up by a flexible language-in-education policy in both national and international school systems.
- 2) The standard variety of Luxembourgish is normative. In other words, the standard variety is framed as uniform in the written domain with the need to be enforced in the classroom.

- 3) Luxembourgish is mainly a spoken language in which the written domain is a secondary concern.

Most teaching actors changed perspectives according to the different learning goals of LFL and Luxembourgish as L1. As shown in Table 19, most teaching actors are in charge of both courses in the national as well as in the international school system. In order to avoid repetition, extracts that show great similarity with the ones presented are not included.

VII.5.1. First Perspective

One of the clearest examples of the first perspective is formulated by **Casper**, teacher at the Lycée Edward Steichen:

Ech fannen di standardiséiert Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll schon den Zentrum sinn, mee wann ech awer lo z.B. eppes Mëndleches iwwerpräiwen, an voilà, ech schaffen ze Clierf, **do schwätze ganz vill Schüler mam Dialekt**, an dann ass et fir mech ganz OK, oder och wann si mussen eppes fräi schreiwe wou ech d'Grammaire net bewäerten, **dann ass et och net schlëmm, ob se “nik” oder “net” schreiwen am Fall**, wa Schreiffeeler net bewäert ginn, Haaptsaach *ech* verstinn wat se soe wëllen [...] wann et awer drëm geet, fir Verben ze konjugéieren oder d'Reegel zu der Vokallängt unzewenden, da muss een natierlech op di standardiséiert Sprooch zeréckgräifen esou wi si och enseignéiert gëtt.

The discourse is constructed upon the contrast between a standard Luxembourgish language and a Northern variety of Luxembourgish. The former is determined by a geographical location and by a particular function, i.e., the central area of Luxembourg and the written domain, respectively. The latter is defined as a dialect relegated to the function of orality. These are metapragmatic labels that refer to qualities of not only linguistic phenomena, but also of location and social identity.

Instead of 'capital', the standard is found in the "center", a category that has been used since René Engelmann's description of a *koiné*. The qualities indexed by the standard variety in the context of the extract are authority and literacy, while the Northern variety indexes orality and provincialism. However, the contrasts between a central standard variety and a northern variety are not so rigidly constructed in Casper's discourse nor in the other teachers' discourses. In Casper's discourse, the flexible language policy plays a key role in the regimentation of language and, therefore, of the qualities indexed by the contrasted language varieties.

Another example of the first perspective is provided by **Greta**, a teacher at the International School of Mondorf-les-Bains:

[D'Ortografi] soll schonn enseignéiert ginn mee awer lo, wann z.B. eng Evaluatioun gemaach gëtt, sief et summativ oder, jo, formativ, läit den Haaptpunkt soen ech lo mol net op d'Ortografi. Also ech fannen et schonn wichteg, et ginn Aneren di soen, „dat soll guer net gekuckt ginn“, et soll scho gekuckt ginn mee awer d'Schüler solle lo net penaliséiert ginn, also wann [se] z.B. Feeler maachen. Mee ech fannen et gehéiert awer dozou, fir eng Sprooch ze léieren gehéiert och dat Schrëftlecht dozou, fir kënnen och ze liesen an Saachen auszeschwätzen.

A passive voice construction opens Greta's discourse. The inflected modal verb *sollen* indexes normativity regarding the teaching of orthography, yet the role played by orthography is questioned in the evaluation criteria. Through reported speech, Greta makes her ideological position clear vis-à-vis 'others': an expressed interest in the teaching of Luxembourgish orthography. However, the use of the conjunction *mee* (=but) after the reported speech closes the contrast established before, taking a stance against the position considered extreme, yet in favor of its teaching without any bearing on grading. The last sentence begins with the same conjunction and proceeds with the shifter *ech* and *fannen* (=find), a *verbum sentiendi*, that is, a verb expressing one's opinion. This construction is followed by the verb expressing belonging *gehéieren* (=to pertain, to belong) and an embedded clause that frames language acquisition as necessarily linked to the written domain (*dat Schrëftlech*). Greta aligns with the moderate view according to which orthography should be given a role in the teaching of Luxembourgish, but with little or no impact on evaluation.

Shari Schenten, the former president of the program commission, voices the first perspective, while establishing a distinction between LFL and Luxembourgish as L1, which determines the normative goals of each course:

Also **Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, ganz relax**. Do kucken ech, ech zéien do keng Punkten of wann e Wuert falsch geschriwwen ass, och wann ech e Vocabulairestest maachen, wann et plus-minus korrekt ass, ass et fir mech OK. Di aner Coursen, di och lo nei kommen d'nächst Joer, do ass et e bëssen och, soen ech mol, **e politeschen Drock**, do ass et scho gewollt dass d'Ortografi enseignéiert gëtt, an och schonn e bëssen **evaluéiert** gëtt, dat heescht an deenen Coursen di d'nächst Joer ulafen, do muss d'Ortografi e bësse mi **streng** gekuckt ginn, awer soll kee Schüler doduerjer duerchfallen. Dat ass och net de But, dass herno all Mënsch Ortografi perfekt kann, awer duerchgefall ass duerch d'Lëtzebuergesch.

The focus is on evaluation. Although lexemes written ‘wrongly’ are recognized as ‘wrong’, they have no bearing on the grading of the assignment or test in the LFL course. However, the same does not hold true for Luxembourgish as a content subject. In this case, Schenten refers to the course that changed from 7ème to 4ème in 2021. Yet, the weight assigned to orthography for grading is still small in such a course. Interestingly, Schenten mentions “political pressure” in the teaching and evaluation of orthography for this course. Although it is impossible to determine the literal or figurative uses of such a phrase, it is indicative of a shift towards normativity in the language-in-education policy for Luxembourgish as a content subject.

Helga voices the same perspective. Because of the similarity of her discourse with the ones presented, her extract is not included.

VII.5.2. Second Perspective

The second perspective is voiced by Belinda, one of the teachers at the *Lycée Mathias-Adam* in Pétange. Asked whether Luxembourgish orthography should be taught strictly or in a lax manner, Belinda replied:

Strikt. Lo am Moment op alle Fall mol strikt **wa mer wëllen eppes erreechen**. Well wa mer elo rëm ufänken „Jo, mir kënnen e G maan oder EN, oder mir kënnen awer och IG schreiwen oder ICH“, da kënne mer grad sou gutt op eng Ortografi verzichte mengen ech, op alle Fall op eng standardiséiert. Wann een dat mol eng Kéier wëll un d’Rulle bréngen da muss ee méi strikt sinn an duerno vläit oplockeren, awer net ëmgedréit. Well wann et lo opgelockert ass dann hëlt e bëssi jiddferee seng Method...

Belinda asserts that orthography should be taught strictly. An explanation ensues in the second sentence through the conditional phrase *wa mir wëllen eppes erreechen* (=if we want to achieve something). The pronoun *mir* probably indexes either the teachers and those involved in the transmission of Luxembourgish orthography, or an impersonal usage.

The argumentation is structured as antecedent and consequent. The antecedent consists mainly of reported speech. Through reported speech, Belinda takes an epistemic stance. Examples of graphemes for word endings that present either phonetic variation or graphemic variation are picked out. The clause following the reported speech is the consequent, marked by the adverb *da(nn)* (=then) presenting the conclusion against variation for the enforcement of a standardized orthography. The fourth sentence exhibits the same structure. The impersonal pronoun is followed by the expression *un d’Rulle bréngen* (=to bring forward) and the consequent opens with the

adverb *dann* followed by an inflected verb of obligation, *muss*. A stage-like development is argued for, whereby a first step in language learning requires strict implementation of orthography, and upon consolidation, a laxer teaching is allowed. The message is thus: it is necessary to be strict while teaching Luxembourgish orthography in order to establish its standardness.

Francine follows suit, with the difference that a distinction is made between the students of LFL and Luxembourgish as L1:

Wann et keng Mammesproochler sinn, dann, lax, well wi gesot do sinn ech jo frou wann si wierklech iwwerhaapt schwätze kënnen, mee wann et awer Mammesproochler sinn, dann hätt ech scho gären dass et richteg ass, well si kënnen jo d'Sprooch [?] nëmme wierklech just duerch di Reegelen ukucken an, **wann si et am Däitschen an am Franséische maache kënnen, da kënnen si et och am Lëtzebuergesch maan.**

The established distinction is based on Francine's different expectations regarding the learning goals of the school students. For LFL students, development of oral skills is the main objective, as stated by the explanatory phrase beginning with *well* (=because). However, the correct use of the written standard is expected of students of the L1 course. In the case of Francine, language regimentation is contingent on this distinction. Furthermore, the last clause is Francine's justification of such expectations. These expectations are based on the ideology whereby new written standards, particularly of small and minority languages, are modeled on established written standards. Indeed, Francine mirrors the ability to use the written standard on the students' ability to write correctly in German and in French.

A similar response is given by Damian, although the normative goals he sets for the LFL course are higher than Francine's:

Bei Mammesproochler sinn ech schonn der Meenung datt do **d'Ortografi soll stëmmen**, also ech mengen et huet jo kee Wäert wann ee schon sech di Zäit hält an et hält een e Cours oder geet een an e Cours, wou Lëtzebuergesch eeben enseignéiert gëtt a wéi enger Form och ëmmer, sinn ech schonn der Meenung datt **dat soll effektiv esou gutt wi méiglech sinn**. Zemoools well ee jo hautdesdaags, ech mengen, den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch publizéiert ganz vill, si hunn di kleng Bichelchen, ech mengen dat kéint quasi all Schüler kréien wann een sech souwisou dofir interesséiert. Am Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, jo bah, **do mécht et natierlech Sënn datt een och e gewësse Wäert op d'Ortografi leet. Anerersäits ass et illusoresch ze mengen datt dat an iergendenger Perfektioun ëmsetzbar ass**. Mee natierlech wann ee lo e Verb konjugéiert, da misst een och schon e bëssen am Kapp hu wéi et geschriwwe gëtt, soss geet dat jo net.

The normative goals are expressed by the modal verb *sollen*. The normative goal is not based on the ability of correct use of the German and French written standards, but rather on the availability of the written standard legitimated by the ZLS.

Heidi voices this perspective conditional on the expansion of Luxembourgish as L1 courses in school. However, with the teaching hours she had at the time of the interview, she did not find it meaningful to focus on orthography. It was deemed unnecessary to include her extract here.

VII.5.3. Third Perspective

The third perspective is formulated by **Evelyn**, a teacher at the International School of Junglinster:

Ech denken op den zwee Niveaue géing ech eigentlech soen läit de Fokus um Schwätzen. Also, do, d'Prüfungen, absolut kee Wäert, also, ech muss verstoe wat si schreiwen awer ech zéien näischt lo fir Schreiffeeler beispillsweis. [...] Firwat ech och einfach vill Wäert drop leeën, dass et haaptsächlech **geschwat soll**: et ass **eng Sprooch di haaptsächlech geschwat gëtt**, an wat och wichteg ass, ze wëssen, an der International School léieren si deelweis véier oder fënnef Sproochen...

In the first sentence, the two “levels” refer to Luxembourgish as a foreign language and Luxembourgish as a school subject. Evelyn focuses on the oral domain in both courses. The second sentence provides an insight into the teacher’s implementation of language-in-education policy: testing is one of the most explicit forms of language regimentation in language-in-education policy, yet Evelyn’s utterance points to an extremely flexible perspective allowing complete freedom in the written domain, such that writing mistakes do not have any bearing on the evaluation of the test. The final sentence is a justification of Evelyn’s perspective based on two assertions, namely the oral character of Luxembourgish and the multilingual language-in-education policy of the international school.

Luxembourgish is constructed as an oral language. Orality as a quality of Luxembourgish reparametrizes the contrast between “Luxembourgish as a foreign language” and “Luxembourgish as L1 school subject”. In such a way, a contrast is established between Luxembourgish and the other taught languages at the school, but the imputation of ‘orality’ to Luxembourgish leads to a similar focus on the language-in-education policy of the teacher regardless of the course as a foreign language or as a school subject.

The established contrast between Luxembourgish and the other languages implies that the school’s multilingual language-in-education policy, coupled with the teaching of a language amid

standardization, overwhelms the students. The result is a balancing act in which Luxembourgish seems to be taught differently than the other languages. This is indicative of how the interplay of ideology and language(-in-education) policy leads to an unequal regimentation of language in the specific context of a multilingual school setting. However, this is not the only outcome of such an interplay, as illustrated by what follows.

VII.5.3.1. Summary

Evaluation is the main action that points to the differing implementation of Luxembourgish orthography according to each course. The two courses consist of two different participation frameworks conditioned by the participants' background. Implementation of the policy is contingent on the presupposed participation framework of each course. The differing implementations are effect-centered, meaning that nonstandard writing has no bearing on evaluation in the LFL course, while it does count to some extent in the Luxembourgish as L1 course. These two effects are the determining factor for the different implementations. It is telling of how language is managed, allowing for spaces of nonstandardness according to the participation framework. The spaces where nonstandardness is allowed are those of language learners, while those spaces of (relative) standardness are those of presupposed native speakers.

This is, however, contested. For example, Belinda's statements on the strict implementation of Luxembourgish orthography illustrate an ideology where standardness should be upheld regardless of the participation framework of the course.

VII.6. Conclusion

This chapter has delved into a discourse analysis of interview extracts divided according to teaching and non-teaching actors. Thematic differences determined by the pedagogical responsibilities of each actor, or the lack thereof, led to an analytical separation into these two groups. Pedagogical responsibilities were the main differentiating aspect among the 15 informants. However, there were thematic overlaps due to the questions posed during the semi-structured interviews. The subsequent discourse analysis has shown that these thematic overlaps do not necessarily entail similarities in the ideologies informing the discourses of each actor.

The thematic analysis identified various themes, of which four major ones were selected for the discourse analysis. These are:

Non-teaching Actors	Teaching Actors
Institutional Collaboration	Course Planning
Luxembourgish/Multilingualism	Luxembourgish/Multilingualism
Promotion of Luxembourgish	Writing vis-à-vis Orality
Standardization of Luxembourgish	

The discourse analysis of the interview extracts concluded the following:

- 1) **Institutional Collaboration:** No differing perspectives at the time of the interviews.
 Characterized by language policy design processes according to two major levels of collaboration based, on the one hand, on communication among the recently founded institutions and, on the other hand, on the organization of public activities involving citizens and on the production of teaching material involving actors of distinct institutional layers such as teachers of Luxembourgish.
- 2) **Course Planning:** No differing perspectives at the time of the interviews, but rather two different discursive strategies.
 Characterized by language policy implementation processes determined by the lack of teaching material for both LFL and Luxembourgish as L1. The dearth of teaching material was the object of criticism in the discourse of every actor. This dearth was counteracted through the uptake of sources from other languages, the invention of new exercises with the little material available, or through collaborative efforts among teachers.
- 3) **Luxembourgish/Multilingualism:** Three perspectives were identified.
Non-teaching actors: conflicting normative discourses informed by ideologies that either encompassed Luxembourgish as a part of multilingualism or deemed it separate. The distinctions showed repercussions for the framing of the developing language policy. However, all the actors balanced between Luxembourgish and multilingualism in the normative policy discourse. The difference lies in the degree to which actors balance it out discursively, with one actor (Victor) voicing a normative discourse for the reduction of German in the school system, in favor of Luxembourgish.
- 4) **Promotion of Luxembourgish:** Four perspectives were identified among the non-teaching actors.

Featured conflicting normative discourses regarding the construction of Luxembourgish as a standard language vis-à-vis other languages (interlinguistic comparison), with a particular tension between particularism (Luxembourgish considered as a unique case) or universalism (Luxembourgish modeled on major languages such as French and German). Language policy design was framed by each actor according to these ideological tendencies.

5) **Script vs. Orality:** Three perspectives were identified.

Conflicting descriptive and normative discourses based on the importance assigned to Luxembourgish script or orality in each actor's teaching. Teaching of script or focus on orality shows divergence according to LFL or Luxembourgish as L1, with the latter being the general criterion for teaching script. Out of the nine teachers, eight showed normative discourses in favor of the standard script. One case (Casper) showed a normative discourse on standard script while allowing for nonstandard language use orally (which overlaps with the theme *standard vs. nonstandard language in school*). Furthermore, the three perspectives were characterized by different degrees of normativity regarding the script itself, i.e., whether teaching the script should involve linguistic variation or not.

6) **Standardization of Luxembourgish:** This theme was characterized by a lack of clear perspectives. Rather, normative discourses informed by ideologies favorable to a standard language were identified in the extracts. The differences among these discourses lie in the conceptualization of "standard language", featuring overlaps with the themes *promotion of Luxembourgish* and *Luxembourgish/Multilingualism*. The same balancing act between Luxembourgish and multilingualism occurs intralinguistically, i.e., Luxembourgish and "dialects".

Standard vs. Nonstandard: This subtheme was identified among four non-teaching actors. These extracts all illustrate the ideological tension between standardization and linguistic variation (called diversity or dialects by the four actors). The three perspectives that were identified show how such a tension manifests in the policy discourse of all four actors. As such, this tension leads to differing metapragmatic discourses supported by normative claims regarding the standardization of Luxembourgish and its variation. These range from a compromise between a selected standard and linguistic varieties, a dilution of standardization as a defense mechanism against the criticism of a diminishment of linguistic variation, and a strong position in favor of standardization and its enforcement in the school system.

The following three chapters are dedicated to the language policy developments of the German-speaking Community of Belgium. The chapters follow the structure of historical overview, analysis of language policy texts, and analysis of interview extracts, as was the case with the three chapters dedicated to Luxembourg's language policy.

VIII. The Case of the German-speaking Community of Belgium

VIII.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a historical overview of Belgium in general, transitioning to the GC after the main developments of the Belgian state. The overview presents a historical background coupled with the main language policy developments of the GC. Following the overview is Chapter IX, featuring an analysis of policy texts relevant to the current development of language policy in the GC. Chapter X then focuses on the analysis of interviews conducted between April 2020 and April 2021. Although there are fundamental differences between this research and Boemer's (2015) original research on language policy in the GC, the three chapters about the GC aim to tackle the desiderata voiced by Boemer (2015) regarding contemporary language policy in the GC.

VIII.2. Belgium: An Overview

Since the focus is primarily on the German-speaking Community, more attention is given to it in terms of its historical, sociolinguistic, and language policy particularities. As such, I tie the elucidation of Belgium's political developments to the effects these bore on the GC from its incorporation to Belgium up to the present.

Belgium's federal system is renowned for its complexity. The embodiment of a multi-layered political organization, Belgium consists of eight federated entities, seven of which have their own legislative institutions (Sägesser, 2021, p. 2). At the federal level, Belgium has a bicameral parliament (a Senate and a House of Representatives) and a federal government. Added to this are three regions and three communities. As is customary of federal systems, the three regions and communities have their own parliaments and governments.

The three regions are Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. The jurisdiction of regions is determined by the territory they encompass. Thus, various policies such as education, transportation, housing, economic and industrial policies – to name the most prominent – fall within regional jurisdiction. The three communities are the Flemish Community, the French Community, and the German-speaking Community. Their competences are limited to the geographic boundaries determined by the cultural element – mainly language – present within such boundaries. Their competences are hence mainly concerned with language policy, education, culture, and media. However, certain

other policies unrelated to language, so-called policies related to the person, also fall within their power, such as health, family policy, and social welfare. To make matters more complicated, three commissions operate in Brussels with their own responsibilities: the Common Community Commission, the French Community Commission, and the Flemish Community Commission.

Belgium's federal system is the result of six state reforms stemming from factors of social, economic, and political unrest that followed WWII. It is important to note that historical factors dating back to the emergence of the Belgian state in 1830 partially led to these state reforms (Faniel & Sägesser, 2020). Indeed, the state of Belgium is a product of the 19th century: Belgium was not recognized as a state until 1830. The current territory of Belgium pertained to the Low Countries (the territory comprising the current Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg). In short, one of the many results of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was the creation of The Netherlands under the rule of Wilhelm I of Orange-Nassau. Eventually, revolution broke out, leading to the formal independence of Belgium. Yet, the neonate state was faced with the problem of conflicts regarding the Flemish and Walloon majorities vis-à-vis a political elite that made French the *de facto* language of the state (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 8).

VIII.2.1. Historical Overview of Belgian Language Policies

Multiple language laws were passed from 1873 to 1963, which recognized Dutch and French and, since the incorporation of the territory now comprising the GC in 1920, German. However, these were inadequate for the deep-rooted sociocultural and political challenges. Particularly, the historical tension between Dutch-speakers and French-speakers took centerstage in the need to reach a compromise for matters of cultural policy and politico-economic policies. Importantly, these language laws followed an implicit territoriality principle, such as the law of 1873 on the use of Dutch in criminal proceedings in Flanders. Furthermore, the law of 1878 concerning the administrative use of Dutch in Flanders formed the basis of the territorial divisions that would serve as point of departure for the federalization of Belgium.

With the extension of the right to vote to males 25 or older in 1893 (preceded by capacity suffrage in 1870 and census suffrage since the beginning of the state of Belgium [Rillaerts, 2010, p. 9]), the political landscape changed, with Flemish Catholic politicians entering parliament. This would contribute to the turning point of 1898, as the Coremans-De Vriendt law, or *loi de l'égalité* (=law of equality) is approved. The law stipulates that every law is voted, sanctioned, promulgated, and published in French and Dutch. The reinforced usage of Dutch in the public administration of Flanders was to be retaken by the law of 1921, or the Van Cauwelaert law, although it would face

criticism at the end of the 1920s for lack of enforcement. Nevertheless, the law furthered the idea of a division of two largely “monolingual” regions and a “bilingual” Brussels (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 31).

With the incorporation of the mainly German speaking territory of Eupen-Malmedy in 1920, German was included in the language policy of Belgium, particularly in the language-in-education policy. However, this required a transition from the Prussian education system to the Belgian one (Boemer, 2015), as we will see in more detail below. 1932 saw the approval of two laws regulating language use. The law of June 28 on the use of Dutch and French in public administration and the law of July 14 regulating the language-in-education policy according to the language of the majority population of each region, conditional and adaptable to censuses conducted every 10 years (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 39), were an extension of the 1921 law and paved the way, once again, for the language laws of 1962 and 1963.

The 1962 and 1963 language laws, also called the *Gilson laws* after then Minister of Interior Arthur Gilson, were a reaction to the growing discontent among both French-speakers and Dutch-speakers regarding the linguistic borders of the time and the census, the method used for the re-establishment of borders every decade. On the one hand, Wallonia was in economic decline and French-speakers became numerically inferior to Dutch-speakers, which led to calls for regionalization as a means of maintaining similar footing to Flanders in terms of political power. On the other hand, new political forces in Flanders (the party *Volksunie* and the lobby group *Vlaams Aktiekomitee voor Brussel en Taalgrens*) were critical of the 1932 law and raised claims for the establishment of definite linguistic borders (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 55).

The first law established a language border between Flanders and Wallonia, changing the boundaries of certain municipalities, provinces, and arrondissements, while also creating the now-famous language facilities for linguistic minorities in 25 municipalities. The second law was most important, as it declared into existence the four language areas of Belgium: the Dutch-speaking in Flanders, the French-speaking in Wallonia, the German-speaking in 25 German-speaking municipalities, and the bilingual French-Dutch area of Brussels. These two laws were, as the previous ones, a prelude to the composition that would be played into the first state reform of Belgium.

The following section delves into the state reforms that led to the federalization of Belgium and, thus, to the organization of the German-speaking Community into what it is today. As will be

shown, this political development was a result of the compromises between the Flemish and the Walloon majorities.

VIII.2.2. State Reforms and the Territoriality Principle

The first state reform of 1970 led to the creation of three cultural communities (the precursors of today's communities) and to the recognition of three regions, which marked the beginning of the federalization of Belgium's previously unitary state. In terms of language policy, this constitutional reform followed a territoriality principle, which had been established already by previous legislation in some domains defined territorially since the second half of the 19th century, such as the law of 1873 on the use of Dutch in criminal proceedings in Flanders (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 9).³⁵

The second state reform of 1980 followed suit by defining the competences of two regions: the Flemish and the Walloon. Both federated entities (communities and regions) thenceforth established their respective parliament (called *council*) and government. Whereas the executive and legislative branches of the Flemish Community and of the Flemish Region fused, this was not the case for the French Community and the Walloon Region (thus they each have their own executive and legislative branches). The competences of the third region, Brussels, were left undefined until the third state reform of 1988-1989. In this third state reform, a parliament and a government were also established in Brussels. Thus, the three regions have an executive branch and a legislative branch, while only two communities have differing parliaments and governments (the German-speaking Community and the French Community). The fourth state reform of 1993 performatively brings about the federalization of Belgium by declaring the country a federal state in the first article of the Constitution: "La Belgique est un État fédéral qui se compose des communautés et des régions" (Belgian Const. art. I).

³⁵ In order to guarantee a better grasp of the concept, territoriality is defined by van der Jeught (2017) as follows: Territoriality in language law may be broadly defined as the principle according to which the authorities establish, on their territory or part thereof, an official language regime and determine which language(s) must be used in the public domain, i.e. essentially by the administration, the courts and the schools (Dovalil, 2015; Van Parijs, 2012). Very often, territoriality means that on each particular territorial unit (State, region or municipality) only one language has legal and political standing (Grin, 2011; Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). Yet, a territorial regime does not necessarily protect one single language (Van Parijs, 2011, 2012) and may very well establish a multilingual regime (as is, for instance the case in the bilingual Belgian capital, Brussels) (p. 181).



Figure 11: The three communities of Belgium (Bouillon, 2019)

The fifth state reform of 2001 consisted of two main agreements, called the Lambermont agreement and the Lombard agreement. The Lambermont agreement is a transfer of competences from the federal level to the community and regional levels. To name a few: agriculture, fishing, and external trade became regional competences, whereas other provisions were established for the funding of the communities. The Lombard agreement regards the parliament of Brussels in particular. It modified the election of the six Brussels seats in the Flemish parliament, the number of seats distributed among the two language groups in the Brussels parliament and the majority of votes necessary among each language group for the adoption of decrees.

The sixth state reform of 2012-2014 is the last one to date. It increased the autonomy of the federated entities by transferring once again a long list of competences from the federal level to the regional and community levels. The transfer of the additional competences was done gradually, from 2014 until 2020. Thus, a high number of competences concerning fiscal autonomy, healthcare, mobility, agriculture, and political powers of the federated entities were transferred in phases. Of importance is the reform of the federal bicameral parliament. The Senate became an Assembly of federated entities, and the House of Representatives was granted more competences for better checks-and-balances. Although it is the last state reform to date, there are currently talks

of a potential seventh state reform. It is no surprise considering that a state reform has been undertaken every 8-10 years in Belgium since 1970.

It is in these political and administrative intricacies that the GC must be situated in order to understand its relatively recent language policy strategy and the ideologies that inform it. Indeed, these changes have had a direct effect on the GC. The following section provides an overview of the geographic, sociolinguistic, and historical intricacies of the GC.

VIII.3. The German-speaking Community of Belgium

With a population of 78.604 residents, the German-speaking Community is by far the smallest in Belgium. Of those almost 79,000 residents, 78% are Belgian nationals, while a large majority of the resident foreign nationals originate from another EU-country (Statistikportal der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft Belgiens, 2022). Regarding political power, the Community has a large degree of autonomy due to the gradual transfer of power from the central to the regional and community governments since the federalization of Belgium from the 1970s until today.



Figure 12: The German-speaking Community of Belgium (Wikimedia Common: NordNordwest, 2014)³⁶

The area comprising the current German-speaking Community of Belgium (GC) is divided between a Northern area (commonly known as *Eupener Land*, or Eupen Country) and a Southern area (commonly known as *Belgische Eifel*, or Belgian Eifel) marked geographically by a natural border called the High Fens, or *Hohes Venn* in German (Boemer & Darquennes, 2012). Administratively, the GC is part of the Walloon region and the Province of Liège, thus certain responsibilities lie at the regional and provincial level. The GC has 9 municipalities (*Gemeinden*), of which four lie in the North and five lie in the South. The four municipalities of the North are Eupen, Kelmis, Lontzen, and Raeren. They are subsumed under the category of *Kanton*, an administrative district, named Eupen. On the other hand, the five municipalities of the South are Amel, Büllingen, Burg-Reuland, Bütgenbach, and Sankt Vith, which build the *Kanton* of Sankt Vith. Furthermore, Malmedy, although a municipality with a French-speaking majority and now separate from the GC, cannot be neglected in the historical overview of the community. What

³⁶ Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Deutschsprachige_Gemeinschaft.svg

follows is a brief description of the historical development and sociolinguistic situation of the GC. Indeed, the GC has a more nuanced sociolinguistic situation than its name seems to suggest.

VIII.4. Historical and Sociolinguistic Overview

The division of the *Eupener Land* and the *belgische Eifel* is manifested historically by the various territorial reshufflings that dragged the two areas into different political entities. The Northern area belonged to the Duchy of Limburg since the 11th century (Kupper, 2007, p. 615), which became a dependency of the County of Brabant (13-15th centuries) after the battle of Worringen in 1288 (Pauly, 2013, p. 35), then the House of Burgundy (14-15th century), until the Spanish Habsburgs' rule over the Netherlands (16-18th centuries), and then Austrian Habsburgs (18th century) rule over what would be known as the Austrian Netherlands (Pabst, 1979). Since the Northern area was intimately tied to the fate of the Duchy of Limburg, it was subsumed under Limburg during the rules of the House of Burgundy, the Spanish Habsburgs, and the Austrian Habsburgs (Pabst, 1979).

On the other hand, the Southern area around Sankt Vith belonged for many centuries to the Duchy of Luxembourg, but the Duchy of Luxembourg was itself ruled by the same houses that ruled the Northern area around Eupen, yet with separate administrations (Pauly, 2013, pp. 44-46). Malmedy comes into the picture at the end of the 18th century. Before this period, it was linked to the Princely Abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy, an ecclesiastical principality of the Holy Roman Empire. From the foundation of Stavelot-Malmedy in the 7th century until the French Revolution, which abolished this ecclesiastic principality, Malmedy formed part of a different state (Köbler, 2014, p. 718).

It was not until the integration of Eupen, Sankt Vith, and Malmedy into the *Département de l'Ourthe* in 1795 during the French Revolution that the link between them was established. Although Sankt Vith had historical ties to the Duchy of Luxembourg, the territory comprising the Duchy of Luxembourg at that time (including the current Province of Luxembourg in Belgium and some territories now in Germany) was renamed the *Département des Forêts* and, therefore, did not include what is today called the Belgian Eifel. After the defeat of Napoléon I., the Congress of Vienna of 1815 redrew the map of Europe once again. The incipient Kingdom of the Netherlands, comprising the current territory of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, was now ruled by King William I of Orange-Nassau. While Luxembourg was elevated to Grand Duchy and conceded to King William I in personal union, who administered it as the 18th province of the Netherlands, the territory of Eupen, Malmedy, and Sankt Vith were granted to the Kingdom of Prussia. This was simply called *Eupen-Malmedy*. Kelmis, called *Neutral-Moresnet* at the time, was particular in that it was jointly administered first by the Netherlands and Prussia, and then Belgium and

Prussia after the independence of Belgium due to its zinc ore deposits (Scharte & Liemann, 2017, p. 33). This led to Kelmis being excluded from the language policy that allowed German after WWI.

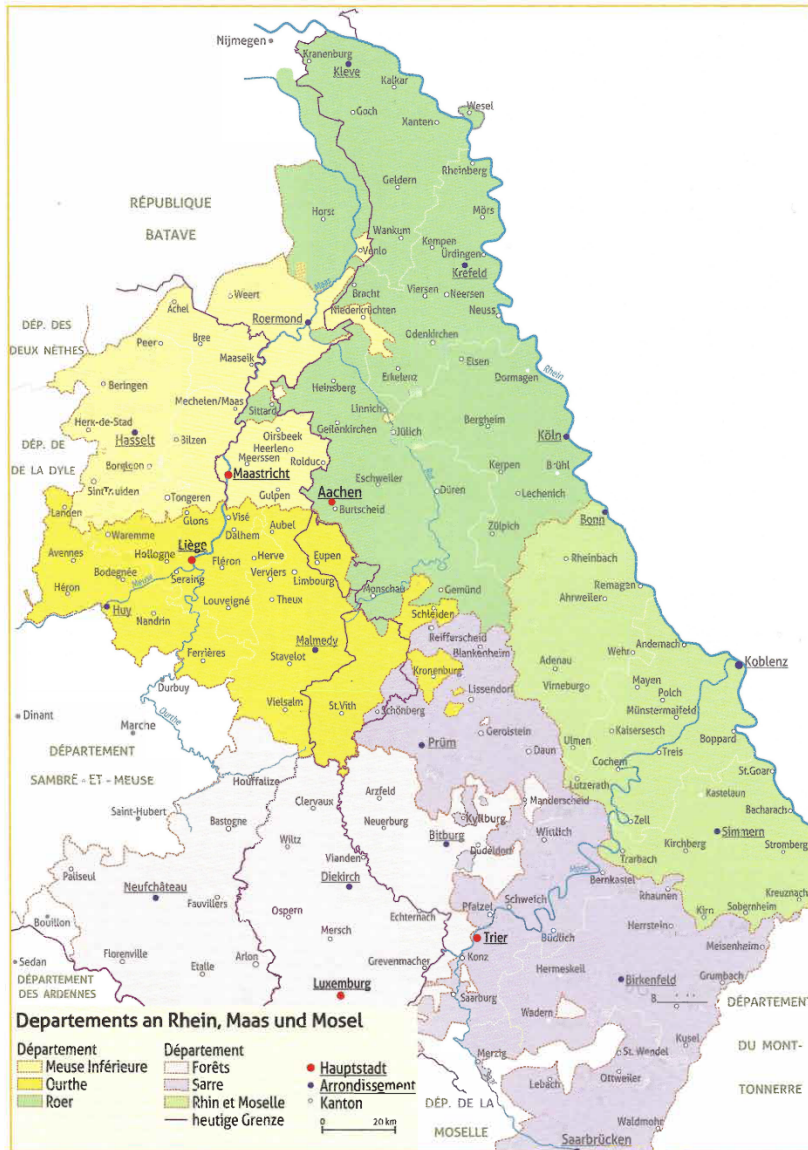


Figure 13: Different "Départements" of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France (Scharte & Liemann, 2017, p. 32)

VIII.4.1. Coexisting Written Standards

Because of the geographic separation and the distinct political fates of Eupen Land and the Belgian Eifel, separate language ecologies developed. A polyglossic situation characterized language use according to distinct domains. Thus, spoken language was characterized by Southern Low Franconian in Eupen and Ripuarian in Raeren in the North, while Moselle Franconian was spoken in St. Vith and surroundings (Figure 14). Regarding education and religion, however, the strong

ties between Limburg's parishes with Aachen established High German as the language of the church and of primary education (Möller, 2017b, p. 233) in Eupen.

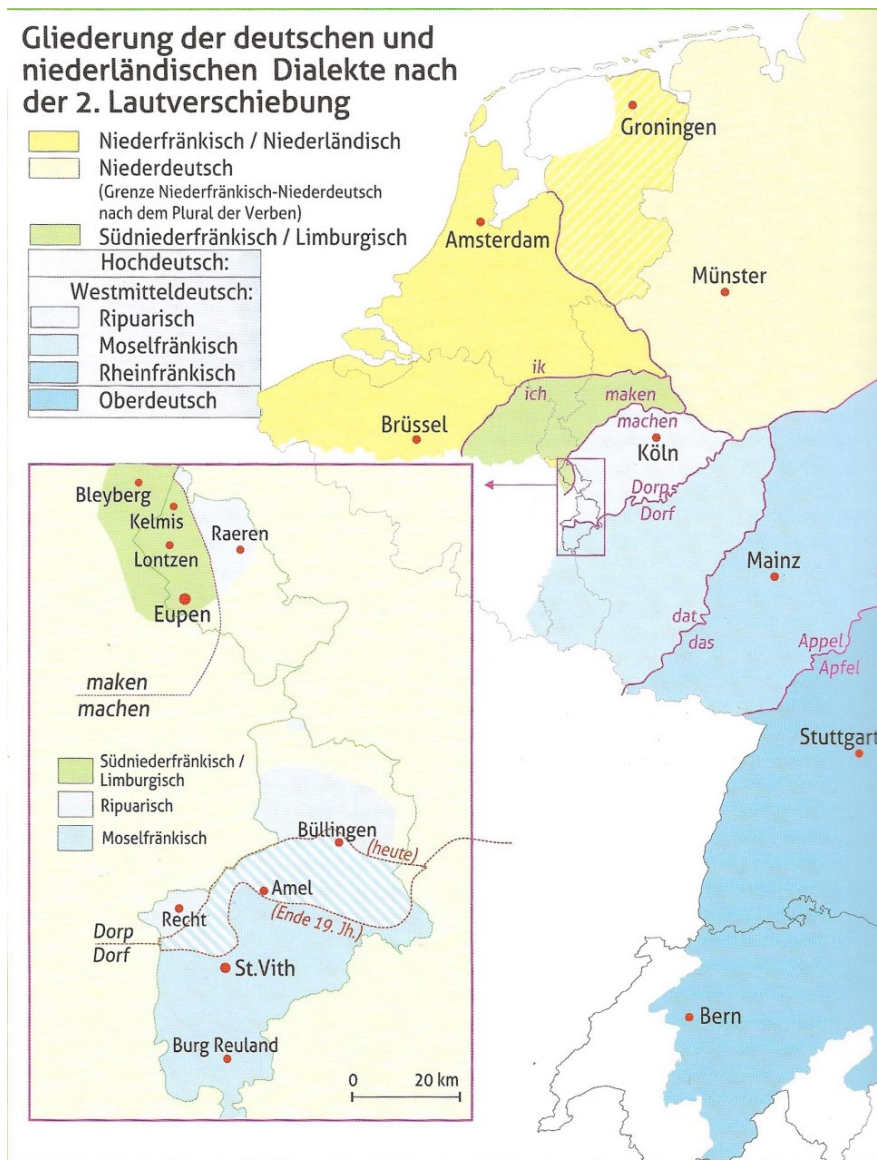


Figure 14: The three dialect areas of the German-speaking Community (Möller, 2019, p. 352)

At the same time, various written standards coexisted for administrative and judicial purposes. These written standards began to emerge around the 13th century independently from Latin in chanceries in various cities, such as Metz. Their use was mainly oriented towards private and administrative documentation, such as the production of deeds (Neuß, 2015, p. 194). For the specific case of Eupen and St. Vith, Neuß (2015) provides an eloquent explanation:

Indem sich kleinere Kanzleien am Vorbild bedeutender Städte wie Köln oder gewichtiger Territorien wie Brabant orientierten, bildeten sich als maßstabsetzende Schreibsprachen eine ripuarisch-mittelfränkische mit Ausstrahlungszentrum Köln und eine brabantisch-

limburgisch geprägte mittelniederländische mit charakteristischen Geltungsgebieten heraus. Ihre Konkurrenz bestimmte – ähnlich wie später auch die der neueren Schriftsprachen Neuhochdeutsch und Neuniederländisch – die weitere Entwicklung im niederfränkischen Bereich nördlich des Hohen Venns, anders als im südlich-moselfränkischen (p. 195).

Until the 18th century, Brabantic, the regional Cologne standard, and French circulated concomitantly as written standards in the *Eupener Land*, although their use depended on the domain (church, administration, private deed, private letter) and on where and by whom it was written (Neuß, 2016, p. 231).

The use of the regional Cologne standard is arguably due to the proximity of Aachen as a powerful center (Neuß, 2015, p. 195). Yet, this regional standard was slowly replaced with *Neuhochdeutsch*, or Standard German, from the 18th century onwards. Interestingly, Dutch could have well established itself as the written standard due to the linguistic proximity between Southern Low Franconian and the developing Dutch standard, but the scope of application of Standard Dutch and Standard German was not clearly delimited at the time (Neuß, 2016, p. 228). Furthermore, the incorporation of these territories into Prussia in 1815 shifted the focus to Standard German (Möller, 2017b, p. 233). On the other hand, French and the consolidating *Hochdeutsch* were common in written communication in the Belgian Eifel, although lack of research does not allow to determine which written standards were used before the consolidation of Standard German in the Belgian Eifel (Neuß, 2015, p. 195; 2016, pp. 232-233)³⁸.

From 1815 to 1919, Standard German as a written norm was increasingly reinforced through compulsory school attendance and administrative communication. Thus, the variation of different written standards according to specific domains slowly coalesced into variation of the German written standard with dialectal influences (Möller, 2017b, p. 246). Indeed, the consolidation of Standard German in these territories can be attributed to this century of Prussian rule (Möller, 2017a, p. 92). A notable exception is Malmedy, which had a mainly French- and Walloon-speaking population that, nevertheless, proved to be loyal to Prussia (Möller, 2017b, p. 237). Despite their incorporation into Belgium after WWI, Standard German was eventually preserved in the language

³⁸ There is a comprehensive collection of source material comprising the Northern area of the GC (Wintgens, 1982, 1988), but a similar source collection does not exist for the Southern area of the GC. Some primary sources can be consulted through Hubert Jenniges' contributions in the monthly journal *Zwischen Venn und Schneifel* of the eponymous museum that publishes it. Indeed, such a collection may provide important insights into the use of written standards in the specific localities of the South of the GC.

policy of the territories (except in Malmédy), called the *Cantons de l'Est* in their new state. How this happened is elucidated in the following section.

VIII.4.2. 20th Century: Becoming Belgian

After WWI, the Treaty of Versailles conceded the territory of Eupen-Malmédy (comprising 30 municipalities) to Belgium. Included here as 31st municipality was Neutral Moresnet, renamed Kelmis. Eupen-Malmédy (excluding Kelmis) received a special administrative status and was governed by lieutenant general Herman Baltia, high commissioner of the King, from 1920 to 1925, when the legal framework for its official incorporation had been completed (Boemer & Darquennes, 2012, p. 221). The legitimization of the integration of Eupen-Malmédy into Belgian authority in 1920 proceeded with dubious means: a 'negative' referendum whereby a nominal registration of the voter represented a vote against the integration of Eupen-Malmédy into Belgium. This kind of referendum would be unacceptable in contemporary international law due to not only the kind of referendum, but mainly the mere 271 out of 33,276 people eligible to vote who dared to register and the lack of neutral international observers (Boemer, 2015, p. 15).

VIII.4.3. De Jure Language Policy: 1920-1932

The integration of the new territories involved the maintenance of Standard German as first language of the population or such was, at least, the official discourse of Herman Baltia, who presided the so-called caretaker government (Boemer & Darquennes, 2012, p. 221). A transition was necessary for the adaptation of the education system of Eupen-Malmédy to the Belgian system. This led to the late implementation (1922) of the 1914 law on mandatory schooling, or *loi Poullet*, which in principle allowed for mother-tongue education in Eupen-Malmédy (Boemer, 2015, p. 58). One of the main problems that arose for the implementation of mother-tongue education was, however, the lack of German teachers. Many teachers either lived across the border on Prussian territory or were obliged to return to Prussia due to their removal from their teaching position.

Another issue that complicated mother-tongue education was the almost omnipresent use of French in higher education. Based on this fact, French was introduced as a foreign language from the 1st year of schooling in the German-speaking municipalities in order to guarantee access to higher education and, perhaps, as an attempt of integration into the Belgian state. To make up for the lack of German teachers, speakers of German dialects from areas that had become part of Belgium since 1830 and 1839 (such as Arlon in the Province of Luxembourg) were recruited. To

their dismay, the teachers' proficiency in Standard German did not meet the required needs. Thus, a German subsection was established in the normal school of Verviers in 1921 (Boemer, 2015, p. 59), the arrondissement in which Eupen-Malmedy would be included in 1925 (Rillaerts, 2010, pp. 28-30).

In 1925, an *arrêté royal*, or royal decree, was passed. The royal decree ended the special administrative status that had been declared in 1919 and established the cantons of Eupen, Malmedy, and Sankt Vith, which were then incorporated administratively into the arrondissement of Verviers and in the province of Liège (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 28). The language policy for the administration followed the law of 1921. As such, German was recognized officially as the language of communication of 24 of the municipalities, while 6 municipalities (in Malmedy) followed a bilingual policy due to their French-speaking majority and tiny German-speaking minority. The exception was Kelmis due to its separate administrative status in the Treaty of Versailles. Despite its German-speaking majority, it was never included in the special administrative area of Eupen-Malmedy and, thus, was not included in the 1925 royal decree, remaining under a francophone region until 1962.

However, it is important to note the following:

Cette ouverture à l'allemand ne profitera pas aux germanophones du reste de la Belgique, en particulier aux habitants de la région d'Arlon (« Arelerland ») qui déclaraient majoritairement parler l'allemand dans 20 communes au recensement de 1920. Elle restera aussi sans effet sur les 9 communes « des 3 langues », situées entre les communes fouronnaises et le nouveau canton d'Eupen [...] dans lesquelles le recensement de 1920 donne une très nette majorité à l'allemand (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 30).

The areas of Belgium where German varieties were traditionally spoken would remain under a francophone policy, as it had been the case since their incorporation into Belgium in 1839. These areas began to face gradual language shift from German varieties to French since the beginning of the 20th century (Darquennes, 2013b).

Following the 1925 royal decree were the 1932 laws mentioned above. The law of June 28, 1932 explicitly states in article 12 that it does not apply to the cantons of Eupen, Malmedy, and Sankt Vith. Thus, the royal decree of 1925 remained the regulating text for the language policy of the new cantons. Nevertheless, the law of July 14, 1932, does give detailed provisions on the language-in-education policy of the German-speaking cantons. As described succinctly by Boemer (2015, pp. 61-62), the law regulated primary, intermediate, and secondary language education.

For primary school, German was the language of instruction, with French being introduced as first foreign language from the fifth school year onwards for a maximum of three hours per week. From the 7th and 8th school years, French could only be taught for a maximum of six hours per week. In the case of a school student who is not proficient in German and whose parents are Belgian citizens, they may have received mother tongue education contingent on the agreement of the school and the municipality. However, learning the language of the municipality was required after the 2nd school year as preparation to the intermediate and secondary school years.

Regarding secondary education, German remained the main language of instruction, but the first foreign language needed to be taught for a minimum of four hours per week. However, there is a provision allowing French as main language of instruction only under specific conditions based on the students' linguistic background and proficiency. As indicated by Boemer (2015, p. 62), article 23 of the law acknowledges that the new cantons had been under a special administrative status from 1920 to 1925 and, because of this, the possibility of diverging, through royal decree, from the provisions of this law was granted. Such a possibility led to different ideological positionings in the press, where a pro-Belgian standpoint faced a pro-German reintegrationist standpoint, as shown by Boemer (2015).

VIII.4.4. WWII: German, then Belgian

The 1930s in Eupen-Malmedy-Sankt Vith could be described as a polarized period where a pro-German political majority was consolidating under the so-called *Heimattreue Front* (=Patriotic Front), which advocated fiercely for the territorial reintegration of the German-speaking cantons into Germany. The rise of Nazism in Germany was at first met with sharp criticism by the local press due to its rejection of Catholicism, but this was short-lived after the reconciliation of Hitler with the Pope, as shown by the landslide victory of the *Heimattreue Front* in the local elections of 1936 (Boemer, 2015, pp. 65-66). In this context, the annexation of Eupen, Malmedy, and Sankt Vith by Germany in 1940 was met with mixed feelings by the population, from joy to dismay. The territory was then renamed Eupen-Malmedy-Moresnet and placed under the district of Aachen.

The purge that followed not only involved the complete reorganization of the political system, but also the education system. German was enforced as the only language of instruction. An increased militarization of society followed, resulting in 8,700 military recruits from Eupen-Malmedy-Moresnet, of which around 3,300 died or remained missing. In terms of the education system, however, the regime faced practical difficulties in its reorganization due to the lack of teachers. Similarly to 1920 but in a reverse fashion, many teachers resided elsewhere in Belgium, such as

the Province of Luxembourg, while others either fled to Belgian territory upon the annexation of Eupen-Malmedy or refused to make an oath of loyalty to Hitler's regime (Boemer, 2015, p. 89). This was compensated by teaching personnel from Germany.

With the end of the war, the restoration of the status of Eupen-Malmedy-Moresnet as Belgian territory ensued. This was justified by the fact that the annexation occurred during wartime, which was thus deemed illegal. The reestablishment of Belgian authority led to a purge against collaborators of the Nazi regime. Due to the illegal annexation of the territory to Nazi Germany based on the essentialist ideology of German blood, particular suspicion was raised against the German-speaking population of Eupen-Malmedy. This was reflected in the school system, where teachers who remained in their post during the war were dismissed.

A solution to the subsequent dearth was found in the teachers that had left Eupen-Malmedy during the war and in teachers from the Province of Luxembourg. In terms of the language-in-education policy, the return to Belgium represented a reinforcement of French in the school system, albeit without a legislative basis (Boemer, 2015, pp. 100-101). Thus, French was taught from a very early stage (sometimes from the 1st school year) in order to teach most subjects in French. In intermediate and secondary schools, French was the main language of instruction. However, Boemer (2015, p. 102) nuances this by showing that most students left school early as they could not cope with the language barrier, while a minority of students were able to succeed in the system. This would slowly start changing in the 1960s.

VIII.4.5. Post-War Period

As the language conflict in Belgium raged on due to certain controversial results of the 1947 census (published only in 1954), the discontent with the census, as method established in the law of 1932 for the determination of ever-changing language borders, grew. A proposal began to take shape with the foundation of the research institute *Centre Harmel* in 1948, named after the Education Minister Pierre Harmel, who proposed the bill. The purpose of the research institute was to find solutions for the various juridical, social, and political issues of the regions of the country (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 41). Of interest here is the fact that the Harmel Center was not in favor of bilingual education in Flanders and Wallonia but gave the following recommendations for the language-in-education policy of the German-speaking areas of Eupen-Malmedy: primary education in mother tongue (thus, German), while intermediate education in French with German as second language. These recommendations were not left uncommented, as criticism was raised

by MP Peter Kofferschläger, native of Kelmis, in a report he wrote for the Harmel Center (Boemer, 2015, p. 102).

In 1951, the Harmel Center submitted to the Minister of the Interior Maurice Brasseur a report in which the main recommendations for the regulation of language use in Belgium are put forward. Of these recommendations, the most relevant is the definite determination of a language border and the elimination of the decennial linguistic census (Rillaerts, 2010, p. 42). After various changes in government from 1951 to 1954, a new law is passed in 1954 that modifies the 1932 law, yet it neither sets any definite language border nor eliminates the census. The retainment of the census displeases many Flemish organizations, which express their discontent in 1955. The following years are characterized by tensions mainly due to pressure from Flemish organizations, as manifested by the mobilization of the VAK (Vlaams Aktiekomitee) in favor of the definition of a linguistic border and the elimination of the linguistic census (Rillaerts, 2010, pp. 55-56). Importantly, the Harmel Center submits its last report in 1958, which contains once more the recommendation of a definite linguistic border.

This long and heated period resulted in the two laws of 1962 and 1963 mentioned above, which officially established the territoriality principle. Most important are, however, the law of July 30, 1963, on the use of language in education and the law of August 2, 1963, on the use of language in administration. This led to the inclusion of the municipalities of Malmedy and Weimes in the French-speaking community and Walloon region, which represented a nominal separation of Malmedy from Eupen after 200 years of joint administrative status. On the other hand, the 1963 law on the use of language in education stipulated that German was the main language of instruction in the German-speaking Community. And yet, there were problems in general with the language-in-education policy of the Community due to highly unclear rules on the teaching of French as L2. This was illustrated by a report published in 1975 in the context of a commission established in 1968 for the improvement of intercommunity relations. Written by district commissioner Henri Hoen, the report showed the obstacles faced by German-speaking students for their advancement towards higher education (Boemer, 2015, p. 122).

This rather chaotic period was characterized by much confusion in the implementation of the language-in-education policy in the German-speaking Community. The germ of such confusion is found in the 1963 law on the use of language in education, which stipulated that French was a mandatory subject from the third school year onwards. However, under certain conditions it could also be the language of instruction from the third school year. The conditions for such a rule had

to be defined through royal decree, which had to be confirmed by law within a year for it to take effect. The royal decree of 1966 defined the conditions for the teaching of French, but failed to be confirmed by law within a year, thus leading to great confusion for the implementation of language-in-education policy. Many schools in the German-speaking Community had differing language-in-education policies, such as French sections where French was the main language of instruction in secondary schools, effectively going against the stipulated limits of 50% for the lower stages (*Unterstufe*) or 2/3 for the higher stages (*Oberstufe*) defined by the unconfirmed royal decree (Boemer, 2015, p. 180).

Bilingual education in the German-speaking Community was not questioned by most actors of civil society, but there was much debate concerning the means to achieve such ends. Two groups came to the fore:

- 1) Those in favor of German as main language of instruction in the first school years in order to form a strong basis in the language, with gradual introduction of French as L2
- 2) Those in favor of immersion to French by making it the medium of subject matters.

VIII.4.6. Power to the Community: 1980s to Today

Regarding the political power of the German-speaking community, it was in 1984, four years after the second state reform, that the Community was granted executive powers that changed the initially consultative function of the Council of the German Cultural Community conceived in 1970, thanks partly to Willy Schyns (Boemer, 2015, pp. 121-122). In the wake of the third state reform of 1989, the education system became the responsibility of the Communities. As such, the German-speaking Community could now design its own school system. Nevertheless, the actual language-in-education policy only became a responsibility of the Communities in 1997. It was at this time that the German-speaking Community created a commission consisting of experts within Belgium and beyond who would debate about and determine which language-in-education policy is most feasible for the realization of bilingual citizens. The work of the commission was contained in a report that paved the way for decrees regulating the language-in-education policy of the German-speaking Community. Four decrees from 1998 to 2008 were instrumental for the design of the (language-in-)education policy of the GC (see sections IX.1.1.1. and IX.2.).

Representing the executive branch of the GC are four ministers: the Minister-President, the Minister for Culture, Employment, and Tourism, the Deputy-Minister (currently also Minister of

Family, Health and Social Matters), and the Minister of Education and Scientific Research. The Ministry of the German-speaking Community (*Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft*) is the public administration of the GC, which employs around 350 people in 19 departments. Out of these 19 departments, the most relevant here are pedagogy, school personnel, and the department of education and organization of instruction (OECD, 2022, p. 36). The legislative branch is represented by the Parliament of the German-speaking Community, which consists of 25 members elected every five years.

VIII.5. Current Language Situation

Although there is no differentiation between the North and the South regarding the language-in-education policy of the GC, the linguistic, demographic, and socioeconomic differences between the North and the South are still palpable. Indeed, the demographic differences are clear: the North is densely populated while the population density of the South is sparse. Furthermore, the North is urbanized while the South is still quite rural. This urban/rural divide between the North and the South has yielded distinctions in language use as well. Indeed, the dialectal varieties of the North of the GC are quickly disappearing, coalescing into a Standard German with regional characteristics (Küpper, Leuschner, & Rothstein, 2017). On the other hand, the use of dialectal varieties in the South is still present at a larger scale. This is also illustrated by the relatively recent forsa survey (2018), which dedicates section 3.2 to a statistical overview of the understanding and use of dialect, simply called *Platt* in the survey (without making any distinctions in regional or local labels).

Table 20: Overview of dialect comprehension and use in forsa survey (2019, p. 13)

		Es sprechen und verstehen „Platt“		
		ja, sprechen und verstehen	ja, nicht sprechen, aber verstehen	nein
		%	%	%
insgesamt:	2011	56	35	9
	2014	60	29	11
	2018	63	30	7
Region:				
	- Norden	44	43	13
	- Süden	81	18	1
Männer		66	28	6
Frauen		61	31	8
18- bis 29-Jährige		54	37	9
30- bis 44-Jährige		60	34	6
45- bis 59-Jährige		63	31	6
60 Jahre und älter		75	19	6
Ortsgröße (Einwohner):				
	- unter 1.000	79	18	3
	- 1.000 bis unter 5.000	52	40	8
	- 5.000 bis unter 10.000	53	40	7
	- 10.000 und mehr	47	39	14
Subjektive Schichtzugehörigkeit:				
	- untere Mittelschicht/Unterschicht	71	24	5
	- mittlere Mittelschicht	66	28	6
	- Oberschicht/obere Mittelschicht	54	36	10

An important aspect is the presence of French in the school system, which will be elaborated upon below once language-in-education policy is addressed. French is still the first foreign language taught in every level of the school system. Moreover, the geographical proximity of the GC with the French-speaking Community of Belgium has led to lexical borrowing and syntactic constructions from French (Möller, 2017a; Bouillon, 2019). Dialectal influences have also been attested (Bouillon, 2019). Interestingly, these characteristics deemed particular to the community, especially the lexical aspects, have been captured in two books authored by Franz-Josef Heinen & Edie Kremer (2011, 2015) for a lay audience. These aspects of language – French influence and

dialect use – have become important indexes of an *Eastern Belgian (ostbelgisch)* linguistic particularity, as shown in Chapter X.

VIII.6. Conclusion

There was a gradual shift in the policy discourse ranging from the 1960s to the new millennium. While the policy discourse of the 1960s shows concerns over the tension between the teaching of German and French, the policy discourse of the end of 1990s is based on expert input that approves of a bilingual policy. With increased federalization, more competencies became regional and community affairs, such that the German-speaking Community was able to design and implement its own policies in a relatively autonomous way. With the recommendations of the report of the commission established in 1997, new decrees regarding the language-in-education policy followed. The above-listed decrees were chosen on the basis of the changes they instituted to the language-in-education policy of the GC.

In the following chapter, first an overview of the current education system of the GC is provided. Following the overview is an analysis of themes that were identified in different policy texts, from decrees and curricula to a brochure about the multilingual policy of the GC. These texts, particularly the decrees and curricula, regulate the use of language in the public sphere and in the education system of the GC. In this vein, one of the aims is to answer Boemer's (2015) call for the continuation of her analysis of language-in-education policy from the 1990s until current times.

IX. Policy Texts

IX.1. Education System of the GC

The following overview is based on two sources: on the one hand, information provided by the *Bildungsportal der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft Belgiens* through its website <https://ostbelgienbildung.be/> and, on the other hand, the 2021 Education Policy Review of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The translational terminology used here has been taken from the Education Policy Review of the OECD.

The education system of the GC features three school networks (*Schulnetze*) that are the reflection of historical and political developments concerning secular vs. Catholic education in Belgium. This difference has been integrated in the education policy of Belgium, allowing for the coexistence of public and private schools. In the GC, the public-school networks are:

- 1) The Official Subsidized Education System, or *Offizielles subventioniertes Unterrichtswesen* (OSU)
- 2) The Community Education System, or *Gemeinschaftsunterrichtswesen* (GUW)

The OSU refers to the municipal school network, i.e., the schools run by the nine municipalities of the GC. This means that municipalities act as *Schulträger*, or school providers, who are responsible for the approval of school curricula, recruitment of staff, the organization of learning, and the pedagogical methods applied in each school. Most primary schools in the GC are under the OSU (*Bildungsportal der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft*, 2023). The GUW refers to schools run and funded directly by the Ministry of the GC. These include three schools with pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels in the GC, one secondary school, one center for part-time vocational education, and the Zentrum für Förderpädagogik (=Center for Special Needs Pedagogy).

The private school network is called the Free Subsidized Education System, or *Freies Subventioniertes Unterrichtswesen* (FSU). This network comprises publicly subsidized private schools. The school providers are organizations or individuals, but there is only one school provider for the FSU in the GC: the Association of Episcopal Schools, or *VoG Bischöfliche Schulen in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft* (BSDG). There are two schools with pre-primary and primary levels, five secondary schools, and a center for part-time vocational education. Given that all three school networks comprise publicly subsidized institutions, there is no single school in the GC that is privately funded.

While most primary schools are run by the OSU, with a select few under the G UW, secondary schools are run by the FSU and the G UW. The secondary schools of the GC are established in four municipalities: Kelmis, Eupen, Büllingen, and St. Vith. This is illustrated in Figure 15:

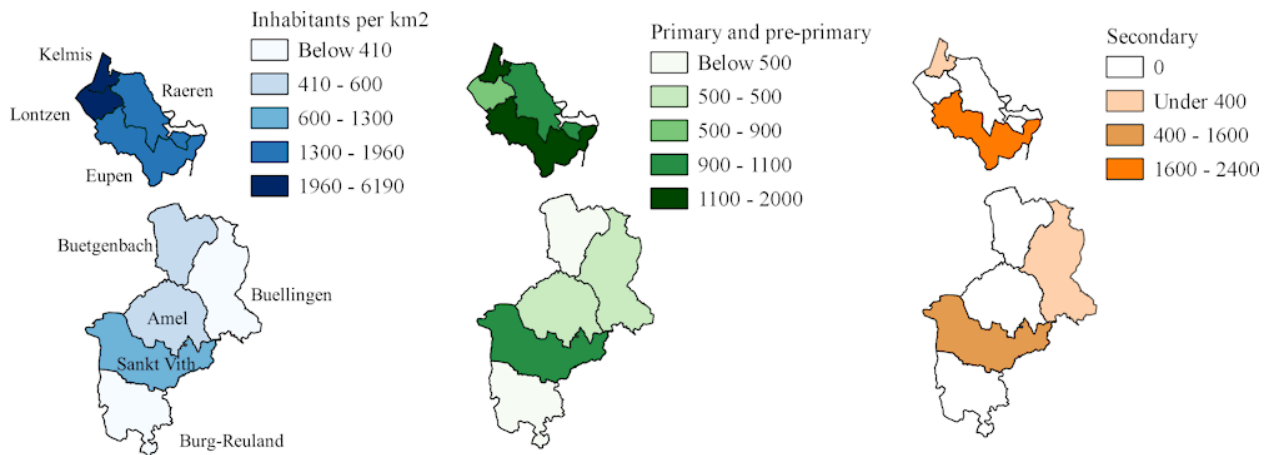


Figure 15: Population density and student numbers across municipalities (OECD, 2022, p. 37)

The figure also shows the population differences between the North and the South, with the North having the biggest population of school students as a result of its population density. This is shown in more detail by the following table created by the OECD:

Table 21: Distribution of inhabitants and students across municipalities, 2020 (OECD, 2022, p. 37)

Municipality	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per km2	Pre-primary students	Primary students	Secondary students
Amel	5 486	43.8	153	353	0
Büllingen	5 456	36.3	168	293	238
Büttgenbach	5 629	57.8	168	281	0
Eupen	19 762	190.5	625	1 335	2 379
Kelmis	11 212	618.8	360	727	342
Lontzen	5 833	203.0	187	363	0
Raeren	10 818	145.8	359	582	0
St. Vith	9 779	66.6	326	705	1 575
Burg-Reuland	3 974	36.5	109	212	0

The education system itself consists of various stages and pathways. There are four main stages, or *Stufen*, in the school system, which are:

- 1) Primary education
- 2) The first stage of secondary education
- 3) The second stage of secondary education
- 4) The third stage of secondary education

Pre-primary education is optional and free of charge for children from age three. Primary education consists of six years of schooling, after which students proceed to the first stage of secondary education in one of two streams: The A-stream (*Beobachtungsstufe*), or the B-stream (*Anpassungsstufe*). This first stage lasts two years. The A-stream provides students with a general education as guidance towards the further stages of secondary school. The B-stream is meant to provide further support for students who may struggle to obtain their primary school certificate before moving towards a technical or vocational education.

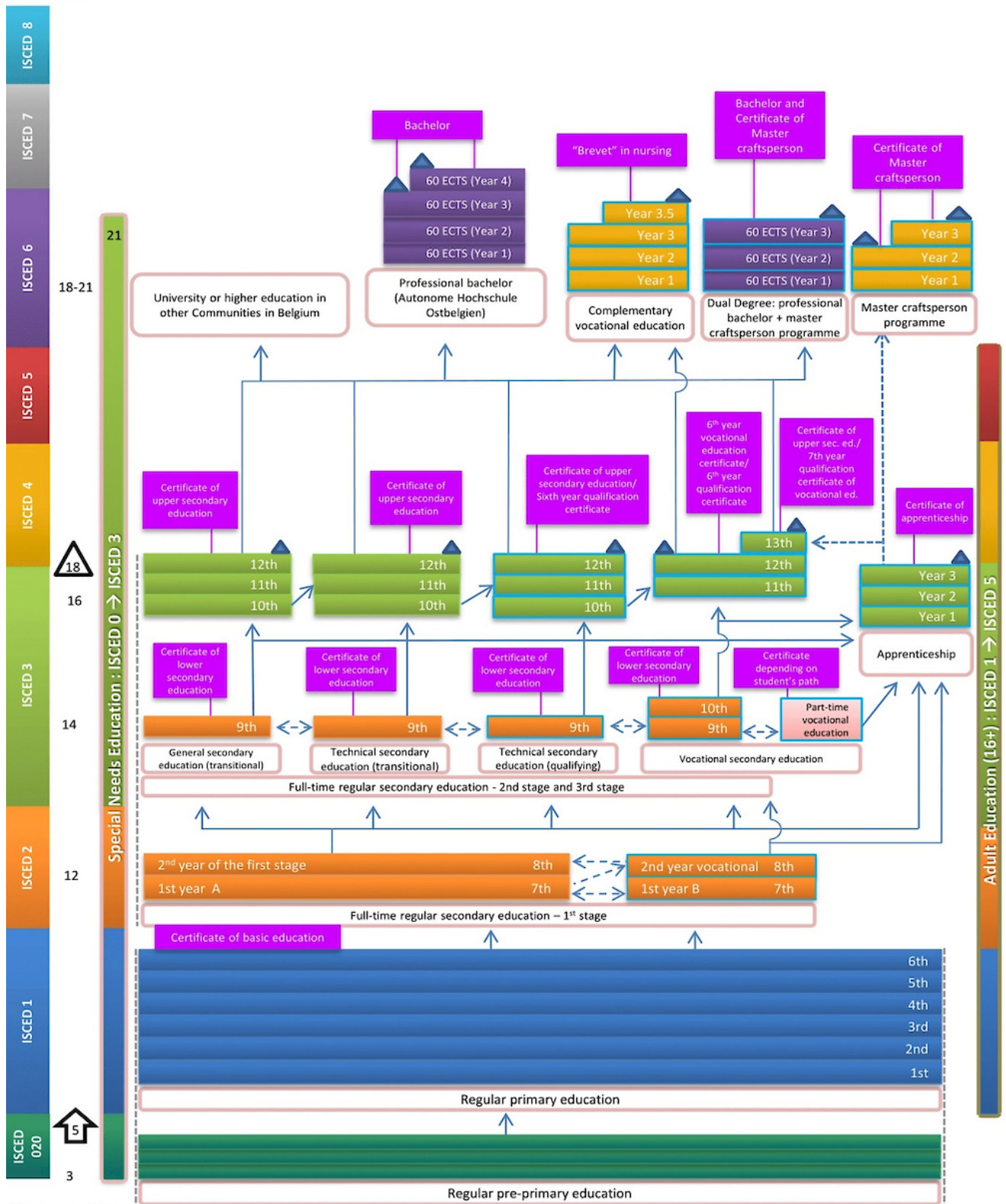
Once students pass the first stage of secondary education, three tracks are offered for their further education: general (*allgemeinbildender Sekundarunterricht*), technical (*technischer Sekundarunterricht*), and vocational (*berufsbildender Sekundarunterricht*). Completion of the A-stream allows access to any of the three tracks, while completion of the B-stream allows access to the vocational track and to the qualifying classes (*Befähigungsunterricht*) of the technical track. If students who completed the B-stream wish to enter the 9th grade of the general track, completion of a year of vocational education is required. After completion of the first stage and first year of the second stage of secondary education for general and technical tracks, students receive a certificate of lower secondary education. For the vocational track, reception of this certificate depends on the completion of both years of the second stage of secondary education.

What proceeds is the third stage of secondary education, which is a continuation of any of three tracks chosen. In the transition from the second to the third stage, students may change tracks with the approval of the admissions council. This third stage lasts three years. After completion of any of the three tracks, students receive a certificate of upper secondary education, which allows them to apply for higher education.

It is important to note that each of the three tracks is distinguished by specific foci and pedagogical approaches. The general track provides students with a broad educational program that has a variety of optional courses with the aim of further nurturing their interests while allowing them to apply to a range of tertiary programs after completion of secondary education. The technical track offers two pathways, the transitional classes (*Übergangsunterricht*) or the qualifying classes (*Befähigungsunterricht*). The former prepares students for technical professions and allows them

to apply to institutions of tertiary education after its completion, while the latter has the purpose of training students for the exercise of a profession after secondary school. Finally, the vocational track is practice-oriented and allows students to pursue apprenticeships (*mittelständische Ausbildung*) in order to enter the labor market. A comprehensive visual overview of the education system of the GC is illustrated in Figure 16.

Theoretical starting age



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Figure 16: Overview of the education system of the GC in 2021 (OECD, 2022, p. 43)

The education policy of the GC is structured according to a competence-based approach, which led to the design of core curricula (*Rahmenpläne*). The core curricula determine which competences school students should acquire according to the different stages of the school system.

A factor bearing strongly on the language-in-education policy of the GC is the fact there is only one higher education institution in the GC, the *Autonome Hochschule Ostbelgien* (AHO), which only offers limited bachelor programs concerning healthcare and nursing, and pre-primary and primary education. Together with the Institute for Vocational and Educational Training in Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises (*Institut für Aus- und Weiterbildung des Mittelstandes*), the AHO also offers programs in accounting, banking, insurance, and public and business administration. Students wishing to pursue other studies need to look for options in Belgian universities or abroad.

This limitation in higher education points to the current language-in-education policy of the GC. French is the first foreign language taught in every school of the GC from the pre-primary to the secondary school levels. In the first stage of secondary school, 65% of content courses can be taught in French. In the second and third stages, 50% of content courses can be taught in French. Furthermore, there are pilot projects in Eupen where primary schools offer bilingual education (French and German), with one primary school having French as main language of instruction and German as first foreign language.

Particularly four factors determine this aspect of the language-in-education policy of the GC:

- 1) The educational prospect: French is deemed necessary for access to higher education in Belgian universities that have French as main language of instruction.
- 2) The labor market: proficiency in French offers job opportunities in the French-speaking Community of Belgium. Not only outside of the GC is French significant for the labor market, as proficiency in French was a requirement in 40% of job openings in the GC in 2020 (OECD, 2022, p. 39).
- 3) The historical background: French played an important role in the language-in-education policy of the GC since its incorporation into Belgium, as shown in the historical overview of the GC.
- 4) The political ties: The GC is administratively subsumed under the region of Wallonia and the Province of Liège, which have a French-speaking majority.

IX.1.1.1. Summary

The current education system of the GC was developed after the transfer of power to the community level regarding education policy in 1997. It is the result of various decrees that were passed from 1998 until today. This allowed the GC to design and implement its own education policy. The following decrees represent milestones for the (language-in-)education policy of the GC:

- a) 1998 Dekret über den auftrag an die schulträger und das schulpersonal sowie über die allgemeinen pädagogischen und organisatorischen bestimmungen für die regelschulen ³⁹
- b) 2002 Dekret über die Festlegung der Entwicklungsziele für den Kindergarten und der Schlüsselkompetenzen für den Primarschulbereich und für die erste Stufe des Sekundarunterrichts mit Ausnahme des berufsbildenden Unterrichts und zur Abänderung des Dekretes vom 31. August 1998 über den Auftrag an die Schulträger und das Schulpersonal sowie über die allgemeinen pädagogischen und organisatorischen Bestimmungen für die Regelschulen und des Dekretes vom 26. April 1999 über das Regelgrundschulwesen
- c) 2004 Dekret über die Vermittlung und den Gebrauch der Sprachen im Unterrichtswesen
- d) 2008 Dekret zur Festlegung von Kernkompetenzen und Rahmenplänen im Unterrichtswesen

The following section delves into each decree and into the analysis of annexes and core curricula.

IX.2. Overview of Decrees: From 1998 to 2008

First, a description of each decree is provided. Following the description is the analysis of themes found in the annexes of the 2002 decree. The analysis of themes is then applied to extracts from the core curricula (*Rahmenpläne*) that were developed based on the 2008 decree, which provides a framework for the teaching of German according to the competence-based approach. Finally, an analysis of these themes as identified in a brochure explaining the multilingual policy of the GC concludes this chapter. In a dialectical manner, a micro-analysis of the linguistic structure of each extract elucidates the ideology or ideologies at play in the design of each policy text. Since all these texts share many thematic and structural commonalities, the analysis is organized around

³⁹ Nouns are in lower case in the original text.

prevalent themes regarding language use and language teaching in the GC. The prevalent themes are shown in Table 22:

Table 22: Prevalent themes in the corpus

Themes
A pragmatic focus on language teaching as part of the pedagogical approach of <i>active learning</i>
Standard Language as a normative goal
Language/culture nexus in foreign language teaching
The particularity of the sociolinguistic situation of the GC
The CEFR as a tool of legitimation for current and envisaged policies for the promotion of multilingualism

The decrees were collected through the search engine of the Belgian official journal: http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/doc/rech_f.htm. The Belgian official journal, also known as *Moniteur belge/Belgisch Staatsblad/Belgisches Staatsblatt* in the three community languages of Belgium, has the function of publishing the legal texts of Belgium, such as laws, royal decrees, decrees, and so on.

IX.2.1. Decree of 1998

The 1998 decree laid the foundations for the (language-in-)education policy of the GC by outlining the mission and the goals of the school system. The pedagogical orientation of the school system is based on three main concepts: developmental goals for kindergarten, competences for primary and secondary school, and key competences. These are defined in article 4 of the decree, found in chapter 1. Article 4 is the germ of the competence-based approach of the education policy of the GC:

:

14. Entwicklungsziele: Ziele, die im Kindergarten auf dem Gebiet des Wissens, der Wahrnehmung, der Fähigkeiten und des Verhaltens angestrebt werden;

15. Kompetenzen: Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten auf dem Gebiet des Wissens, des Könnens und des Verhaltens; sie können sowohl fachbezogen als auch fachübergreifend sein;

16. Schlüsselkompetenzen: fachbezogene Kompetenzen, die als Mindestanforderungen von jedem Schüler erreicht werden müssen (Belgian official journal, 1998, pp. 37687-37688).

Of interest is also article 10, subtitled *Weltoffenheit* and formulated by a single sentence. The statement can, however, be considered the declaration of the official language-in-education policy of the German-speaking Community:

Die Schule erzieht zur Weltoffenheit, fördert den europäischen Gedanken und die Mehrsprachigkeit (Belgian official journal, 1998, p. 37688).

The NPs of the predicate are left undescribed, but serve as orientation for future decrees, as will be seen below. Particularly, the promotion of *Mehrsprachigkeit* (=multilingualism) was constrained by the official language-in-education policy that defined German as L1 and French as the sole L2. As is exhibited by the linguistic structure of the sentence, multilingualism is the second object of the verb *fördern* (=to promote). Therefore, *Mehrsprachigkeit* is most likely encompassed under the then incipient European recommendations for multilingual education. In practice, however, the German-speaking Community strove for bilingual education, with a main L1 and a first foreign language, or L2 (generally German as L1 and French as mandatory L2). Exceptions are made for children whose parents request education in a different L1, such as French or Dutch.

IX.2.2. Decree of 2002

The 2002 decree amended the 1998 decree and expanded on it by defining the developmental goals for kindergarten and the key competences of primary and secondary school. The edition consulted for this research was the second edition of the text published on July 10, 2003, in the Belgian official journal. Joined to the text are two annexes, the first one defining the developmental goals and the second one defining the key competences. The annexes are structured according to sections and subsections. Each subsection consists of a list of goals that the school students should achieve. These annexes are analyzed below. The design of such a policy was a steppingstone that led to further decrees, all involving amendments to the language-in-education policy. These new possibilities were a direct consequence of the *transfer* of responsibilities from the state-level to the community-level of language-in-education policy in 1997.

IX.2.3. Decree of 2004

It was the decree of 2004 that regulated all the competences and uses of German, French, and Dutch in the education system of the GC. The decree repeals five legislative texts. Of most importance is the 1963 law on the use of language in education. The decree of 2004 reorganizes the language-in-education policy of the GC by clearly establishing language requirements for all personnel. The language competences of the personnel are evaluated and approved by external committees. Article 4 of the decree stipulates that German is the language of instruction in the school system of the GC. However, article 3 allows, under certain conditions, for the establishment of kindergarten and primary school sections (= *Schulabteilungen*) with French or Dutch as main languages of instruction.

Stepping away from L1 teaching and onto L2, or foreign language teaching: article 5, section 1 is explicit in its brevity and clarity:

Art. 5 - § 1 - Im Grundschulwesen ist Französisch erste und einzige Fremdsprache.

In Abweichung von Absatz 1 ist Deutsch erste Fremdsprache in den französisch- und niederländischsprachigen Grundschulen beziehungsweise Grundschulabteilungen (Belgian official journal, 2004, p. 75449).

In kindergarten and primary school, French is the *sole* foreign language taught. In cases where French or Dutch are the main languages of instruction, German takes the place of sole foreign language. Some flexibility is granted in secondary school regarding the teaching of French. In section 2 of article 5, it is declared that French is the first, but not the only foreign language taught in secondary school. Thus, other languages may be taught as L3 according to the grade and course mode (general, technical, or vocational). The languages to be taught are determined by the authority in charge of maintaining the school, or *Schulträger*. At the university college, French is the first foreign language, but other languages may be taught according to the study program. For further educational training (= *schulische Weiterbildung*), various language courses can be offered, which are left unspecified. On paper, these provisions respect the territoriality principle as well as the language rights of speakers of French or Dutch.

IX.2.4. Decree of 2008

The decree of 2008 determines core competences and core curricula (*Rahmenpläne*, see section IX.4.) for the school system. It amends the 1998 decree by redefining its major concept.

Competence is the first major concept to be redefined. A comparison of the two versions illustrates the change:

1998 decree:

15. Kompetenzen: Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten auf dem Gebiet des Wissens, des Könnens und des Verhaltens; sie können sowohl fachbezogen als auch fachübergreifend sein (Belgian official journal, 1998, p. 37687)

2008 decree:

Im selben Artikel wird die Nummer 15 durch folgende Bestimmung ersetzt:

«15. Kompetenzen: Fähigkeit effizienten Handelns in Bezug auf eine Gruppe verwandter Situationen; die Meisterung dieser Situationen bedarf einerseits der notwendigen Kenntnisse und andererseits der Fähigkeit, diese Kenntnisse im Hinblick auf das Erkennen und Lösen wirklicher Probleme reflektiert und zum angemessenen Zeitpunkt in konkretes Tun umzusetzen; die Kompetenzen können sowohl fachbezogen als auch **überfachlich** sein;« (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48234; added emphasis)

In the definition of competences, there is also a change from *fachübergreifend* to *überfachlich*, which can be translated as an amendment of *interdisciplinary* to *transdisciplinary*. Another major change is *key competences*. The term itself changed from *Schlüsselkompetenzen* to *Kernkompetenzen* with a redefinition of the term. The redefinition introduced a new term that would also serve as a guiding principle for the education policy of the GC.

1998 decree:

16. Schlüsselkompetenzen: fachbezogene Kompetenzen, die als Mindestanforderungen von jedem Schüler erreicht werden müssen (Belgian official journal, 1998, p. 37688).

2008 decree:

Im selben Artikel wird die Nummer 16 durch folgende Bestimmung ersetzt:

«16. Kernkompetenzen: wesentliche Ziele im Unterrichtsfach oder Fachbereich, die Ausgangspunkt für die Formulierung von Kompetenzerwartungen sind;«

In denselben Artikel wird eine Nummer 16*bis* mit folgendem Wortlaut eingefügt:

«16*bis*. Kompetenzerwartungen: die zu erreichenden Lernergebnisse, die die Schüler jeweils zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt erworben haben müssen, um ein erfolgreiches Weiterlernen zu

sichern; diese gelten als Mindestanforderungen, die von jedem Schüler erreicht werden müssen;» (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48234).

The education policy of the GC kept its competence-based orientation. In order to systematize this competence-based approach, the GC established core curricula or *Rahmenpläne* that would be guided by the main concepts of the decree. These are defined as follows:

In denselben Artikel wird eine Nummer 16ter mit folgendem Wortlaut eingefügt:

«16ter. Rahmenpläne: verbindliche Rahmen, die Anforderungen an das Lehren und Lernen in der Schule formulieren; diese beinhalten unter anderem Kernkompetenzen, Kompetenzerwartungen und Bezüge zu den Kompetenzerwartungen; diese letzteren beschreiben Zwischenziele für die verschiedenen Stufen in der Primar- und Sekundarschule, die wichtige Etappen in der Kompetenzentwicklung darstellen;» (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48234).

For language teaching, this pedagogical approach corresponds to *handlungsorientierter Unterricht*, or active learning. What follows is an analysis of extracts from the first annex of the 2002 decree.

IX.2.5. First annex of 2002 decree

The first annex begins with *mother tongue* and *foreign language activities*:

I. Entwicklungsziele für den Kindergarten

1. MUTTERSPRACHE

1.1. Zuhören und Sprechen

1.2. Lesen und Schreiben

2. FREMDSPRACHLICHE AKTIVITÄTEN

2.1. Zuhören und Verstehen

2.2. Sprechen

(Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37318)

IX.3. Pragmatic Focus/Standard German as Normative Goal

These two themes coincide in the subsection *Zuhören und Sprechen* (=listening and speaking), which consists of the following goals:

Das Kind

- zeigt die Bereitschaft, jemandem zuzuhören und nimmt die anderen Kinder und die Erwachsenen und ihre Rolle in der Klasse und in der Schule wahr;
- erfasst eine mündliche Botschaft mit Bezug auf die **konkrete Situation**, evtl. mit begleitender Gestik, Mimik oder mit begleitenden Bildern;
- versteht die vom Lehrer in der Klasse oder Schule verteilten Aufgaben;
- teilt sich selbst mit;
- erzählt eine an ihn gerichtete Botschaft mit eigenen Worten nach;
- drückt eigene Erfahrungen, Ereignisse aus seiner Um-, Mit- oder Inwelt mündlich aus;
- erklärt seine Arbeitsweise oder Arbeitsplanung;
- beschreibt ein Objekt oder eine Person aufgrund von Form, Farbe, Größe und spezifischen Merkmalen;
- stellt und beantwortet **situationsbezogene** Fragen;
- reagiert mit einfachen Fragen auf Gespräche;
- bittet Mitschüler oder Erwachsene um Hilfe oder um Mitarbeit;
- spielt und (er)lebt Rollen in **deutlich festgelegten Situationen**;
- bedient sich **in konkreten Situationen** und **in angepasster Form der Standardsprache**, auch mit Unterstützung von Erwachsenen oder älteren Schülern;
- findet Freude und Interesse an der Muttersprache mittels folgender konkreter Elemente:
 - Identifizierung und Unterscheidung von Lauten;
 - Rhythmische Gegebenheiten der Sprache;
 - Gestik und Mimik.

(Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37318, emphasis added)

The structure of the subsection is subject-predicate. The NP *Das Kind* is followed by a list of verbs in present tense. This linguistic structure is descriptive of various actions required of the agent, *das Kind*. The required actions are the goals. These goals are based on language learning through the understanding of situational activities. It is a pragmatic focus of language learning, whereby language use in context is the point of departure for knowledge acquisition. This focus is prevalent across every single decree: The competence-based approach is characterized by an emphasis on

pragmatics for language learning, i.e., on language as practice that may be appropriate or inappropriate in certain contexts. In this particular excerpt, this is illustrated by one adjective and distinct phrases in bold featuring *situation* as the root or as NP. Of interest is also the brief mention of the *standard language* (=Standardsprache). The *adapted* (=angepasst) use of the standard language is mentioned as a developmental goal, thus implicitly recognizing the existence of other varieties, yet excluding them from the language-in-education policy. No definition of *standard language* is provided, which can be interpreted as a presupposition: the variety referred to is most probably Standard German.

Subsection 1.2, *Lesen und Schreiben* (=reading and writing) consists of a list of goals for the development of literacy. However, it is not necessary to include it here. This subsection follows the same linguistic structure as the previous subsection. It describes abilities that should be developed for writing and reading, but interestingly differs from subsection 1.1 due to a lack of pragmatic focus. In other words, the goals described therein are mainly tasks that the child should accomplish, without situating them in specific contexts.

The second section, *Fremdsprachliche Aktivitäten*, is characterized by its paucity. Because of this, both subsections can be reproduced jointly here:

2.1. Zuhören und Verstehen

Das Kind

- entwickelt Interesse und Neugier für die Fremdsprache;
- entwickelt ein Gefühl für den Klang der Fremdsprache (Rhythmus, Phonetik, Intonation);
- versteht elementare Anweisungen bzw. Mitteilungen oder Fragen und führt sie aus bzw. reagiert adäquat, um sein Verständnis der Aussage/Frage unter Beweis zu stellen;
- entdeckt den globalen Sinn einer Aussage beim Zuhören **unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes**, der Intonation, des Rhythmus, der verwendeten Medien (Bilder,..).

2.2. Sprechen

Das Kind

- wendet Gruß- und Höflichkeitsformen **in konkreten Situationen** an;
- singt, spricht und spielt Lieder, Gedichte und Reime nach.

(Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37319; emphasis added)

They follow the same linguistic structure as the previous section. The list of goals is much shorter, entailing a clear emphasis on the L1 contrasted to smaller acquisition steps for the L2. Furthermore, reading and writing are not included as goals. The focus is placed on orality. As indicated by the text in bold, some goals in both subsections relate to language use under specific contexts or situations. Once again, language acquisition is framed according to pragmatics rather than grammar knowledge. A similar pragmatic focus (or active learning approach), to section 1 is thus applied for the acquisition of L2.

IX.3.1. Second Annex of 2002 Decree

An identical structure is found in the second annex of the decree. As mentioned above, the second annex describes the key competences that the school students should learn and develop. Following the structure of the first annex, the first section is titled *Muttersprache* and the second section is titled *Erste Fremdsprache*. Although the title of the second section presupposes that there is more than one foreign language, there is no section dedicated to a second foreign language, unless Latin is considered a second foreign language. Moreover, the key competences are defined in much more detail than the developmental goals.

IX.3.2. Pragmatic Focus

The definition of the key competences is represented by a table for each section⁴⁰. The contrast between the first and the second annexes becomes blatant when reading through the table wherein the key competences are described. Each subsection contains subsections. The subsections are the descriptions of the subsection on the left side of the table. The symbols mentioned in Footnote 35 are found on the right side of the table. Each subsection has a symbol according to the primary or secondary school levels. Figure 17 illustrates one of the subsections of the first section:

⁴⁰ On the left side of the table lies the description of the key competences, while the right side is divided by *Primar* and *Sekundar* (i.e., the two school levels). Under these two divisions are one of three symbols: an arrow (→), a Z, and W.E. The arrow refers to *Entwicklung*, as a learning process guided by so-called formative evaluation. The Z is an abbreviation of *Zertifizierung*, a certifying evaluation for the achievement of a key competence. W.E. is an abbreviation of *Weiterentwicklung*, referring to the continued development of a key competence.

1. MUTTERSPRACHE

	Primar	Sekundar
1.1. Zuhören und Sprechen		
1.1.1. Das Sprechen und Zuhören an der Kommunikationssituation orientieren		
Der Schüler		
- trägt der Absicht, dem Ansprechpartner, den Zwängen der Aufgabe, den Modalitäten, der Situation Rechnung und drückt sich angemessen aus;	Z	W.E.
- zieht Rückschlüsse aus den Reaktionen der Gesprächspartner und passt die Mitteilungen dementsprechend an;	→	Z
- überdenkt seine eigene Haltung beim Zuhören und Sprechen und formuliert mündlich auf korrekte Weise;	→	Z
- bringt sich in Rollenspielen ein;	Z	W.E.
- hält sich an Gesprächsregeln (andere Gesprächspartner ausreden lassen, Redezeit)	Z	→

Figure 17: *Zuhören und Sprechen* (Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37326)

The key competences for “mother tongue” or L1 learning follow the same pragmatic focus as the previous annex, with more detail provided by each subsection. Each subsection has four to five subsections. The subsections of *Zuhören und Sprechen* are the following:

1.1.1. *Das Sprechen und Zuhören an der Kommunikationssituation orientieren*

1.1.2. *Aussagen sichtbar machen*

1.1.3. *Die Struktur der Mitteilung/Aussage sichtbar machen und deren Zusammenhang sichern*

1.1.4. *Erkennen und Gebrauch der nichtverbalen Zeichen*

(Belgian official journal, 2003, pp. 37326-37327)

The titles already anchor the competences on the pragmatic focus mentioned above. There is no mention of standard language. However, there is a sentence in subsection 1.1.3 that uses an equivalent term, *Hochsprache*, which can be linked to the theme of *standard language as normative goal*.

IX.3.3. Standard Language as Normative Goal

Figure 18 illustrates the use of *Hochsprache* in one of the subsections of the core curriculum:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lenkt den Auf- und Ausbau von Gedankengängen in geordnete Bahnen, erkennt deren logische Abfolge; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ dies gilt u.a. für <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Eine Erklärung des Lehrers zu einem Teil des Lehrstoffs, ein Gespräch mit Mitschülern in Bezug auf das Geschehen in der Schule oder in der Klasse; ▪ an einen Klassenverbund gerichtete Anweisungen bzw. Erläuterungen in Bezug auf die Durchführung von Handlungen (auch außerschulischer Art); ▪ Telefongespräche, ... 	Z	W.E.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identifiziert und verwendet Grund- und Nebeninformationen als solche; 	Z	W.E.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - verwendet und identifiziert adäquate Hilfsmittel, die der Klarheit der Aussage zuträglich sind (Beispiele, Anekdoten, Analogien, Antinomien); 	→	→
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ist fähig, die Aussage/Mitteilung in der Hochsprache akustisch und phonetisch auf eine Weise „einzukleiden“, die eine mühelose Hörerorientierte Rezeption ermöglicht; 	Z	W.E.

Figure 18: Extract of Subsubsection 1.1.3 (Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37327; added highlight)

The clause itself is explicitly ideological. As part of the key competence of subsubsection 1.1.3, the student must be able to produce an utterance in the *Hochsprache*. The ability is described through the figurative use of the verb *einkleiden*, equivalent to the verb in English *to couch*, also used figuratively for the expression of certain styles and registers. The adverbs *akustisch* and *phonetisch* are no surprise, since the clause is part of the subsection *Zuhören und Sprechen*. The clause can be interpreted as conveying 1st and 2nd order indexicalities (Silverstein, 2003). In 1st-order indexicality, the adverbs *akustisch* and *phonetisch* point to the existence of a standard pronunciation. The 2nd-order indexicality of the clause is found in the use of quotation marks for the verb *einkleiden*. Their use indexes the figurative character of the verb in this specific context and the awareness of register divisions normatively reinforced. This is most noticeable in the embedded clause with the adjectives *mühelose* and *Hörerorientierte* preceding the NP *Rezeption*. The student must be able to *voice* the standard. It is, however, not necessary for the other way around (i.e., to voice the dialect in an interaction).

It is worth to compare this particular extract with the French and Dutch translations provided in the same text. Each extract shows different metapragmatic descriptions according to the language. In the French version, the term used for *Hochsprache* is *langue normative*. In addition, there is no figurative use of a verb conveying the *voicing* of different registers and styles, as shown here:

- est capable, d'un point de vue acoustique et phonétique, de formuler l'énoncé/la communication en langue normative de telle sorte que la réception de l'auditeur puisse s'effectuer sans difficulté;	C	P
--	---	---

Figure 19: French version of extract of subsection 1.1.3 (Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37364; added highlight)

In the Dutch version, the term referring to *Hochsprache* is accompanied by an additional description under parenthesis. An image of the clause may provide a clearer understanding:

- kan het gezegde/de mededeling in de standaardtaal (het algemeen beschaafd) akoestisch en fonetisch zo voorstellen dat een gemakkelijke, op de luisteraar georiënteerde ontvangst mogelijk is.	C	V.O.
---	---	------

Figure 20: Dutch version of extract of subsection 1.1.3 (Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37421; added highlight)

The term for *Hochsprache* is *standaardtaal*, i.e., standard language. The main difference resides, however, in the content under parenthesis. It is a phrase with an adverb and a nominalized adjective by the defined article *het*. The adverb *algemeen* can be translated in this passage as *generally* or *commonly*, while the nominalized adjective, *beschaafd*, can be translated as “civilized” or “refined”. Thus, the standard language in the Dutch version is described as the *generally refined one*.

Such differences in translation are arguably due to differing metapragmatics. The referent is most likely the same in all three versions, but the designation for it differs according to the language. An implicit metapragmatic discourse adapting to the cultural and social particularities shapes the reference to a standard language.

IX.3.4. Foreign Language Learning in the 2002 Decree: Language/Culture Nexus

The next section is *Erste Fremdsprache*. The following comment introduces the section:

Das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache dient nicht nur der Verständigung auf rein sprachlicher Ebene. Fremdsprachenkenntnisse dienen letztlich dazu, den anderen, seine Weltanschauungen, Mentalität und Kultur zu verstehen und als gleichwertig anzunehmen (Belgian official journal, 2003, p. 37330)

The discourse of language learning changed. As shown by Boemer (2015), previous discourses about bilingual education and French learning were based on qualms about the unequal

competence in both German and French. Furthermore, there was a perceived threat to German identity and culture through the learning of French. However, these discourses were disputed and slowly became rather marginal upon increasing federalization. Thus, from 1998 onwards, official language-in-education policy was oriented towards the promotion of bilingual education. As exhibited by the opening comment of the section, there was an assumption that language was intimately tied to worldviews, mentality, and culture. Although such assumptions should be critically evaluated or at least taken with precaution (so as to avoid falling into the *linguistic relativity* trap), they serve as foundations in this passage for a discourse that frames L2 learning as complementary to L1 learning.

The section is structured in an identical manner to the *Muttersprache* section, with the same subsections, but is noticeably shorter. There is no mention of a standard language. Neither is any learning of register and style required. This could be due to the assumption that these are advanced competences acquired in higher grades. However, their absence in the official language policy still creates a divide between the competences required for successful L1 learning vis-à-vis L2 learning.

What follows is an analysis of the themes identified in four core curricula regarding German as main language of instruction and French as first foreign language in the primary and secondary schools of the GC.

IX.4. Rahmenpläne/Core Curricula

What is here named *Rahmenplan* corresponds to the concept brought forward in the decree of 2008. As briefly shown in the Education System of the GC section, *core curriculum/a* is the translation provided in the Education Review Policy report of the OECD. *Rahmenpläne* are outlines of core competences, competences, and goals for each school subject, set out with the aim of guiding schools in the formulation and realization of their pedagogical mission. Their design was a multi-layered collaborative process between the Ministry of the GC, working groups of teachers, and an external expert. Each working group had a ministerial leader and two teachers for each subject assigned by each school network. The draft of the core curricula was then sent to an “impulse group” consisting of the school providers and representatives from the *Autonome Hochschule*. The school providers sent the draft to the team leaders, or *Fachleiter*, which would then send the draft to the teachers of their teams. With this feedback, the impulse group and the working groups modified and finalized the draft before its submittal to the Parliament of the GC (OECD, 2022, p. 48). A complementary source of information for this process is found in Chapter

X. The policy design process is explained in detail by an official of the Ministry of the GC who agreed to participate as an informant in the project.

Each core curriculum has the following structure: an introductory chapter explaining the competence-based approach, the relevance of the school subject for the competence-based approach and the expectations for the school students' acquisition of such competences according to the school stage, a chapter with methodological and didactic recommendations, and some suggestions for content. These core curricula are some of the few language-in-education policy texts produced in the GC. Thus, they offer insights into the language-in-education policy of the GC through metapragmatic discourse. The analysis will only focus on aspects of the German and French core curricula considered relevant to the research. The core curricula chosen for analysis are the following:

- 1) German as Main Language of Instruction of Primary School and the First Stage of Secondary School (*Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache: Rahmenplan für die Primarschule und die erste Stufe der Sekundarschule*)
- 2) German as Main Language of Instruction of the Second and Third Stages of the General Track and Technical Track (*Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache: Rahmenplan für die zweite und dritte Stufe des allgemeinbildenden und technischen Übergangsunterrichts in der Regelsekundarschule*)
- 3) French as 1st Foreign Language of Primary School and 1st Stage of Secondary School (*Französisch als erste Fremdsprache: Rahmenplan für die Primarschule und die erste Stufe der Sekundarschule*)
- 4) French as 1st Foreign Language for the Second and Third Stages of the General Track and the Technical Track (*Französisch als erste Fremdsprache: Rahmenplan für die zweite und dritte Stufe des allgemeinbildenden und technischen Übergangsunterrichts in der Regelsekundarschule*)

The first and the third core curricula are found as annexes in the decree of 2008. The *Bildungsportal der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft Belgiens* provides free access to the rest of the core curricula. French core curricula were chosen with the aim to compare metapragmatic discourses about the four themes and the ideologies that inform these discourses. The core curricula for the vocational track were not included because they feature derivative content where

the same themes could be identified. Their inclusion would have merely added repetition to the analysis.

It is noteworthy that there are only scarce mentions of “standard language” or *Hochdeutsch* in the chosen curricula. Instead, the curricula are permeated by assumptions about German and French. These are couched on the competence-based approach, which takes active learning as its base. Despite such an approach, there is an almost total lack of discourse about language variation, especially regarding the German varieties of the GC. Thus, an implicit standard language ideology threads through the core curricula, informing their design. Considering that every core curriculum is structured by the competence-based approach, with recommendations being divided into methodical, social, and personal competences, the almost complete invisibility of language variation, as one of the most important markers of sociality, is worth analyzing as a contrast with the case of Luxembourgish.

The relevant content for the analysis are the chapters subsequent to the introduction, which specifically deal with the course subject, in this case German as language of instruction and French as first foreign language.

IX.4.1. Core Curriculum of 2008 Decree: Primary School and First Stage of Secondary School

The decree of 2008 has eight annexes serving as core curricula. The first one is the core curriculum of the German course for primary school and for the first stage of secondary school. Each core curriculum has an introduction that serves as an explanation of the competence-based approach. Thus, the main concepts described above are elaborated upon in the introduction. Since there is no divergence between the definitions of the concepts in the legal text and in the core curriculum, the introduction will not be included in the analysis.

IX.4.1.1. Pragmatic Focus/Standard Language as a Normative Goal

The second chapter of the curriculum is titled *Der Beitrag des Fachs Deutsch zur Kompetenzentwicklung*. It follows the pragmatic approach described in the annex of the 2002 decree. In other words:

Die Schüler können sich mündlich und schriftlich äußern. Sie sind in der Lage, sich mit den Äußerungen anderer Menschen auseinander zu setzen. Das Fach trägt dazu bei, Verantwortlichkeit für gelingende Kommunikation situativ und systematisch zu entwickeln. Von zentraler Bedeutung ist die Fähigkeit, Texte zu verstehen, sprechend

und schreibend Fragen aufzuwerfen, Probleme zu bewältigen, Gefühle, Gedanken und Erkenntnisse mitzuteilen. Der Deutschunterricht vermittelt dafür ein facettenreiches Spektrum an Möglichkeiten, Texte **adressaten- und situationsgerecht** einzusetzen (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48247, emphasis added).

The use of the adverb *situativ* in the second sentence and the adverbial phrase *adressaten- und situationsgerecht* in the last sentence index the pragmatic focus. Interestingly, the sentence that follows explicitly mentions the standard language:

Im Sprechen und Schreiben orientiert er sich an der **Standardsprache** und an den **Normen für sprachliche Richtigkeit**. Vor allem an der Schönheit gelungener sprachlicher Gestaltungen entwickelt der Schüler ästhetisches Urteilsvermögen, Sensibilität und Kreativität (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48247; emphasis added).

This is one of the rare extracts where an explicit standard language ideology is visible. Linking it to the content of the first sentence, the last sentence implies that the standard language is the vehicle for aesthetic uses of language.

Following this paragraph is a table that illustrates in a concise manner the *Kompetenzbereiche* or competence areas and the key competences to be developed:

Table 23: Illustration of competences in section 2 of core curriculum (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48248)

Kompetenzbereiche	Kernkompetenzen
Sprechen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sprechfähigkeit entwickeln/ situations- und adressatengerecht sprechen; • Gestaltendes und kreatives Sprechen.
Zuhören	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbale und nonverbale Informationen erfassen, herausfiltern und ordnen sowie dementsprechend agieren.
Lesen – Umgang mit Texten und Medien	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lesetechnik, Lesefertigkeit und Lesestrategien entwickeln; • Kenntnisse und Informationen anhand unterschiedlicher Medien erwerben und überprüfen; • Mit literarischen Formen umgehen.
Schreiben	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schreibfähigkeit entwickeln/ situations- und adressatengerecht schreiben; • Gestaltendes und kreatives Schreiben.
Über Sprache reflektieren	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Die Beziehung zwischen Sprachabsicht, Sprachmittel und Wirkung erkennen; • Sprachliche Muster erkennen, analysieren und anwenden können; • Sprachvarianten wahrnehmen.

The main competences to be developed are divided into aspects of language deemed most comprehensive. The last one, however, is explicitly metapragmatic in terms of key competences. The three key competences of this competence area are based on the acknowledgement of differences in language use, as indexed by the NPs of each key competence. Furthermore, every verb points to the recognition of differences in language use, i.e., *erkennen*, *analysieren*, *anwenden*, and *wahrnehmen*. One of the competence areas is thus the teaching of metapragmatic awareness, that is, the acknowledgement of variation in language use. However, situated in the context of a curriculum the focus of which is the standard language, the baseline for such competences is indeed the standard language. As such, the perception of language variants as a key competence most likely refers to register differences regarding standard vs. non-standard forms.

The table is expanded upon in the following page of the curriculum according to competence expectations (=Kompetenzerwartungen). The new table is two-sided. The left side corresponds to the competence expectations for the primary school levels, while the right side corresponds to the competence expectations for the first stage of secondary school. The standard language is mentioned in the competence area of speaking (=Sprechen) for the primary school levels:

Die Schüler... sprechen deutlich, zusammenhängend und fließend in der **Standardsprache** und beachten dabei die Wirkung der Redeweise: Lautstärke, Tempo, Betonung, Körpersprache (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48249; emphasis added).

This simply illustrates how prevalently the standard language ideology informs the language-in-education policy of the GC. More insightful is the expanded competence area of “reflecting about language” (=Über Sprache reflektieren), particularly the subsection “perceiving language variants” (=Sprachvarianten wahrnehmen), which provides further details about it:)

Table 24: Extract of competence area "Über Sprache reflektieren" (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48252)

<i>Sprachvarianten wahrnehmen</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • entdecken Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen Dialekt, Umgangssprache und Standardsprache; • nehmen Unterschiede zwischen verschiedenen Sprachschichten wahr. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kennen „Sprachen in der Sprache“ und unterscheiden sie in ihrer Funktion: Dialekt, Umgangssprache, Standardsprache, Fachsprachen.

Competence expectations are almost identical for both primary school and the first year of secondary school. The only difference is the addition of *Fachsprache* (=technical language) for the secondary school level. However, the purpose seems to be the same: the metapragmatic

awareness of linguistic variation according to labeled registers. The NP *Sprachschichten* (=language levels or layers) in the second competence expectation for primary school refers to registers, but remains unexplained.

IX.4.1.2. Pragmatic Focus and Language/Culture Nexus

The fourth chapter of the core curriculum, titled *Empfehlungen für die Qualität der Unterrichtsgestaltung*, elaborates on the focus of the German course. It reinforces the pragmatic focus by placing *Sprachhandeln* (=acting through language) in the center of the course:

Im Zentrum der Planung wie der Gestaltung des Unterrichts steht das **mündliche und schriftliche Sprachhandeln**. Es ist Ausgangspunkt wie auch Zielpunkt des Unterrichts, denn es kommt vor allem darauf an, dass die Schüler in jeder Lebenssituation die Sprache **angemessen und richtig** gebrauchen lernen. Eine gute Sprachbeherrschung **sichert dem Schüler die aktive Teilhabe am gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben**. Dabei geht es nicht allein um die Effektivität der Kommunikation, sondern es ist immer auch ein angemessener Bezug zu den Wert- und Normvorstellungen herzustellen. Diese umfassen beispielsweise Identitätsbildung, Kritikfähigkeit und Toleranz (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48252; emphasis added).

As indicated in the first sentence, the oral and written use of language is the center of the planning and design of the course. In the second sentence, this central feature of the course is characterized by the NPs *Ausgangspunkt* (=basis) and *Zielpunkt* (=goal), followed by the conjunction *denn* (=because) that frames the goal of the course to be the appropriate and correct use of language in every situation. This is elaborated upon in the third sentence, as the good use of language is deemed to be the bedrock for the societal and cultural participation of the school student. In the fourth sentence, the social aspect of language use is referred to through the NPs *Effektivität der Kommunikation* (=effectivity of communication) and *Bezug zu den Wert- und Normvorstellungen* (=reference to the value and norm ideas), which are then identified in the last sentence as *Identitätsbildung, Kritikfähigkeit, Toleranz*. In other words, the competence-based approach of the core curriculum is informed by an understanding of language as embedded in culture and society.

This is further illustrated by the pragmatic understanding of grammar in the last paragraph of the chapter:

Insbesondere kommt es darauf an, Grammatik nicht als Selbstzweck zu betrachten, sondern stets einzubinden in den Dienst der sach- und situationsangemessenen sprachlichen Kommunikation (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48253).

There is an implicit normative claim expressed, on the one hand, through the verbal phrase, and, on the other hand, through the adversative conjunctions *nicht...sondern*, which negate grammar as *Selbstzweck* (=an end in itself) and create a contrast. The second clause following *sondern* describes the understanding of grammar as embedded in communication that follows what is deemed appropriate to each situation.

The subsequent chapters of the core curriculum are only expansions of the competence expectations according to the primary school lower level (*Unterstufe*), the middle level (*Mittelstufe*), and the higher level (*Oberstufe*), ending with the first stage of secondary school. Nevertheless, the tables are focused on the specificities of each competence area and, therefore, are only derivative of the thematic and ideological aspects that have been discussed above.

The analysis of the other chapters would only be a repetition of what has been established, namely the prevalence of the standard language ideology and the inexistent role given to any kind of linguistic and cultural discussion that may index the GC. The same holds for the core curriculum of German for the technical and vocational tracks, i.e., there is barely any distinction in structure and content between the two curricula. The main differences found in the curriculum of German for the technical and vocational tracks are omissions regarding each competence area. However, the aspects analyzed here are present in the technical and vocational track curriculum as well.

IX.4.1.3. Summary

This section has dealt with the first annex of the 2008 decree, i.e., the core curriculum for German as L1 in primary school and the first stage of secondary school. Three themes were identified through the micro-analysis:

- 1) The pragmatic focus on language teaching
- 2) Standard German as a normative goal
- 3) The language/culture nexus

The competence-based approach leads to a pragmatic understanding of language, which repercussions on the language teaching goals. The pragmatic focus is backed by a vaguely defined linkage between language and culture. Despite this pragmatic focus and link between language and culture, the standard language ideology informs the policy text, as is the case with the rest of

the core curricula (in German and in French), as shown below. Thus, the main goal is the acquisition of Standard German.

The following core curriculum focuses on the secondary school system, particularly, the general track and the technical track. Apart from the discourse and thematic analyses, the question of the continuity between the core curricula is also addressed.

IX.4.2. Core Curriculum for German as Main Language of Instruction of the Second and Third Stages of the General Track and Technical Track

This core curriculum was published in 2015 and, thus, exhibits certain minor changes in vocabulary. Nevertheless, the bulk of the text shares many similarities with the previous core curriculum. An example of such similarities is found in the second chapter of the text, which has the same title as the second chapter of the previous curriculum (*Der Beitrag des Fachs Deutsch zur Kompetenzentwicklung*).

IX.4.2.1. Pragmatic Focus, Standard Language as Normative Goal, and Language/Culture Nexus

The table featured in the second chapter of the curriculum illustrates how little its structure and metapragmatic discourse changed:

Table 25: Illustration of competences in section 2 of core curriculum (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 13)

KOMPETENZBEREICHE	KERNKOMPETENZEN
Sprechen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Intentions-, situations- und adressatengerecht sprechen/Sprechfähigkeit entwickeln; ■ gestaltendes und kreatives Sprechen.
Zuhören	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ verbale und nonverbale Informationen erfassen, herausfiltern und ordnen sowie dementsprechend agieren.
Lesen – Umgang mit Texten und Medien	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lesefertigkeit, Lesetechniken und Lesestrategien entwickeln; ■ Kenntnisse und Informationen anhand unterschiedlicher Medien erwerben und überprüfen – sich mit pragmatischen Texten auseinandersetzen; ■ mit literarischen Formen umgehen – sich mit literarischen Texten auseinandersetzen.
Schreiben	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Schreibfähigkeit entwickeln/Richtig schreiben; ■ intentions-, situations- und adressatengerecht schreiben; ■ gestaltendes und kreatives Schreiben.
Über Sprache reflektieren	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ die Beziehung zwischen Intention, Sprachmitteln und deren Wirkungspotenzial erkennen; ■ sprachliche Muster erkennen, analysieren und anwenden können; ■ Sprachvarianten wahrnehmen.

All the competence areas remain the same, with only a few minor changes in the key competences, such as the first one in the competence area of *Sprechen*. The approach of the curriculum continues the path of a pragmatic focus of language teaching, as shown by the adverbial phrases *Intentions-, situations- und adressatengerecht* in both the speaking and writing competence areas. Furthermore, the last competence area, the goal of which is to foster metapragmatic awareness, remains the same as the one in the previous curriculum, with just minor changes in vocabulary.

Although the table is almost identical to the previous one, the text of the second chapter has changed substantially. The introduction of the text describes language as the key to the understanding of the world, of the self, and of others, through its functions as bearer of meaning and as the means of communication. More relevant for this analysis is, however, the following extract:

Anhand von Beispielen erläutern die Schüler Aspekte des Sprachwandels und zeigen, dass ihnen **Merkmale sprachlicher Varietät** bewusst sind (**Standard- und Umgangssprache, Dialekt, Jugendsprache usw.**). Sie können ansatzweise Sprachen miteinander vergleichen und sind instande, über ihre Einstellungen zu Sprachen und Sprachvarietäten zu reflektieren. Grammatik und Rechtschreibung sollen **nicht als Selbstzweck** gelehrt werden; vielmehr soll deutlich werden, wie das grammatische und orthografische Wissen für **intentions-, sach- und adressatengerechtes sprachliches Handeln** genutzt werden kann. Die Schüler verstehen die Sprache als ein System von Regeln und historisch gewachsenen Konventionen und nutzen sie normgerecht. Dabei sind sie sich ihrer Abhängigkeit von **historisch bedingten Denk- und Sprachmustern** und ihrer **sozialen und kulturellen Einbindung in eine Sprachgemeinschaft** bewusst (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 14; emphasis added).

The three themes coalesce in this paragraph. The general structure of the excerpt is based on the NP *Die Schüler* followed by a verb inflected in present tense, which is implicitly deontic in this context. That is, the present tense here is a description of what competences the students *should* acquire.

The theme of *Standard German as normative goal* emerges in the first sentence, with a major change. In this extract, linguistic variation is addressed through the NP *Merkmale sprachlicher Varietät* (=characteristics of language variation) and exemplified in parenthesis through the NPs *Standard- und Umgangssprache, Dialekt, and Jugendsprache*. In contrast to the previous core curriculum, Standard German is not described as the goal, but rather as one of the varieties that should be recognized by the school students. As part of the competence area *Über Sprache reflektieren*, the goals go beyond Standard German, encompassing other linguistic varieties or

registers. A continuation of this competence follows in the second sentence, beginning with the shifter *sie*, followed by the modal verb *können*. In the second clause, beginning with the verbal phrase *imstande sein*, attitudes and language varieties are referred to as aspects that the students should be able to reflect about. It is, however, only in this competence area that the standard language ideology is not assumed.

The theme of the *Pragmatic focus* re-emerges in the third sentence, which is a rephrased version of a formulation of the previous core curriculum. Once again, the NP *intentions-, sach- und adressatengerechtes sprachliches Handeln* indexes this theme. In the last two sentences, the theme of the *Language/Culture Nexus* comes to the fore. Through the implicit normativity of the competence-based approach, language should be understood by the students as a sociocultural and historical phenomenon. Finally, this leads to the competence of acknowledging their embeddedness in a speech community contingent on historically determined *Denk- und Sprachmustern*, i.e., ways of thinking and using language.

The rest of the sections are derivative of the table of the second chapter of the curriculum. As with the previous curriculum, the subsequent chapters of the text only expand on each competence area with specificities for each stage of secondary school.

IX.4.2.2. Summary

The core curriculum for the second and third stages of the general and technical tracks is a continuation of the descriptions and goals delimited in the previous core curriculum. It is informed by the same ideologies as the previous one, but goes into further detail in the description of the competence area *Über Sprache reflektieren*, which illustrates an openness to other linguistic varieties and registers in the metapragmatic discourse of the core curriculum. The next section delves into the equivalent curricula for French as first foreign language. As mentioned in section IX.2., the aim is the comparison of metapragmatic discourses about the four themes and the ideologies that inform these discourses. The original text is published in German with French and Dutch translations. Extracts from the German version and the French version are also compared through a micro-analysis of the linguistic structure with the additional aim of illustrating differences in metapragmatic formulations and how these may be informed by differing ideologies.

IX.4.3. Core Curriculum for French as 1st Foreign Language in Primary School and 1st Stage of Secondary School

As mentioned in section IX.4., this core curriculum first appeared as an annex to the 2008 decree. It is the second annex after the core curriculum on German as language of instruction. Although both core curricula were published separately the same year, the texts are identical. In a similar fashion to the other core curricula, the competences of the curriculum are focused on active learning (the pragmatic focus) as the main language acquisition strategy. Furthermore, there is little to no metapragmatic commentary about linguistic variation, which is no surprise given the predominance of the standard language ideology in the de jure language policy of the GC. Yet, in the second chapter (called *Der Beitrag des Faches „Französisch - 1. Fremdsprache“ zur Kompetenzentwicklung*), there is an explicit metapragmatic comment about the German language and culture in the GC, both in German and French, which is exemplary of the theme *Particularity of the sociolinguistic situation of the GC*. The first sentence may also be considered an example of the theme *language/culture nexus*.

IX.4.3.1. Particularity of the Sociolinguistic Situation of the GC

This theme was identified in the introductory paragraph of the second chapter:

Die Begegnung mit anderen Kulturen und Sprachen gehört heute zu den Alltagserfahrungen der Schüler. Menschen anderer Kulturen und Sprachen leben in unserer Mitte, sie sind Teil unserer Lebens- und Sprachwirklichkeit; **viele fremdsprachliche Einflüsse durchziehen unsere Sprache**. In der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft bestehen diese Einflüsse **schon lange** und sind durch **unsere historische und geografische Lage noch präsenter als in anderen Regionen** (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48280; emphasis added).

La rencontre avec des cultures et des langues différentes fait aujourd'hui partie de l'expérience quotidienne des élèves. Des personnes d'autres cultures et parlant d'autres langues vivent dans notre environnement, elles font partie de nos réalités linguistiques et quotidiennes ; **notre langue est fortement influencée par les langues étrangères**. En Communauté germanophone, ces influences existent **déjà depuis longtemps** et sont **plus présentes encore que dans d'autres régions**, étant donné **notre situation historique et géographique** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2008, p. 17; emphasis added).

In both versions of the text, the binomial relationship of culture and language is assumed. This conceptual couple is placed in the context of the GC in the second sentence. The culture and language of the GC is implicitly contrasted with cultures and languages considered distinct. This is manifested on the one hand in the use of the genitive adjective *anderer* in German and *d'autres*

in French and, on the other hand, with the use of the pronoun *unserer* in German, and *notre/nos* in French. Additionally, their use indexes the positionality of the writer(s) of the core curriculum as belonging to the GC. They address the reader, who is assumed to belong to the same community.

The clause that follows the semi-colon narrows it down to the language of the GC, with the same use of the shifter *unser/notre*. The sentence structure between the German and the French versions differs. While the German version uses the verb *durchziehen*, the French version uses the verb *influencer* to refer to foreign influences on the language. The adjective *fremdsprachlich* is expressed through the NP *langues étrangères* in French. Nevertheless, both sentences can be interpreted the same way: the German of the GC has been exposed to foreign influences. This is expanded upon in the third sentence by establishing spatial and temporal connections through indexicals such as *in/en*, *schon lange/depuis longtemps* and *noch präsenter als/plus présentes encore que*. These grammatical features index not only the specific spatiotemporal configuration of the GC, but also create a contrast between the GC and other unnamed regions while emphasizing the particularity of the GC in this matter.

The other themes, such as the *language/culture nexus* and *standard language as a normative goal* are identified through the following excerpts.

IX.4.3.2. Language/Culture Nexus

The paragraph following the introduction to the second chapter states:

Der Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Schule greift diese Erfahrungen auf, macht sie bewusst und **stellt aber auch die Beziehung zur eigenen Sprache und Kultur her**. Die Begegnung mit der fremden Sprache vollzieht sich immer in einem kulturellen Kontext. **Durch die Auseinandersetzung mit der fremden Sprache und Kultur wird Unbekanntes zunehmend vertraut**. So entwickeln die Schüler Interesse an fremden Sprachen und werden anderen Kulturen gegenüber offen und tolerant, sie entwickeln eine **interkulturelle Kompetenz** (Belgian official journal, 2008, p. 48280).

Le cours de langues étrangères à l'école saisit ces expériences, en fait prendre conscience, **mais les met aussi en rapport avec la langue et la culture propres**. La rencontre avec la langue étrangère se déroule toujours dans un contexte culturel. **Par la prise en compte de la langue et de la culture étrangères, on se familiarise de plus en plus avec ce qui est inconnu**. Les élèves développent ainsi un intérêt pour les langues étrangères et deviennent ouverts et tolérants face à d'autres cultures ; ils développent une **compétence interculturelle** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2008, p. 17).

There is, of course, a normative goal in the curriculum: the acquisition of French. Yet, its acquisition is embedded in an understanding of language use as inherently cultural. This understanding of not only language, but also of the purpose of the core curricula in general, is illustrated in the excerpt above. The assumption of the inherent link between language and culture drives the normative goal of successful intercultural competence. As such, learning a language would correspond, according to this view, to the encounter with another culture as well. This excerpt also touches upon the theme *pragmatic focus* by declaring that language use always occurs in a cultural context. The normative goal of this core curriculum is explicitly couched in the assumption of the language/culture nexus.

IX.4.3.3. Standard Language as a Normative Goal

Regarding comments on standardness, there are only mentions of *standard language* in a similar fashion as those found in the core curriculum for the German course. Some examples of this are the following extracts of tables found in the third chapter (called *Kompetenzerwartungen*):

Table 26: Extract of the third section of the German version of the core curriculum (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2008, P. 13; added highlight)

Ende des sechsten Primarschuljahres	Ende des zweiten Sekundarschuljahres
TEIL I - DIE KOMMUNIKATIONSKOMPETENZEN	
Mündlich	
Zuhören: aktiv zuhören und verstehen	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Die Schüler verstehen Ausdrücke und einen Wortschatz, die sehr häufig vorkommen in den sie unmittelbar betreffenden Dingen, wie ihre Person, ihre Familie, Einkauf, nahes Umfeld. Sie erfassen das Wesentliche von einfachen und klaren Aussagen und Mitteilungen. (A2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Die Schüler verstehen die Hauptpunkte, wenn klare Standardsprache verwendet wird und es um vertraute Dinge aus Schule, Freizeit, usw. geht. Sie verstehen Kurzgeschichten. (B1)

Table 27: Extract of the third section of the French version of the core curriculum (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2008, p. 19; added highlight)

Fin de la 6 ^e année primaire	Fin de la 2 ^e année secondaire
Partie I Les compétences communicatives	
Expression orale	
Ecouter : écouter activement et comprendre	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Les élèves comprennent des expressions et un vocabulaire très fréquent relatifs à ce qui les concerne de très près, par exemple leur personne, leur famille, les achats, l'environnement proche. Ils saisissent l'essentiel d'annonces et de messages simples et clairs. (A2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Les élèves comprennent les points essentiels quand un langage clair et standard est utilisé et s'il s'agit de sujets familiers, concernant l'école, les loisirs, etc. Ils comprennent des histoires courtes. (B1) Les élèves comprennent des informations au

IX.4.3.4. Summary

Apart from these two examples, the other examples that can be found in the text are derivative, merely indicating “standard language” without any subsequent explanation or description. It thus features the same absence of commentary about standard vis-à-vis nonstandard varieties as exhibited by the previous German course curriculum. Indeed, it could be argued that there is no need to address this aspect of language for a foreign language course curriculum for primary school. However, if the difference between registers and varieties is not undertaken in the foreign language course, then the use of the lexeme *standard* is superfluous.

The following analysis focuses on the core curriculum for French as foreign language in the general track and in the technical track. As with the core curricula for German, the question regarding the continuity of the themes is addressed. This is also tied to the question of whether the same ideologies inform the formulations of language, language use, and language teaching.

IX.4.4. Core Curriculum for French as 1st Foreign Language for the 2nd and 3rd Stages of the General Track and the Technical Track

Just like the core curriculum for the German course for secondary school, this curriculum was published in 2015. The second chapter of the curriculum exhibits most of the discourse with the same themes. This curriculum was only available in French at the time of data collection, thus every excerpt will be reproduced here in said language.

IX.4.4.1. Particularity of the Sociolinguistic Situation of the GC/Pragmatic Focus

The second paragraph of the second chapter shows an interplay between these two themes.

Si, aujourd’hui, le quotidien des élèves se compose de plus en plus de projets internationaux et de rencontres virtuelles, il est également **fortement influencé** par le **substrat historique et la situation géographique de la Communauté germanophone**. Dans notre région, **l’allemand côtoie le français et les écoles de la Communauté germanophone tirent profit de cette proximité pour développer chez les élèves des compétences communicatives et interculturelles** [...] Les divisions communes aux quatre compétences (pour interagir, pour échanger des idées et des informations, pour divertir et se divertir) mettent l’accent sur la dimension **fonctionnelle** de la langue, ce qui constituera un atout dans l’exercice d’un métier futur [...] Au cours de français, l’accent est mis sur **l’acquisition de compétences communicatives** plutôt que sur la maîtrise d’outils linguistiques (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 13 ; added emphasis).

The spatiotemporal particularity of the GC and the effects of that particularity on its sociolinguistic situation come to the fore through the argumentative structure of *si...* which expresses a presupposed state-of-affairs, i.e., the daily life of the school students consists of international exchanges, to which another state-of-affairs is added. It links daily life to the historical and geographical situation of the GC. In the second sentence, this linkage is narrowed down (reparametrization) to a specific sociolinguistic relationship between German and French. This is then linked to the intercultural competences that the school students can develop, which is here identified as the pragmatic focus.

IX.4.4.2. Language/Culture Nexus and The CEFR as a Language Policy Tool

As a continuation of the description of the intercultural competences, two themes appear jointly in the following paragraph from the second chapter:

Ainsi, en développant parallèlement des compétences interculturelles, les élèves relativisent leur système de valeurs et nuancent leurs prises de positions. Ils évitent les clichés et font preuve d’esprit critique. Par ailleurs, le souci de rigueur et de précision qui caractérise le niveau B2 leur permet de **profiter pleinement de l’univers culturel de la Communauté voisine et d’y saisir les subtilités de la langue** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 14).

The language/culture nexus is assumed according to the Common European Framework of Reference, here indicated by the NP *le niveau B2* (=B2-level). This level is described as the threshold allowing for the successful understanding of the language/culture nexus, indexed by the NPs *l’univers culturel* (=the cultural universe) and *les subtilités de la langue* (=the subtleties of the language), applied to the specific case of the French-speaking Community, here referred to as

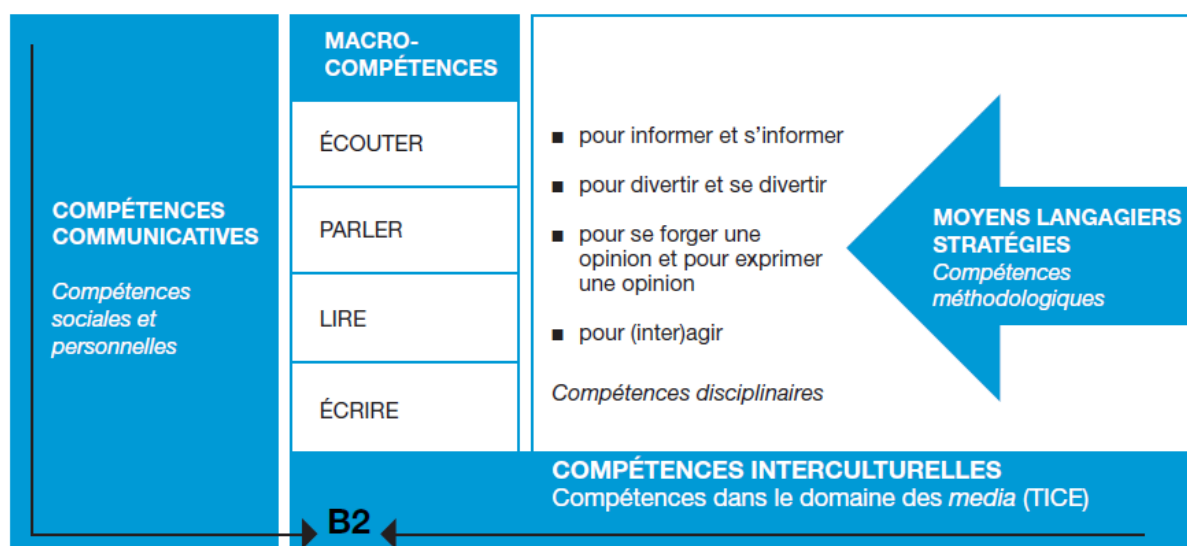
la Communauté voisine. By *voisine*, the referent is of course the neighboring community of the West and not the one to the East.

The CEFR is explicitly alluded to in the paragraph that follows it:

En outre, l'apport du cours de français au développement des compétences est considérablement influencé par l'approche générale adoptée pour son enseignement. Effectivement, la **perspective actionnelle, recommandée par le Cadre européen commun de référence**, favorise entre autres : l'autonomie croissante de l'élève. L'élève s'approprie des méthodes et des stratégies d'apprentissage ; **la dimension sociale de l'apprentissage** puisque la classe devient un **lieu d'action** où chaque élève au sein du groupe interagit, négocie et prend des décisions en vue d'accomplir la tâche qui lui a été confiée au début de la séquence didactique ; la **perception de l'erreur comme une source de progrès** et une opportunité d'individualiser l'apprentissage.

In this paragraph, the theme of the CEFR as language policy tool coalesces with the theme of the pragmatic focus on language teaching. The pragmatic focus is linked to the CEFR through the NP *la perspective actionnelle* and the passive voice construction that follows it. In the list, the NPs in bold index the pragmatic focus on language teaching. These aspects are synthesized in a table featured in the second chapter:

Table 28: Communicative, macro, and intercultural competences (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 23)



The CEFR is used as a guideline for the design of the language-in-education policy of the GC.

IX.4.4.3. Standard Language as a Normative Goal

Regarding the theme of *standard language*, the curriculum is not more loquacious about it than the previous curricula. In other words, similar formulations are found in the text, as illustrated by the following extracts of tables from different sections of the curriculum:

Table 29: Extract from third section of core curriculum (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 15; added highlight)

Les élèves ...
I. COMPÉTENCES COMMUNICATIVES
Écouter
<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ comprennent les points essentiels quand un langage clair et standard est utilisé et s'il s'agit de sujets familiers, concernant l'école, les loisirs, etc. ;■ comprennent des histoires courtes (B1) ;■ comprennent des informations au sujet de thèmes de la vie courante et saisissent le message global ainsi que les détails importants si le débit est adapté et l'accent familier et si la langue est standard et clairement articulée (B1) ;■ comprennent l'essentiel de nombreuses émissions de radio ou de télévision sur l'actualité ou sur des sujets qui les intéressent si l'on parle de manière relativement lente et distincte (B1).

Table 30: Extract from the fifth section of the curriculum (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, 2015, p. 36; added highlight)

<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ reconnaître et utiliser les registres de langues adaptés à la situation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Langue familière, standard, soutenue
--	---

Of interest is that even the absence of a discussion on language variation is still indicative of different metapragmatic discourses according to each language. Thus, in the core curricula for German, the lexeme *Dialekt* is present, while such a lexeme is absent in the core curricula for French. This shows the different metapragmatic discourses about language variation in German and French.

IX.4.4.4. Summary

The in-depth analysis of extracts of four core curricula shows the following:

- 1) The pragmatic focus on language teaching is the prevalent theme in every core curriculum. Because of the competence-based approach of the education policy of the GC, language teaching is framed according to active learning, which focuses on the acquisition of language through its use in specific contexts. No differences were found between the German and French core curricula in this regard.

- 2) A link between language and culture is presupposed. Language is described as inherently embedded in culture, but no further definition of “culture” is provided. The pragmatic focus is framed according to this assumed language/culture nexus. Regarding foreign language teaching, this assumed nexus is an element of the argument in favor of the development of intercultural communication as a competence school students should acquire. The pragmatic focus and the language/culture nexus are framed according to the CEFR, which is used as a guideline for the policies regarding foreign language teaching.
- 3) Despite the pragmatic focus on language teaching and a competence area called *Über Sprache reflektieren*, standard language is the normative goal of the core curricula. Furthermore, there is little to no metapragmatic discourse about linguistic variation. In the French core curriculum, there is none. The pragmatic focus on language (active learning) is applied to the standard language, unrelated to the local and regional specificities of the GC.
- 4) The particularity of the GC in terms of its historical background and geographical location appears mainly in the French core curricula, serving, firstly, as contextualization and, secondly, as justification of the language-in-education policy of the GC.

Finally, the core curricula show continuity from the primary school levels to the secondary school levels, i.e., the ideologies that inform them remain unchanged regardless of the stage that every core curriculum deals with.

Other texts are necessary to nuance the ideologies of language that inform the language-in-education policy of the GC. What follows is an analysis of a brochure explaining the legal basis of the language-in-education policy of the GC since their first steps in the 1990s and the recent and future efforts for the promotion of multilingualism (mainly French, English, Dutch). This document is deemed relevant as data because of its recycling of discourses and ideologies that inform the language-in-education policy design and implementation of the GC. The document features some common themes with the core curricula and new ones. The new ones are:

Table 31: Themes identified in the Brochure "Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG"

Themes
Multilingualism as Tradition
Promotion of Multilingualism
Mother Tongue Education vis-à-vis Foreign Language Teaching
Multilingualism as Opportunity

IX.5. Brochure: Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG

Regarding relatively recent efforts (since at least 2008) in language policy, multilingualism has taken centerstage in the GC, as shown in the encompassing development strategy called *Regionales Entwicklungskonzept*, or REK. After a SWOT-analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats analysis) of the GC, the Community drew guidelines for the REK, named *Ostbelgien leben 2025*. In three implementation phases (2009-2014, 2014-2019 and 2019-2024), the GC created projects and proposed future projects for each implementation phase. One of the foci of the REK is multilingualism – at the school system, in society at large, and as an attractive trait for companies interested in establishing themselves in the GC. In the context of the promotion of multilingualism in the GC as a language policy strategy, one of the richest documents regarding the ideologies about multilingualism is a brochure titled *Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG*. The *Fachbereich Pädagogik* of the Ministry of the GC was responsible for the concept and writing of the brochure. Unfortunately, the brochure has no publication date. However, since former Minister of Education Harald Mollers is the author of the foreword of the brochure, it can be assumed that the document was published between 2013-2020, when Harald Mollers was still in office.

The brochure summarizes the legislative basis for the language-in-education policy of the GC and provides insights into the current state of the strategy for the promotion of multilingualism. The brochure is structured according to the school system, i.e., from kindergarten to the university college of the GC, constituting a foreword and ten chapters. Out of these, the foreword and the introduction are the most explicit in metapragmatic discourse. The conclusion (chapter 9) and the outlook (chapter 10) delve into the language policy measures described in the text. Thus, our attention will lie mainly on these parts of the text.

IX.5.1. Particularity of the Sociolinguistic Situation of the GC

The author of the foreword is the former Minister of Education and Research, Harald Mollers. In the text, the theme centers on the construction of multilingualism as a tradition of the GC and links it with its geographic and historical situation. This is illustrated with a few excerpts from the text:

[D]ie Mehrsprachigkeit hat im Leben der deutschsprachigen Belgierinnen und Belgier einen festen Platz und blickt auf eine **lange Tradition** zurück. Diese Tradition ist eng mit der belgischen und europäischen Geschichte des vorigen Jahrhunderts verwoben [...] Die Begegnung des **romanischen und germanischen Sprachraums** hat unsere Gemeinschaft deutlich geprägt und hinterlässt in unserem alltäglichen Leben auch heute noch ihre Spuren. Und das ist gut so, denn die Mehrsprachigkeit ist für die Bürger der DG zu einem **wichtigen Identitätsmerkmal** geworden. [...] Auch die **Besonderheit der geografischen Lage unserer Gemeinschaft** führt zu einer gelebten Tradition der Mehrsprachigkeit. Seit dem Schengener Abkommen und dem damit einhergehenden freien Personenverkehr haben sich **die typischen Merkmale** unserer Grenzregion noch verstärkt (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 3; added emphasis).

In the first sentence, the NP *Mehrsprachigkeit* is embodied as a tradition of the German-speaking Belgians. This is expanded upon in the second sentence, whereby such a phenomenon is traced back to the Belgian and European historical events of the 20th century. The third sentence then links such multilingualism to the encounter between the “Romanic” and the “Germanic” speaking areas. This exemplifies reparametrization from the particular to the general: a narrower parameter of multilingualism, linked to the German-speaking Belgians, is “leveled up” to the European scale and, afterwards, to the Romanic and Germanic speaking areas.

Reparametrization and connections to different spatiotemporal scales allow multilingualism to be framed not just as a sociocultural trait, but as the result of multiple processes anchored in European history. This serves as an origin story leading to the fourth sentence, which begins with a value judgment about these historical events. The second clause of the sentence, beginning with the conjunction *denn* (=because) is a justification of the value judgement by means of its importance as an identity marker among citizens of the GC. It is an assertion of a valued sociocultural trait that is generalized unto the population of the GC. It cannot be proven in this context whether multilingualism is indeed an identity marker, yet its salience in official political discourse is indicative of the changes in discourse about language-in-education policy.

In the fifth sentence, another aspect particular to the GC is provided as an explanation of the “lived tradition of multilingualism” in the GC: its geographical location. In the last sentence, this particularity is then linked to the European scale once again by mentioning the Schengen

Agreement and the free circulation of people in the signatory states. Of interest here is the supposed effect this is said to have on the GC: a strengthening of its *typical* characteristics. These are left unmentioned, yet they can be determined to be connected to multilingualism in the context of the foreword. Their typicality is assumed on the basis of the arguments described above. As such, these unmentioned characteristics are already typified as *German-speaking Community*.

IX.5.2. Multilingualism as Tradition

This typified tradition of multilingualism in the GC is then described as an opportunity in the following excerpt of the foreword:

Wir leben in unserer Gemeinschaft alltäglich eine bunte und bereichernde Vielfalt mit unseren zahlreichen Nachbarn, den flämischen und den wallonischen Belgiern, den Niederländern, den Luxemburgern und den Deutschen. Der frühere britische Premier Harold Macmillan (1894-1986) hat einmal gesagt: „Tradition soll ein Sprungbrett sein, aber kein Ruhekissen.“ In diesem Sinne hat die Regierung der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft die Notwendigkeit erkannt, **die Tradition der Mehrsprachigkeit in unserer Gemeinschaft** immer wieder als **Sprungbrett für neue Initiativen** zu nutzen, um die Sprachenvielfalt für möglichst viele Menschen als **Chance** nutzbar zu machen (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 3; added emphasis).

Most relevant in this excerpt is the quote attributed to Harold Macmillan regarding tradition. The quote is a metaphor of what tradition should be, i.e., a normative quote that serves as a guide. Tradition should be a “springboard” and not a “pillow” (that is, a safety net). By recurring to an authority figure, the quote serves to legitimate the course taken by the GC regarding multilingualism. Importantly, the quote reinforces the argumentation about multilingualism as tradition. As such, this tradition is framed as a springboard, as an opportunity, for everyone in the GC. This is the ideological background of the current de jure language-in-education policy of the GC. The multilingualism typified in the text is, however, restricted to the regional level, i.e., to the collection of language varieties in and around the territory of the GC.

Concretely, some examples for language policy measures are provided in the text:

In den letzten Jahren wurden zahlreiche Maßnahmen ergriffen, um beispielsweise die **Aus- und Weiterbildung von Fremdsprachenlehrern** zu verbessern, **bilinguale Kindergärten** einzurichten und **pädagogische Referenzen und Rahmenpläne für Fremdsprachen** anzupassen. Aber auch in Zukunft wollen wir die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit **nicht dem Zufall überlassen**. Leitfaden für diese Zukunftsgestaltung wird das **zweite Umsetzungsprogramm des Regionalen Entwicklungskonzeptes** sein, in dem der Mehrsprachigkeit ein eigenes Projekt

gewidmet wird. So wollen wir in Zukunft die **bestehenden Lehreraustauschprogramme** mit den anderen beiden Gemeinschaften erweitern, **Immersionsprojekte für junge Menschen** ausbauen, verstärkt auf **native speakers** zurückgreifen oder auch **den bilingualen Unterricht im Grundschulwesen** ermöglichen (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 3; emphasis added).

These are all language-in-education policy measures. The measures are listed as efforts undertaken for the promotion of multilingualism in the GC. Furthermore, the new measures are a result of the REK, with “multilingualism” having its own project to be implemented. These measures do not only concern bilingual education in kindergarten, but also immersion projects and teacher exchange programs. An explicit ideology here is, however, the possible recourse to native speakers as a language-in-education policy measure. This measure relies on an ideology of language whereby native speakers are authorities of language teaching. The NP *native speakers* implies that the *tradition of multilingualism* in the GC is based on the idea of the coexistence of assumed separate language varieties.

IX.5.3. Particularity of the Sociolinguistic Situation of the GC and Language/Culture Nexus

The Introduction *Allgemeine Situation in der DG* contains many similar elements to the second chapter of the core curriculum for French as first foreign language in primary school. An example of this is found at the very beginning of the text:

Die Begegnung mit verschiedenen Kulturen und Sprachen gehört heute zu den Alltagserfahrungen eines jeden Bürgers. Menschen anderer Kulturen und Sprachen leben in unserer Mitte und sind Teil unserer Lebens- und Sprachwirklichkeit. **Eine Vielzahl fremdsprachlicher Einflüsse durchzieht unsere Sprache.** In der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft bestehen diese Einflüsse **schon lange** und sind **durch unsere historische und geografische Lage noch ausgeprägter als in anderen Regionen** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 7; emphasis added).

Compared to the text of the first French core curriculum (section IX.4.3.2), this one is almost identical. Therefore, the same themes of the *particularity of the GC* and the *language/culture nexus* resurface in this text.

In the third paragraph of the introduction, the sociolinguistic situation of the GC is described in more detail:

Der Sprachgebrauch in unserer Gemeinschaft ist geprägt von **verschiedenen Dialekten** sowie den Sprachen **Französisch und Niederländisch**, aufgrund von Bürgern mit Migrationshintergrund, die in unserer Mitte leben, aber auch immer häufiger von **vielen anderen Sprachen** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 7; added emphasis).

It is one of the few instances where dialects are mentioned in relation to the GC. Added to these varieties are French, Dutch, and other undefined languages. Noteworthy is that the text relates the use of French and Dutch, through the embedded clause, to immigration. By doing so, it reinforces discursively the link between the German language and the GC while creating a contrast between German and the other languages. The embedded clause with the relative pronoun *die* and the use of *unser* indexes this contrast. And yet, were multilingualism a tradition of the GC, as stated in the foreword, such a contrast would not be necessary. The sentence is a mere assertion that, however, implies such discursive linkages between language, people, and territory. Indeed, such linkage is supported by the territoriality principle governing the separation of communities in Belgium. In the following paragraph, the promotion of multilingualism in the school system is declared one of the goals of the GC.

IX.5.4. The Promotion of Multilingualism/Pragmatic Focus

The paragraph goes as follows:

Das Bildungswesen in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft stellt sich der Herausforderung, **die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit bei allen Bürgern als eines seiner vorrangigen Ziele zu verfolgen**. Doch was genau versteht man unter Mehrsprachigkeit? Mehrsprachigkeit bezeichnet die **Fähigkeit** eines Menschen, mehr als eine Sprache zu sprechen, zu lesen, zu verstehen und zu schreiben, **ohne jedoch den Anspruch zu erheben**, dass sie diese verschiedenen Sprachen **perfekt beherrschen**. Mehrsprachigkeit ist keineswegs eine ungewöhnliche Ausnahme, sondern das natürliche Potenzial eines jeden Menschen (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 7; added emphasis).

The promotion of multilingualism is framed as an assumed challenge and as a priority goal of the GC. Relevant in this excerpt is not so much the language policy aspect, but rather the language ideology that becomes explicit upon the definition of multilingualism. In the third sentence, multilingualism is defined as a person's capacity to speak, read, understand, and write more than one language without the demand of perfectly doing so. Indeed, this definition of multilingualism is thus oriented as well to the pragmatic focus of the core curricula. That is, multilingualism is not

described as a collection of perfectly managed skills in different languages, but rather the result of communicative competences in flux.

IX.5.5. Language/Culture Nexus/CEFR as a Language Policy Tool

In another paragraph of the introduction, the theme of the language/culture nexus resurfaces, as the text reproduces the same excerpt from the core curriculum for French as first foreign language analyzed above:

Die Begegnung mit den verschiedenen Sprachen vollzieht sich immer in einem kulturellen Kontext. Durch die Auseinandersetzung mit den Sprachen und Kulturen wird Unbekanntes zunehmend vertraut. Dementsprechend entwickeln die Schüler Interesse an Sprachen und werden anderen Kulturen gegenüber offen und tolerant. Sie entwickeln, mit anderen Worten, eine „interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 7).

These ideologies can be said to be the result of the adoption of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The use of the CEFR is mentioned in the core curricula analyzed above and in the last paragraph of the introduction:

Der **Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen** für Sprachen schafft in der Europäischen Union eine einheitliche Basis für die Festlegung von Kompetenzniveaus und trägt zu einer Verstärkung der Transparenz der Bildungssysteme und der internationalen Zusammenarbeit **im Bereich der Fremdsprachen** bei. **In diesem Sinne orientieren sich auch die Rahmenpläne für den Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft am Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 8; emphasis added).

This shows intertextual links between the brochure and the core curricula. The common themes in this extract with the core curricula for French as foreign language illustrate continuity in the language policy discourse of the GC.

IX.5.6. Outlook: Meta-Analysis of Language Policy Discourse

Following the introduction is a description of the legal basis underlying the language-in-education policy for the promotion of multilingualism. The legal texts correspond to the decrees analyzed above. As such, there is no need to delve into the summaries of the texts in the brochure. Most relevant is the outlook, or *Ausblick*, at the end of the brochure. In collaboration with Heinz Bouillon and Louis Gerrekens, professors at the University of Liège, the outlook describes potential pathways for the future language-in-education policy regarding multilingualism in the GC. The

outlook can serve as data for a meta-analysis of the language policy strategy of the GC. It is taken to be exemplary of *expert discourse*.

IX.5.6.1. Mother Tongue Education Vis-à-vis Foreign Language Teaching

Some relevant passages from the text are the following:

Zur erfolgreichen Durchführung einer Förderpolitik der Mehrsprachigkeit ist **das Einverständnis aller Akteure unabdingbar**. Deshalb gehört zur ersten Aufgabe einer auf Mehrsprachigkeit ausgerichteten Sprachenpolitik eine korrekte Einschätzung des Standes der Muttersprache im Wettbewerb mit anderen Sprachen. Wie unterschiedliche Forscher dargelegt haben, **neigen Sprachenpolitiker**, deren Erstsprache eher eine Rückzugstendenz bei Sprachkontakt aufzeigt, dazu, ihre Muttersprache zu **beschützen** und **vor dem Aussterben zu bewahren**. Vor einem derartigen Hintergrund wird Fremdsprachenunterricht verständlicherweise nur mit **großer Zurückhaltung** angeboten (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Diesbezüglich drängt sich die Frage auf, **inwieweit die deutsche Muttersprache in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft gefährdet sein könnte, wenn verstärkt Fremdsprachenunterricht bzw. Immersionsunterricht angeboten würde** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 39; added emphasis).

In this extract, a contrast is established between L1 education and foreign language teaching. Despite the rather traditional NP *Muttersprache* (=mother tongue), the second sentence is an argument in favor of the consideration of the “state” of a language in a multilingual ecology when seeking to promote multilingualism. The NP *Wettbewerb* (=competition) corresponds to the instrumental view of the unequal coexistence of language varieties. Thus, in the third sentence, the focus lies on the NP *Sprachenpolitiker* (language policy actors) and on how the “state” of a language may lead to different ideological positionings, particularly protective ones nurtured by discourses of endangerment. The effects of these ideological positionings are addressed in the fourth sentence: foreign language teaching is met with skepticism by the actors involved. In the fifth sentence, this argumentation is applied to the case of the GC, thus the question would be whether German (unspecified standard or dialect) would become endangered upon the strengthening of foreign language teaching.

The answer to this question is provided in the paragraph that follows the previous excerpt:

Bouillon und Gerrekens zufolge steht die Beherrschung der Muttersprache derjenigen in den anderen deutschsprachigen Ländern in nichts nach [...] Die deutsche Sprache in der DG **ist nicht mehr gefährdet** als vor dreißig Jahren, vielmehr ist die Beherrschung der deutschen Sprache ein

außerordentliches Plus geworden. Unter den so veränderten Prämissen drängt sich die Frage auf, wie Mutter- und Fremdsprachenerwerb weiter verbessert werden können, damit **die interkulturellen Kompetenzen** und die damit einhergehenden Chancen **auf dem Arbeitsmarkt** optimiert werden können (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 39; added emphasis).

Based on Bouillon and Gerrekens (no citation provided in the text), German is not endangered in the GC, but has rather gone through a process of valorization that has made it indispensable in the GC. In view of such a fact, the language-in-education policy strategy can, accordingly, concentrate its efforts on the amelioration of L1 and L2/L3 acquisition without the implied risk of endangering German. The theme of the *language/culture nexus* resurfaces here through the focus on *intercultural competences* as the basis of (foreign) language learning.

IX.5.6.2. Multilingualism as Opportunity

The unnamed author(s) of the text proceed to declare *continuity* as the guiding principle of the language policy of the GC. In other words, the authors argue that the promotion of multilingualism is on the right path and requires that it continues to provide measures for bilingual education. A few examples are given: the expansion of the choice of foreign language in primary schools that would function as a vector between bilingual kindergarten and bilingual secondary school education; the guarantee of continuous language contact and the increase of hours for competence acquisition; and the *Erhaltungsprinzip*, or the preservation of the acquired competences through the continuous use of language.

A summary is provided at the end:

Zusammenfassend wäre festzuhalten, dass die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit als Chance für breite Teile der Bevölkerung zu sehen ist. Durch die Fortschritte im didaktischen Denken für den Spracherwerb wurde erwiesen, dass das frühe Erwerben einer Zweitsprache insbesondere im Rahmen von bilinguaem Unterricht oder Immersionsunterricht diesen Spracherwerb für einen Großteil der Schüler ermöglicht und gleichzeitig **den Erhalt der Muttersprache gewährleistet** (Ministerium der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, p. 39; added emphasis).

IX.5.6.3. Summary

The brochure features thematic and ideological continuity with the core curricula. The four particular themes of the brochure, namely *multilingualism as tradition*, *promotion of multilingualism*, *mother tongue education vis-à-vis foreign language teaching*, and *multilingualism as opportunity* enrich the language policy discourse by linking the language-in-

education policy of the GC to other discourses. In the foreword in particular, the language-in-education policy is linked to discourses about:

- a) the history of the GC
- b) the political development of the GC
- c) the languages of the GC

These interdiscursive linkages place the current strategy of the language-in-education policy in a broader context. In the introduction, clear intertextual links with the core curricula were found. These interdiscursive and intertextual links index continuity between the de jure language-in-education policy texts and the official language policy discourse of the GC. Finally, the outlook is exemplary of expert discourse as it appeals to Heinz Bouillon and Louis Gerrekens as experts in the field. It serves to legitimate the current strategy of the GC by proposing its continuation.

IX.6. Conclusion

The contemporary language-in-education policy, which had its beginnings in 1998 after the transfer of power to the community level for language-in-education policy, shows continuity in its professed goal of a multilingual education policy. Furthermore, the centerpiece of the promotion of multilingualism in the GC is language-in-education policy. The discourse and thematic analyses show that multilingualism is defined in the GC mainly by the acquisition of German as L1 and French as L2 as the primary goals. Such continuity since 1998 has led to a “state tradition” with its own path dependencies. Thus, the official language policy discourse, coupled with the current policy structure (as described in the decrees and core curricula), constrain the design of multilingual policies that differ from the ones already in place.

The constraints instantiated by the path dependencies that have developed since 1998 are supported by an ideology whereby standard languages are presupposed as the languages of school and of public communication. Despite the existence of a competence area dedicated to linguistic variation (*Über Sprache reflektieren*) in the core curricula of German and French, there is little to no information on the application of this competence area to the language situation of the GC. The following factors may explain the reasons for the strength of the standard language ideology in the GC:

- 1) The educational factor: the large institutional freedom guaranteed to GUW and OSU regarding the organization of their courses. Teachers can create their own material based

on *Lehrpläne* that respect the general guidelines of the core curricula, thus including or excluding what they deem important for the course.

- 2) The historical factor: the different historical traditions of the North and the South concerning written standards due to their belonging to distinct political entities before the 19th century. Afterwards, much influence was exerted by Prussian rule through the consolidation of Standard German during the 19th century as language of the church, of schooling, and of official communication. The assimilation efforts upon their incorporation to Belgium and after WWII did not hinder the presence of Standard German in written media. French was introduced as a school language since the incorporation of Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium. The federalization of Belgium and the gradual transfer of power to the Communities cemented Standard German as the official language of the GC and French as the first foreign language at school.
- 3) The sociolinguistic factor: The three dialect areas (Moselle Franconian in the South and Ripuarian in the center, Low Southern Franconian and Ripuarian in the North), the unequal usage of these varieties according to geographic divides (disappearing rapidly in the North, still well in use in the South), and the coalescence of these varieties into a Standard German with regional and local characteristics based on the linguistic differences between the North and the South.
- 4) The policy process factor: the design of the core curricula was a collaborative and multi-layered process that involved teachers, school coordinators, officials of the Ministry of the GC, and external experts. Despite this multifaceted process, the language-in-education policy is uniformly defined for the whole GC.

All these factors contributed to the enregisterment of standard varieties of German and French as languages of schooling, of literacy, and of public communication. Because of this strong standard language ideology, it is difficult to design a cohesive language-in-education policy that includes the linguistic specificities of the GC regarding not only dialects that have traditionally been spoken in the GC, but also other languages distinct from French and Dutch.

The next chapter delves into the interviews conducted with teachers of German and an official of the Ministry of the GC. A micro-analysis of linguistic structure, as part of the general discourse analytic approach, aided in the identification of themes. By analyzing the discourse of the

interviewees and the identified themes, the ideologies of the informants regarding language use in the GC, language use in the school system, and language policy design and implementation are elucidated and compared to the official language policy discourse of the decrees, core curricula, and the brochure.

X. Interviews with Policy Actors in the GC

The aim of this chapter is the analysis of excerpts from eight interviews conducted from October 2021 to March 2022. The interviewees are seven teachers of German and one school inspector working for the Ministry of the GC. The seven teachers worked in secondary schools in Kelmis, Eupen, St. Vith and Büllingen at the time of the interviews. Each informant's name has been pseudonymized. More details are found in Table 32:

Table 32: Details about teachers and the schools they work in

Teachers	Roles	School	School network	Levels	Tracks
Albert	German/Dutch Teacher in 5 th and 6 th grades secondary school	César-Franck Athenäum Kelmis	GUW	Primary & secondary	Mainly general
Fabian	German/Drama teacher for every grade of secondary school	Pater-Damian Schule Eupen	FSU	Primary & secondary	Mainly general
Xenia	<i>Stadtverordnete</i> ; German teacher, secondary school; middle manager	Robert-Schuman-Institut Eupen	GUW	Primary & secondary	Technical & vocational
Laura	German teacher, secondary school	Bischöfliches Institut Büllingen	FSU	Secondary	General, technical, & vocational
Mandy	German teacher, secondary school				
Raquel	Teacher, secondary school	Königliches Athenäum St. Vith	GUW	Primary & secondary	General & technical
Jasmin	Middle manager; Teacher, secondary school				

Note: "Levels" and "Tracks" concern the school's organization, not the informant's tasks.

The interview data are divided thematically. The themes are presented in Table 33:

Table 33: Main themes of interview data

Themes
Course Planning and Collaboration
Standard vs. Nonstandard Language Use/Eastern Belgian Identity
Multilingual GC
<i>Plattdeutsch</i> in School

Following the structure established for the analysis of policy texts, each theme is dedicated its own section. Main themes were selected through a close reading of the interview transcripts. The selectivity criterion of each theme is the linkability of specific interview extracts to language in the GC, language use in the school system, and language policy design and implementation. Thus, these interview extracts are grouped under each theme and analyzed with the focus on the interplay between linguistic structure and ideology. Each theme presents commonalities and differences according to the perspective of each informant.

In the case of the school inspector, named here Victoria, the interview was characterized by a more in-depth discussion about the language policy of the GC.

X.1. Course Planning and Collaboration

The interview with Victoria is featured here first in order to illustrate the discourse of an institutional actor in the design process of language policy. More importantly, other themes emerged in that interview that are related mainly to the design of the language policy. Following the analysis of Victoria's interview extracts are teachers' statements about their German course planning process. As described in section IX.1, each school is free to organize the content of their subjects, as long as they follow the guidelines stipulated in the *Rahmenpläne*, or core curricula.

Given this institutional framework, each teacher provided a brief account of the organizational and collaborative aspects of teaching during the interview. It is important to note that the involvement of each teacher in policy design (from course design to curriculum design) is contingent on the additional roles some of them played at the time of data collection (e.g., middle manager, school alderman, or MP in the regional and/or community parliaments). Because of this institutional framework and the additional roles of some teachers, policy design and implementation differ in

each school, although the main content of the German courses remains the same, according to this group of teachers.

In the context of course planning, each teacher described a similar process characterized by ample agency, regardless of the network (GUW or FSU) that the school belonged to. Concerning collaboration, every teacher mentioned parallel teaching (*parallel arbeiten* in German) as a common practice. Parallel teaching, as a co-teaching model, leads to a necessary agreement of subject matter and course goals among the teachers in each school. This kind of collaboration in course planning is facilitated by grouping teachers into *Fachteams* (=teams according to school subject).

What follows is an analysis of interview extracts. Interview extracts from teachers working at the same school are analyzed jointly.

X.1.1. Victoria – Official of Ministry of the German-speaking Community

Victoria's discourse shows continuity from the analysis of core curricula above. As such, she describes the first phase of the design of the core curricula in 2008 as a participatory process involving kindergarten, primary school, and secondary school teachers with professors (*Dozenten*) from the university college of the GC in coordination with an official from the department of pedagogy of the Ministry of the GC. For the second phase, which concerned secondary school core curricula, the process was supposed to be simplified, yet was characterized by a multi-layered process:

In der nächsten Phase, wo es dann für die zweite und dritte Stufe der Sekundarschule ging, haben wir eigentlich diesen Prozess etwas **vereinfachen wollen** und haben einen Vorentwurf ausgearbeitet mit den Dozenten der Autonomen Hochschule und sind mit diesem Vorentwurf dann wieder an Lehrer und Fachlehrer herangetreten. Es hat dann auch verschiedene Phasen in diesen Prozessen gegeben, also ausgehend vom Entwurf, der dann auch zu einem **wissenschaftlichen Experten** ging, und die erste Rückmeldung kam und das auch überarbeitet wurde. Und dann **nochmal an alle Schulen**, wobei wir dann den Schulträgern überlassen haben, wie sie das dann an ihre Lehrer brachten, das heißt, es hat [?] Schulträger gegeben, die haben dann **verschiedene Arbeitsgruppen** zusammengerufen und die haben sich mit verschiedenen Fächern befasst. Es hat aber auch schon Träger gegeben, die einen nicht die Meinung von allen Lehrern eingeholt haben und dann kamen - kommen - immer gebündelt die Rückmeldungen zu uns zurück und dann wird das nochmal überarbeitet, bis dann am Ende sozusagen ein Konsens, uh, entstanden ist.

The design phase seems to be indeed a participatory process initiated, in the case of the core curricula, by a top-down approach, i.e., the Ministry of the GC collaborates first with the university college professors and then seeks the schoolteachers' feedback via the school providers. Additional expert advice was received as well after the inclusion of the schoolteachers' feedback. Then, the edited version of the core curricula would be sent once again to the schools, in a kind of top-down and bottom-up spiral process.

Asked about the reasons for the competence-based approach, Victoria explained that they first adopted the curricula from the French-speaking Community, but quickly realized that they led to problems in the German and French courses of the GC. She explains further that they took the competence-based approach as a model when the decision was made to create specific core curricula for the GC:

Dann haben wir uns eigentlich so ein bisschen im In- und Ausland informiert, wie das eben in andern Ländern gemacht wird, und haben dann eine Kooperation, sind dann eine Kooperation eingegangen mit einem deutschen Bundesland... Berlin Brandenburg. **Und da war eben dieser Kompetenzansatz... auf jeden Fall stand der schon im Vordergrund und das war sozusagen das Modell, für das wir uns entschieden haben.**

The competence-based approach stemmed from the cooperation between the GC and the *Bundesland* Berlin Brandenburg. As such, this approach was taken as the model in the early 2000s.

Regarding the implementation of the core curricula, Victoria explained briefly:

Und in einer nächsten Phase sind diese Rahmenpläne dann auch **implementiert** worden. Das heißt, es hat dann Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen zu diesen neuen Rahmenplänen, wo die vorgestellt wurden, wo aber auch das Unterrichtskonzept, das dahinter stecken sollte, erklärt wurde, woran dann alle Lehrer nochmal teilgenommen haben.

Implementation in this statement corresponds to training events for schoolteachers. These are introduced to the novelties of the core curricula, but there is, of course, no guarantee that they will follow the competence-based approach outlined in the curricula. When asked about the pragmatic focus of the curricula about language teaching, Victoria provided the following reply:

¹[Long pause] Ja, das ist eine schwierige Frage, die Sie mir stellen [...] ² ich will es mal so sagen, **es war am Anfang ein schwieriges Unterfangen** und **es bleibt auch bis heute**, wenn ich in Schulen gehe, immer noch **bei einzelnen Lehrer schwierig zu verstehen**, dass es diesen Kompetenzansatz gibt und diesen **pragmatischen Hintergrund für das Sprachenlernen**. ³Viele Lehrer sehen trotzdem noch immer diesen **theoretischen Ansatz**, wie ich das jetzt nennen würde,

wo eben Regeln gelernt werden müssen, wo eben Grammatik geübt werden muss, so unter dem Motto *Übung macht den Meister* also das ist, uhh, auf jeden Fall war das sehr schwierig in der Vergangenheit, wobei ich jetzt sagen muss, dass natürlich ganz viele, uhhh, *junge* Lehrer in den letzten Jahren hinzugekommen sind, die auch den Kompetenzansatz in ihrer Lehrerbildung eigentlich schon, so vermittelt bekommen haben und, dass es immer selbstverständlicher eigentlich wird, dass es ja im Grunde genommen darum geht, dass Schüler lesen, sprechen, hören und so weiter können und **nicht darum geht einfach Grammatik kriegen**, ja wiedergeben können oder auch vergessen, zu vergessen, ne? im Laufe der Zeit; man lernt das in der Schule, man kann das eventuell auch wiedergeben aber es ist ja eigentlich nur *Wissen* und damit ist ja noch keine, **kein pragmatischer Sprachgebrauch eigentlich sichergestellt**, aber es war, sch-, es war schwierig und es bleibt schwierig. ⁴Ich fand sogar, weil wir den ähm, einen ähnlichen Ansatz, auch im **Fremdsprachenunterricht** haben, dass es im Fremdsprachenunterricht, **verständlicher und selbstverständlicher** für die Lehrer war als jetzt im Deutschunterricht, der ja als Unterrichtssprache oder als Muttersprache, **aber Muttersprache ist, ein schwieriger Begriff, das werden Sie sicher wissen...** Also dass wirklich, dass das bei allen Lehrern ankommt.

In this long extract, Victoria delves into her experience with certain teachers whose teaching is still informed by a grammar-focused ideology of language. In the last embedded clause of the first sentence, the accusative NP *diesen pragmatischen Hintergrund* is used to refer to what has been named above the pragmatic focus of the core curricula. According to Victoria, the implementation of the policy has thus been characterized by certain resistance from teachers used to a previous system (i.e., older teachers). Interestingly, the fourth sentence is rich in commentary regarding a contrast between teaching German as main language of instruction and foreign language teaching. The sentence begins with the verbum sentiendi *finden* (=to find) and continues with Victoria's evaluation of foreign language teaching vis-à-vis the teaching of German. She deems, through the adjectives *verständlicher* and *selbstverständlicher*, foreign language teaching to have already had a pragmatic focus that is still lacking in the German-as-L1 courses. An interesting sidenote to this is how Victoria also problematizes the concept of mother tongue (=Muttersprache) at the end of the fourth sentence.

What follows is the analysis of the teachers' interview extracts regarding this theme.

X.1.2. Jasmin and Raquel – Königliches Athenäum St. Vith

When asked about course planning, Raquel stated the following:

Also in der Oberstufe haben wir, wir haben 'ne gut aus, eine gut ausgestattete Mediothek, auch wir haben einen Mediothekenverbund in Ostbelgien, ich weiß nicht, ob Sie das wissen und wir nehmen

uns die... Die Bücher, also wir nehmen die Unterrichte so... wir legen die Themen fest und suchen dann aus verschiedenen Büchern zusammen und **machen die Unterrichte so wie die uns gefallen**. Also wir sind auch sehr frei in der Wahl.

Q: Deutschlehrer und -lehrerinnen haben dann viel Freiheit beim...

Raquel: Ja, auch das, **der Rahmenplan ist sehr vage**, also der ist so ausgedrückt, dass die Kompetenzen dort vorgegeben werden, **aber die sind auch so breit gefächert, dass wir machen können was wir wollen**.

Course planning for Raquel is an open process. Through the pronoun *wir*, Raquel demonstrates not only her own positionality, but also includes every teacher of RASV in the description of the process. The sources for the course are derived from a media center in the GC. Most important are the two last sentences: the course planning is described as a free process based mostly on the preferences of the teacher. She describes this in further detail when asked about the flexibility of the process. The core curriculum, as the main source of education policy, is, according to Raquel, *very vague*, giving much agency to the teachers for its implementation. The competence-based approach is the cornerstone of the policy text, but the breadth of its formulation allows for wide interpretation and, thus, flexibility, in Raquel's perspective. Concerning teacher collaboration, Raquel merely indicates that: "Wir haben ein sehr gutes Fachteam, wir arbeiten sehr eng zusammen."

Jasmin shares Raquel's perspective regarding course planning:

Wir inspirieren uns natürlich in Büchern, aber **wir setzen unseren eigenen Unterricht zusammen**. Bei uns an der Schule ist es schon so, dass wir als Kollegen(.) ich hab ja auch noch andere Kollegen in diesen, in den Jahrgängenunterrichten, **wir arbeiten schon sehr parallel**. Also wir machen schon dieselben Inhalte, also das ist schon ganz wichtig auch. Also die Schüler lesen dieselben Bücher aber wir inspirieren uns in verschiedenen Lehrwerken.

Collaboration among teachers is explicitly described in the second sentence. While this theme was implicitly described by Raquel through the plural pronoun *wir*, Jasmin formulates it explicitly through the clause in bold, where parallel teaching is invoked. Parallel teaching leads to collaboration among the teachers during course planning, as there needs to be an equivalence in the content taught. Although the content is the same, the materials and teaching approach differ among the teachers, as indicated by Jasmin in the last sentence of the extract.

On the other hand, Jasmin nuances this when asked about the core curricula. She states:

Man ist jetzt nicht verpflichtet, alle Inhalte, die da [in the core curricula] aufgelistet werden, auch durchzunehmen, das ist auch zu komplex. Aber das [the core curriculum] bindet uns schon mehr an Vorgaben, als es früher war. Also **ich habe viele Jahre ohne irgendwelche Vorgaben gearbeitet, da hab ich wirklich das ein bisschen gemacht, was ich wollte**. Das ist auch nicht immer gut... weil man dann auch gewisse Sachen vergisst oder nicht macht aber jetzt manchmal **ist es zu, zu strikt** so... und **wenn man auch sehr stark parallel arbeitet**, unter Kollegen, dann ist man auch so gebunden, **kann man nicht so viel oft irgendwas machen, was einem dann so gerade mal in den Sinn kommt**.

Jasmin shares Raquel's perspective about flexibility in the implementation of the core curricula. Yet their perspectives differ in their perception of agency. This is expressed through the formulation of the third sentence with the verb in present perfect, which establishes a contrast between the period before core curricula and the present period. In the second clause of the same sentence, Jasmin situates herself in the period before the core curricula and states that she had almost complete freedom to choose what to teach. The next sentences are value judgements of that past freedom and of the current teaching constraints. Jasmin thus describes the core curricula and parallel teaching as collaborative, but also constraining.

Jasmin goes into detail about the teaching constraints posed by the core curriculum at a later moment of the interview:

Es ist so schwierig, weil man hat ein Dokument und **da steht genau drin, was man machen muss**. Ich bin auch mit sehr vielem einverstanden, auch was die Kompetenzen angeht, **weil wir haben vielleicht auch viele Jahre gewisse Dinge vernachlässigt**, die wir gar nicht dran so gedacht haben auch... Was weiß ich, Hören und diese Kompetenz haben wir vielleicht nicht so gefördert, das machen wir dann mittlerweile schon.

Wir wissen nicht immer genau welche Freiheiten haben wir im Endeffekt noch, man sagt uns immer „ihr müsst das nicht alles machen“... ja so 'ne kleine Unsicherheit würde ich sagen, **inwieweit muss ich mich jetzt dann doch daran halten? Inwieweit bin ich noch frei, irgendwas zu machen?** Also kontrolliert sind wir noch nie... also man hat uns noch nie kontrolliert deswegen, ich denke, dass ich mir als Lehrer doch noch die Freiheit nehmen kann.

There is an immediate contradiction between the first sentence of this extract and the first sentence of the previous extract. Indeed, the second clause, with the use of the modal verb *müssen*, creates a contrast between the flexibility described in the previous extract and the precepts of the core curriculum. Jasmin acknowledges the competence-based approach of the curriculum, but puts into question the liberties that a teacher can take in the implementation of the policy. Through reported

speech and the pronouns *ihr* and *uns*, Jasmin creates a contrast of positionality between the teachers and an unknown speaker (arguably the ones who designed the core curricula). This leads to questions about the obligatoriness for implementing the core curriculum. In the end, Jasmin considers the lack of surveillance a reason to take liberties in teaching.

Jasmin's role as middle manager also informs her perspective, since it involves the design and implementation of new pedagogical concepts in the school. She describes it succinctly:

Als Middlemanagerin bin ich mitverantwortlich für die pädagogische Entwicklung der Schule. Das heißt ja, **neue pädagogische Konzepte einführen, umsetzen...** Es ist aber auch sehr viel, Verwaltungsarbeit, oder ne, nicht direkt „Verwaltung“, *organisatorisch* also wir, wir sind zu zweit, ja, wir organisieren einfach ganz viele Sachen in der Schule, aber wir planen dann auch pädagogische Konferenzen für die Lehrer... Ja, und wir gucken dann auch immer wieder, wir organisieren Versammlungen auch um unsere pädagogischen Richtlinien zu stärken, sowas. Es ist eigentlich sehr vielseitig. Es ist **alles Mögliche**.

Being a middle manager mainly involves the pedagogical development of the school, which refers to the design and implementation of pedagogical concepts. This involves the organization of activities such as pedagogical conferences and assemblies to strengthen the pedagogical guidelines of the school. However, the pedagogical development of the school is such a broad goal that it can involve almost anything, as stated in the last sentence.

X.1.2.1. Summary

While Raquel did not find any tension between the core curricula, co-teaching, and course planning, Jasmin questioned the tensions that arise during course planning and co-teaching based on the competences outlined in the core curriculum. As shown below, these qualms are also voiced in some of the other interviews.

X.1.3. Laura and Mandy – Bischöfliches Institut Büllingen

Course planning for Laura and Mandy is similar to the process described by Raquel and Jasmin. Laura describes her course planning process so:

Ich nehme zwar aus Lehrmaterialien Beispiele raus, aber ich schreibe meinen Unterricht selbst, dann oder je nachdem wie wenn wir also wenn wir **parallel unterrichten**, also der selbe Unterricht nur 2 verschiedene Lehrpersonen, dann ist es auch unserer Direktion sehr wichtig, dass **wir parallel also mit denselben Unterlagen arbeiten**. Das heißt, wir arbeiten als zweit neue Unterlagen aus.

Q: Gibt es dann eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen Deutschlehrer und -lehrerinnen an der Schule?

Ja, also wir haben bei uns in der Schule die Besonderheit, **wir haben Fachteams, das heißt jedes... Fach hat quasi ein eigenes Team und da haben wir auch ein Fachteamleiter**. Der ist dann beispielsweise da für uns Feedback zu geben, wenn wir uns irgendwie nicht sicher sind, der macht auch einen großen Teil der Organisationsarbeit [...] Aber auch also es hängt auch davon ab, mit wem man zusammenarbeitet natürlich **mit dem einen Kollegen klappt es schon mal besser als mit dem anderen**.

Most thematic aspects that were identified in Jasmin and Raquel's discourses appear here, such as independent course planning and the uniformization of the course material in the case of parallel teaching. Teacher collaboration is alluded to by the clause *wenn wir parallel unterrichten* (=when we parallel-teach), involving the same process of course planning described above. This is further described in Laura's answer to the question of teacher collaboration, whereby she refers to *Fachteams* and briefly elucidates the responsibilities of the team leader. Of interest is the last sentence, which conveys a nuanced stance toward teacher collaboration. In other words, Laura refers to the challenges of co-teaching with unspecified colleagues.

Mandy's course planning follows a similar process, but she goes into detail about the differences between the school stages:

Eigentlich mache ich mein eigenes Material und benutze dann aber natürlich... Handbücher von Cornelsen oder P.U.L.D. [?] finde ich ganz gut so **für die Oberstufe** Deutschliteratur [...] aber das ist jetzt nicht dass wir jetzt, dass alle Schüler ein Handbuch haben und wir systematisch damit arbeiten. **In der Unterstufe** machen wir das schon noch ein bisschen so mit Rechtschreibung manchmal. Also komplette Rechtschreibhefte gekauft werden übernommen, auch schon mal ein Lesebuch, aber ich glaube, in den letzten Jahren [wird es] auch immer seltener, **also es ist nicht, dass wir mit einer Methode jetzt arbeiten und die durchziehen die ganzen Jahre, sondern man nimmt eher so ein bisschen Blick-Block-Sachen [?] und ja, passt sie dann so an, wie man meint, dass es passt für die Schüler**.

Mandy plans her own course but distinguishes between the resources used according to the school stage. The distinction resides, however, in the content and not in the method of teaching. There is no single method applied for course planning, as stated by Mandy. Rather, the didactic tools and materials are adapted to the students throughout the course, according to Mandy's experience. Of interest is the use of the plural pronoun *wir* and the following verbs conjugated accordingly, which indexes the group of teachers in this case. It could be interpreted as Mandy encompassing the other teachers' experiences as her own.

Regarding the question of teacher collaboration, Mandy's response is the following:

Ja, eigentlich funktioniert das sehr gut, ja, ich bin auch Fachleiterin der Deutschgruppe und **dadurch, dass wir klein sind**, also wir haben höchstens, ja manchmal drei ab und zu zwei Lehrer, die parallel arbeiten und das klappt eigentlich sehr gut.

This is contradicted by Laura's remark above, in which co-teaching is not formulated as ideally as in Mandy's statement. Mandy makes the size of the group the main aspect promoting successful teacher collaboration, but does not delve into the details of the process. On the other hand, she addresses the competence-based approach and the core curricula, which is a discussion missing from Laura's interview. Concerning the question of whether her course structure is competence-oriented, Mandy answers the following:

[Long pause] **in der Bewertung immer mehr**. Also wenn ich jetzt schaue zum Beispiel heute haben manche Schüler ihre Prüfungsaussetzung geschrieben da hab ich schon... ja, ein Bewertungsraster, wo ich wirklich **die Kompetenzen einzeln aufliste** und dann unterteile in Inhalt, Aufbau, Sprache... Das machen wir eigentlich **immer mehr**, also ich weiß **als ich anfang zu unterrichten**, da machte ich das **noch nicht unbedingt** [laugh], also dass ich für jeden Aufsatz, für jeden Vortrag oder so so ein ganzes Bewertungsraster hatte, aber **das Bewertungsraster ist kompetenzorientiert**, ja.

Mandy considers the competence-based approach in the evaluation of the students. The use of the adverbial phrase *immer mehr* (more and more) points to a recent time where such an approach was not commonly used in evaluation. This is made clear in the third sentence, where the adverbial phrase is repeated and is followed by two clauses with lexemes that index the past, such as the conjunction *als* (=as), the verbs conjugated in perfect and the adverbial phrases. These elements index a period before the use of the competence-based approach. In the present, the evaluation grid follows this approach.

Of interest is how Mandy later in the interview gives her view about the core curricula themselves:

Also ich finde unsere Rahmenpläne, die sind schon **relativ offen**, manchmal sind sie ein bisschen **zu offen**. Dann steht da die Schüler müssen einen Sachtext verstehen können, und das steht dann schon im dritten Stufe Primar steht auch in der dritten Stufe Sekundar, also nee, **das ist dann sehr vage gehalten**, aber irgendwie finde ich das **trotzdem gut** und gibt mir auch da **die pädagogische Freiheit**. So ist **entscheidend**. Also ich fänd' es **ganz schlimm**, wenn wir jetzt ein Lehrwerk hätten und man uns sagen würde, wie es gibt, so keine Ahnung, **in kommunistischen Ländern** oder so nee, dann hat man das Buch und dann haben wir eine Einheitsprüfung, ne so Teaching for testing, ne also so, das finde ich **ganz, ganz schlimm** also das find' ich... das also ich finde das schon sehr **bereichernd** selbst so trotzdem noch **so eine Richtung einschlagen zu können**.

This extract is replete with adjectives that follow a binary logic. The core curricula are described as open and vague, but this openness is deemed too much in Mandy's perspective. However, the openness and vagueness of the core curricula are perceived positively because they are linked to guaranteed pedagogical freedom. In the fourth sentence, a contrast is established between the core curricula and textbooks. This contrast is created on the basis of opposing political ideologies, whereby the unnamed Belgian liberal democracy is opposed to unnamed Communist countries. In this vein, the core curricula index pedagogical freedom in opposition to textbooks that are perceived as constraining the agency of the teacher. Thus, despite being perceived as too open, the agency afforded by the core curricula is deemed *bereichernd* (=enriching). To what extent Mandy's perspective is informed by her political position as alderman cannot be determined.

X.1.3.1. Summary

Laura and Mandy's perspectives show slight differences with the previous pair of teachers. While Mandy shares Raquel's outspoken enthusiasm for teacher collaboration, Laura nuances co-teaching by briefly addressing the challenges that it poses among certain teachers. An additional difference lies in course planning, particularly in the usage of core curricula. Laura never mentioned the core curricula during the interview and, therefore, did not delve into the possible constraints created by the policy. Mandy, on the other hand, delved extensively into the core curricula, describing them as "too open", but ultimately as preserving the agency of the teachers. As such, Mandy is opposed to Jasmin's perspective on the strictness of the core curricula, but shares her perspective on the broad agency teachers have despite the policy document. For now, Laura has her own perspective in the group of informants.

X.1.4. Xenia – Robert-Schuman-Institut Eupen

Xenia follows the same pattern of course planning described by the previous teachers. A major difference is, however, her focus on individual course planning. She states:

Das stell' ich schon selbst zusammen. **Wir haben jetzt kein Lehrbuch, was so einfach fürs ganze Jahr passen würde, was auch alle Lerninhalte dann wirklich umfasst**, das gibt es so nicht hab' ich noch nie, wenn das geben würde würde ich das auch gerne mal versuchen [laugh], aber ansonsten mache ich das tatsächlich so, dass ich dann **angepasst auf die jeweilige Klasse, je nach Abteilung auch und zusehenden Lerninhalten, dann die Texte auswähle**, die Lehrmaterial selber erstelle größtenteils manchmal auch auf bestehende Materialien zurückgreife aus Vorjahren [...] **aber trotzdem, es ist eine Zusammenstellung aus eigenem Material**, ich würde sagen, es sind doch so wirklich 50-60% von **mir selbst erarbeitet** und auch 40% natürlich auch fremde

Texte oder **auch was vom Kollegen**, ist aber **eher selten**, meistens **kommt man am besten zurecht mit seinen eigenen Materialien**, weil man genau weiß, wie das konzipiert ist und dann auch besser verstanden wird, denke ich.

Course planning is described as a necessity due to the lack of a textbook encompassing the learning content of the year. Xenia furthermore describes course planning as a selection of texts. The process is submitted to continuous adaptation according to the group, the section, and the relevant learning content. Although Xenia plans the course largely with her own material, she adds texts from previous years or from colleagues to the planning. Nevertheless, Xenia indicates, through the adverbial phrases *eher selten* (=rarely) and *am besten* (=best), and the adjective *eigenen* (=own), her preference for individual course planning. She makes no mention of any co-teaching model, thus course planning is an individual process in Xenia's case.

Regarding the core curricula, Xenia was a member of the working group that contributed to the design of the text for German as a school subject. She describes her involvement and her perspective about the core curricula thus:

Das ist auch mit unser, unser Gebiet auch im also einerseits **in der Praxis als Lehrerin**, weil ich natürlich jedes Jahr für meine Schulklassen, dann auch **meine Arbeitspläne schreiben muss**. Einmal die Kompetenzerwartungen, aber dann auch die Inhaltskontexte, und dann aber **auch im Middle-Management** oder selbst vorher schon war ich auch **teilweise Mitglied der Arbeitsgruppe, die auch die Rahmenpläne für Deutsch mit festgelegt hat sogar**. Also, da gab es so [ein] Kollegium aus Deutschlehrern und auch anderen Experten, die dann zusammen überlegt haben, „was muss denn da rein, was muss für welche Stufe auch festgehalten werden, **verbindlich?**“ Wobei **den Lehrern immer noch gewisse Freiräume zugestanden werden**. Ich denke, das macht doch Sinn, **aber es ist auch schon wichtig**, dass man diesen **Leitfaden hat, um möglichst einheitliche Standards trotzdem erreichen zu können**.

Xenia describes her experience with the core curricula according to three roles: as a teacher, as a middle manager, and as a member of the working group. This last role is most relevant. Xenia describes the composition of the group and briefly explains its goal, namely the inclusion or exclusion of content for German in school. Of interest is the adverb *verbindlich* (=binding) at the end of the reported speech clause, which makes the teaching of such content mandatory. Nevertheless, a clarification follows in the next sentence, with a passive voice construction in which teachers are the object. The direct object is *certain freedom* or *liberties* (*gewisse Freiräume*). Teachers are given certain liberties by an unspecified agent. Xenia describes this concession as sensible, but emphasizes the guiding principles of the policy in the creation of uniform standards

(*einheitliche Standards*). Of course, this does not refer to a linguistic standard, but rather to a standard in teaching guidelines.

In an earlier moment of the interview, Xenia describes her role as a middle manager of the school, the description of which largely overlaps with Jasmin's:

Man ist Teil der erweiterten Schulleitung, dass wir also auch zusammen mit anderen Kollegen regelmäßig uns versammeln, **um große Weichen zu stellen für die Schule**, ja, so 'ne, so 'ne Mischung aus Versammlungen und Beratungen, die man hat in den Beruf, aber auch der ganz reguläre Deutschunterricht, den man so kennt, nach, nach Lehrplänen und so weiter.

While course planning for Xenia does not involve teacher collaboration, middle management does. In middle management, the policy design and implementation for the school follows a collaborative process consisting of meetings and deliberation (*Versammlungen und Beratungen*) alongside the normal teaching responsibilities, according to Xenia. Middle management in Xenia's and Jasmin's descriptions corresponds to a policy design and implementation process of each school. It is thus a layer of policy design and implementation corresponding to a mid-point, a meso-level between the Ministry of the GC and the school providers "at the top", and the *Fachteams* and teachers "at the bottom".

X.1.4.1. Summary

The most important element of Xenia's perspective about course planning is the independent path she takes, possibly due to the lack of co-teaching. In other words, there is no need for Xenia to harmonize teaching materials and goals with another teacher. Concerning teacher collaboration, this takes place at a different layer of policy design and implementation, namely middle management. As such, teachers meet and deliberate on the pedagogical orientation of the school, corresponding to Jasmin's description above. Finally, Xenia deems the core curricula as necessarily constraining. Despite the large degree of freedom guaranteed to the teachers, the constraints of the policy create, according to Xenia, uniform standards of teaching. Xenia regards these standards as important guidelines.

X.1.5. Albert and Fabian – César-Franck Athenäum Kelmis and Pater-Damian-Sekundarschule

Albert and Fabian are teachers in different schools, but their perspectives about course planning and teacher collaboration coincide. Therefore, their interview extracts are analyzed jointly. Moreover, their perspective follows the same trend as the previous ones.

Albert states the following about course planning:

Also ich, ich hab‘ verschiedene Bücher, auf die ich mich basiere, aber ich muss ehrlich sagen ich such‘ mir dann immer **aus verschiedenen Unterrichten oder aus verschiedenen Büchern dann halt Sachen raus**. [...] Also wir haben verschiedene Werke, das sind auch Bücher, die halt in Deutschland so benutzt werden, **damit wir da auch**, sag‘ ich mal, **vom Niveau gleich sind wie in Deutschland**, aber ich hab‘ da jetzt **nicht ein Buch**, das ich von A bis Z folge, also das immer so ein bisschen einmal hier was von hier mal was von hier und mal was von da.

In this statement, Albert describes a similar process to the other teachers’ course planning. That is, he plans the courses himself, by searching for resources from different books or materials. In the second sentence, Albert clarifies that there is no book serving as the general guideline for the course. As such, he plans his courses by taking bits and pieces from different sources. Of interest is the clause in the second sentence that can be interpreted as a normative claim about the approach to teaching German in that school, analyzed under a different theme below.

Regarding teacher collaboration, Albert also follows the same pattern as the other teachers:

Also wir haben auch selbst seit, seit drei Jahren, seitdem ich da bin, [eine] **Fachteamleiterin**, die auch die Zusammenarbeit so ‘n bisschen koordiniert. Das heißt, wir wissen auch jetzt mittlerweile, was vor uns passiert, was nach uns passiert, damit auch so eine Kontinuität für die Schüler da ist und, ja gut, wir sind jetzt, ich arbeite nur an ‘ner sehr kleinen Schule, das heißt, **es gibt selten Parallelklassen, aber wenn es Parallelklassen gibt, dann arbeiten wir schon zusammen**, dass wir uns halt sag‘ ich mal, die, auch die Vorbereitung aufteilen und damit die Schüler auch in beiden Klassen oder in mehreren Klassen halt **den gleichen Unterricht und ja, die gleichen Sachen sehen**.

The reference to the team leader as a figure that regulates teacher collaboration harks back to Laura’s and Mandy’s statements about the responsibility of the team leader for successful teacher collaboration. This is especially emphasized in the context of co-teaching, which requires course planning to be uniform between the teachers. A similar approach is described by Fabian:

Ja, es ist also so, in jedem Jahrgang gibt es so **Fachgruppen** bei uns an der Schule nennt sich das, das heißt da **treffen sich zum Beispiel alle Deutschlehrer der Unterstufe**, also der etwas jüngeren Schüler **regelmäßig im Team und besprechen** dann, welche Kapitel so ja durchgenommen werden sollen. Wir arbeiten teilweise mit **offiziellen Büchern**, aber auch mit **Dokumenten aus dem Internet** oder erstellen selber **Übungen** zum Thema. Also das ist so ein **Potpourri**, also eine Mischung aus allem dann.

Fabian describes superficially the meetings of the team of German teachers for the lower stages of secondary school. The aim of the meetings is to determine the resources used for course planning, which range from official books, internet sources, and exercises made by the teachers themselves, which Fabian colorfully describes as a *potpourri*.

X.1.5.1. Summary

Course planning and teacher collaboration are formulated in a largely similar way across the discourses of each teacher. In this small group of teachers, they state that they have a high degree of autonomy in their course planning decisions, with some constraints from co-teaching practices. Moreover, the core curricula, as policy texts, are acknowledged by the teachers as guidelines, and there is little disagreement in the constraints that these policy texts pose for their teaching practices. Some nuances arise between Jasmin's and Mandy's descriptions of the core curricula, the former describing them as "too strict" and the latter as "too open". Nevertheless, both speak of a high degree of freedom in the implementation of the core curricula.

Furthermore, Raquel, Laura, Mandy, Albert, and Fabian describe the *Fachteams* as the organization that regulates and promotes teacher collaboration for course planning and for co-teaching. These teams represent a middle layer or meso-level of the policy design and implementation process between the Ministry of the GC and the school providers.

X.2. Standard vs. Nonstandard Language Use/Eastern Belgian Identity and German Variety

A recurring theme among the teachers was the tension between standard and nonstandard language use. Standard and nonstandard language use co-occurred with the theme of an affirmed or contested Eastern Belgian identity and German variety. Thus, certain features of nonstandard language use were labeled by some teachers as *Eastern Belgian*, but this metapragmatic label was the object of value judgements that affirmed or negated it. The main linguistic features that were considered indexical of an *Eastern Belgian* variety were French loanwords and grammatical constructions stemming from dialectal or regional influences. The tendency among the teachers was to describe nonstandard linguistic features as mistakes. Moreover, those that deemed such linguistic features as mistakes made no mention of an Eastern Belgian identity, or rejected it based on these characteristics.

Three main perspectives were identified, with slight variation for each teacher:

- 1) Affirmation of an Eastern Belgian German variety defined by its French elements (mainly lexical).
- 2) Description of German in the GC as regionally determined between the North and the South, thus exhibiting differing features based on French, dialectal, and regional (beyond the Belgian border) influences. The dialectal and regional features are described as mistakes by most teachers.
- 3) Negation of an Eastern German Belgian variety due to the dialectal variation between the North and the South coupled with the regional commonalities shared with the German Rhine and Eifel varieties. These features are assumed to be mistakes by most teachers.

X.2.1. First Perspective

The interplay between standard and non-standard develops into a field of tension. This tension is emphasized by the influence of loanwords of French origin, which are sometimes considered as features of a unique variety (cf. Feyen 1999). An example of this is expressed by Fabian, from the Pater-Damian Secondary School in Eupen:

Wegen unserer Nähe zu Frankreich oder der Wallonie in Belgien haben sich doch viele **Gallizismen bei uns** auch eingeschlichen. Also zum Beispiel **Camion** und **Trottoir** und all diese Begriffe also, die gibt es natürlich schon **bei uns in der Ecke** und wenn du dann ein paar Kilometer weiter nach Aachen fährst, verstehen nicht alle Leute dann was damit gemeint ist.

Fabian mentions some Gallicisms that are considered typically Eastern Belgian, their origin being attributed to the proximity of the GC to France or Wallonia (even though the GC is not near France). This lexical influence points to a presupposed boundedness of the GC. This boundedness refers not only to the language, but also to the spatial boundaries, which Fabian explicitly describes in a deictic way with *bei uns in der Ecke*. This boundedness is then further clarified when Fabian mentions an example of incomprehensibility in the use of these terms outside of the GC in Aachen, which is in close proximity to Eupen.

In terms of language policy, Victoria, the official of the Ministry of the GC, was asked about the regional particularities of German in the GC and their relation to the core curricula, to which she replied:

Q: Und auf den Rahmenplänen wird der Kompetenzbereich „über Sprache reflektieren“ beschrieben, wo man auf die Sprachvariation eingeht, soweit Sie wissen, heißt das auch die regionale Variation der DG? Also wird auch die Variation des Deutschen in der DG thematisiert?

V: Ja, das ist eine schwierige Frage, das weiß ich jetzt nicht bis in alle Einzelheiten. **Es ist effektiv so, dass es in den Rahmenplänen steht...** Aber ob es jetzt dann auch wirklich thematisiert und unterschiedlich thematisiert wird, das kann ich Ihnen leider auch nicht sagen. Was weiß, **also das steht auf jeden Fall nicht im Vordergrund**, das weiß ich wohl, weil sonst wäre es mir natürlich bekannt.

Victoria acknowledges that there is a section on language variation in the core curricula but does not know the details about its implementation in German courses. She further explains that language variation concerning the GC is not a prominent topic. However, Victoria does speak of an Eastern Belgian German when the topic was addressed during the interview:

Man kann auf jeden Fall von einem ostbelgischen Deutsch sprechen ja, ich denke, da sind auch französische Einflüsse, die sehr stark vorhanden sind, sei es jetzt **in der Aussprache**, sei es auch in, in gewissen **Wortschatzvariationen**, also da gibt es auf jeden Fall ‘ne ostbelgische Färbung für, für die deutsche Sprache ja.

Through the adverbial phrase *auf jeden Fall* (=indeed, of course), Victoria affirms emphatically that there is an Eastern Belgian German. She refers to French influence and describes it as *strongly present* (*stark vorhanden sind*). She then situates this influence in the pronunciation and in what she calls variations in vocabulary (*Wortschatzvariationen*). Victoria thus concludes that there is an Eastern Belgian *Färbung*⁴¹ for the German language.

French influence on the German of the GC is even more strongly addressed by Albert, from the César-Franck Atheneum in Kelmis. He even describes an Eastern Belgian accent:

Es sind so... so **Wörter** ja, die vielleicht man **in Ostbelgien** aus dem Französischen übernimmt. Ja, Beispiel hab‘ ich ja noch zum Beispiel **in Deutschland Kugelschreiber, in Ostbelgien** sagen viele Leute **ein Bic**, so glaub‘ ich punkto Wortschatz, da gibt es einige Sachen, was halt so **typisch ostbelgisch** ist... und dann auch glaub‘ ich so ein bisschen **der Akzent**, dass man halt als deutschsprachiger(.) ja je nachdem, wenn man ja nach Deutschland geht, vielleicht auch ein bisschen anders angeguckt wird, weil ja vielleicht dann doch der, **der Akzent ein bisschen französisch, ja französisch gekennzeichnet ist**, sondern bisschen französische Züge aufweist, da

⁴¹ *Färbung* literally means *coloring*, but an idiomatic translation to English would be *flavor*.

denke ich schon, dass, dass **es da Unterschiede gibt, so ein bisschen zum Standarddeutschen und dem Ostbelgischen.**

Albert first gives an example of lexical French influence and establishes a comparison between Standard German and what he describes as typically *ostbelgisch* (=Eastern Belgian). The preposition *in* creates a spatial contrast between *Eastern Belgium* and *Germany*, indexing the boundedness of the GC vis-à-vis other places. Albert then delves further into specific characteristics of an Eastern Belgian German variety through the concept of *accent*, a difficult concept to define in the context of this extract. It is likely that he uses “accent” to refer to prosody and to unmentioned phonetic features that differ from perceived Standard German. According to Albert, this alleged accent is influenced by French features. Whether real or not, French is attributed by this formulation a foundational role in the differentiation of an Eastern Belgian variety that was never formulated as *German*. However, this does not lead to the conclusion that Albert believes that Eastern Belgian is a separate language, but rather a German variety that has its own particularities vis-à-vis other German varieties.

Fabian goes one step further in this direction:

Ich bin eigentlich froh, dass **wir** so ein bisschen **apart** stehen, wieder so ein Gallizismus, „apart“ (laugh), so dass **wir** so ein bisschen **die Distanz zu dem ganzen haben**, weil **wir** gerade, **wir in der DG**, weil wir ja eben an drei verschiedene Länder grenzen, **wir können uns so ein bisschen die Rosinen aus dem Kuchen picken, von jedem, von jeder Kultur um uns herum**. Wir haben also dieses **Fleißige, Gewissenhafte der Deutschen**. Wir haben dieses **Laisser-faire [...]**, also **Savoir-vivre von den Wallonen**, also so holen wir uns irgendwie aus allen Ecken so das Beste raus, und **voilà**.

Fabian deliberately integrates Gallicisms in his speech. Linguistic influences of neighboring languages are equated with imagined socio-cultural features. These are considered as different features of each culture, which can be “selected” (phrased metaphorically by Fabian) by the people of the GC. The combination of these features would then form an Eastern Belgian identity. The main idea is that the Eastern Belgian identity consists of a mixture of Germanic and Romance elements. This corresponds to a rhematization, the process whereby linguistic features are attributed socio-cultural properties. In this case, the French language and the German language are interpreted as icons of properties associated with a French and German character, respectively.

This leads to interpretations of a collective identity, which Fabian expresses through the pronoun *wir*. The indexing of this group - the population of the DG - presupposes not only its (real or

imagined) existence, but also its boundedness in relation to other groups. This differentiation arises from the playful use of the Gallicism *à part*, pointing here not only to one's own sociocultural identity, but also to spatial boundaries. According to Fabian, however, these borders are permeable: the members of the group appropriate characteristics of the adjacent groups that are perceived as typical, (*laissez-faire, savoir-vivre* = Walloons; industriousness, conscientiousness = Germans). This suggests that, following Fabian's view, the combination of such features leads to something new. The end of his discourse is then ludically marked again by the Gallicism *voilà*.

However, in the implementation of the language policy in school, Fabian follows the Standard German of Germany:

Also ich selber als Lehrer versuche **natürlich, mich möglichst den Standarddeutsch mit den Schülern zu unterhalten**, aber hin und wieder also lasse ich da auch so ein paar **regionale Ausdrücke** einfließen und ja, **die Schüler machen das natürlich auch dann**.

Q: Und was ich gemeint hab' ist, wird von einem belgischen Deutsch also gesprochen wird, wird das thematisiert? Also gibt es ein solches Deutsch, in der in Ostbelgien also als Thema für den Unterricht...

F: Also abgesehen von diesem einen Kapitel, von dem ich eben sprach, wo dann wirklich mal auf **diese Abweichungen** eingegangen wird ansonsten nicht ne, also ansonsten ist das ein **regulärer Deutschunterricht, wie auch in deutschen Gymnasien** dann.

Fabian enforces Standard German in his courses, while accepting a few regional expressions that are left undefined here. When a more detailed question was posed, Fabian describes these regional expressions as *Abweichungen* (=deviations) and equals his course to German courses in any German secondary school. Thus, he posits an Eastern Belgian identity and acknowledges certain linguistic features as particular to the GC, but enforces the standard language in school, which he describes as an obvious aspect of his position as German teacher.

X.2.1.1. Summary

Albert, Fabian, and Victoria typify linguistic features as elements of an Eastern Belgian German variety. While Albert and Victoria use *ostbelgisch* as an adjective and a noun, Fabian does not. Nevertheless, all three formulate French influence as the main source of differentiation (which seems to allow for the enregisterment of an Eastern Belgian variety), whereby linguistic features from French become indexical of an Eastern Belgian variety. Fabian then rhematizes these features, that is, he attributes socio-cultural properties to French and German linguistic features,

the selection of which leads to an Eastern Belgian identity. Despite Fabian's ideology regarding this identity, he enforces Standard German in school and considers this an essential aspect of his duty as teacher of German. A similar discontinuity is found in Victoria's discourse. Although she affirms that there is an Eastern Belgian German variety in pronunciation and vocabulary, this is not reflected in the de jure language-in-education policy, e.g., the core curricula.

The typification of these linguistic features and their link to an Eastern Belgian identity is, however, highly contested, as will be shown below.

X.2.2. Second Perspective

Raquel, from the Royal Atheneum of St. Vith, states the following:

Wir haben **'nen großen Einfluss vom Französischen**, also oft merken wir nämlich gar nicht, dass die Wörter, die wir benutzen, **falsch sind**, weil wir so aufgewachsen sind und wenn dann jemand, **ein Deutscher** zum Beispiel, mit dem wir Kontakt haben, die lachen, also, weil die verstehen uns nicht [...] „**Camion**“ nicht aber sowas wie „**Farde**“. Wir benutzen „Farde“ für „Ordnung“. Das kommt aus dem Französischen, und das versteht ein Deutscher nicht. Oder „Schick“. **Also in der Eifel sagt man „Schick“ für „Bonbon**“. In Eupen sagt man „der **Klumpchen**“, **das versteht ein Deutscher auch nicht**, oder wir sagen „**plattes Wasser**“, *de l'eau plate* für „stilles Wasser“, solche Sachen eben.

Raquel affirms that there is a strong influence from French in the variety of the GC, particularly in the lexicon. She provides the example of a French loanword and then two different lexemes for the same referent that are indexical of the North and the South of the GC. The last example is a French loanword that has been integrated into the morphosyntax of the variety of the GC. These linguistic features are indexical of the variety of the GC. However, for Raquel, their indexicality is based on the lack of intelligibility that a German person would experience upon encountering these lexemes.

As anecdotal evidence of nonstandard language use defined across the North-South divide, Raquel claimed:

Als ich meine Sekundarschule gemacht hab', hatten wir sogar so diese **geläufigen regionalen Fehler**, die dann **ausgebessert werden mussten** quasi also **eine Unterrichtseinheit dazu**, und da waren **viele Fehler**, die **wir in der Eifel nicht machen, aber die in Eupen machten**, wie Dativ und Akkusativ vertauschen und so, das wird in der Eifel weniger gemacht.

Alluding to her time in secondary school, Raquel describes how they (school students from the South) learnt about “regional mistakes” as part of a course. She refers to differences in language use between the North and the South, positioning herself in the South through the phrase *wir in der Eifel*. These regional differences are defined as linguistic features indexical of each area, but deemed as mistakes. They are defined as mistakes by taking Standard German as the reference point.

Laura, from the Episcopal Institute of Büllingen, does exactly this in one of her courses. One of the teaching units is called *Ostbelgisch*, where linguistic features typified as “Eastern Belgian” are addressed:

Wir haben eine Einheit. Die nennt sich **Ostbelgisch**. Da wird dann geschaut wie sind die Sprachmerkmale, beispielsweise **bei uns dann in der Ecke**, weil **es wird auch nochmal der Unterschied gemacht zwischen Süden und Norden in Ostbelgien**, lohnt sich bei so einer großen Fläche natürlich absolut, aber beispielsweise **wie in der Eupener Gegend, die reden ganz anders als wir hier im Süden**. Da wird dann den [sic] Unterschied gemacht, wir achten darauf, welche **Laute den Ostbelgiern schwerfallen**. Beispielsweise haben wir die Tendenz, anstatt **gegangen**, sagen wir **jegangen** oder **lustig** wird **lustisch**, dann beispielsweise und da gehen wir dann auch mit den Schülern ein und dann müssen sie auch ein bisschen so sich selbst mal einschätzen „**welche Fehler mache ich noch?**“, „warum ist das so?“ und „wie könnte ich das vermindern, also **verhindern?**“.

The focus of the teaching unit is the elucidation of regional differences according to the North-South divide of the GC. Laura first positions herself as a Southerner by creating a contrast between the speech of Eupen and that of the Eifel through the phrase *die reden ganz anders als wir hier im Süden*. She then gives examples of language features such as the use of the palatal approximant [j] and the postalveolar fricative [ʃ], which occur in the GC instead of the velar plosive [g] of standard German. In Standard German, the velar plosive [g] is also orthographically realized as <g>. However, the sounds mentioned above also occur beyond the borders of the GC, such as in the Rhineland. Nevertheless, they are perceived and characterized as typically *Eastern Belgian* in the context of this course at the EIB. Additionally, these sounds are described as mistakes. The quoted speech at the end of the extract makes it clear that the lessons have a normative purpose: to identify and to correct these sounds.

Xenia, from the Robert-Schuman-Institute of Eupen, also describes linguistic features of the variety of the GC as mistakes, but links them to regiolectal features rather than describing them as

unique features. Once again, loanwords from French are deemed indexical of the variety of the GC:

Wir haben gewisse Dinge ähm, die überall, äh, **falsch** gesagt werden (laugh), oder **auf unsere Art** einfach gesagt werden, dieses „**ich hab kalt**“, ne, also, **ok das sagen auch manche Rheinländer**, also es ist **nicht nur Ostbelgien**, es geht auch ein bisschen noch darüber hinaus, **in den deutschen Sprachraum rein**. Ne, sagt man oft, dass das Rheinland auch wieder **sehr ähnlich spricht** [...] oder ja einfach ganz viele Begriffe auch die, **vom Französischen trotzdem dann in unsere Sprache Eingang gefunden haben** [...] **Der Camion**, ne? Für Lastkraftwagen, oder Kleintransporter, ist bei uns **der Camion** und solche Dinge, die sind sonst bisschen dann umgangssprachlich teils, aber haben sich so **eingebürgert**. Die Leute erkennen teilweise gar nicht mehr, dass das **kein hochdeutscher Begriff** ist, auch die Schüler nicht, ne, also, aber auch Erwachsene.

The "wrongness" of linguistic features that are represented as Eastern Belgian is Xenia's first focus. She then presents an example, a morphosyntactic construction in the nominative case, which is only considered correct in Standard German when it follows the dative inflection (i.e., *mir ist kalt*). Aside from the focus on "wrongness", clearly a product of the standard language ideology whereby Standard German is accepted as the norm, the recognition that these language features extend beyond the borders of the GC breaks the indexicality of these features as Eastern Belgian. As such, Xenia acknowledges that the boundedness of the variety of the GC cannot be defined by isolated and unique features. As a result, she resorts to the lexical influence of French (*camion* in this case), thus linking these linguistic features with an Eastern Belgian variety.

X.2.2.1. Summary

The teachers grouped under the second perspective also typify specific linguistic features. On the one hand, dialectal and regional influences are considered mistakes, typical along geographic lines, i.e., the North-South divide. On the other hand, French lexemes in the variety of the GC seem to allow for the enregisterment of particularly Eastern Belgian features. This could be due to the status of French as a separate language, while dialectal and regional varieties are subsumed under German and are thus considered incorrect by this group of teachers. In the following section, two teachers negate the existence of particularly Eastern Belgian features.

X.2.3. Third Perspective

Jasmin, from the Royal Atheneum of St. Vith, contests assertions regarding Eastern Belgian features or even an Eastern Belgian variety. She appeals to linguistic differences between the North

and the South as factors that hinder the characterization of the German variety of the GC as uniformly Eastern Belgian:

Also, ob man sich für alle, für die ganze DG, nehmen kann, finde ich **wieder schwierig**. Also dann finde ich schon eher, dass wir hier im Süden, das **ähnlich schon auf der deutschen Eifel, auch dieser ja, auch der, das Deutsch, der Dialekt auch**. Im Norden ist es schon anders, also **einheitlich für die DG würde ich sagen gibt es das nicht, dann muss man schon wieder ganz klar trennen**. Also, so empfinde ich es zumindest, hier ist es anders als in Eupen, ja.

In this extract, assumed similarities between the linguistic features of the German Eifel (at the level of regiolect and of dialect at the same time) and those of the South of the GC are described as an obstacle for a unification of an Eastern Belgian German. Jasmin also states that the North has its own differences, which prevents as well the enregisterment of an Eastern Belgian German. The linguistic-structural similarities are the basis for an explicit separation according to geographical categories, which in turn leads to a differentiation within the GC. This geographical difference is also acknowledged by the other teachers, but does not prevent the formulation of an Eastern Belgian German in their discourses, mainly thanks to the French influence.

Mandy, from the Episcopal Institute of Büllingen, also teaches the unit called *Ostbelgisch*. She was asked whether she brings up the topic of the German of the GC in her courses. She replied as follows:

[Wir haben?] so einen Unterricht [?], **das heißt Ostbelgisch [laugh]**. Da sind dann **die ganzen Fehler** drin, die **wir machen**, weil wir halt **den Einfluss des Französischen haben** und wir benutzen manche Artikel **falsch**, zum Beispiel. Weil, aber, das sind... **also verschiedene Fehler, die wir machen, die kann man wirklich begründen**, weil wir denn diesen französischen Einfluss haben und andere Fehler machen wir **aus dem Plattdeutschen**, wo wir so Formulierungen, ganz blöd wir sagen zum Beispiel **Hühnerhaut** ne?, also anstatt **Gänsehaut, weil das heißt "Poulet" auf Französisch**, so so solche, solche Fehler machen [wir].

Laughter upon naming the teaching unit *Ostbelgisch* can be interpreted as disbelief in the existence of an Eastern Belgian German variety. The content of the teaching unit is likely the same as Laura's. The aim of the course is, as mentioned above, the correction of common linguistic features used in the GC. The difference between Mandy's and Laura's perspective is Mandy's description of French as a source of mistakes. This is formulated in the explanatory clause of the second sentence. Moreover, Mandy includes dialectal influences (all of them encompassed under *Plattdeutsch* by Mandy) into the mix of sources creating mistakes. These mistakes are, as is the case for every interview extract here, defined as such because Standard German is the point of

reference. Standard German as reference point is made clear in Mandy's comparison of the lexeme *Hühnerhaut* with Standard German *Gänsehaut*, the former being deemed incorrect.

Later in the interview, Mandy was asked about the existence of an Eastern Belgian German, to which she replied:

Ja, **genau wie es ein bairisches Deutsch gibt** oder ein... ein **ostdeutsches Deutsch** oder ein **rheinisches Deutsch** oder so also **von Regionalismen** schon, aber dieses Ostbelgisch ne also, **dass ich das Ostbelgisch genannt habe ein Kapitel, das ist auch um die Schüler so ein bisschen zum Nachdenken** so, und sie diskutieren sehr viel darüber **was ist ein Fehler** und **was ist kein Fehler** zum Beispiel.

Q: Ja, also dann sind also, Ostbelgisch bezieht sich dann auf Regionalismen und solche Sachen, nicht auf eine eigene Sprache?

Mandy: Eigene Sprache, nee, nee, Luxemburgisch ist ja auch **keine eigene Sprache**, ne?

Despite having named the teaching unit *Ostbelgisch*, Mandy lists different German varieties that have, in her view, the equivalent status of the German variety of the GC. There is ambiguity in the list, as no distinction is made between regional varieties of Standard German and German dialects. Nevertheless, Mandy seems to place the German variety of the GC at the same rank as other regiolects. Thus, Mandy clarifies that *Ostbelgisch*, or Eastern Belgian, was never used as a linguistic category, but rather as part of a pedagogical approach for the enforcement of the Standard German norm among school students who use linguistic features that occur in the GC. As a reply to the subsequent question regarding the status of the category *Ostbelgisch*, she compares it to the status of Luxembourgish, denying both categories the status of a language.

X.2.3.1. Summary

The extracts in this section show how Eastern Belgian, as a social category, is negated as a linguistic category. While Jasmin rejects the existence of an Eastern Belgian German by highlighting linguistic differences according to the North-South divide, Mandy ascribes to it the status of a regiolect by comparing it to different German varieties (unspecified regiolects or dialects). The comparison with Luxembourgish is illustrative of the incoherent argumentation that may arise when Standard German is taken as a point of reference, thus subsuming under it a wide array of linguistic varieties that, structurally and socially, may differ from it. It is the standard language ideology in its most explicit form.

The next section delves into the theme of multilingualism in the GC. The micro-analysis also identified various perspectives regarding this theme.

X.3. Multilingual GC

Three perspectives are clearly identified from Victoria's and the teachers' discourses:

- 1) The GC is a multilingual community mainly because of two factors:
 - a. the historical, political, social, economic, and administrative links with the other communities and regions, especially the Walloon region,
 - b. the presence of German and French in school and in daily life
- 2) The GC is not a multilingual community because there are too many disparities in the population of speakers, i.e., it is claimed that many people only have proficiency in German (or even only in a dialectal variety)
- 3) The multilingualism of the GC is unequal, relative to each municipality, with particular disparities between the North and the South.

What follows is an elucidation of these three perspectives through interview extracts.

X.3.1. First Perspective

Victoria and four out of the seven teachers claimed that the GC is multilingual. The use of French in daily life was the determining factor for this affirmation. Dutch was never mentioned.

Victoria first provides an overview in the context of the language-in-education policy:

Die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit ist eigentlich ein Thema, mit dem man sich schon sehr viel länger und sehr viel intensiver in, in... ja, seit 2004 befasst hat als mit der Förderung der Muttersprache. Und auch da ist das natürlich kompetenzorientiert. Das basiert auf die, diese, **diesen pragmatischen Ansatz auf das Vermitteln der Kernkompetenzen...** ja, der Ansatz ist eigentlich der gleiche wie, wie bei Deutsch als Muttersprache.

According to Victoria, multilingualism has been important to the government of the GC since 2004, which is the year that the decree organizing language use and language teaching in the school system of the GC was passed. The approach to multilingualism in the language-in-education policy

is *pragmatic* and competence-oriented. She proceeds to explain one of the measures of the GC regarding multilingualism:

Seit 2008 haben wir, führen wir jedes Jahr standardisierte Sprachtestung durch und an der, also es ist eine Vollerhebung, an der alle Schüler des sechsten Primarschuljahres und des sechsten Sekundarschuljahres teilnehmen; das sind die **DELF-Prüfungen** und durch diese standardisierten Prüfungen, die natürlich dazu führen, dass die Schüler eventuell ein Zertifikat, ein zusätzliches Zertifikat erhalten aber, ***unsere Zielsetzung ist eigentlich auch statistisch zu erfassen, ob die ganzen Maßnahmen, die wir in den letzten Jahren investiert haben, nämlich um die Unterrichtsqualität zu verbessern, auch greifen und ihre Früchte tragen.***

The measure is the use of DELF tests as survey data that can reflect the effects that the measures for the promotion of multilingualism have had in the student population. Here again, French is the yardstick validating multilingualism in the GC. No mention of other foreign languages (Dutch or English) is made.

The topic of multilingualism resurfaces later in the interview. Victoria explicitly affirms that the GC is multilingual:

Ja, ich denke, und ich denke auch, dass, eben durch diese, ***diese Kleinheit des Gebietes*** an sich **jeder davon überzeugt ist**, man kann das auch oft in der Presse lesen, dass **Mehrsprachigkeit oder zumindest Zweisprachigkeit sehr wichtig ist**, wobei auch immer mehr Stimmen laut werden, dass man die englische Sprache noch mehr fördern sollte, vielleicht auch noch früher fördern sollte, weil wir fangen relativ spät mit der, also zweiten Fremdsprache Englisch beginnen wir aber **ich denke im Allgemeinen kann man schon sagen, dass wir eine mehrsprachige Region sind**, die auch Wert auf die Mehrsprachigkeit legt und wo auch, ja, eigentlich **jedem Bürger bewusst ist, dass das wichtig ist**, aber dass es natürlich auch ein Vorteil für, **für die Bürger der Region** ist. Worüber sich die Geister auch noch *scheiden* würde ich sagen, das ist, ob denn jetzt die erste Fremdsprache Französisch in, also, *gut genug* gefördert wird in den Schulen, also da werden schon noch immer Stimmen laut die sagen “na ja, ihr sagt die sind auf Niveau B2 wenn die das Abitur erhalten, aber de facto sind die Kompetenzen doch nicht immer so ausgeprägt, wie sie sein sollten”.

Victoria describes a consensus among the population, manifested in the press, due to the small size of the GC. The implied argument is that the residents of the GC are dependent on their proficiency in more than one language, *bilingualism* being the minimum vis-à-vis *multilingualism*. This point

is made clear after the affirmation of the GC as a *multilingual region (mehrsprachige Region)*⁴², whereby Victoria attributes to every resident of the GC the awareness of the importance of multilingualism. Such a consensus is presupposed, thus multilingualism has been reparametrized, that is, it has been narrowed down to debates about the promotion of French (and English, as will be shown below) in school:

Manche Schüler, die dann auch in die Wallonie gehen, um zu studieren, haben doch am Anfang große Schwierigkeiten, das Studium in französischer Sprache zu bewältigen. Also da werden immer noch Stimmen laut, die sagen, das müsste *noch* mehr sein. Aber, ja, ich also **ich persönlich denke, dass eigentlich in keinem Fach so viel nach vorne getrieben wurde, wie eben in dieser Mehrsprachigkeit.**

Multilingualism is, once again, reduced to proficiency in French. Victoria describes multilingualism as a subject (*Fach*) where most advances are visible in comparison to other subjects. Because of this, Victoria declares later in the interview that the strategy for the promotion of multilingualism in the GC has reached its pinnacle, i.e., it is already highly prominent as a language policy goal.

The last comment Victoria had regarding multilingualism during the interview was an answer to the question of the possible competition between English and French as first foreign languages. Her comment elucidated the reason for the importance conceded to French as first foreign language:

Also es hat auch in der Vergangenheit immer wieder Stimmen gegeben, die von uns gefordert haben, dass wir eben die englische Sprache als erste Fremdsprache sozusagen auch als Option anbieten würden, aber **das ist immer wieder auch von Seiten der Politik abgelehnt worden, weil wir eben in Belgien leben und weil wir ja verschiedene Nationalsprachen haben** und weil man gesagt hat... „**Ja, Französisch ist eigentlich wichtiger für unsere Schüler, für unsere Bürger in erster Linie** und das Englische sollte dann später dazu kommen“.

The idea of replacing French with English as first foreign language has been consistently rejected by the political forces of the GC, according to Victoria. This rejection is based on an argument consisting of the following elements: The GC is part of Belgium, which recognizes various national languages, among them French. Through the impersonal pronoun *man* and the verb *sagen* in present perfect, Victoria uses reported speech to state that there is a consensus about French as

⁴² As mentioned in the historical overview, the GC is not a region, but a community. However, Article III of the Constitution of Belgium indicates that there are four language regions, which might correspond to Victoria's usage of the term.

first foreign language. In this reported speech clause, the positionality of the GC vis-à-vis the rest of Belgium is indexed by the shifter *unser* in the phrases *für unsere Schüler, für unsere Bürger* (=for our school students, for our citizens). The adverbial phrase *in erster Linie* highlights the degree of importance assigned to the citizens of the GC. Thus, the argumentation is that it is in the best interest of the GC to promote French as first foreign language.

The focus on French as the assumed baseline for a multilingual GC is common throughout all the interview extracts. The next example is Albert, from the César-Franck Atheneum of Kelmis, who states:

Meine Schüler lernen ja auch **Französisch** schon ab der Grundschule, also **die Mehrsprachigkeit ist bei jedem irgendwo vorhanden** und ich sehe es, also gerade **bei uns im Kelmis**, da geht's an der Arbeit [sic], spricht manchmal Deutsch und **dann im nächsten Satz wieder auf Französisch**, also **ich finde auf jeden Fall, dass die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft ist**.

Albert defines multilingualism in the GC as the use of French and German at school and in daily life. He provides an anecdotal example of his job, where French and German are used interchangeably. He then concludes with the emphatic affirmation, through the adverbial phrase *auf jeden Fall* (=absolutely, of course), that the GC is a multilingual community. The phrase *bei uns im Kelmis* (=with us in Kelmis) deictically specifies the place, Albert situating himself in it through the shifter *uns*. This highlights the importance assigned to specific places where such interactions validate the teachers' claim of a multilingual GC.

Fabian, from the Pater-Damian Secondary School in Eupen, provides a similar account of this perspective:

Ja, **auf jeden Fall** also ich hab' es eben noch erlebt ich war einkaufen **bei uns hier in Eupen**, im Supermarkt und hinter der Kasse(.) der Metzgerei stand also eine Person, die gar kein Deutsch konnte und **da wir ja Französisch eben als erste Fremdsprache hier lernen**, ja gut, dann habe ich mich dann eben **auf Französisch mit ihr verständigt**, also **da kommt quasi wöchentlich vor**, dass man hier einen Sprachen miterlebt ja.

Fabian emphatically affirms that the GC is multilingual and follows the same anecdotal path as Albert. Fabian briefly describes an encounter at the supermarket in Eupen (with the same formulation as Albert regarding place) with a person lacking proficiency in German. It is implied that the person spoke French. The explanatory clause beginning with *da* (=since) is a statement about French as the first foreign language taught that exhibits two deictics, *wir* and *hier*. The former refers to the people of the GC and the latter to the territory of the GC.

Laura, from the Episcopal Institute of Büllingen, also affirms this:

Ja, absolut, **weil wir grenzen halt an der Wallonie an** und erfahrungsgemäß, auch persönlich einfach **die französischsprachigen oder die Wallonen haben es schwierig, sich ans Deutsche anzupassen**. Sie verstehen es meist **passiv**, aber aktiv können sie sich nicht mitteilen und dadurch haben wir dann die Tendenz, **uns immer ans Französische anzupassen**, weil es einfach *einfacher* wird dadurch.

Laura follows Albert and Fabian in the assumption of multilingualism as French and German. However, the reasons for Laura's affirmation differ from Albert's and Fabian's. While Albert and Fabian link multilingualism in the GC to the teaching of French in school and to its usage in daily life, Laura considers the *border* with Wallonia as that which leads to multilingualism in the GC. She focuses particularly on the interactional level between Walloons and German-speakers. Couched on the assumption that Walloons have only passive proficiency in German, Laura claims that German-speakers (including herself through the shifter *uns*) accommodate Walloons by speaking in French.

One who formulates similar remarks but who expands on the idea of multilingualism is Raquel, from the Royal Atheneum of St. Vith:

...Ja, weil es eben auch viele Leute gibt, **die Französisch sprechen** oder eben auch **anderer Herkunft sind**. Also ich habe auch **viele Schüler, deren Muttersprache nicht Deutsch ist**, also die zu Hause **Russisch sprechen**, oder... **Albanisch**, also irgendwelche Sprachen, die ich nicht beherrsche ja.

Identical to the previous teachers, Raquel refers to French-speakers as a defining element of multilingualism in the GC. Nevertheless, she includes people of "other origin" as contributing to that which makes the GC multilingual. In the second sentence, she refers to the *mother tongue* of some of her school students, naming Russian or Albanian as examples. The argument is that the GC is multilingual because there are speakers of languages other than German. However, this is nuanced when asked for more details about the students:

Q: Okay, also sprechen die Schüler auch andere Sprachen in der Schule, oder?

Raquel: Ja, also, es ist jetzt **eher eine Minderheit**, also pro Klasse sind das zwei oder drei Schüler, **aber die können trotzdem sehr gut Deutsch reden, weil viele schon seit, seit der Primarschule in Ostbelgien sind**.

Raquel states that the school students speaking other languages are a minority. Furthermore, they usually have a high proficiency of German, aided by the fact that they have attended primary

school in the GC. Despite their minority status and their proficiency in German, Raquel counted them as an example of the multilingualism of the GC.

X.3.1.1. Summary

Victoria affirms that the GC is multilingual because of a political and civil consensus regarding the importance of proficiency in more than one language for the citizens of the GC. Particularly, French as first foreign language is justified and consolidated through the political, social, and economic link to Belgium. Although Dutch is also one of the national languages of Belgium, there is no mention of it in Victoria's explanation of the language-in-education policy. In light of the historical and political development of the GC, it can be argued that French is the first foreign language due to the administrative classification of the GC as part of the Walloon region and the province of Liège.

The teachers based their affirmation on the daily use of French. Anecdotal evidence from all four teachers is used as a basis for the affirmation of a multilingual GC. They reduce it to the following factors: their use of French in daily life in their respective municipalities (Fabian in Eupen and Albert in Kelmis), the proximity to the language border and the accommodation of Walloons by German-speakers, and school students who speak different languages (Raquel). There is no mention of the North-South divide among these teachers. This distinction surfaces in the next section.

X.3.2. Second Perspective

Two teachers deny that the GC is multilingual. Their argumentation is based on disparities between the North and the South, and inequality in language proficiency in the population of speakers.

Mandy, from the Episcopal Institute of Büllingen, states:

Ich würd' sagen, **die DG ist eine deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft, auch wenn die in Eupen es nicht gerne hören würden.** Die wollen sich lieber so verkaufen **als ob hier jeder alles kann**, aber das ist **nicht so**. Ich kenne auch Leute, die auch wirklich **sehr schlecht auf Französisch sprechen**. Die können wirklich nur Deutsch. Und man merkt auch manche... Jetzt nicht von den Schülern ne, weil das sind ja aber auch alles ja junge Leute, die Abitur machen und so weiter. **Aber bei den älteren Personen, da merkt man schon wenn die Hochdeutsch reden müssen, müssen sie sich anstrengen, Hochdeutsch zu reden.**

Mandy rejects it as a multilingual community by tautologically referring to its name (German-speaking Community). In the following clause, the use of the conditional auxiliary verb with a

negation, the pronoun *die* (=those), and the phrase *in Eupen* creates a contrast between unspecified people in Eupen and the rest of the GC, entailing polarization. In the second sentence, this polarization continues with the use of the same pronoun. The verb *sich verkaufen* indexes falsehood or hypocrisy. The embedded clause with *als ob* (=as if) presupposes that a situation believed to be true, is false, as stated with the negation in the last clause of the second sentence.

Thus, it is an accusation against the people of Eupen for propagating an untruthful image of the GC as multilingual. The third sentence goes back to Mandy's own experience as anecdotal evidence of how people in the GC are not proficient in French. Most fruitful for the analysis is the last sentence: multilingualism is extended to proficiency in Standard German as well, as older people have, according to Mandy, difficulties with speaking Standard German, thus implying that they only speak dialectal varieties. This also implies that Mandy includes proficiency in dialectal varieties as legitimate language skills, which creates a contradiction with her belief that Luxembourgish is not a language. Finally, Mandy's statement is a criticism against branding the GC as multilingual. In Mandy's perspective, the source for this branding is found in Eupen, which entails polarization between Eupen and the rest of the GC.

Jasmin, from the Royal Atheneum of St. Vith, rejects this categorization of the GC through the following statement:

...Mehrsprachig also würde ich jetzt **nicht** sagen, weil wenn ich jetzt die, die Schüler sehe, oder ich habe auch jugendliche Kinder, also **die können besser Englisch als Französisch. Deswegen mehrsprachig finde ich jetzt schwierig**, also, so die letzten Jahre, die Jugendlichen haben auch sehr viel Kontakt eben mit der englischen Sprache über die Medien und die fühlen sich oft sicherer und fitter in Englisch. **Deswegen würde ich jetzt auch da nicht mehr sagen, dass das eine mehrsprachige Gegend ist**, die Leute **können natürlich** auch oft relativ **gut Französisch, aber wirklich zweisprachig ja, es gibt natürlich relativ viele, aber auch wirklich zweisprachig sind die meisten nicht**. Man kann sich **in vielen Sprachen relativ gut verständigen**, also Französisch, dann auch Englisch, Deutsch, okay, aber mehr-(.) **richtig mehrsprachig oder zwei- oder dreisprachig sind die meisten nicht**.

Jasmin's statement is full of contradictions. The basis of her argumentation is the belief in the high proficiency of young people in English rather than in French. Here again, French is used as the yardstick for the validation of multilingualism in the GC. In other words, the assumption that young people have higher proficiency in English vis-à-vis French leads to the negation of the GC as multilingual. Furthermore, Jasmin's understanding of "multilingual" seems to be high proficiency in more than two or even three languages. In the third sentence, Jasmin denies that the

GC is multilingual because of the aforementioned argument. However, she states that people have “relatively good French” (*relativ gut Französisch*), but are not really bilingual. The basis for this is left unexplained.

In the last sentence, Jasmin describes, through the impersonal pronoun *man*, that communication in the GC is possible in many languages, mainly French, English, and German, yet proceeds to deny that most people are *truly* (*richtig*) bilingual or trilingual. Therefore, the argument is the following: the GC is not multilingual because, despite people’s ability to communicate in many languages, their proficiency is not high enough to be identified as multilingual. This perspective is characterized by a contradictory balancing act where language skills are acknowledged yet deemed insufficient for the validation of the category *multilingual*. Unfortunately, the lack of detailed explanation in the extract does not allow for further commentary.

X.3.2.1. Summary

For the second perspective, the two teachers based their negation of a multilingual GC on ideologies of language, particularly on the implicit notion of proficiency. In other words, Jasmin and Mandy negated a multilingual GC on the grounds of people’s lack of proficiency in French or even Standard German. Mandy supports her negation through polarization (the contrast between *those in Eupen* and everyone else from the GC), while Jasmin’s negation stems from the assumed preference for English as opposed to French among young people, which leads to the other assumption about lower proficiency in French. Jasmin’s understanding of multilingualism is couched in the expectation of equal proficiency in each language.

In the following section, a nuanced perspective is espoused by one of the teachers.

X.3.3. Third Perspective

Xenia gives a long reply to the question of whether the GC is multilingual:

Man sagt zumindest, dass ihre Bürger **in der Regel mehrsprachig sind, mindestens zweisprachig**. Wenn man dann **den Dialekt der Eifel hinzuzählt sind sie ja [laugh] dreisprachig**, wobei es ist auch noch so eine Eigenheit, **die Leute im Norden der DG sind meistens besser in Französisch als die Leute im Süden. Nicht alle, da gibt es auch wieder viele Unterschiede**. Aber ja, weil, weil, ja, das kommt auf die Gemeinden drauf an, also wenn ich das so sehe, [die] Gemeinde Büllingen, die ja zum Beispiel **direkt an Deutschland dann auch grenzt**, ne? Monschau und so weiter, haben wir da direkt... die orientieren sich dann schon irgendwie noch mehr, auch, auch kulturell, so mein Empfinden, Richtung Deutschland auch was Fernsehen,

Medien betrifft, Zeitungen und alles und **Gemeinden wiederum wie Bütgenbach, die dann aber auch wieder am Weimeses' Grenzen und so weiter, frankophoner Raum, da ist es schon wieder ein bisschen anders**, also es kommt wirklich darauf an, **wie nah man auch an der Sprachengrenze wohnt**, denke ich tatsächlich also, **wie viele Berührungspunkte man da auch im Alltag dann dadurch hat**, ob man dann auch die andere Sprache wirklich gut beherrscht. Ein bisschen Französisch kann hier jeder also fast jeder. Ich glaube, die Leute sind echt in der Aus, also Ausnahmehzahl, die da jetzt kein Wort Französisch sprechen.

Through the impersonal pronoun *man* followed by the verb *sagen*, Xenia uses reported speech to state that the citizens of the GC are multilingual, or at least bilingual. The use of reported speech could be interpreted as Xenia distancing herself from this statement. Moreover, Xenia mentions dialects from the South (*Eifel*) and recognizes them as language varieties that can be counted as separate languages. Although she calls them dialects, she does not subsume them explicitly under German. Xenia proceeds to formulate a distinction between the North and the South in terms of differing proficiency in French, the population of the North exhibiting higher proficiency than the South. She immediately nuances this claim and relativizes each person's proficiency according to the location of the municipality they live in. The orientation towards one or the other language is defined by the proximity of the language border. As such, municipalities closer to Germany are, according to Xenia, oriented towards German culture and language, while those closer to Wallonia are said to be more French-speaking. Daily interactions are also described as influential in the proficiency a person may develop in a language. French is once again the main language used as a measure for the multilingualism of the GC.

Xenia does not affirm or deny that the GC is multilingual. She describes two properties that determine the language proficiency of the population: the proximity to the language border and the daily interactions characterized by distinct contact points (*Berührungspunkte*). However, she explains in further detail her involvement in an association for the promotion of the German language in Wallonia and how federal or regional policy texts are not translated into German:

Wir haben dann auf jeden Fall schon auch ein Problem in Ostbelgien, **weil immer wieder was leider nur doch dann in Französisch existiert also ich persönlich hab' mich da auch sehr viel eingesetzt, auch als ich selber politisch dann aktiv war**, auch jetzt noch durch das im Rahmen des Verbands zur Förderung der deutschen Sprache in der Wallonie. Das ist dann wirklich komplett die wallonische Region sowohl im frankophonen Teil als auch in deutschsprachigen Teil, welchen Stellenwert die deutsche Sprache da dann auch hat oder **haben sollte, haben muss eigentlich** auch laut Gesetz. **Und diesen Stellenwert hat sie leider nicht immer in der Praxis ne, wir merken,**

dass das manchmal noch immer Dokumente nicht übersetzt werden, dass die DG tatsächlich oft vergessen wird, aufgrund ihrer Kleinheit zum Teil...

Xenia denounces the non-translation of texts from French to German in the GC. Her engagement in this regard is alluded to. Importantly, the reason for this engagement is the upholding of the legal status of German in the GC. Through the phrases *haben sollte*, followed by *haben muss eigentlich laut Gesetz*, the law is the source of authority supporting Xenia's normative claim. Her denouncement is based on the inequality between theory and practice, that is, how the status of German as the legal language is clearly established in theory, but not in practice, as many policy texts remain untranslated at the federal and regional levels. Xenia pleads for the translation of these texts into German based on the implicit territoriality principle upholding a specific language for each community.

X.3.3.1. Summary

The third perspective is a nuanced explanation of multilingualism in the GC. Xenia neither affirms or denies the existence of a multilingual GC, but rather focuses on two aspects as determining factors: the proximity to Germany or Wallonia as language borders and the daily interactions of individuals. She denounces, however, that German is not always taken into account as a legal language in the GC, particularly for policy texts at the federal and regional levels. Xenia's understanding of multilingualism extends to language policy, as she denounces that German is sometimes neglected. She thus considers that a truly multilingual GC would uphold German as a legal language alongside French.

X.4. Plattdeutsch in School

The last theme is the use of dialects, or *Plattdeutsch*, as it is called by the people of the GC, in school. Particularly, the normative question of whether dialects should be taught as school subjects is rich in metalinguistic data from the interviews. The responses clearly followed the North-South divide, with the three teachers from the North agreeing to the teaching of dialect in school and the four teachers from the South expressing skepticism. Furthermore, the teachers' responses corresponded to the sociolinguistic data regarding dialect use, according to which the canton of Eupen exhibits quick disappearance of dialects vis-à-vis ongoing dialect use in the canton of St. Vith. However, the focus of the analysis of this theme is the normative question. Two perspectives predominate:

- 1) Dialects could be taught at school, but the implementation of such a course would be difficult.
- 2) Dialects cannot or should not be taught at school because of the immense variation hindering their standardization.

X.4.1. First Perspective

Albert, from the César-Franck Atheneum of Kelmis, states:

Ich finde es... Könnte, also fände ich interessant, es könnte vielleicht angeboten werden. Es wäre, oder hab' ich dann eher als, vielleicht **als Zusatzunterricht** glaub' ich... könnte man das machen, **ich fänd' sehr schön, wenn man sowas auch irgendwie im Unterricht einbinden würde**, oder in den Stundenplan, da glaube ich aber ist eher das Problem, dass man dann **irgendwelche anderen Unterrichte vielleicht einfallen lassen müsste** oder so. Ich glaub' so als **Zusatz-** oder als, als **Ergänzungsfach wär' das glaub' ich schon sehr interessant**, aber gut dann auch vielleicht eher für, für ältere Schüler, vielleicht so in der Oberstufe. Und ich glaub', **da wär' vielleicht auch Interesse da bei manchen Schülern**. Also ich kann jetzt nur für Kelmis reden, **weil da in Kelmis doch Dialekt vielleicht noch ein bisschen mehr gesprochen wird als in Eupen oder in Raeren**, aber ja stimmt schon, dass es da 'nen Platz dafür geben könnte ja.

Albert affirms that dialects could be taught as an additional class (*Zusatzunterricht*), although he remains vague about its implementation, as indicated by the contracted pronoun *sowas* and the adverb *irgendwie*. Problematic for him is the possibility that the addition of a dialect as a school subject could lead to the elimination of other courses, hence he proposes it as an optional class for the older secondary school students. Albert justifies his perspective by referring, on the one hand, to the potential interest it may receive from school students and, on the other hand, by comparing dialect use in Kelmis, in Eupen, and in Raeren. According to Albert, a dialect is still spoken in Kelmis, while that is not the case in Eupen and in Raeren. For this reason, teaching the dialect would be possible.

Fabian, from the Pater-Damian Secondary School, does not speak *Platt*, but expresses agreement with the proposal:

Ich fänd' es schön, **ich selber kann zum Beispiel überhaupt kein Eupener Platt**, wie man es **bei uns** nennt und so hat ja wirklich **jedes Dorf** oder **jede Gemeinde** bei uns so **ihre eigene Dialektform**. Aber im Süden der DG ist das noch viel stärker. Also da sprechen die Eltern oder Großeltern dann doch noch häufiger Dialekt, bei uns in Eupen **geht das leider völlig verloren**.

Also ich, **ich kenne keinen einzigen Schüler, der noch des Eupener Platts mächtig ist zum Beispiel.**

Fabian does not provide any reasons for his position in favor of dialects as a school subject. Instead, he describes dialectal variation according to each locality and states that, in contrast with the South, dialects are dying out. He concludes with the claim that he has not encountered any school student who is able to speak the *Eupener Platt*. This claim, which is a lamentation of the current sociolinguistic situation, can be interpreted as the motivation for his agreement with the idea of dialects as school subjects.

Equally in favor is Xenia, from the Robert-Schuman-Institute of Eupen. She provides a longer response:

Ja, spannende Frage, doch also ich weiß, dass man in **einigen Schulen auf Grundschulen**, auch in Ostbelgien so gewisse Projekte startet, um auch den, den, diesen Dialekt ne **diesen Plattdeutsch auch gebührenden Stellenwert einzuräumen** [...] aber das ist bisher **nicht strukturell** also wir haben da jetzt keine Initiative, die ich kennen würde, die wirklich das flächendeckend unterstützt und fordert, dass man das mehr einbaut. **Das ist mehr so auf Initiative der einzelnen Lehrer, ob die das dann für wichtig halten und offen sind dafür oder nicht also.** Ich persönlich finde, das ist sehr interessant, das ist sinnvoll denk' ich auch mal, als **kleine Bereicherung**, also **es steht hier auch wieder zum Beispiel im Lehrplan drin**, wenn ich jetzt schaue, mein, mein, mein **Unterricht in Deutsch** einfach also, wir haben ja nicht nur die vier **Grundkompetenzen** Lesen, Zuhören, Schreiben und Sprechen, sondern auch die Fünfte, **Über Sprache reflektieren**. Und da ist zum Beispiel dann auch **Varietäten von Sprache**, also Dialekte, Regionalismen das alles gehört ja dazu, auch Jugendsprache, diese speziellen Sprachfärbungen, und da passt das sehr gut, dann auch punktuell über Projekte auch **das einzubauen** und uns zu fragen „wer kann denn selbst noch hier Dialekt sprechen und, und wär' bereit, das mal vorzuführen?“ oder „habt ihr in eurem Bekanntenkreis Leute das [?] aufleben zu lassen?“

Xenia mentions some projects where dialects are taught. She first refers to *Dialekt* and then changes to the other metapragmatic label, *Plattdeutsch*. These projects have the aim, according to Xenia, of giving *Plattdeutsch* “proper status”, implying that *Plattdeutsch* is currently neglected and is deserving of such acquisition planning. In terms of the language-in-education policy, there is no explicit policy that regulates the teaching of *Plattdeutsch*, as indicated by the phrase *nicht strukturell*. Nevertheless, Xenia refers to the section *Über Sprache reflektieren* (=reflecting about language), which would allow the incorporation of dialects as a subject in the German course. Because of the openness (sometimes vagueness) of the core curricula, incorporating *Plattdeutsch*

as a subject in the course is, however, dependent on the course planning of each teacher. Yet Xenia provides an example of an exercise that could be done during class in order to incorporate dialects into the German course.

Xenia's agreement with the promotion of dialects in school is also informed by an ideology of dialects as cultural heritage:

Das wäre auch, was sicherlich interessant wäre auszuweiten, ja und was, was auch ein bisschen **Identität ja ist Heimat einfach ne**, das gehört ja alles dazu, sowie auch **die Großeltern oder Eltern gesprochen haben**, wenn man das selbst auch noch beherrscht ist schon schön, **das schwingt auch viel Geschichte dann immer mit ne**, also.

She links dialects not only to identity and *Heimat* (=the homeland), but also to previous generations. Through the verb *sprechen* in present perfect, dialect use is attributed to previous generations, implying that they are not spoken in the present. Dialect use is linked to the past. This is made clear with the last clause, where Xenia declares that much *history* resonates with dialect use. This ideological aspect, in which dialects are framed according to cultural heritage, may inform any incorporation of dialect use in the language-in-education policy or in the course planning of the teacher.

The potential implementation of dialects in class within the framework provided by the core curriculum of German is formulated as well by Victoria, the official of the Ministry of the GC:

Ja, das könnte **theoretisch gefördert werden**, es wird aber **nicht gefördert**. Also es gibt ja bei uns im, im Süden der Region angrenzend an Luxemburg, eigentlich noch ganz viele kleine Dörfer, in denen das **Plattdeutsch** auch in den **Familien** sozusagen **praktiziert** wird. Ich würde sagen, es wird in den Schulen akzeptiert. Es wird nicht mehr verpönt, wie es ja auch mal früher gewesen ist [...] Also sie sind in diesem Sinne weit verbreitet gut akzeptiert, dass die Familien das Zuhause praktizieren, und **man geht auch nicht mehr davon aus, dass das jetzt wirklich einen schlechten Einfluss auf das Erlernen der Unterrichtssprache oder der Fremdsprache haben könnte**. Ich glaube, das ist auf jeden Fall sehr positiv, **aber es ist jetzt nicht so, dass es in den Schulen auch zum Thema des Unterrichtes gemacht wird**, oder als, als **Unterrichtssprache** oder als **Arbeitssprache** genutzt wird.

Despite this possibility, Victoria immediately declares that *Plattdeutsch* is not promoted. This is justified as follows: The first claim is that dialect use in family life in the villages in the South maintain *Plattdeutsch* from being endangered (implying that such is not the case in the North). The second claim is that there has been a shift towards acceptance for dialect use in society and,

particularly, in the school system. In the fourth sentence, the phrase *man geht auch nicht mehr davon aus* (=it is not assumed anymore, that...) creates a contrast between the past and the present, with the aim of explaining that there has been a shift between them. If Victoria's statement is given credence, this would be a shift in language ideology informing the language-in-education policy, whereby dialect use is no longer considered a hindering factor in the acquisition of the course language (most likely Standard German) or a foreign language (most likely French). However, this shift in ideology does not lead to any changes in the language-in-education policy, as Victoria herself states. Dialects are neither a course subject or used as language of instruction or as working language. This is confirmed by the analysis of the core curricula above.

X.4.1.1. Summary

The three teachers expressed their agreement with the promotion of dialects in school, while Victoria stated that they could theoretically be promoted. When it comes to their implementation, however, three obstacles stood out from the discourse of the informants:

- 1) Resource allocation: As an additional course, it would require a change in resource and time allocation for other courses, shortening or eliminating them.
- 2) De jure language-in-education policy: There is no policy text that explicitly regulates the teaching or incorporation of dialects as school subjects.
- 3) Language ideology: Victoria and two teachers frame dialects as either enriching cultural heritage, linked to a past time of predominant dialect use (Fabian and Xenia), or as languages mainly spoken in family contexts (Victoria). Albert finds their promotion useful since he states that they are *still* spoken in Kelmis in contrast to other municipalities of the North.

X.4.2. Second Perspective

The four teachers from the South stated that they would find the implementation of dialects as school subject difficult, if not impossible. Mandy, from the EIB, simply stated that:

Ja, gefördert auch also befördert **finde ich nicht**. Also, ich find', es ist **nicht so ersichtlich**.

For Mandy, the promotion of dialects is not obvious. A hesitant and uncertain response is also given by Raquel, from the RASV, who positions herself as a German teacher with no knowledge

of dialects. She does not address any challenges in the implementation of dialects as school subjects and only reduces it to her individual choice:

R: Ich selbst rede keinen Dialekt, ich bin da ni-, **ich hänge da nicht so dran**, also ich glaub‘ wenn jemand mit Leib und Seele das **Plattdeutsche** gelernt hat und dann über Generationen und dann gibt es ja auch so Streitigkeiten „heißt es zwuu oder zwee oder zwin?“, **kei-, ich, [weiß ich nicht.**

Q: [Ja, okay.

Also ja, vielleicht ist es für Sie... Also Dialekten, sollen dann gesprochene Sprachen bleiben?

R: Ja, genau.

Raquel gives no definite answer to the question concerning the promotion of dialects as school subject. She states that she has no knowledge of dialects, followed by the interrupted clause *ich bin da ni-*, and then *ich hänge da nicht so dran* (=I don't cling to that), exhibiting hesitation. Through the verb *glauben* in first person, she proceeds to evaluate speakers of *Plattdeutsch* but does not finish her thought. Instead, the end is characterized by further hesitation and an unclear answer. The rest of the interaction is, however, biased. She was asked whether dialects should remain spoken languages, which is already a biased question based on assumptions about dialects, to which she replied affirmatively. Unfortunately, this part of the interview is likely characterized by acquiescence bias.

More elaborate responses were given by Jasmin from the RASV and Laura from the EIB, who share similar reasons for their skepticism. Laura states:

Das hängt davon ab, also wenn es wirklich jetzt ist... Also wenn wir mal das Beispiel holen von der Benrather Linie das erklärt ja alles so ein bisschen warum die Dialekte sind, wie sie sind dann finde ich es elementär einfach, weil das aus dem Alltag der Schüler ist. **Sie können vielmehr in Bezug dazu herstellen, als diese trockene Theorie**, und... **Aber Dialekt als Unterrichtsfach?** Ich stelle es mir schwierig, einfach **weil wir so viele verschiedene Dialekte haben**, welchen Dialekt würde man dann unterrichten? Den Dialekt der Schule, also den Standort der Schule, das wäre aber wieder ein ganz anderer Dialekt als viele Zuhause sprechen, das wäre dann quasi wieder als **Fremdsprache** zu lernen teilweise... **Ein Hochdialekt wie Hochdeutsch oder so gibt es eher nicht** also **ich find‘ die Umsetzung schwierig**, aber **ich finde es eigentlich wichtig, sich damit ein bisschen auseinanderzusetzen**, einfach auch weil es für die Schüler interessant ist, wenn sie dann schon mal so miteinander den Vergleich ziehen.

Laura first links dialects to the German course as material that could make the students relate to the topic of the linguistic history of German. However, the implementation of dialects as school

subject is deemed difficult. The difficulty is attributed, in the explanatory clause of the fourth sentence, to dialectal variation (*so viele verschiedene Dialekte*). According to Laura, the selection of a specific language variety would disadvantage certain school students who speak a different dialect at home. Indeed, she even fears that the chosen dialect may result in learning an additional foreign language for some. Despite the challenges she refers to, Laura assigns importance to dialects as teaching material for the school students who, through a comparison of dialects with Standard German, may find interest in the course.

Before delving into the challenges of the implementation of dialects as school subject, Jasmin states earlier in the interview:

Wenn Dialekt [im Unterricht] gesprochen wird das ist eben nur eine Unterhaltung für einige Leute, die anderen sind dann so nicht beteiligt und **deswegen mag ich das nicht so, an sich bin ich schon sehr für den Dialekt, ich spreche auch selbst Dialekt** und... wir besprechen das auch schon mal im Unterricht **welche Vorteile das hat oder auch Nachteile**. Aber auch die Unterrichtssprache **sollte doch Hochdeutsch sein, weil das eben alle... ja, das sind, alle inbegriffen und nicht nur einige**.

The use of dialect in the German course is considered exclusionary by Jasmin. However, she is in favor of dialect use, emphatically expressed by the preposition *für* and the following clause where she positions herself as a dialect speaker, expressed by the adverb *selbst*. Jasmin proceeds to describe how dialect use is a topic of the course in debates about its pros and cons (*Vorteile... Nachteile*). This is followed by the contrastive conjunction *aber*, which leads to taking a deontic stance, expressed by the modal verb *sollen*, regarding the use of Standard German in class. This deontic stance is arguably the result of a balancing act, where Mandy attempts to reconcile her position as a teacher of German with her engagement with dialect use. The last clause is a justification of her perspective, where Standard German is described as the most inclusive language.

Later in the interview, Jasmin was asked directly whether dialects should be promoted as school subjects. She answered so:

Sehr schwierig, weil ja auch **noch jedes Dorf 'nen anderen Dialekt hat**. Also es gibt ja auch so schon **sehr große Unterschiede**. Wenn man hier wieder guckt zwischen also hier im Süden nochmal guckt, **Norden und Süden**, das ist schon **sehr, sehr unterschiedlich**. Also jeder Schüler bringt ja auch noch **einen anderen Dialekt** mit und **ich glaube auch nicht, dass man das lernen kann in der Schule**, das muss man irgendwie... Ja das, **das erlernt man so im, im Alltag** also das hat **da ist nicht der Platz in der Schule** für, aber was mir, auch ich frag' dann auch schonmal

immer wie, welche Schüler denn Dialekt sprechen und ob sie da irgendwie einen Vor- oder Nachteil drin sehen. Also **wir sind uns fast immer alle einig, dass wenn man Dialekt spricht im Alltag, dass man es einfacher hat mit Leuten in Kontakt zu kommen, so da ist man, ist viel schneller auf so einer familiären Ebene...**

Here, Jasmin takes an epistemic stance by alluding to dialectal variation as an obstacle to the implementation of dialects as school subjects. Dialectal variation is defined according to the North-South divide in the GC. Jasmin further explains that the school is not the setting for the development of proficiency in these varieties, but rather *daily life* (*Alltag*, pronounced emphatically). Nevertheless, she states that she incorporates the topic in the German course during debates about the pros and cons (*Vor- oder Nachteil*) of dialects. Jasmin then states that almost all her students (indexed by the pronoun *wir*) agree with the use of dialects in informal or family contexts, thus positioning herself as a German teacher who deems dialects as registers only appropriate to these specific contexts.

X.4.2.1. Summary

The skepticism from the four teachers regarding dialects as school subject stems from the obstacles outlined in the summary of the first perspective. However, the main difference between the first perspective and the second one lies in the ideological element. While Mandy and Raquel do not provide any reasons for their perspective, Jasmin and Laura both state that Standard German is the most pedagogical approach due to its inclusiveness. In other words, dialect use in class would exclude other students (Jasmin) or would have to be learnt as a foreign language (Laura). Finally, dialectal variation is described as an obstacle to the promotion of dialects as school subject.

X.5. Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been a discourse analysis of interview extracts of seven teachers and one Ministry official according to four themes. The micro-analysis of linguistic structure, guided by a thematic analysis, brought to the fore not only the differing ideologies concerning language use and language teaching in this group of informants, but also linked such ideologies to the language-in-education policy design and implementation. Conclusions have been drawn for each theme in the sections dedicated to them. However, a synthesis of these conclusions may shed light on the links between these themes and the language-in-education policy of the GC, particularly the interplay between ideology and language policy design and implementation:

- 1) *Course Planning and Collaboration*: The detailed account of the Ministry official regarding the design of the core curricula was subject to comparison with the interview extracts of the seven teachers as data concerning the implementation of the core curricula. By the teachers' accounts, the agency of this group of teachers in course planning is guaranteed by the core curricula. There was slight variation in the perception of the core curricula as constraining, necessarily constraining, or (too) flexible. Collaboration was the norm across the group of teachers, with one exception.
- 2) *Standard vs. Nonstandard Language Use/Eastern Belgian Identity*: Three perspectives were identified from the interviews. The common thread in this theme is the typification of language features. Through these features, linguistic-structural elements become the site of ideological disputes in metapragmatic discourse. As such, the German variety of the GC becomes the object of differentiating discourses. Language becomes a kind of springboard to denote and characterize something as Eastern Belgian. Standard German was the reference point of the informants' differentiating discourses, thus allowing the German variety of the GC to be enregistered as *Eastern Belgian* or negated as such. The most important feature serving as the basis of the differentiating discourses was the lexical influence of French.
- 3) *Multilingualism in the GC*: Three perspectives were equally identified from the interviews. This theme was highly disputed. The differing epistemic stances of the teachers manifested through the discursive strategies of polarization (e.g., Eupen vs. the rest of the GC) and reparametrization (narrowing down multilingualism to the proficiency of French as first foreign language). These discursive strategies supported either the affirmation, negation, or nuancing of the GC as multilingual.
- 4) *“Plattdeutsch” in School*: Two perspectives were identified from the interviews. The epistemic stances taken by each teacher differed according to specific ideologies that informed them (e.g., dialects as cultural heritage; as family or private languages; as pedagogically undemocratic). In this group of informants, these ideologies are the result of an implicit “ethno-metapragmatic” grouping, consisting of dialects subsumed under Standard German. This is manifested in language through the metapragmatic label *Plattdeutsch*. In this implicit “ethno-metapragmatic” grouping, Standard German is unitary, while dialects are diverse, thus leading to differing ideologies, such as dialects as

cultural heritage, or as exclusionary vis-à-vis an inclusive Standard German. In terms of language-in-education policy, their inclusion is either hindered by this ethno-metapragmatics (which leads to a strong standard language ideology) or limited to their relationship to Standard German (i.e., taught in relation to Standard German as additional material for the German course or offered as an optional course).

The discourse analysis of the interview extracts mostly shows continuity with the core curricula and the brochure. The ideologies that inform the policy texts were also identified in the discourse of the informants. Two main ideologies were identified in the discourse of the informants and of the policy texts: a) the standard language ideology and b) multilingualism as the collection of discrete languages. The former leads to the standard language as the *point of departure*, as the presupposed baseline for the language-in-education policy design and implementation. The latter results in the presupposition of multilingualism, both in the policy texts and by the teachers, as the collection of different (standard) languages, especially German and French. It is important to note, however, that the discourse analysis of the interview extracts is not generalizable to the language-in-education policy implementation, as there may be other teachers who contest these two ideologies. Nevertheless, an in-depth analysis of the informants' discourses reveals basic processes of the dialectics between linguistic structure, language use, and ideology in a case that has been almost unexplored from this framework.

XI. Discussion and Conclusion

By taking as the object of analysis contemporary language policy texts of Luxembourg and the GC coupled with semi-structured interviews with actors involved in the policy process, this research has attempted to answer two main questions:

- 1) What are the ideologies that inform the language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community in the available corpus?

- 2) What are the discursive patterns that index language ideologies in the language policy texts Luxembourg and the GC?

In order to answer these two questions, it was deemed necessary to place the selected corpus, the identified ideologies, and the discourses they inform in their spatiotemporal context. As such, Chapter V and Chapter VIII provide a detailed description of the historical development of each case and the different language policy traditions that have been established and contested throughout the 19th century until the 21st century in Luxembourg and the GC. By understanding the development of each polity, the ideologies informing the currently dominant language policy discourses of each case are framed in trajectories characterized by continuity and discontinuity according to specific spatiotemporal contexts. This corresponds to the concept of *pathway* developed by Wortham & Reyes (2020, see Chapter IV, section 6.).

By elucidating the trajectories of the language policy discourses and their ideologies from the 19th century until today, these pathways serve as a starting point for the analysis of the selected corpus. That is, the identified ideologies informing the language policy discourses in the corpus are neither regarded as existing in a vacuum or as simply emerging *ex nihilo*. They show degrees of continuity with the ideologies identified in past language policy texts. Importantly, they show stronger continuity in language policy texts, while the interview extracts show a more nuanced and fragmented picture of actors' ideologies.

The analysis has shown that the language policy discourses of the two cases are informed by an assemblage of ideologies. The specific ideologies are explained in detail in the following sections and framed in the axes of differentiation theorized by Gal (2013, 2018) and Gal & Irvine (2019, see Chapter IV, section 6.3.1.). As an integral part of the approach defined by Gal & Irvine (2019), axes of differentiation allow for an identification of the schemata people use to explain different

indexical signs, as proposed by Silverstein (1998, p. 129, see Chapter III, section 3.4.). If ideology is defined as a mediating element that leads to social differentiation through the schemata that people create in order to organize indexical signs of social life, then axes of differentiation can be an analytical tool for the visual representation of identified schemata. These schemata are deemed to consist of qualities that can be organized in oppositions.

Axes of differentiation are, however, only useful to establish regularities that may be induced from the data. In other words, visualizing schemata is only possible after the discourse analysis has been performed. For this reason, it is only in the conclusion of this research that schemata from the data are visualized. The visualization of schemata is thus inductive, yet still constrained by the interpretative work of the analyst. As such, the regularities visualized by axes of differentiation are not extrapolations from the data applied to the level of the community, but rather regularities that are mediated by the ideologies that inform the discourses of the selected corpus. In the context of this research, the regularities may be generalizable, keeping in mind that they are always subject to negotiation and contestation.

Furthermore, it is important to note that axes of differentiation are merely visual representations of schemata. They are not universal, but rather emergent from the hermeneutic work involved in the discourse analysis. Nevertheless, they are useful heuristics that allow for the framing of ideologies that may seem at first to be chaotically emergent in specific contexts and without any regularity across events. How these schemata are organized depends as well on the discursive patterns that occur in context.

The next section follows the order of the chapters. Thus, the ideologies and discursive patterns identified in the policy texts of Luxembourg are explained first, followed by the ideologies of the actors. The same procedure is applied to the case of the GC.

XI.1. Case of Luxembourg

XI.1.1. Ideologies and Discursive Patterns in Language Policy Texts

Through a discourse analysis guided by a thematic analysis, the following ideologies were identified in the language policy discourses of the data:

- 1) Luxembourgish as a discrete, yet diverse, entity that acts as either a part of or as the locus of the Luxembourgish identity and nation.

- 2) Luxembourgish as one element embedded in multilingualism, presupposing “multilingualism” as an essence of the Luxembourgish identity and nation.

These two ideologies correspond to what Horner & Weber (2008) formulate as the two schemata that regulate the discursive construction of Luxembourgish.

The indexical sign in the language policy discourse is *Luxembourgish* as a language. Luxembourgish is subject to various interpretations regarding what it indexes, whether the nation, identity, social mobility, integration, a standard language, a dialect, and so on. These interpretations are defined by competing axes of differentiation, in which Luxembourgish is indexical of a set of qualities that are contrasted with other signs, namely other languages. These other languages index a different set of qualities.

The qualities on the axis are organized according to the schema of the actor’s ideology. A clear example is offered by the contrastive discourses of petition 698 and petition 725. Thus, the axis of differentiation in petition 698 may be:

Table 34: Axis of differentiation of petition 698

Luxembourgish	Multilingualism
National	Foreign
Inclusive	Exclusive
Endangered	Threatening

The axis of differentiation consists of an opposing set of qualities that the words “Luxembourgish” and “multilingualism” index in the context of the data analyzed in this research. In petition 698, “Luxembourgish” indexes values of nationality, inclusivity, and endangerment, while “multilingualism” indexes foreignness, exclusivity, and threat. However, a change in the schema of the actor’s ideology entails a change in the axis of differentiation. Thus, petition 725 shows an axis that could be represented so:

Table 35: Axis of differentiation of petition 725

Multilingualism	Luxembourgish
Prosperous	Poor
Transhistorical	Changing
Inclusive	Exclusive

Both axes of differentiation can be seen as framing the actors’ ideologies, contingent on the context of occurrence.

This is expressed through the discursive patterns of each petition. If petitions are regarded as genres, then they require a specific register to be considered as such. Despite this constraint, there are differences in the discursive patterns that index the ideologies of the actors. Petition 698 is characterized by a predominance of impersonal constructions and passive voice, while petition 725 exhibits the use of the three languages of the state, active voice through the plural pronoun *nous* (=we), and higher occurrence of deontic claims.

Furthermore, the discourse of the 2017 draft law is interdiscursively linked to the petitions, as explicitly stated in the text (see section VI.1.2.8). Because of this explicit link, the 2017 draft law was designed according to an ideology consisting of a compromise, or *splicing*, i.e., a metaphorical

interweaving of ends (see Chapter IV, section 6.3.2.). Because of this splicing, the ideology of the draft law is the balancing act of normative goals: the promotion of Luxembourgish *and* multilingualism. Table 36 represents this splicing.

Table 36: Axis of differentiation of spliced ideologies

Luxembourgish	Multilingualism
National	National
Inclusive	Inclusive
Prosperous	Prosperous

In two sets of qualities, splicing equalizes their indexical values. Thus, the draft law splices Luxembourgish and multilingualism, i.e., they are no longer interpreted as standing in opposition.

Regarding the discursive patterns identified in the draft law, the text follows the requirements of the legal genre, such that passive voice and impersonal constructions are the norm. However, from section 7 onwards in the draft law, the NP *Regierung* (=government) becomes the agent of verbal constructions. The government is framed as the main actor of the language policy strategy proposed in the text. The language policy strategy is framed as the product of the will of the government as an ideological commitment.

Finally, the two school course programs for Luxembourgish show a shift in the ideologies of language. The 2008 course program is characterized by an emphasis on the linguistic variation of Luxembourgish, particularly its dialectal variation, coupled with the deontic claim against the implementation of the written standard in the course. The 2018 course is characterized by the erasure of dialectal variation and by the inclusion of the written standard as a requirement of the course. However, the discursive patterns are identical, i.e., deontic modal verbs such as *sollen* and impersonal constructions have a high occurrence in both.

XI.1.2. Actors' Ideologies

The teaching and non-teaching actors' ideologies largely overlap with the ideologies informing the language policy discourse of the texts. It was deemed necessary to divide the informants into two groups: the teaching and non-teaching actors. The discourse analysis identified themes regarding:

- 1) Institutional collaboration
- 2) Promotion of Luxembourgish
- 3) Standardization of Luxembourgish

There was a consensus among the interviewed actors about the smooth trail of institutional collaboration (at least, at the time of the interviews). More complex were the ideologies identified in conjunction with the other themes. Deontic claims concerning the themes of standardization, promotion, and Luxembourgish vis-à-vis multilingualism among the non-teaching actors differed with regard to the linguistic variation of Luxembourgish.

While the promotion of multilingualism was deemed a priority of the language policy strategy in conjunction with Luxembourgish for all the non-teaching actors, the standardization of Luxembourgish was formulated differently according to the positionality of each actor. As a normative goal, standardization was the object of various formulations. It faced rejection in favor of “normalization” (*Norméierung*), criticism of its traditional and symbolic character, or was formulated as a desirable model based on other standards (French and German) or as a desirable written standard in language-in-education policy.

The themes identified in the teaching actors’ discourses were:

- 1) Course planning
- 2) Writing vis-à-vis orality
- 3) Luxembourgish and multilingualism.

For the first theme, a consensus among the teachers was the lack of teaching material, which led to differing strategies for course planning. Most course planning was described as an individual endeavor, with one actor describing a collaborative approach. The theme of *Writing vis-à-vis orality* refers to the teaching of Luxembourgish, which exhibited ideological differences regarding the teaching of the standard Luxembourgish orthography. Normative goals ranged from a necessity of a strict implementation to a total lack of implementation. This spectrum was determined by the ideology of each actor with regard to the functions attributed to Luxembourgish as either a mainly spoken language or a language modeled on standard languages.

Out of the nine teachers, eight distinguished the normative goal of implementation as dependent on the course (LFL or Luxembourgish as L1). In Luxembourgish as L1, eight teachers said to teach the orthography. In LFL, the teaching of the orthography depended on the interest of the school students. The ideologies identified in the actors' discourses of the theme *Luxembourgish and multilingualism* overlapped with the non-teaching actors' ideologies. Nevertheless, they were framed mainly in the tension between the essentialization of multilingualism and the inclusion of Luxembourgish in the language-in-education policy.

The next section delves into the language policy corpus of the GC.

XI.2. Case of the German-speaking Community of Belgium

XI.2.1. Ideologies in the Language Policy Texts

The following ideologies were identified in the selected policy texts of the GC:

- 1) Presupposition of the standard language
- 2) Standard language as the normative goal
- 3) German as the main language of the GC yet embedded in a multilingual setting.
- 4) Multilingualism as the presence of French in the GC

The first ideology was prevalent in the decrees that regimented the language policy of the GC. The second and third ideologies informed the discourse of the core curricula of German and French as school subject and the discourse of the brochure. The fourth ideology was implicit in the core curricula for French and in the brochure. All four ideologies were characterized by the presupposition of Standard German (and Standard French).

Of the data analyzed in Chapter IX, the brochure was the richest in terms of explicit ideologies. In the foreword, multilingualism in the GC is essentialized by linking it to the history and geography of the community. Furthermore, there is one mention of dialectal variation through the NP *Dialekte*, encompassed under multilingualism as proof of the linguistic diversity of the GC. Although the brochure is a metadiscourse of the language policy of the GC (i.e., language policy was the subject of the text), the ideologies informing the discourse present continuity from the decrees. Thus, there is no inquiry concerning the language policy, but rather a factual description

of the current policy and the future developments as normative goals. These future developments also represent continuity, as the promotion of French is formulated as the normative goal to achieve multilingualism in the GC.

The discursive patterns of the decrees correspond to the genre of legal texts, namely impersonal constructions, present-tense verbal constructions, passive voice, and the government as agent (and as social actor) in the verb phrase. Finally, the lack of explicit ideological positioning in these data does not allow for a representation of contrastive qualities in an axis of differentiation. Yet that is not the case for the actors' ideologies, as shown in the next section.

XI.2.2. Actors' Ideologies

The ideologies identified in the actors' discourses exhibit commonality with the ideologies that informed the discourse of the language policy texts. However, among the eight informants, more ideologies regarding the existence of a German variety of the GC and the links to a cultural identity were identified. These were based on the following themes:

- 1) Course planning and collaboration
- 2) Standard vs. nonstandard use/Eastern Belgian identity
- 3) Multilingual GC
- 4) *Plattdeutsch* in school

In the discourses organized around these themes, not many conflicting ideologies emerged. Particularly rich in perspectival differences were the last three. However, these differences in perspectives were undergirded by a common ideology of language as a discrete system.

The second theme was characterized by either the affirmation or negation of a German variety of the GC. The affirmation was in degrees, i.e., either in full agreement of the existence of a particular variety or nuanced agreement based on shared linguistic features with the neighboring German varieties. The affirmation of a German variety in the GC was mainly based on the influence of French as an index of difference. In the case of full agreement, rhematization occurred, i.e., socio-cultural qualities were attributed to linguistic features, such that an Eastern Belgian identity was linked to such qualities (see Chapter IV, section 6.3.1.). The negation of a German variety was based on polarization, that is, on the linguistic differences exhibited by regional differences.

Despite these differences, every teacher considered that linguistic features linked to the German of the GC were mistakes.

Table 37 shows the axis of differentiation of the affirmation of a German variety of the GC, while Table 38 illustrates the axis of differentiation of the negation of a German variety particular to the GC.

Table 37: Axis of differentiation of the affirmation of a German variety of the GC

German of the GC	German
French	Standard
Wrong	Correct
Regional	Universal

Table 38: Axis of differentiation between the German of the GC and Standard German

German of the GC	Standard German
Divided	Unified
Local	Universal
False	True

The affirmation of what was called an Eastern Belgian German by the participants is established through an opposition between the presupposed variety and Standard German. As such, the German of the GC indexes, for the participants who affirmed its existence, Frenchness, incorrectness, and regionality, while Standard German indexes for them standardness, correctness, and universality. On the other hand, the negation of an Eastern Belgian German involved the same opposition, but with different indexical values. For those who denied its existence, the German variety of the GC indexes division, locality, and falsehood, while Standard German indexes unity, universality, and truth.

The third theme, the GC as multilingual, was similar. The multilingual character of the GC was either affirmed, denied, or nuanced. The affirmation of a multilingual GC was based on the use of French in daily life, while the negation was based on the lack of proficiency in French. These were both undergirded by an ideology of language as a discrete system separated as standard languages.

This theme exhibited contrasts between the North and the South for the negation of multilingualism in the GC, such that the axis of differentiation looks like this:

Table 39: Axis of differentiation between the North and the South of the GC

North	South
Fake	Authentic
Cosmopolitan	Local
Standard	Dialect

The last theme was characterized by various perspectives regarding the use of dialect in school. A clear division between the North and the South was identified. In the South, a register division between a high language and a low language predominated as the ideology informing the actors' discourse. This ideology is the foundation that leads to the differentiation between a standard language and other varieties. In the North, dialects were framed as cultural heritage. This ideology was expressed in deontic claims regarding the protection and valorization of dialects as *traditional*. Despite the differences regarding the normative orientation towards dialects (the teachers of the South being against its use in school with the teachers of the North being in favor), their discourses follow the axis of modernity proposed by Gal (2018):

Table 40: Axis of modernity (Gal, 2018, p. 233)

Standard language	Dialects, patois, minority and indigenous languages
Anonymity	Authenticity
Universal	Particularity
Reason/economy	Emotion
Progress	Tradition
Literate	Oral
Center	Periphery
Homogeneous	Various

XI.3. Comparison of Luxembourg and the GC

The language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the GC in this small corpus are informed by ideologies of language that led to conflicting discursive constructions and normative goals regarding Luxembourgish in Luxembourg and German in the GC. This was aided by semiotic processes, mainly reparametrization, essentialization, and splicing. As a reminder: Reparametrization allows to encompass or narrow down objects in discourse into other objects. It is a process linked to fractal recursivity (see Chapter IV, section 6.3.2.). Essentialization is the process of formulating a transhistorical essence, as if a sociocultural object had permanence throughout history. Splicing is an interweaving of ends of two objects that index contrastive sets of qualities.

The two cases exhibit major differences in both the language policy discourses of the texts and the interview extracts. The language policy discourses of Luxembourg are characterized by two phenomena:

- 1) Two schemata whereby the Luxembourgish language is either encompassed under an essentialized multilingualism or narrowed down as the language of the nation and of identity.

- 2) A compromise through splicing that equally essentializes multilingualism and Luxembourgish

The differing ideologies manifest these processes in discourse. The language policy discourse of texts in Luxembourg thus exhibits conflicting normative goals concerning the regimentation of language. The actors' discourses largely overlap with the ideologies identified in the texts, yet their normative goals do not. As such, the positionality of each institutional actor (as a professor, as a teacher, as a director, as a translator, etc.) leads to perspectival differences with regard to what is deemed necessary for Luxembourgish and multilingualism as part of the implementation of language policy.

In the case of the GC, the language policy discourses are characterized by two schemata that manifest through reparametrization in the analyzed discourse of the corpus:

- 1) Standard German is presupposed at the level of the polity, encompassing German under the GC. Narrowed down to the German language in the GC, ideological differences lead

to conflicting discursive constructions of German in the GC and to conflicting normative goals.

- 2) A tension between the GC as multilingual or as monolingual, not as a normative goal, but as a fact.

The language policy discourse of texts in the GC corresponds to the first schema invoked by a standard language ideology that presupposes Standard German in official language policy. Only the brochure features a narrowing down of German into the specificities of the GC, yet with a minimal mention of dialectal variation. The second schema is also invoked by the ideologies identified in the brochure, namely through the essentialization of multilingualism in the GC.

Both schemata become more complex in the actors' discourses. The positionality of each actor leads to perspectival differences. In the case of the GC, this positionality was defined mainly by a culturally salient North/South divide that fractally recurred to language, which led to different constructions of German in the GC and to the voicing of conflicting normative goals for language policy implementation.

XI.4. Synthesis

Despite the differences in the language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the GC, these two cases present common semiotic processes that manifest through the ideological differences and the positionalities of each actor. Particularly, common to both cases is a tension between one language as indexical of the national/community identity and multilingualism as indexical of the national/community identity. As an effect of *fractal recursivity*, this tension manifests in discourses about intra-linguistic properties of Luxembourgish or German, leading to differing normative goals for language policy at various levels of language policy, namely the design of curricula and course programs, and the implementation of these by the actors involved. However, the language policy discourses are not merely the result of the semiotic processes underlying the ideologies that inform these discourses. They are also due to the different pathways that developed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in the sociopolitical and thus institutional foundations of Luxembourg and the GC.

On the one hand, Luxembourg is characterized by a multilingual policy largely shaped by a dialectic process of bottom-up and top-down design and implementation in specific moments of sociopolitical turmoil and rapid demographic changes. The discourses that circulate in these

moments of effervescence are informed by ideologies that have become a commonplace in Luxembourg. As such, the multilingual character of the policy, without the formal recognition of Luxembourgish until 1984, has engendered a tension in discourse between an essential multilingual national figure vis-à-vis a national figure inherently linked to the Luxembourgish language. This tension has been formulated in varying ways according to ideologies of language and ideologies of the nation that respond to the particularities of each period characterized by intense effervescence of societal and political debates that ultimately lead to policy changes. The discourses of the participants for the case of Luxembourg are informed by ideologies that show continuity with ideologies that informed previous policy discourses, yet with characteristics that respond to the sociopolitical and demographic particularities of Luxembourg in the 21st century.

On the other hand, the GC is a product of the federalization of Belgium, which is arguably an ongoing process. The policy of the GC is thus regarded as an extension of the ongoing project known as Belgian federalism. The Belgian model of language policy can be said to be informed by the ideology that equates a nation with a language, resulting in the institutionalization of standard languages according to territorially defined entities. This led to the institutionalization of Standard German as the language variety in which the administrative, political, and educational affairs are handled. The reasons for this are mainly sociopolitical and sociolinguistic (see the conclusion of Chapter IX for a detailed explanation).

This entailed a language policy that had as its focus Standard German as the majority language. It is important to note, however, that the language policy processes of the GC are also in a state of flux between bottom-up and top-down design and implementation. Nevertheless, the policies from the selected corpus erase or omit the discursive richness that characterizes societal and political debates about a so-called Eastern Belgian German, including the complex bundle of phenomena categorized as *Plattdeutsch*. These are, however, present in the discourses of the participants. The ideologies informing these discourses make visible a rich bundle of phenomena unspoken of in the policy texts, with varying degrees of nuance contingent on the positionality of each actor.

XI.5. Limitations

This research has limited data regarding language policy in Luxembourg and the German-speaking Community of Belgium. As such, a qualitative research approach was necessary. Because of this qualitative research approach, the focus lay on the description of processes rather than on the establishment of correlations for generalization. This is not a limitation in itself, yet a larger corpus may have provided a chance for the use of mixed methods that would have allowed the description

of the consolidation and transformation of the language policy discourses of Luxembourg and the GC from the inception of each polity until today. The inclusion of newspaper articles and social media publications could have been fruitful to not only link the official discourses with mediatized discourses about language and language policy, but also to link the consolidation or transformation of discourses through time.

As such, this research is restricted to the description of the ideologies that inform the language policy discourses and the semiotic processes that accompany their manifestation in discursive patterns. This provides a glimpse into *current* language policy discourses (and beyond language policy), while acknowledging the necessary links between these and previous discourses. Furthermore, more tangible links between Luxembourg and the GC could have been possible had the research also focused on the discursive construction of the Moselle Franconian varieties of the canton of St. Vith as either Luxembourgish or German dialect.

XI.6. Future Directions

This research has attempted to fill a gap by analyzing language policy as discourse through a mixed framework (linguistic anthropology and discourse linguistics) in two cases characterized by multilingual policies that are frequently the object of discourse. Despite its limitations, the application of this mixed framework on two cases bears fruitful results. From a broad theoretical view, this research provides insights into the semiotic processes in language policy discourse in settings where multilingualism is institutionally and socially recognized (independently of value judgments). In light of this fruitful application, the mixed framework can be refined and applied to other research topics in discourse studies, linguistic anthropology, and sociolinguistics.

Future research can expand on the aforementioned findings by broadening the scope of the discourse analysis in terms of data collection, periodization, and comparison of cases. Thus, larger corpora along time (different historical periods) and space (different scales of national, regional, municipal, etc.) can prove fruitful to not only define the semiotic processes that characterize language policy discourse, but also to identify the consolidation, contestation, or transformation of discourses, and the ideologies informing them, according to each scale. Nevertheless, future research may also narrow down the scope to a particular period with a select group of actors in a different setting. By doing so, comparisons can be established between the two cases of this research and other cases.

Finally, this raises a methodological question concerning the heuristic of axes of differentiation. This approach does not capture the complexity of the policy discourses and may even be interpreted as reductionist. This is even more so the case for the policy discourses of Luxembourg, which do not comply with the binary character demanded by axes of differentiation. This reductionism is avoidable if the discourse analysis is complemented by the multi-layered analysis of this research, i.e., an in-depth explanation of the sociohistorical development of the policies, their discourses, and the ideologies informing them, an analysis of the discursive patterns and ideologies of a selected corpus of texts, and an analysis of the discourse of individuals involved in the policy design and implementation processes with a clear description of their profiles.

The visual representation of schemata afforded by axes of differentiation together with the semiotic processes described by Gal & Irvine (2019), founded on a mixed framework of the social semiotics of language (Silverstein, 2023) and discourse linguistics (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011), may shed light on important social, cultural, political, and historical intersections in language policy. By providing a multi-layered analysis that attempts to bridge discourses, ideologies, and actors through time and space, a much more nuanced understanding of the emergence and transformation of language policies can be achieved.

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XIII. Transcripts

XIII.1. Case of Luxembourg

XIII.1.1. Director of ZLS: Luc Marteling

Q: Dir sidd den Direkter vum Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch – kéint Dir wgl. äre Lieweslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Jo, mäi Lieweslaf, ech sinn op München op d'Uni gaangen, ech hu Kommunikatiounswëssenschaft studéiert an d'Niewefächer Philosophie a Psychologie- Da sinn ech zeréck op Lëtzebuerg komm... als Journalist. Hunn ech Journalismus gemaach, ech war 4 Joer an enger Wochenzäitung. Dono war ech 4 Joer am Lëtzebuenger Wort an da sinn ech bei RTL gewiesselt als Chef-Redakter fir RTL.lu. Do war ech 11 Joer Chefredakter an du sinn ech [...] an du sinn ech Direkter ginn vum neien Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch. De gouf 2018 gegrënnt, ass awer eréischt méi visibel ginn no baussen wéi ech do komm war, louch manner u mir, mee louch un dem Fait, datt den Direkter genannt war, an dat virdrun e bëssen on hold war.

Den ZLS baséiert virun allem op der fréierer Equipe vum LOD (Lëtzebuenger Online Dictionnaire), den et schon méi laang gëtt, den et schon zanter de 2000er Joere gegrënnt ginn, ugefange ginn, dat heescht, dat war fir den ZLS eng grouss Chance, den ZLS ass net an engem Vakuum entstanen, et war net näischt do, mee et ass eng Equipe do an et ass och e ganz wichtegen Outil do, den och qualitativ héichwäerteg ass, nämlech den LOD.

Präzisieren nach zu mengem Lieweslaf... kann ech soen datt ech wéi an der Wochenzäitschrëft an an der Dageszäitung geschafft hunn, virun allem op Däitsch publizéiert hunn, e bëssen op Franséisch, e bëssen op Lëtzebuergesch. Bei RTL war alles op Lëtzebuergesch, dat heescht ech hu mech selwer missen an d'Sprooch eraschaffen, ech hu mech selwer misse léiere schreiwen an och léiere fleegen an ech hu Villes geléiert wat ech als Mammesproochler guer net wouss.

Dat huet mech esou interesséiert, well ech gemierkt hunn, datt den Internet-Site ëmmer méi wichteg ginn ass, an d'Sprooch och ëmmer méi wichteg ginn ass, dass ech sollt selwer eng gewëss Maitrise kréien an déi och attestéiert kréien, well mir sinn jo dacks gefrot ginn, mir sinn dacks kritiséiert ginn als RTL, „firwat sot der dat esou, dir hat Feeler geschriwwen, firwat schreift der dat esou“, dunn hunn ech d'Formatioun gemaach op der Uni, den ZLSK

(Zertifikat Lëtzebuenger Sprooch a Kultur), do hunn ech ë.a. de Prof. Peter Gilles kennegeléiert, dat huet mer immens Spass gemaach, an dunn hunn ech aus enger [...] 2017 ugefrot fir de Master ze maachen, den ass effektiv... den hunn ech do ofgeschloss 2019. Dat heescht, dat gesäit lo aus wéi wann dat alles geplangt gewiescht wier, mee dat ass e relativ groussen Zoufall gewiescht, datt ech hunn de Master offiziell kritt hunn kuerz no menger Nominatioun, - also wéi ech nominéiert gouf hat ech en net- dat heescht ech hunn, wéi soll ech lo ausdrécken... ech hunn e bëssen Aanung kritt iwwer dat Linguistescht, well ech de Master an der Luxemburgistik gemaach hunn, deen natierlech elo extrem hëlleft, well een dann awer e bëssen méi no ass bei den Super-Spezialisten déi hei schaffen, an déi awer e ganz héije Level kënnen argumentéieren.

Sou wéi den ZLS net an engem eidle Kontext enstane ass, well et do schon e Service gouf, den einfach an den ZLS integréiert gouf, ass natierlech och d'Sprooch méi lassgeléist vun hirem Kontext, vun hirem sozialen, soziopoliteschen, soziolinguisteschen, geschichtlechen (an esou weider esou fort) an eben besonnesch op dem politeschen Aspekt, well d'Fro vun der Sprooch, vum Lëtzebuergeschen an engem klengen Land, an engem multikulturelle Land, an engem Land mat ville Sproochen, mat dräi offizielle Sproochen, sech natierlech ëmmer stellt, an a ville Gesichtspunkten stellt. Do goufen et... D'Sprooch ass ëmmer héichgehale ginn vun eenzele Milieuen, vun anere Milieuen, déi hunn éischer op d'Méisproochegkeet Wäert geluecht... wollten net esou vill op dat Lëtzebuergesch pochen... Datt dat net onbedéngt eng Präferenz oder eng Aversioun, et war net onbedéngt eng Aversioun géint d'Lëtzebuergesch, mee ech mengen et war eng Präferenz, datt et fir d'Land a fir d'Leit gutt wär wann d'Leit – Lëtzebuenger a Residenten hei- virun allem gutt am Däitschen an am Franséische wäeren.

No a no mengen ech ass awer den Interessi um Lëtzebuergesche gewuess, och dat ass net vun haut op muer komm, mee do spillen déi technologesch Entwécklungen eng grouss Roll. D'Leit hu bemol ugefaangen, déi Sprooch déi si schwätzen, och ze schreiwen. E-Mail, SMS, an haut natierlech Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat... Mee do hat d'Sprooch am Fong e grouse Sprong gemaach, si war natierlech och scho virun als Schrëftsprooch etabléiert awer éischer an de méi intellektuele Milieuen, oder an der Literatur, an do ass si bemol méi Mainstream ginn. Dat heescht, et si bemol nach méi Annoncen op Lëtzebuergesch komm an... dass eben, jo, och méi am Alldag och geschriwwe ginn. Dat huet natierlech verschidden Doleancen mat sech bruet (bruecht):

Éischtens ass opgefall, datt ganz vill Saachen net gereegelt waren, wéi een et misst schreiwen, wéi een nei Tendenzen an d'Sprooch kéint korrekt ofbilden. An et ass eben och de Besoin komm, datt een... jo, der Sprooch och sollt en anere Stellwäert ginn. Dat huet sech ausgedréckt an enger Petitioun, déi e ganz grouse Succès hat, déi esou eppes wollt, wat ech am Fong... wou ech net iwwerzeegt sinn, ob d'Sprooch eppes genotzt hätt, nämlech datt een... Ech mengen... ech kierzen lo e bëssen of, mee virun allem déi ganz juristesche Saachen, op Lëtzebuergesch z'iwwersetzen... Wann een dann éierlech ass, wéi vill der juristescher Saachen een an der leschter Zäit iwwerhaupt gelies huet, also ech perséinlech net vill... Da froen ech mech ob d'Leit dat bemol gelies hätt wa dat op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersat gi wär... mee ech mengen, datt et ënner dem Stréch net dorëm gaangen ass, mee et ass drëm gaangen, einfach en Zeechen ze setzen, datt ville Leit, ville Residenten a ville Lëtzebuerger, ech mengen och ville Leit déi heihinner komm sinn, déi lëtzebuergesch Sprooch schon um Herze läit. An dee Ball gouf vun der Politik opgegraff, wat een jo mengen ech net reprochéieren kann...

Et gouf natierlech eng aner Petitioun, déi u sech de Konträr gefuerdert huet, datt dat net sollt geschéien... wat ass du... ech wëll lo net direkt vu Cause-Effet schwätzen, mee dat sinn awer eenzel Etappen, do ass e Gesetz gemaach ginn, fir d'Sprooch ze promovéieren, oder e Plang fir d'Sprooch ze promovéieren, an dunn ass jo iergendwann e Gesetz komm, wat d'Loi pour la promotion de la langue luxembourgeoise heescht, an do goufen dräi Entitéiten u sech, nei valoriséiert bzw. nei instauréiert: dat ass de Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch, dem seng primär Missioun en 20 Jores-Aktiounsplang fir d'Regierung ass, et gouf de Conseil fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch (CPLL), den och weider soll eng Beroden-Funktioun hunn, de selwer aktiv ka ginn an den awer och vun der Regierung aus kann sollicitéiert ginn.

An dann eben den ZLS, den mengen ech, wéi soll ech soen, éischer zu der Exekutiv gehéiert, mir gucken wéi ee Saachen soll ëmsetzen. D'Aarbecht vum ZLS kann dann och vum Conseil kommentéiert oder beliicht ginn. Dat heescht vun den dräi Entitéiten déi am Fong speziell Missiounen hunn, déi sech awer géigesäiteg och bedéngen, dofir ass et am Moment relativ flott, datt déi dräi gutt zesummeschaffen [...] et ass keng Konkurrenzsituatioun do an datt ee lo reegelméisseg gesäit, dat heescht et ass vum Esprit, ganz agreabel ze schaffen, well déi dräi Entitéiten u sech, de Wäert wierklech op den Inhalt leeën [...] Gläichzäiteg sinn déi dräi Entitéiten... och eng Bekenntnis zu der

Méisproochegkeet, dat heescht, wann een eppes fir d'Lëtzebuergesch mëscht, heescht dat grad **net**, datt een eppes géint déi aner Sprooch géng maachen, oder wann ee sech fir d'Lëtzebuergesch asetzt oder interesséiert heescht dat **net**, datt een aner Sprooch wéilt devaloriséieren. Nee, dat geet gutt beieneen, Interesséiert um Lëtzebuergesch, Interessen un der Méisproochegkeet, Interesse un anere Sproocher, dat ergänzt sech.

Dat ass am Fong och fir den Zenter ze gucken, eppes wat ganz flott ass, si Leit hei déi hunn e ganz grouse Know-How och an der Däitscher Sprooch, e ganz grouse Know-How an der Franséischer Sprooch, e ganz grouse Know-How an der Englescher Sprooch an och e ganz grouse Know-How an der Portugiisescher Sprooch, déi véier Iwwersetzungsproocher vum LOD, dem Produit-Phare vum ZLS. Dat heescht et ass eng Oppenheet do, et ass en net engstirnig, mee et ass en open-minded an et ass en interesséiert un aner Sproocher an et ass en natierlech och interesséiert drun wéi aner Sproocher sech selwer promoten, sech selwer geréieren, fir Best-Practicer ze gucken an et schafft een net an engem Vakuum.

Q: Wat fir en Afloss hutt dir als Direkter vum ZLS op d'Sproochpolitik déi sech entwéckelt?

Also fir d'Politik ass jo, de Minister zoustänneg. Dat heescht, d'[...] déi soll gepusht ginn, dat decidéiert de Ministère, mir setzen dat an der Musek ëm. Vun dohier fannen ech d'Gesetz relativ flott, well et u sech prezis ass a gläichzäiteg vag genuch, datt mir vill Gestaltungs- a Spillraum hunn. Allgemeng gëtt d'Gesetz 4 Richtlinien vir. Ech hunn déi och hei notéiert. Et si 4 Stoussrichtungen, déi d'Gesetz virgesäit. 4 allgemeng Ziler fir déi dräi Entitéiten, dass de Stellerwert fir d'Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch stäerken:

De Gebrauch an d'Etüd vun der Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch virundreiwen – bon d'Etüd, géng ech lo méi bei der Uni gesinn, dat kann ee jo zesummemaachen, mengen ech do kënn ee gutt gläicheenen. Also och de Gebrauch virundreiwen, dat heescht de Gebrauch, jo d'Hëllefstellung oder d'Promotioun.

D'Léiere vun der Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch a Kultur encouragéieren, wann een d'Sprooch wëll nei léieren, ass den INL den éischten Uspriechpartner nieft den normale Schoulen... an d'lëtzebuergesch Kultur promovéieren, wat ech ganz flott fannen datt Kultur net ausgeschloss. Dat ass den allgemenge Kader. An elo d'Missiounen vum ZLS, déi sinn deelweis méi prezis, dat éischt wäert Reegele fir d'Grammaire, fir d'Schreifweis an d'Grammatik vun der Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch publizéieren. Dat si mir bei der Standardiséierung oder bei der Norméierung vun der Sprooch. **Ech zécken... fir ze vill vun enger Standardiséierung ze schwätzen. Ech mengen, datt et gutt ass, wa mer**

Normen hunn, well et einfach zu enger Sprooch gehéiert a mir brauchen do eng Basis. Mee dat heescht awer lo net, datt een nach just wéilt eng Standardsprooch promovéieren, dat sollt een och net maachen, well... ze Lëtzebuerg... et ginn awer eng Partie Dialekter, déi sinn net alleguer an d'Dictionnaire dran, well... ee mat eppes hu missen ufänken... mat enger sougenanntener Standardsprooch oder der sougenanntener Koiné, mee ech sinn awer u sech e grouse Frënd vun den Dialekter an ech hoffen, datt mer an denen nächsten Wochen och vill regional Varianten, lokal Variante kënnen ophuelen, well een och mierkt, datt Leit sech dofir nach ganz staark interesséiert –déi een soen, fir datselwecht Wuert sou, déi aner sou a sou... Fir Päiperlek –bon Päiperlek ass u sech dat wat sech am meeschten duerchgesat huet, mee et ginn och Platzen oder Familjen wou Schmetterling gesot ginn, Millermole... fir e ganz plakativ Beispill ze huelen. Dat fannen ech awer ganz flott. **Dat Eent sollt net dat Anert ecartéieren**, mee bei der Ortografi hëlleft et natierlech wann een eng kloer Linn huet, an wann een... **an am Enseignement hëlleft et och wann een eng Art Standardsprooch huet. Dat ass bei anere Sproochen och esou, wann e Frankräich (sic, Franséisch gemengt) léiert oder Däitsch, da begéint een och mol Wieder aus der Provence, wéi een do seet, an dann ausschwätzt, wéi een do eppes ausschwätzt, bégéint een och mol am Däitschen Bairisch Begrëffer, Bairisch Termen, mee am Grouss a Ganzen kritt een eppes Offizielles an éischer Linn ënnerriich.**

Wat déi Reegelen ugeet, d'Ortografi steet, mir hu geliwwert, mir ware schon, bal fäerdeg, wéi ech an dem Zenter komm sinn, mir hunn déi just publizéiert, mat engem mengen ech kann ee soen mat engem ganz grouse Succès, well mir hunn lo 14,000 Stéck verdeelt. Et ginn ëmmer Passagen an aller Ortografi, déi ee léiwer huet wéi der déi ee manner gären huet, mee all Passage kann ee mengen ech zimmlech gutt argumentéieren an dofir war d'Zoustëmmung, d'Akzeptanz relativ grouss, iwwerhaupt war fir eis –nieft den eigentleche Reegele- war d'Akzeptanz wichteg. Mir kënnen eng Ortografi maachen, wat dann de Leit dobaussen egal ass, wann déi se net gutt fannen, wann déi se net unhuelen... Dann huet een, vläicht eng Superortografi, mee dat bréngt zou engem näischt. Et wäert op d'Akzeptanz geluecht, e ganzen Entstehungsprozess huet... huet vill do drop geguckt, datt d'Leit konnten sech mellen, agebonn waren, war mengen ech e ganz erfollegräich Aktioun.

Dann zu der Grammatik oder der Grammaire. Mir schaffen drun. Dat dauert nach e puer Joer mee mir wäerte wahrscheinlech step-by-step virgoen, mir wëllen och do Experte-

Ronne maachen an d'Leit abannen. **Mir schaffe lo en éischte Volet aus, den an de Schoule kann benotzt ginn.** En éischte linguistesche Volet mat grammatikaleschen Elementer.

Esou, dat war et lo déi éischt Missioun, déi zweet si linguistesche Hëllefsmëttel ausschaffen. [...] En éischt linguistesche Hëllefsmëttel wat mer natierlech do afällt ass natierlech den LOD, mat 4 Iwwersetzungssproochen –d'Regierung huet eng Kéier gesot „Lëtzebuergesch soll gestärkt ginn als Kommunikatiounssprooch an als Integratiounssprooch an ech mengen do ass den LOD e Supertool. Et weist duerch Beispillsäz, duerch richteg Schreifweisen, wéi en domadder ka flott kommuniquéieren an et hëlleft bei der Integratioun, well et eben... et ass oppen, et huet een... Erklärungen ginn (18:00)... Mee Hëllefsmëttel sinn natierlech och eng Kooperatioun mam Spellchecker, den et de Leit méi einfach mëcht, richteg ze schreiwen. Mir wëllen den LOD méi mobil maachen, datt een en och als App ka benotzen. Mir hunn en „Ortho-Trainer“ Tool (<https://ortho.lod.lu/>), wou een d'Ortografi kann trainéieren. Mir hunn nach soss eng Partie Saachen an Iddien... mee ech mengen datt een do nach flott Saache kann zesammen developpéieren, dat geet natierlech ganz wäit bis hin zu Zukunftsmusek, Sproocherkennung, Speech-to-Text, Text-to-Speech, wou mer wëlles hunn, éischt Schrëtt ze maachen, well et... Jo... méiglech ass, datt dat der Sprooch neit Liewen kann anhauchen an d'Sprooch... huet dem technologesche Fortschrëtt vill ze verdanken esou datt mir den Zuch net solle verpassen.

Dann eppes e bësse méi Allgemenges, „Äntwerte ginn op Froen iwwert Schreifweis, Grammatik, Phonetik, an de gudden Gebrauch vun der Lëtzebuurger Sprooch“, dat heescht mir sinn en Informatiounsbüro, eng Art Guichet (19:14)...

De leschte Punkt ass dann Dokumenter an Kommunikatiounen fir de Ministère ze verbesseren oder z'iwwersetzen, mengen ech dat versteet sech vu selwen [...] dat heescht dat dote sinn déi Punkte wou mir, d'Sproochpolitik géing ech soen *gestalten*, wat net extra erwäant hei ass, wat mir awer ganz vill um Häerz läit, datt ass de Volet „Promotioun“.

Q: Wat heescht konkret d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuurger Sprooch? (20:40)

Bei der Promotioun kann een mengen och eng ganz Partie Levelen ënnerscheeden, also Promotioun ass fir mech enk liiert mam **Status vun enger Sprooch**, déi eng Sprooch

huet, wann d'Leit sech derfir interesséieren, da klëmmt am Fong hire Status oder hire Wäert –ech hunn net vill Bourdieu gemaach, mee e bësse kann ee do mäi Job domadder vergläichen. Dat heescht, et gött e gudden, et ass e gudden, jo, Asset, den een huet, wann ee sech mat der Sprooch e bëssen auskennt, egal ob lo linguistesesch oder ortografesch oder semantesch... an dofir wëlle mer... natierlech sollen déi Promotiounsaktiounen, déi mer maachen, dem Status hëllef, si sollen den Interesse maachen a mir wëlle ganz gezielt am Fong och d'Häerz uschwätzen. D'Sprooch huet ëmmer zwee Voleten, et ass de Kapp, an ,t ass d'Häerz. An déi zwou mussen iwwerenee stëmmen.

Wat hu mer lo gemaach fir d'Promotiounen (21:51)... Bon, mir hunn déi ganz Ortografi, hu mer och promovéiert, dofir [...] gratis verdeelt, fir eben d'Akzeptanz sou héich wéi méiglech ze maachen, datt een net iergendeppes fënnt, wat een net ka gutt fannen. Mir hunn e relativ konstruktiven an onkomplizéierten Ëmgank mat de Medien. Mir hunn an dem Telecran –d'Wochenzäitschrëft Telecran hat ugefrot, ob een net kéint eppes zesummemaachen, mir hu bal e wëchentlech Rubrik dann wou ee Wieder virstellt – ganz kleng – ganz locker, si hunn dat illustréiert, mir liwwere just de Wuert an de Saz. Si kréie ganz vill Feedback drop, wat eis natierlech da freet, well mer dacks **ale Vokabular** dran integréieren, de mer am Luxemburger Wörterbuch siche ginn... Et ass awer en Interesse do (22:41). Mir hunn eemol am Mount am Lëtzebuenger Wort eng Rubrik an „der Warte“ (Feuilleton vum Lëtzebuenger Wort)... Mir hu lo vir Kuerzem e puer Etymologien erkläert, mir haten eng Kéier Flouernimm erkläert [...] mir hunn ortografesch Saachen do dra gekläert, also dat ass e bësse méi cibléiert well dat eng Kulturbeilag ass. Mir hunn eng Kéier Lëschten [...] publizéiert iwwer Geméiszorten, Uebstzorten, wéi een et op Lëtzebuergesch nennt. Mir hunn am Lëtzebuenger Journal eng Serie vu 14 Artikelen vun eise Sproochhistoriker, wat lëtzebuergesch Flouernimm verrodde iwwer d'Gesellschaft. Mir hunn op Platze Virträg ginn, mir hunn elo eng Publicatioun... do hu mer 123 Wieder, al lëtzebuergesch Wieder erkläert. E Beispillsaz an dann d'Iwwersetzung an Däitsch, Franséisch, Englesch a Portugisesch op, aus dem LOD erausgezunn awer net an Dictionnairesform mee ganz faarweg, ganz locker, eebe fir d'Häerz unzeschwätzen a mir wollten d'Leit net erschloen mat Dausend al Wieder [...] mir hunn Aktiounen gehat op Twitter wou mir e Wuert vun der Woch virstellen. Mir hunn och ortografesch Quizze gemaach, souwuel op Twitter... Do hate mer Séancen, dorun 20 Leit matgemaach, mir hate... Mir hunn e Buch aktualiséiert iwwer d'Ortografi, vum Josy Braun, e relativ bekannte Lëtzebuenger Journalist, Auteur, an och Enseignant vun der Lëtzebuenger

Sprooch. Dat hu mer geupdate a komplettéiert mat der Ortografi vun 2019. Dat hu mer lo op Franséisch an op Englesch iwwersat, fir och do ze weisen, **mir sinn oppen, mir wëllen Iech hëllefen, dir wëllt d'lëtzebuergesch Sprooch léieren, mir maache wat mer kënnen fir Iech entgéintzekommen.** [...]

Also den Interesse un der Sprooch an un de Spréch fannen ech faszinant, motivant a mir sinn einfach frou, Klengen bemol... et gëtt an der Soziolinguistik esou eng Kéier déi Thees, wann sech ganz staark fir eenzel Begrëffer interesséiert gëtt, kann dat e gudd Zeeche sinn, nämlech fir eng Renaissance vun der Sprooch, et kann awer och e schlecht Zeeche sinn, nämlech datt se dono an den Déclin fällt (27:15) [...] mee ech mengen datt d'Jalonen gutt gestall sinn, datt et eppes Nohalteges gëtt, well déi Promotioun, déi mer jo maachen ass vläicht just e klengen Deel an enger grousser Strategie, et ginn extrem vill Lëtzebuergesch-Course gemaach, souwuel fir Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch fir Leit déi d'Sprooch wëlle léiere well se hei wunnen an hei schaffen –also heihinner komm sinn-, et gi gläichzäiteg vill Ortografiscoursen ugebuede fir Leit déi sech wëlle perfektionéieren. Et ginn nei Lëtzebuergesch-Course konzipéiert fir de Lycée, wat mengen ech eng immens gutt Saach gëtt an och fir d'Enseignants nei Perspektiven opmecht, well d'Cours elo op méi eng héijer Klass ënnerriicht ginn, vun nächstem Joer un op Quatrième a Classique an op Troisième a Général. Et gëtt eng Optioun agefouert, Lëtzebuergesch als 4^{ème} langue vivante, wou een da wierklech och am Lycée flott literaresch Wierker ka maachen, eng flott Aféierung an d'Linguistik ka kréien, sech an der Ortografi ka perfektionéieren, ech mengen, datt ass just e Pilot-Projet am Moment, mee ech mengen, datt, d'Ausgangspositioun ganz gutt ass. **Mir man do en Deel, mir sinn do relativ fräi, mir probéieren awer ze liwweren an zesammen mat denen anere Partner, also mat dem SCRIPT, de fir de Schoulprogramm zoustänneg ass, mam INL, de fir Coursen zoustänneg ass, mat der Uni, déi natierlech vill fuerscht awer mir eng Standardvariant sichen, da kënnen mer nofroen, „hutt dir dat ofgefrot an der Schnëssen-App, soen d'Leit éischer esou oder esou an esou, wat ass d'Haaptvariant, wat ass d'Niewevariant, sinn déi gläichwäerteg, solle mer déi zwou Varianten ophuelen,** also dat gräift zimmlech gutt aneneen, dat mecht Sënn, sou datt een mat konkrete Mesuren déi vläicht e bësse **méi abstrakt politesch Virgaben** scho kann ëmsetzen a mat Liewen ka fëllen.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem ZLS an anere Secteure fir déi verschidde Moosnamen z'entwéckelen (z.B. mam Conseil permanent, mat Schoulen an Enseignanten an engagéierte Bierger)?

Zum Gléck gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht, déi ass wierklech ganz hëllefriich an ech menge ganz sënnvoll fir alleguert Akteuren, et ginn Zesummenaarbecht op ganz ville Levelen, déi konkret Zesummenaarbecht [...] war natierlech datt mir lëtzebuergesch Ortografiscourse ginn hunn, fir de Leit ze weisen, „an der Ortografi huet dat hei sech geännert“ oder „dat hei gouf elo aktualiséiert“ oder „dat hei ass nei“. (30:35) Mir hunn der um IFEN [ginn], mir hunn der awer um INL ginn a mir hunn der op der Uni ginn, fir Leit déi den ZTLSK (Master on Luxembourgish Studies) gemaach [hunn]. **Eis vun eise Linguistinnen, déi hëlt haut (Freiden) den Ortografiscours op der Uni fir den ZTLSK (Caroline Döhmer).** Mir hunn, nieft dem dote Volet, déi méi a Richtung Enseignement geet, och mam Service de la Formation des Adultes zesummschafft vun der Education... **et muss een derbäi soen, alleguer déi eenzel Haiser vun der Education gehéiert zum selwechte Ministère, dat heescht, dat mecht d'Zesummenaarbecht natierlech scho méi einfach.**

Wa mir Saache man, déi vläicht e bëssen a Richtung Léierbuch oder Schoulbuch ginn, hu mer e Manuskript zesummegeeschaff, technesch hunn si... (31:30). Wat d'Zesummenaarbecht ugeet tëscht dem Conseil a mam Kommissär, mam Kommissär schwätze mer eis reegelméisseg of [?], wa mer e grouse Projet hunn, oder wa mer eppes maachen, datt hien [...], well wien de Plan soll chapeautéieren, da muss ee wësse wat leeft. De Marc Barthelemy ass reegelméisseg bei eis, dat klappt wierklech gutt. [...] Mam Conseil ass et datselwecht, mir schaffe ganz vill och mat der Presidentin vum Conseil, d'Myriam Welschbillig, dat ass och am Comité de Relecture, fir all déi Wieder déi an den LOD erakommen –déi nei-, dat heescht, dat ass eng ganz gutt Coïncidence datt si lo an eis Relecture komm ass, mat hirem Know-How a gläichzäiteg och dann e gudde Lien zum Conseil mécht.

Mir hate lo, wat d'Ortografi ugeet, [...] Reegele net ganz präzis, déi wollte mer präzisieren, et ass em d'Konjugatioun vun den englesche Verbe gaangen, a well déi onpräzis war, hu mer gefrot, ob de Conseil [d'Reegel] géing verstoen. Dat gouf elo relativ kuerzfristeg iwver de Summer gemaach a mir kruten e gudden a ganz konstruktive Feedback vum Conseil, datt si d'Reegel verstinn [...] dat heescht mir schaffen do net

géinteneen, mee mir schaffen do gutt zesummen. De Conseil huet eis och proposéiert ze hëllefen, wann et drëm geet, fir Synonymer fir verschidde Begrëffer ze fannen, an dat ass eng Offer, déi ech natierlech gärer unhuelen.

Do kommen och offiziell Froen bzw. och de gudde Gebrauch, wollt ech och... e bëssen Input do kënnen ginn, wat hinnen um Häerz läit. D'Demande... Och vun der professioneller Beräicher, datt den ZLS hinne seet, wéi kann een e gudde Stil am Lëtzebuergeschen hunn. Mir hunn dat um Radar, mir wëllen eppes ausschaffen an ech mengen datt dat eppes kéint sinn, wat ganz vill Leit géif interesséieren, wat einfach och [en] Ausdrock ass vun der Wäertschätzung oder vun der gestigener neier Wäertschätzung fir d'Sprooch, datt ee wëll wëssen, wéi soll ech gutt- brauch ech de Präfix bei dem Verb, wéi ass déi richteg Präpositioun, kommen ech **aus** engem Duerf oder **vun** engem Duerf? Wunnen ech ze Lëtzebuerg, wunnen ech **a** Lëtzebuerg? **Saachen déi haut e bësse verwässert sinn, et ginn awer nach Leit déi et wëllen genee wëssen, an et ginn esou ganz vill tricky Saachen, déi een do kann thematiséieren mengen ech op eng flott Art a Weis. Wat fir mech flott ass oder wichteg ass, et ass eng Demande do a mir probéieren eng Äntwert ze ginn. An déi Äntwert ass eng Propos (Vorschlag) mat Alternativen oder mat Präferenzen, dat kann den Adressat decidéieren.** Mir kommen net dohinner –also „et muss esou sinn“, et gëtt bei der Orthografi natierlech eng richteg an eng falsch Schreiwung, mee mir wëllen awer kengem Auteur, kengem Schrëftsteller sou Virschrëfte maachen. Well ech der Meenung sinn, datt wann –e kreativen Ëmgank mat der Sprooch bréngt der Sprooch ënnert dem Stréch méi wéi wann se als fix akzeptéiert gëtt an et gëtt net dru geännert. Ech mengen datt mer vill Autoren, Schreiwerten, och Leit an de Medien, Kabarettisten hunn, déi der Sprooch extrem gehollef hunn, déi [--] nëmmen drun ze denken un eng integrativ Schreifweis (35:34). Natierlech kënnen mer alleguer Wieder aus dem Franséischen esou iwwerhuelen –stomm E hannen-, wat d'Saach schwierig mécht, an da muss ee wëssen wéi ass et am Franséischen. Mir kënnen och ganz strikt déi däitsch Orthografi oder Schreifweis bäibehalen, mee da muss ee wëssen wéi ass et am Däitschen. Engem, den Däitsch kann, hëlleft dat, engem, den Franséisch kann, hëlleft dat. Déi sollen och net d'office falsch sinn, déi Schreifweisen, mee Leit déi d'Sprooch wëlle léieren a kommen awer vläicht aus Italien, Spuenien, aus England, aus Skandinavesche Länner, aus dem Balkan, si kënnen aus China kommen, aus Japan, vun iwwerall hier, fir déi ass et vläicht awer méi einfach wa mer eng konsistent Reegelwierk hunn, wat natierlech Referenzen op Däitsch an op Franséisch, dat kann een op historesch ... **mee wou een dann**

d'Schreifweis duerch eng Reegel kann erklären, an net einfach ka soen, mir schreiwen esou well et am Däitschen esou ass, oder mir schreiwen esou well am Franséischen esou ass.

Dat gëtt et nach ganz vill, dofir ass d'Ortografi net sou ganz einfach, mee et gouf awer probéiert do e bëssen méi z'argumentéieren an eben och verchidde Schreifweisen unzepassen an ouni déi Viraarbecht, déi kreatiiv, intellektuel, literaresch Aarbechten, déi Denkaarbecht vun Auteuren a Leit aus der Kulturzeen, aus der Literatur, wär dat net méiglech gewiescht. Wéi vill Leit schreiwe „Cabaret“ wéi et am Franséischen ass, wéi vill Leit schreiwen „Kabaré“ am lëtzebuergeschen Ausschwätze mat engem É hannen, gesäit ganz anescht aus, fannen ech awer flott, fannen et originell. **Ech géing do net operéieren mat „dat Eent ass richtig, dat Anert ass falsch“, och eng Ortografi an enger Sprooch ass net schwaarz oder wäiss.** Dat ass grad wat de Flair dorun ass. Natierlech däerf een do anerer Meenung sinn, och dat gehéiert dozou. Do muss een eng gewëss Flexibilitéit hunn a wéi gesot, mir wëllen Äntwerte ginn [?]... mir stinn net do, dat ass richtig, dat ass falsch, mam béise Fanger. Et sinn heiansdo Leit, déi hätten dat gären och vun eis, bon mir kënnen eng prezis Äntwert gi wann si verlaangt ass, mee ech fannen datt, der Sprooch méi fërderlech(?), wann ee mat Propositione schafft, wann een eng Offer ka maachen, an da kann en Aneren decidéieren, wéi en et wëll.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Nee, ech mengen net, datt et déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch ass. Ech mengen datt et bei Integratiounssprooch och do muss een e bëssen ënnerscheiden, ech mengen datt et e flotte Gest ass wann ee sech fir d'Sprooch interesséiert, ech mengen awer datt dat a béid Richtungen geet, ech mengen datt Leit déi d'Sprooch léieren oder e puer Wieder léieren [...] weisen hei „ech hu mech derfir interesséiert, an ech ka moien an äddi soen an [?]“, datt dat e Geste ass dee ganz vill Leit extrem appreciéieren, mee ech mengen awer net, datt een, deen d'Lëtzebuergesche Sprooch net geléiert huet, datt ee ka behaupten, hien ass net integréiert. Ech mengen datt wier e falsche Raisonement. Et géif vläicht och Leit déi just fir e puer Joer berufflech hei op Lëtzebuerg kommen, do ech däerfe mengen ech froe

„mussen déi Lëtzebuergesch léieren?“, déi kënnen trotzdem komplett integréiert hei sinn, also... ech wier do net esou streng. Ausserdem, Lëtzebuerg huet jo de Virdeel, déi allermeescht Leit déi hei wunnen schwätzen net nëmme Lëtzebuergesch mee kënnen och nach zimmlech gutt Däitsch, kënnen nach Franséisch, kënnen Englesch, aner kënnen Portugiiesch, kënne Spuenesch, Italienesch, Serbo-Kroatesch... **Dat heescht, et sinn do vill Undockstatiounen do och bei den anere Leit a wann ech akafe ginn an eng Boutique a schwätzt ee mat mir an der Keess Franséisch oder Däitsch, hunn ech domadder guer kee Problem. Déi Leit, déi dat maachen, déi sinn awer mengen ech, kann een net soen déi wäeren net integréiert, wann di hei liewen, wann di hei hir Sue verdéngen...** ech mengen och aner Sproochen kënnen eng Integratioun bréngen. Wann elo ee mat mir Chinesesch schwätzt dann ass et bësse méi schwierig well ech dat net kann, oder, ganz vill aner Sproochen [...] **Integratioun ass relativ vag, also eng Integratioun ass och ouni Lëtzebuergesch a mengen Aen méiglech.** Si kann extrem hëllefen bei der Integratioun, mee et ass **net eng Konditio sine qua non.**

Ausserdem, di dot Fro, di natierlech héich politesch kann ausgeluecht ginn – ech wëll hei kee politeschen Statement maachen-, mee fir mech ass d’Sprooch ëmmer do fir ze verbannen, d’Sprooch sollt Leit beieneen bréngen. **Wann een d’Sprooch benotzt fir ze trennen, entsprécht dat menger Meenung no net méi der Essenz vun der Sprooch.**
(44:00)

Q: D’Standardiséierung leeft. Déi Schreifkompetenzen am Lëtzebuergesch tëschen de Leit verbessere sech lues a lues. Mengt Dir, datt déi „Freiheet“, déi vill Leit hunn, wann se schreiwen „wéi se wëllen“, wäert verschwannen?

D’Fräiheet verschwënnt natierlech net an d’Fräiheet soll och net verschwannen. D’Ortografi, dat Lescht wat d’Ortografi wëll ass datt Leit bemol zécken ze schreiwen. Dat ass net d’Zil vun der Ortografi. D’Zil vun der Ortografi ass, datt déi Leit, déi eng Referenz wëllen, déi e Kader wëllen, déi wëllen nogucke kënnen. Dat heescht alleguer déi, déi professionel schreiwen, datt déi kënnen Äntwerte fannen. Fir de Rescht, wann ech wëll „OK“ op eng komesch Art a Weis schreiwen, op eng lëtzebuergesch Art a Weis schreiwen, an enger E-Mail, an enger privater SMS ass dat fir mech, däerf een dat maachen. Déi Fräiheet wëll ech mir jo och selwer huelen. [...] **Ech fannen et awer hëllefriich, datt ee ka soen, „dat hei ass déi offiziell Schreifweis, dat sinn déi Schreifkompetenzen, un déi**

hale mer eis, beim Staat an an de Schoulen, a wa mer eppes enseignéieren, oder wa mer eppes Offizielles publizéieren, da sinn hei d'Reegelen déi mer applizéieren“. Virun allem am Enseignement hëlleft et schon wann ee Reegelen huet, well wéi ass et, wéi kann een herno vergläichen, wéi kann ee bewäerte wa jiddferen ka maachen wéi ee wëll. **Do stellt sech fir d'Lëtzebuergesch déi nerverg Fro wéi fir aner Sproochen och.** Dofir sinn ech och der Meenung, datt et gutt ass wa Kompetenzen eropginn oder wann d'Méiglechkeete sinn, Kompetenzen eropzeschrauwen, seng Kompetenzen ze verbessern. Eng Demande ass gutt mee et muss dono eng Offer do sinn fir dat kënnen ze maachen, sou datt dat ausgebaut gëtt. Ech mengen, datt dat ganz gutt ass. **Do muss een net esou vill forcéieren, do soll een net vun haut op muer esou streng sinn, och an der Schoul net.** An alles wat ech lo héieren, déi Projeten déi an der Schoul laafen, mengen ech, ginn an de gudde Wee, datt d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch an datt virun allem d'Lëtzebuenger Ortografi net en Obstakel gëtt fir d'Schüler, mee datt een eng Aféierung kritt an datt déi, di wëllen sech perfektionéieren och déi Méiglechkeeten hunn. Vun dohier mengen ech si mer do, ëmmer do gutt ënnerwee (41:00)

Q: Wéi gesinn an Zukunft d'Friichte vun Ärer Aarbecht fir d'Sprooch?

(44:40) Ech hoffen, datt den Interesse un der Sprooch weider klëmmt, den Interesse vun den Lëtzebuenger, vun de Leit déi hei gebuer an opgewuess sinn, an den Interesse vun de Leit di heihinner wunne kommen oder di heihinner schaffe kommen. Ech mengen datt et gutt wär, wann di Sprooch eppes [?] gedeelt gëtt, wat fir jiddferen do ass, si gehéiert net den Engen, si gehéiert net den Aneren, mee si ass fir jidderen do. Dat geet natierlech doduerch datt een se e bësse standardiséiert, well et bei der Vermëttlung hëlleft, et geet awer doduerch datt een d'Häerz uschwätz an d'Leit derfir interesséiert, wann [?] géing gélengen, wär ech ganz frou, oder wann den Zenter do e kléngen Apport kéint maachen, wär ech ganz frou well ech mengen et wär eng ganz éiervoll Aarbecht.

E bësse méi kleng Ziler, wann sech d'Ortografi weider géing bewären –bon, d'Sprooch ass esou dynamesch, di muss natierlech mengen ech all Joer minimal ugepasst ginn, ouni datt elo all Joer eng nei Ortografi mécht mee [?] ... wann di wieder sech géing bewären an ugeholl ginn, mengen ech wär och dat eng Hëllef, eng gutt Basisaarbecht, datselwecht wär fir d'Grammatik oder d'Grammaire de Fall, wann een an denen nächste puer Joer step-by-

step géing grammatesch Saachen klären, **géing dat och hëllef, de Stellewäert vun der Sprooch eropsetzen, well een... et kann een natierlech schreiwen wéi ee wëll, mee et kann een net soen et däerf ee schreiwen wéi ee wëll well et keng Reegele ginn, nee, et sinn der do, dat verännert net, datt ee schreift wéi ee wëll, mee dat ass dacks esou als Manko gesot ginn**, mee et ass gekläert, och grammatesch Saachen kann een och klären, esou datt dat mengen ech [?] fir de Status an de Stellewäert vun der Sprooch allgemeng förderlech [?] wär, wann een och do kéint hëllef als Zenter, wat gehéiert och zu eise Missiounen, maache mer dat ganz gären, gläichzäiteg den LOD, den huet lo e gudd Basisvokabular, mir si lo bei 29,000 Wieder di dra sinn, wann een den nach kann e bëssen aus, e bëssen eropsetzen, wär dat natierlech immens flott, fir eben der Kommunikatioun ze hëllef, der Integratioun ze hëllef, a jiddereen den di Daten wëll benotzen [?], dat wär och cool. Fir de Rescht wär et flott wann een esou vill Notoriétéit géing kréien als Zenter datt d'Leit de Reflex hunn, wann si eng Fro hunn, sech un den Zenter géingen adresséieren, dat ass jo u sech dat Flottst wat een dann ka kréien, datt een d'Unerkennung vun de Leit huet als Zenter den rassembleiert ouni wëllen de Leit Saachen ewechzehuelen mee als Undockstatioun fir jiddereen dem een kann hëllef.

XIII.1.2. Former Commissioner of the Luxembourgish Language: Marc Barthelemy

Q: Dir sidd de Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch – kéint Dir wgl. äre Lieweslaf an äre Charge beschreiwen?

Ech hu laangzäiteg als Professor fir Mathematik geschafft, an ech hu mech parallel fir d'Lëtzebuergesch interesséiert a wéi ech op de Ministère gaangen sinn, sinn ech relativ séier Member ginn am Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise. Ech sinn och do President ginn an doduerch war ech eng Kéier Kandidat fir Kommissär.

D'Post vum Kommissär gouf relativ rezent geschafen. Trotzdem si schon zwee Joer vergaangen, datt Dir Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch sidd.

Q: Wéi gesitt Dir Är Missioun a wéi stellt Dir Iech hir Erfëllung vir?

Also d'Missioun vun der Koordinatioun, di ass natierlech an der Dauer an dat fonctionnéiert och relativ gutt well ech sinn a Kontakter mat all den Institutiounen di [sech] ëm d'Lëtzebuergesch këmmen. Wat d'Aktiounsplang ugeet, do ass et esou, datt mer do eigentlech [?]... an de Startlächer waren a wi lo bei ville, déi kommen, well de Covid-19 eis do e wierklech [?] gemaach, well et goufen? Konsultatiounen ugesot, mat der Bevëlkerung och, fir ze gucken wat elo och d'Meenung vum Land ass dobaussen an dat konnte mer natierlech net maachen... Esou datt ech denken, datt [2:10] Also ech denken datt an der nächster [?] ass den [?] Minister, hien hält och do drop, datt déi Konsultatioune geschéien sou datt ech mengen datt mer nach en Zäitchen e bëssen do musse warden ier mer dat kënnen ëmsetzen.

Q: Zanter, dass d'Gesetz iwwert d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch a Kultur adoptéiert gouf, gëtt vill vu Promotioun geschwat. Wat heescht konkret d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch (z.B. wat fir Measure ginn ëmgesat)?

Also mir kommen jo do op den Thema... Di Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch baséiert jo mol op der Strategie di d'Regierung 2017 decidéiert hat an eng éischt Measure ass

domadder ëmgesat ginn dass dat Gesetz gestimmt ginn ass, hu mer do di Funktiounen geschaffe gesinn –meng Funktioun, och d’Funktioun vum Direkter vum ZLS a konnten ufänken mat schaffen. Dass ass schon eng éischt Measure. An dann ass awer och ganz wichteg ze soen –an dat brauch ganz kloer Gestalt? [3:19] an der Strategie, wann een do d’Introductioun liest, da gesäit een dass et an der Introductioun méi Zeilen stinn iwwer d’Méisprouchegkeet wi iwwer d’Lëtzebuergesch. Di zwee Aspekter sinn groen Zeilen/Gronnzeilen/ Grundpfeiler? [3:35] vun dem wat Lëtzebuerg ausmécht. Engersäits Lëtzebuergesch, op dass een natierlech ganz staark hält an andersäits awer och d’Méisprouchegkeet, wat do eng aner Méisprouchegkeet ass wéi an anere Länner well ze Lëtzebuerg ass d’Méisprouchegkeet fir all Mënsch am Alldag ganz present.

Lo huet een awer fir d’Lëtzebuergesch verschidden spezifesch Aspekter di ee fir di aner Sproochen net huet hei am Land: mir brauchen eis keng Suergen ze maachen, dass Däitsch oder Franséisch muss eng Form kréien, dass do Léierbicher geschriwwen ginn oder Grammatiken [...] dorëm këmmere [sech?] aner Leit sech? a fir d’Lëtzebuergesch si mir do an et ass an deem Punkt wou mol eng éischt Aktioun [?] fir ze soen, wa mer wëllen, dass Lëtzebuergesch eng Sprooch ass, wat fir zënter 1984 am Gesetz [?]... da brauche mir och e Fong fir di Sprooch an da brauch een einfach e bëssen/gewëssen? Démarchen di soen, „hei dass do ass dass wat d’Lëtzebuergesch ausmécht an aner Saachen eben net“ –an brauch een och Léierbicher-, well dass wat an den nächsten/leschten drësseg Joer pregnant ass... virdru ass gesot gi, Lëtzebuergesch léiert ee souwisou wann een op Lëtzebuerg kënn, wann een dann dass wëllt léieren [?]... dass ass net méi sou, et sinn och Leit [...] di wëlle Lëtzebuergesch léieren an do brauche mer Léierwierker, Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch...

Q: Wat ass d’Zil vun der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch?

[5:10] D’Zil vun der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch ass d’Lëtzebuergesch als Sprooch esou z’etabléieren wéi eng Sprooch eeben hautzedaags gesi gëtt, dass heescht et brauch een di ganz Form vun der Sprooch di iergendwou erfaass gëtt an astudéiert gëtt an och [?] an dann natierlech och dass een kann denen verschiddenen Profiler vun de Leit, déi wëlle Lëtzebuergesch léieren an je no Alter je no Ursprongssprooch, dass [ee kéint]? nach adequat Méiglechkeeten ubidden.

Q: Dir sidd zoustänneg fir d'Ausschaffe vun enger nationaler Plattform, op där all Formatiounen, Coursë fir Lëtzebuergesch a soss wichteg Informatiounen zesummegebroen an aktualiséiert ginn. Och sidd dir zoustänneg dofir, datt d'Offer u Coursen, fir Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren, duergeet, zu Lëtzebuerg an am Ausland, an datt adäquat didaktescht Material disponibel ass (dës entsprécht der Spracherwerbsplanung oder acquisition planning). Wat bedeit dës am Kader vum Enseignement an öffentlechen a private Schoulen?

Et ass eng ganz breed Gamme un Offeren do fir Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren...

[6:48] Dann äntweren ech mol op di zweet Fro: also... Lëtzebuergesch an de Schoulen an der Primärschoul, an der Gronnschoul ass et esouwiso present. Et ass och duerch d'Politik vum Ministère ganz kloer ginn datt et do an der Fréikandfërderung muss present sinn zesumme mam Franséischen, sou datt do och d'Méisproochegkeet gefërdert gëtt. An dann um Niveau vum Secondaire do sinn dann d'nächst Joer verschidden Entwécklungen ugesot, et soll och 4ème, 3ème eng obligatoresch Stonn fir Lëtzebuergesch kommen. Et gëtt och driwwer nogeduecht ob een net kann op der A-Sektioun, op der Sproochesektioun Lëtzebuergesch als quatrième langue vivante hiewen (?).

De Kurrikulum op der Uni gëtt ausgebaut –am Lëtzebuergeschen do ass am Ament e Master do, do soll och eppes kommen wat op de Master [?] op der Uni de Master am Lëtzebuergeschen ouni awer ze vill ze spezialiséieren, an de gréisste Problem dee mer hunn, dat ass der Demande nozekommen vu Leit, vun den Adulten [...] do ass de gréisste Problem dee mer hunn an et ass datt mir net genuch Enseignanten hunn. Et ass e riesegrousse Manktem esouwuel am Land wi och ausserhalb vum Land an der Groussregioun [...] an och weltwäit well an de leschte Joer duerch de sougenannte Recouvrement, vill eemoleg Lëtzebuerger, di dat mat hire Grousseltere waren, hire Nationalitéit rëm kritt hunn ouni awer Lëtzebuergesch ze kënnen, an di wënschen zousätzlech och Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren an do hu mer am Moment nach keng richteg gutt Offeren [...] an dat ass alles wat sech muss developpéieren an dat geet natierlech net vun haut op muer mee dat ass amgaangen.

Q: Dir sidd och zoustänneg fir d'Ausschaffen an Ëmsetzung vum 20-Joresplang ronderëm d'Lëtzebuergesch. Dir gitt vun engem interministerielle Comité begleet. Wéi gesäit elo de 20-Joresplang?

[11:24] En ass amgaangen [?] ... dat ass d'Méiglechkeete Konsultatiounen ze maachen. Well et ass jo net esou, datt dat soll um Schreifdësch vum Kommissär oder am Büro vun e puer Beamten zesammenentwéckelt ginn. Et soll ee schon méi eng grouss Konsultatioun kënnen maachen an do si mer einfach schlecht am Moment. Et ass virgesi fir an enger Partie Platzen am Land sou Reuniounen ze maachen, wou interesséiert Leit [?] vum Lëtzebuergesch interesséiert sinn [?] „wat ass dat wat de Leit wichteg ass a wi gesi si dat“ an sou weider a sou virun.

Bon, wat [?] een natierlech ka virundreiwen dat ass de ganze [?] vum Enseignement vum Lëtzebuergesch, well do hu mer jo scho vill gemaach. Am Kulturellen bleift et e bëssen ze gucken mee do geschitt och eigentlech ganz vill.

Dann ass eng ganz wichteg Fro, dat ass déi vum Statut vum Lëtzebuergesch an... Voilà. Do si mer lo ongefëier, also mir warden drop datt mer rëm kënnen mat méi Leit zesammekommen an Diskussiounen féieren.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem Commissaire an anere Secteure fir déi verschidde Moosnamen z'entwéckelen (z.B. mam ZLS, mam Conseil permanent, mat Schoulen an Enseignanten an engagéierte Bierger)?

Ech gesi reegelméisseg d'Presidentin vun der Programmkommissioun fir d'Lëtzebuergesch. Mir schaffen och dacks zesammen mat dem Beoptragten am SCRIPT (den Här Luc Belling). Mir gesinn eis reegelméisseg [...] awer ech gräifen net selwer an di Aarbecht, natierlech. Mee ech gucken well ech do informéiert sinn a gucken nach fir di Leit dann zesammenzebréngen an de Lien ze maachen, och mam ZLS [...] gesinn ech reegelméisseg den Direkter vum ZLS an och d'Presidentin vum Conseil permanent an dann hunn ech och e Comité interministériel wou aus alle Ministères e Verrieder dra sëtzt, dat huet och gutt geklappt, dat sinn an di drësseg Leit, a mir hatten eng immens interessant

Reunioun, [virun engem Joer, 10:16] [descripci3n de otra conferencia por videoconferencia que no fue muy buena por la cantidad de gente]

Q: Soll d'Zesummenaarbecht t3schent dem Kommiss3r, ZLS, dem Conseil permanent, de Schoulen an engag3ierte Bierger nach verst3erkt ginn?

[13:18] Si kann 3mmer verst3erkt ginn mee si ass scho relativ gutt. Di Zesummenaarbecht ab/an? klenge Gruppen ass nach 3mmer relativ einfach well dat kann een esouguer en pr3esentiel maachen wann een e grouss genuch Raum huet wou ee kann seng Distanzen anhalen, wat fir ze v3erier oder f3ennef kee grouse Problem [...] ech hunn immens vill Reuniounen mat Leit, mee wi gesot dat wat feelt dat ass [?].

Also dat wat feelt dat ass d'Zesummenaarbecht mat engag3ierte Bierger.

Q: W3i kann een de Prestige vun der Sprooch erh3ijen?

Also dat h3nkt jo och ganz staark dovun of –vun der Demande vun de Leit, wat si [?] dobaussen, well et an den leschte Joerz3ngten hier... also virun, ech g3ef soe virun dr3esseg Joer war et just immens w3ening Leit di iwwerhaapt dat [?], Texter op L3tzebuergesch ze liesen. Dat huet sech total ge3nnert, well et ges3it een datt Texter op L3tzebuergesch ganz liicht gelies ginn vu ganz ville Leit, an dat huet vl3it ugefaangen ganz present ze ginn, dat war bei de Wale mengen ech di 2009 waren. Do hunn dr3i Parteien mengen ech hir Parteiprogramm op L3tzebuergesch publiz3iert. Do huet dat wierklech ugefaangen [?] an dat huet natierlech e groussen Impakt op de Prestige. Et huet awer scho virdu ugefaangen, ech g3eing soen, also de sprengende Punkt war natierlech dee vum zweete Weltkrich. Am zweete Weltkrich hu ganz s3ech d3ei meeschte L3tzebuenger net gesot datt si eng Sprooch schw3itzen. Si h3tten net gesot, „L3tzebuenger Sprooch“, si h3tten gesot „ons D3itsch“, dat ass ganz dacks gesot ginn, an si hatten eigentlech kee gr3issere Problem domat fir(?) ze soen datt dat eng Form vum D3itsche w3r. Dat huet sech bis d'Evenementer vum zweete Weltkrich ge3nnert, an den 3ischten Impakt, dee wierklech immens wichteg war, an den och immens groussen Afloss hat [?] op di schr3ftlech Entw3cklung, dat ass de Fait datt no an no an der Chamber L3tzebuergesch geschwat ginn ass. Virum zweete Weltkrich war et

verbueden an der Chamber Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen. An dono ass dat –et war net méi verbueden (risa)-, et war jo esou datt ëmmer nach, datt eréischt no an no d’Deputéierter Lëtzebuergesch geschwat hunn an di ganz wichteg Deklaratioune wéi zum Beispill déi zur Lag vun der Natioun, ech mengen déi sinn eréischt an der achtzeg oder an der nonzeg Joeren op Lëtzebuergesch gemaach ginn. An och di Interventioun vum Grand-Duc ass eréischt ganz spéit op Lëtzebuergesch gemaach ginn. An dat ass natierlech e ganz grouse Prestige fir d’Sprooch gewiescht. Datt effektiv op den doen Niveau Lëtzebuergesch geschwat ginn ass. An derbäi kënnt datt jo am Chamberblidchen, am analytesche Bericht wat jo Wuert-ze-Wuert Bericht ass, dat do Lëtzebuergesch geschriwwe ginn ass an dat war eigentlech den éischte Grupp vu Leit, di sech intensiv a reegelméisseg an hirer Aarbecht domat auserneegesat hunn wi Lëtzebuergesch geschriwwe gëtt. An dat war jo eng vun de ganz wichtegen [?] ëmmer amgaangen ass fir d’Lëtzebuenger Schreifsprouch ze normaliséieren. Do ass schon en grouse Prestige geschitt, also de Prestige ass gewalteg gewuess. Wat een elo am Moment kéint soen, dat ass datt een sécher net wëll op de Wee goen, Gesetzestexter op Lëtzebuergesch ze publizéieren [...] mee et kéint een awer eenzel Texter och op Lëtzebuergesch publizéieren, quitte datt di franséisch Versioun ëmmer di am Zweifelsfall zielt. Dat war iwwregens bis zum zweete Weltkrich esou, datt Texter op Franséisch an op Däitsch publizéiert gi sinn [...] dat ass da verluergaangen am zweete Weltkrich, wat och e bësse Schued ass, well dat net de Leit am Land et méi liicht gemaach [hunn?] di Texter ze verstoen well net jiddereen ass esou gutt am Fransésche fir [?] Texter ze verstoen. [...] war ech um Denken datt ee soll Texter di en allgemengen Intérêt hunn, datt mir esou gucken ob déi an iergendenger Form och op Lëtzebuergesch gi publizéiert.

Q: Ass d’Unerkennung vum Lëtzebuergesch am EU-Niveau och en laangfristegt Zil?

[19:30] Also do muss ech e bëssen aushuelen, wéi d’EU gegrënnt ginn ass, ass Lëtzebuergesch keng Sprooch geduecht vun der EU well Lëtzebuergesch war deemols nach keng Sprooch –och ze Lëtzebuerg net, offiziell-. An dono hunn di Lëtzebuenger Regierungen dat och nie gefrot a wahrscheinlech och zu Recht nie gefrot an dat ass och haut net d’Zil dervun datt Lëtzebuergesch soll eng offiziell EU-Sprooch ginn wi z.B. Franséisch et ass oder wi Däitsch et ass, aus eng ganz einfach Ursaach, well dat géing bedeuten, datt alles wat an der EU geschitt och misst op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersat ginn, an zwar op d’Käschte vun de Lëtzebuenger. Et gesäit een datt di zwee Länner di dee Wee

gaangen sinn, sech do e bëssen pamplechen/kampflechen?? domadder, Irland a Malta, well si einfach virun allem net genuch Leit fanne fir all di Aarbecht ze maachen. Dat ass dat Eent, also Lëtzebuergesch als vollwärtig EU-Sprooch, wou alles soll op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersat [ginn], dat ass keen Thema. Och duerfir well dat jo net d'Gewunnecht ass an eise Land. Firwat solle lo europäisch Texter op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersat ginn wa mer net [?] een Text op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersetzen. An dann och guer net wëllen [sou ze maachen?], mat der Ausnam vläicht vun denen di allgemeng Intérêt hunn.

Sou datt den But eigentlech den ass fir eng Léisung ze fannen wou et och an den Texter vun Europa virgesinn ass, datt eis Sprooch och kann e Statut kréien, sou wi den ass, den am Land gebraucht gëtt, wou di Sprooch doheem ass, wou di Sprooch eeben als Landessprooch unerkannt ass an dat ass e bëssen dat wat an dem Moment verfollegt gëtt datt een eeben den [?] brauch an Europa kéint kréien wéi et hei ze Lëtzebuerg ass, dat heescht datt Lëtzebuergesch eng Sprooch ass di a verschidde Kontexter ka gebrauch ginn [...] un d'Institutiounen riichten, da wär dann ze gucken ob si dann do mussen eng Äntwert op der Sprooch kréien, dat wär dann natierlech e bësse schwierig.

Da ginn et zwee aner Punkten [...] Lëtzebuergesch ass am Moment onexistent op europäischem Niveau. Et ass weder eng offiziell Sprooch an engem Land an et ass och keng Minoritéitsprooch an Europa [...] a well et eeben net existent ass, ass et och prinzipiell net méiglech z.B. fir Studieprogrammer oder soss Programmer iwwer d'Lëtzebuergesch vun Europa aus ze finanzéieren, wat e bësse schued ass. Also fir e konkret Beispill ze ginn: virun engem Joer war ech mat dem Projet vum Dictionnaire Russesch-Lëtzebuergesch befasst, an Europa ginn et Programmer fir Dictionnairen vun enger manner geschwatter Sprooch an enger manner geschwatter Sprooch (se confundió?) op enger Platz [?] an dat geet hei net well Lëtzebuergesch eeben net existéiert. An dat ass schued... Do soll een natierlech gucken fir do eng pragmatesch Léisung ze fannen fir dat ze änneren.

Fazit: Nee et wëll eigentlech keen datt Lëtzebuergesch op europäischem Niveau eng Sprooch [gëtt?] wou alles muss op Lëtzebuergesch iwwersat ginn, dat brauche mer net, mee mir hätte gäre datt Lëtzebuergesch eng gewëssen Existenz hätt op europäischem Niveau.

Q: Lëtzebuerg ass e méisproocheg Land, dat vill Wäert op dës Méisproochegkeet leet. Ass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Absolut, well an der ganzer Politik vun der Regierung [?] ëmmer di zwou Saachen promovéiert. Also, Lëtzebuergesch soll promovéiert ginn, jo, mee d'Méisproochegkeet muss och promovéiert ginn. An am [?] vu Lëtzebuerg läit dat Eent sou gutt wi dat Anert. Et ass wierklech eng Charakteristik vu Lëtzebuerg, di zwou Saachen ze hunn: eng eege Sprooch an awer och d'Méisproochegkeet. Duerfir ass et interessant datt... datt war bei der Ministesch [?], si hat Sproochenexperte vun der OECD heihinner komme gelooss fir ze gucke wéi d'Sproochesituatioun war ze Lëtzebuerg an déi hunn [?] gesot, „Är eigentlech Mammesprooch ass eis/d'Méisproochegkeet“, an dat ass och wouer, well [...] bei mir als e ganz traditionelle Lëtzebuenger an der Lëtzebuenger Schoul, ech si vu Klengem un absolut gewinnt Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen, Däitsch ze liesen, wat d'Zeitungen an di meeschte Bicher ugeet, an e bësse méi spéit all meng? offiziell Demarchen op Franséisch ze maachen [...] mee wi ech gesot hunn, beim Lëtzebuergesch ass et awer wichteg, déi Saachen ze kreéieren di net esouwisou do sinn. Bei de Sproochen di mer soss hei am Land hunn, do ass dat alles do. Well wa mer gäre Grammaire, Lexikonen, Léierwierker an den anere Sproochen dann hu mer esou (?). Am Lëtzebuergesch mussen mer eis selwer [?].

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Also di traditionell Dräisproochegkeet ass och e bësse e Mythos, well dat huet sech jo immens geännert am Laf vun der Zäit an... bon, geschichtlech gesinn, war d'Land och ëmmer a Regiounen opgedeelt, wou dat Eent méi Däitsch an dat Anert méi Franséischsproocheg [?]. Zanter/an de leschten 150 Joer sinn och ëmmer aner Sproochen mat eragefloss –Italienesch, Englesch, Portugisesch- bon, aner, vill aner Sproochen méttlerweil. Ech denken datt ee soll soen et ass eng Méisproochegkeet an der Gesellschaft. Wat d'Schoul ugeet, do ass et natierlech esou datt d'Schoul ëmmer op Däitsch a Franséisch fonctionnéiert huet, also zweesproocheg, woubäi Lëtzebuergesch virausgesat (significado: presupuesto) war (risa). Ech mengen, ech géing do net dat doen... e grouse Besoin ass, fir Saachen ze schützen. Ech denken, am Lëtzebuergesch ass eppes geschitt duerch verschidden Elementer déi ech net kann novollzéien, dat ass de kulturellen Aspekt, oder

dat wat een an der Zäit mol Landeskunde genannt huet [...] an och Geschicht an esou weider vu Lëtzebuerg, datt ass e bësse verschwonnen [?]. Et ass sécherlech nätzlech fir - niewent e bëssen der Sprooch natierlech- well et ass ganz gutt wa Kanner a wann d'Jugendlechen e bësse léieren verschidde Saachen [...] mee si sollen och di kulturellen a geschichtlechen [...] e bëssen Kenntnisser do ze kréien.

An dann di sproochlech natierlech och. Ech ginn ëmmer e Beispill: hei Lëtzebuenger, also Kanner di aus der Lëtzebuenger Schoul kommen, di kennen d'Reegelen am Däitschen a Franséische ganz gutt an am Lëtzebuergeschen keng Anung. Wann et een [?] Froen am Lëtzebuergeschen, „ass et richtig ze soen sëtzt iech oder ass et richtig ze soen setzt iech“, da wëssen se et net. Wann ech disselwecht Fro am Däitschen stellen „setzen Sie sich“ oder „sitzen Sie sich“, da wëssen se d'Äntwert [28:36]. An dat ass ganz bemierkenswäert. Datt een iwwer seng eege Sprooch, also datt di vill Outilen di d'Kanner an der Schoul kréien (Sproochkenntnisser, Grammatik, esou wieder esou virun), déi si kënnen op Däitsch oder op Franséisch oder op Englesch uwenden, datt/dat se/sinn? nie Usätz geléiert hunn, dat och op Lëtzebuergesch unzewenden. An dobäi sinn ech och absolut kee Fan dervun, datt een nëmmen op Lëtzebuergesch soll Grammaire an [?] gemaach ginn. Ech mengen just datt ee bewosst si soll, wéi ee kann d'Outilen di si [?] op Lëtzebuenger Sprooch kann och mol gucken??? Voilà dat ass den eenzege But géing ech soen vu Sproochen [?] Bewosstheet ze kréien an datt fir de Rescht mengen ech effektiv datt ech eng Wichtigkeet dragesinn fir den kulturellen Impakt an och den regionalen Impakt vum Lëtzebuergeschen e bëssen z'erfaassen.

Q: Geet et och drëms d'Gläichgewicht tëschent den dräi Sproochen ze garantéieren? (There was a misunderstanding here)

Neen, op kee Fall, well ech mengen fir di schrëftlech Kommunikatioun sinn Däitsch a Franséisch, virun allem Franséisch an och Englesch wesentlech méi wichteg wi Lëtzebuergesch. Dat soll een net iwwerdreiwen. Ech mengen et ass do wou een soll eppes maachen, dat ass datt bis lo waren d'Schüler [?]... et soll een dat awer net doduerch ersetzen datt ee seet, „jiddereen den hei e Primaire kritt dee muss och lo kënnen Lëtzebuergesch richtig schreiwen“, dat géing ech absolut iwwerdriwwe fannen an och sënnslos well [?] et ass wirklech scho schwéier genuch. Ech mengen datt een do soll verstänneg drugoen, mee et ass awer och wouer datt di Leit di sech derfir interesséieren an

och Schüler di sech derfir interesséieren si sollen d'Méiglechkeet kréien dat ze léieren an et soll och all Schüler e klengen Abléck doranner kréien.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Nee, sécher net. Och well dat hängt do ganz vun de Milieuen of, an dat wandelt sech och an der Zäit. Also an den achzeger Joer war d'Integratiounssprooch d'Franséisch [...] an dunn huet et sech geännert. An et huet sech geännert mengen ech engersäits well d'Immigratioun net méi eleng aus romanophone Länner war, och vläit well di vill Immigranten di ëmmer nach aus Portugal kommen, well si guer net méi esou vill Franséisch léieren an der Schoul mee éischer Englesch. Dréttens well vill Immigratioun aus Osteuropa a [soss aner Länner] komm ass, an och aus nördleche Länner, a véiertens duerch di sozial Medien, ech weess net genau firwat. [...] An der Stadt Lëtzebuerg ass Englesch immens present, och op der Stross [...] an ech wunnen no bei der Fiels (Larochette), an der Fiels ass Portugiisesch och eng Sprooch di immens geschwat gëtt vu quasi all Leit di do wunnen.

Q: D'Standardiséierung leeft. Déi Schreifkompetenzen am Lëtzebuergesch tëscht de Leit verbessere sech lues a lues. Mengt Dir, datt déi „Freiheet“, déi vill Leit hunn, wann se schreiwen „wéi se wëllen“, wäert verschwannen?

Jiddereen däerf ëmmer schreiwen wéi ee wëll, och Franséisch oder Däitsch. Et gëtt kee Gesetz, dat engem do eppes virschreift. [?] wann ee wëll schreiwen a virun allem wann ee professionel wëll schreiwen. Dat [?] wëssen wéi et richtig ass. An den anere But ass jo den, wann ee wëll eppes schreiwen, dann hätt ee jo gärer datt den Anere nach dat verstitt, wat ee geschriwwen huet. A Lëtzebuergesch ass do ganz tricky, well am Lëtzebuergesch ginn et vill Wieder di sech duerch richtig kleng Detailer ënnerscheiden. Fir do e puer Beispiller ze ginn, wann ech soen, „dat stemmt hien net, oder dat stëmmt hien net“. Dat sinn zwee total aner Sätz an déi ënnerscheede sech just duerch den Treema. Oder wann ech soen, „dat soll ee kennen“ oder „dat soll ee kënnen“, kennen a kënnen kléngen immens änlech mee si ganz verschidde Verben. Och nëmmen den Treema den ënnerscheet. Et kënn

nach derbäi datt d'Verbformen am Lëtzebuergeschen sech immens staark iwwerschneiden. Wann ech soen „kënnen“, „hie kënn“ huet näischt mat „kënnen“ ze dinn, „hie kënn“ huet mat „kommen“ ze dinn. Esou dat datt alles ganz tricky ass [...] Wann ech soen „hien huet wéi gehat“ oder „hien huet Wäi gehat“, da sinn dat ganz ënnerscheedlech Saachen. Den éi an den äi ënnerscheeden d'Wierder, da muss een den éi an den äi richtig schreiwen soss huet een total verschidde Sënn dran. Also de Problem ass, datt an enger Sprooch wéi Lëtzebuergesch, wou vill Wierder sech immens gläichen, ass et wichteg ze wëssen wéi se geschriwwe ginn. Dat heescht, also ech mengen datt een deen [?] net do derlaanscht kënn sech mat den Phenomener ausereneesetzen. Dat heescht awer lo net datt een et dann esou wäit muss driwen, datt een dann och di ganz tricky Geschichte muss kennen wéi z.B. – mir hu vill zesummegevat franséisch Wierder- eng Assemblée générale zu Assemblée-généralen, wat tricky ass fir dat ze schreiwen mat der Lëtzebuurger Endung. Dat muss een awer dann net beherrschen well do ass souwisou kee Problem, och wann een et falsch schreift. [...] Wann ee wëll schreiwen, muss een dat esou wäit beherrschen, datt ee ka kloer ausdrécke wat ee wëll soen. An den anere Saache si Feeler e bësse méi egal.

Q: Soll och d'Diversitéit vum Lëtzebuergeschen promovéiert ginn (z.B. d'Promotioun vu schreiwen.lu)?

Mir hunn dat esouwisou nach ëmmer. Aner Länner iwwregens och. Also zum Engen hu mer... vun den allermeeschte Wierder hu mer ëmmer zwee: ech kann „Félicitatiounen“ soen, oder ech kann „Gratulationen“ soen, oder.. wéi ass dat däitscht Wuert, et fällt mer net an, ech ka „Gléckwësch“ soen, voilà. Ech kann „Administratioun“ oder „Verwaltung“ soen. Also et ginn onendlech vill der Wierder wou mer der ëmmer zwee hunn [...] dann [?] di lokal Mondaarten [op]? Bon do muss ee soen di si quasi verschwonne mat wéinegen Ausnamen. Also platzeweis ginn si nach [?] wat ech jo och gutt fannen an esou weider an sou virun, mee dat huet lo näischt mat der Entwécklung vum Lëtzebuergeschen ze dinn, et ass einfach eng universell Entwécklung, et ass och am Frankräich esou, et as am Däitschland esou, ech mengen dat huet einfach ganz vill mat der Mobilitéit vun de Leit ze dinn. Well di lokal Mondaarten si jo doduerch entstanen datt Lëtzebuerg laang Zäit wi Dierfer immens isoléiert war well et e Land voller Bësch a Hiwwele war, an da sinn di lokal Mondaarten entstanen, di och immens ënnerscheedlech waren, di lo an de leschten honnert oder 150 Joer [?]. Ech fäerten datt di jo och, zu engem groussen Deel verschwonne sinn, bon si hunn e bëssen dokumentéiert, dat ass och gutt dass si dokumentéiert sinn. Also

op verschidde Beräicher bleiwen natierlech Saachen, et behält een nach ëmmer eenzel Wierder esou bäi, an voilà.

Mee ech mengen, mir hunn elo grosso modo eng relativ standardiséiert Sprooch doduerch datt mer e Reegelwierk hunn iwwer d'Schreifweis, bon dat erlaabt? Mondaarten ze schreiwen [37:45] a mir hunn en Dictionnaire, den LOD, [?] um Wee op verschidde Varianten [?]

Q: Wéi gesinn an Zukunft d'Friichte vun Ärer Aarbecht fir d'Sprooch?

Ech sinn immens zefridden datt mer e Reegelwierk hunn, dat lo relativ komplett ass, ech mengen datt ech ka soen datt di grouss Lächer, di an de Reegelwierker virdru waren, di si gestoppt ginn, -bon e Reegelwierk ass nie fäerdeg, dat ass och an den anere Sproochen esou. An och eppes... [?]

Wat mer wierklech ganz um Häerz läit, datt di nächst Etapp, di ganz grouss Etapp, dat ass datt mer Internetcourse kréie fir Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren, mat Blended Learning also méi oder manner... En anere Projet deen ech och ganz gäer hätt ass datt mer Schreiwen kënnen zertificéieren, wou mer och eng norméiert [?] brauchen. Well ad'verschidde Beräicher, wann een a verschidde Platze schaffe geet, datt dat do gutt ass wa ee weise kéint? „Ah ech ka Lëtzebuergesch, net nëmme schwätzen mee och schreiwen“.

XIII.1.3. Government adviser: Xavier

Q: Dir sidd Conseiller de Gouvernement beim Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse. Kéint Dir wgl. Äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech sinn, also, ech hunn a mengem viregte Liewen als Journalist geschafft. Dat heescht ech war laang Joer beim RTL Journalist, fir d'éischt op der Télé, dono hunn ech Radio och Radio gemaach. 2015 hunn ech mäi Job gewiesselt an sinn am Déngscht vun der Regierung getrueden als Conseiller am Kulturministère, wou ech och Conseiller war a mech ëm d'Kommunikatioun/Publikatioun? [?] gekëmmert hunn. An ech hunn di zwee Joer, virun zwee Joer sinn ech gewiesselt an den Educatiounsministère, dat war mam Wiessel vun der Regierung, et sinn der? [1:07] eng Partie Kompetenzen vun der Kultur eriwwer bei den Educatiounsministère gaangen. Dozou gehéiert z.B. och d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch an do war ech vum Ministère gefrot ginn ob ech mer kéint virstellen, wann et d'Administratioun e Wiessel ze maachen? fir de Ministère [oración poco clara, 1:19-1:22], an hunn dat och ugeholl, well di Sujete mech an deem Sënn interesséiert hunn, a well et/en? och e ganz interessante Ministère ass, mat ganz ville Facetten. Voilà. Sou datt ech an de leschten zwee Joer elo am Educatiounsministère sinn als Conseiller de gouvernement [con pronunciación luxemburguesa, 1:37] wou ech an engem Service sinn, de nennt sech *Projets et stratégies*, et ass am Fong en Deel vum Bureau vum Minister, an wou mer Projete begleede, Prozesser begleeden, e bëssen och d'Kommunikatioun mat, domat? begleeden. Dat heescht ganz no [mam] Minister schaffen, an Projeten op deenen ech haaptsächlech, also, et ass, am Prinzip ass ganz transversal, mee wann ech lo [?] a Projete si wou ech mi wéi ee betreien ?? Z.B. d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch, Enseignement musical, dat heescht all di Saache di mer eriwwer huele mat aus der Kultur. Bon an dann di lescht zéng Méint muss ech da leider soen et ass och ganz vill Covid-Krisenmanagement, wou ech mathëllefen, mee dat si sou di Saachen di ech am Moment maachen.

Q: Zanter, datt d'Gesetz iwwert d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch a Kultur adoptéiert gouf, gëtt vill vu Promotioun geschwat. Wat heescht konkret d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen?

Fir mech ass Promotioun, fir d'Lëtzebuergesch ass **eng Loscht op eng Sprooch [ze?] maachen** (crear el gusto por la lengua, o crear la lengua?). Dat heescht, eng Sprooch, **sech bewosst sinn datt mir eng Sprooch hunn, wat d'Lëtzebuergesch ass, wat awer fir mech e ganz Deelaspekt ass vun eiser Sproochesituatioun**. Mir si ganz multikulturell an och multilingual an, bon ech mengen Dir wësst et besser wéi ech wi séier een vun enger Sprooch an di aner switcht an heiansdo mol guer net weess wéi eng Sprooch mir lo eigentlech di lescht Stonn geschwat [hunn? 3:13] an fir mech ass Lëtzebuergesch awer do e ganz wichtege Deel och dodranner, och vun eiser Kultur. An bon ech mengen wat e wichtege Aspekt ass vun der Aarbecht di mir am Ministère an och an deene Servicer, di dat begleede, man (maachen), ass eigentlech **eng Loscht un der Sprooch entwéckelen** [3:26-3:28], dat heescht mir hunn z.B., also den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch ass jo mam Gesetz vun 2018 [dicho con duda] geschaffe ginn, an do hu mer dann en Direkter genannt, mir hunn e bësse rekrutéiert och lénks a rieds, [?] do Profiler nach gewielt hu fir deen do wierklech flott ze maan (maachen). A wou vill aktiv?? dra sinn, dat ass engersäits den Ausbau vum LOD, den et jo scho gouf, dat ass eng Initiativ di an den Nonzegerjoren gestart gouf. Dann hu mer eng... Eng wichtege Aufgab ass och alles wat Entwécklung ass vun, ech so lo (filler phrase que otros entrevistados han usado también, 4:10) Literatur *entre guillemets*, dat sinn éischter Bicher, an deem Sënn Léierwierker fir d'Ortografi. Éischtens mol war et wichtege ier iwwerhaupt seng komplett Ortografi kann néierschreiwen, war et mol wichtege, fir d'Ortografi ze komplettéieren. Do waren eng Partie Felder, wou, e bësse sou Grozone, well et konnt een sou interpretéieren, konnt een sou interpretéieren (así o asá), dat heescht et war mol wichtege datt d'Experten *déi* Felder zougemaach hunn an datt eigentlech lo all Grozonen bedeckt sinn an datt relativ kloer ass wéi een e Wuert eigentlech, wann een sech un d'Ortografi hält et ze schreiwen huet. Dat huet eis dann erlaabt d'Ortografi ze publizéieren. Do hu mer an enger éischter Oplo, mengen ech hate mer 5.000 Bicher gedréckt, a *déi* waren extreem, extreem séier fort. Dat hate mer op de Walferbicherdeeg 2019 annoncéiert an do hu mer, jo, mir hunn d'Bicher quasi aus der Hand gerapp, [?] keen hätt mat dem Succès gereechent well, jo, et ginn awer vill Beréierungsängsichte mat der Ortografi, et ass eppes wou een sech muss eraschaffen (s'initier à), wou ee lo net onbedéngt gemengt hätt dass een di Bicher lo sou séier géif [?], mir hunn eng zweet Oplo gemaach an eng drëtt, an ganz frësch haut de moien huet de Minister, also mir hunn lo di véiert Oplo geliwwert kritt, lo dës Woch, an de Moien huet de Minister lo di véierzéngtausend an éischt (14,001) Exemplaere vun der Ortografi iwwereecht un eng Frau oder eng Madamm di op der Waardelëscht stoung. Dat heescht et

ass nach ëmmer en enorme Succès, an d'Leit sinn, et mierkt een, wierklech interesséiert, fir dat Buch ze hunn.

Bon, lo ass natierlech d'Fro, wann et? [5:56] bis doheem ass, wi vill kucken d'Leit dran, dat ass dann di *aner* Fro, dat kritt een natierlech net kontrolléiert, mee ech hunn awer d'Impressioun, also et sinn alles wierklech proaktiv Kommanden an deem Sënn datt d'Leit wierklech sech musse manifestéiere fir d'Buch ze kréien. Dass en éischt, wat een, ech so lo mol, an de Grapp gedréckt kritt, wann een am Supermarché laanscht de Stand gëtt oder de Choix, wou d'Leit e gewëssenen... op der Tram/Trance/Trend? [6:20] mussen duergoen fir et ze hunn.

Dann hu mer z.B. och elo d'Grammaire di ass en eelert Buch schonn, en eelert Buch wou mer lo reeditéiert. **Dat ass awer och dofir geduecht fir d'Grammaire an deem Sënn z'iwwerschaffen.** Di hu mer reeditéiert, do ass awer och geplangt fir déi nach eng Kéier opzeschaffen, och mat Experten, do sinn och Leit op deem Projet schon drun. Dat ass awer eppes wat sech iwwert en ganz Zäitche lo nach wäert zéien. Dann hu mer? [7:10] lo e ganz nei rausbruecht, an dat ass eeben och fir mech Promotioun, ass engersäits dokumentéiere „wi schreiwen ech eng Sprooch?“, dat ass méi sou di Léierwierker soen ech lo mol, mir hunn di de Josy Braun reeditéiert well et éischer e Léierwierk ass... D'Ortografi ass méi sou wéi e Buch mat Reegelen, an dem Josy Braun säi Buch ass méi sou en praktesch orientéiert Wierk, wat och geduecht ass fir ze léieren. Do war et eis wichteg dat och mat der neier Ortografi a mat der –mir schwätzen eigentlech ëmmer vun der iwwerschaffter oder komplettéierter Ortografi- well si eigentlech nei ass an do begéine mer dann och vill heiansdo Reticenz vu Leit di [froen? 7:48] „firwat muss een dat lo sou schreiwen an net méi sou?“ An da soe mer „Jo mee eigentlech ass dat eppes wat schonn 1999 geännert ginn ass“, dat heescht dass, lo vill, wi soll ech soen, et gëtt lo méi prezis gekuckt, mee e groussen Deel, deen di d'Ortografi iwwer eng ganz Partie Etappen entwéckelt? [8:04] an eng ganz Partie Etappen ginn awer eigentlech op 99, op déi Zäit zeréck, wou dann eng Partie Saachen scho laang Jore sou sinn, d'Leit sech deemols bewusst waren? [?].

Dann anerersäits, an dat sinn och vläicht e bësse mi (méi) di méi faarweg Produiten, soen ech lo mol, dat ass z.B., hu mer lo -et läit dem Minister ganz vill um Häerz-, fir och al Sprooch, **di traditionell Sprooch soen ech lo mol ze dokumentéieren, well d'Schwieregkeet ass jo datt ëmmer manner jonk Leit sou Terme benotzen, an datt si**

da riskéieren aus der Memoire ze verschwannen an dofir ass et eis wichteg dat ze dokumentéieren. Dat wëll net heeschen dass mer dat alles rëm wëllen eropbeschwiieren (conjurere, summon, évoquer) an en aktive Wuertschatz, mee et ass awer wichteg dass Leit, di ech so lo eeler Leit, nach matdeelen wéi si fir Saache vläicht gesot hunn oder wéi d'Bom fir Saache gesot huet, oder wi den Urbop fir Saache gesot huet, fir datt alles dokumentéiert kritt fir op d'mannst di Entwécklung vun der Sprooch ze hunn. Dat ass e bëssen de wëssenschaftleche Volet.

An de méi populäre Volet dee sech doraus ergeet [9:17] ass eigentlech datt mer Publicatioune maache mat, lo mat den éischer sou rauskommen, „De Lëtzebuenger Wuertschatz“, eng Serie wou zwielef Bänn (tomos) geplangt sinn, a wou mer lo den éische rausginn hunn –och e riesege Succès- ass och leider schonn ausverkaf, si mer och am Nodrock, di Bicher sollen nächst Woch, also et mierkt een [dass] alles wat mat der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ze dinn huet ass immens... wat d'Leit interesséiert, an do hu mer lo z.B. „123 Pärelen aus der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch“, mir hunn et genannt, et sinn am Fong al Wieder di vill *erkennen*. Ech muss éierlech soen ech hunn se och net all kennt, -eng ganz Partie hunn ech erkannt awer net alleguerten- a wou een eigentlech rëm, jo, Wieder entdeckt di een eigentlech kennt huet, di een da vläicht mol erëm ufänkt ze benotzen oder esou, aner huet een guer net kennt an do gesäit een dann och wéi villfälteg eis Sprooch ass. Et ass e bëssen sou den, jo, vläicht dat Pädagogesch wat mer dohannert? [10:10] gesinn hunn. Esou e Produit de ganz accessibel ass fir zéng Euro, kann een den an der Librairie kafen. Dat heescht et ass eppes wat een sech [?]. Wat ech gesot hunn, einfach d'Loscht maachen, sech mat der Sprooch sou ze beschäftegen an einfach mat der [?] an deem Sënn mat der Sprooch.

Q: Et ginn elo verschidden Institutionen, déi d'Standardiséierung vum Lëtzebuergesche virundreiwen (Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, de Kommissär, de Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise). Déi Institutione goufe gegrënnt am Kader vun der Strategie fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch. Wéi ass d'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen bei der Educatioun?

Mir hunn eng ganz Partie Projeten an deem Sënn do an der Pipeline. Deen Eent, dat hat de Minister schonn annoncéiert, dat ass, am Moment hu mer jo eng Stonn Lëtzebuergesch op der 7ème am Classique, also Secondaire Classique. A mir hunn eng, also A-Lux hu mer,

dat ass en Däitsch-Lëtzebuergesch am Secondaire Général, vu 7^{ème} bis 5^{ème} ass dat, am Moment leeft dat. An do hu mer eigentlech, wat de Minister eigentlech sot an och d'Servicer, 7^{ème} ass en Alter wou den Interessi vläicht net an deem Mooss ze grouss ass, an dass mer dat eigentlech eropzéien op 4^{ème} respektiv am Général op 3^{ème} –dat Fach-. **Dat heescht de Plang ass elo eng Stonn Lëtzebuergesch wou een engersäits *Notioun* soen ech lo mol, dat soll een lo mol net [?] si do mat enger kompletter Ortografiskennntnis rauskënnt, mee do soll een *Notioun* kréie fir d'Basis-Regelen, wat d'Ortografi ugeet. Et soll een e bëssen [?] vläicht alles vu Literatur ze Lëtzebuerg entstanen ass, respektiv entsteet, mir hu ganz vill Literatur di och op Lëtzebuergesch rauskënnt am Moment. Da soll et do e bëssen ëm *Geschicht* goe, *Lëtzebuurger Geschicht*, an voilà. Dat ass e bësse sou di *Virtragsrei* di op der Uni entstane war vun **der Madamm Glesener**, di hu mer jo och opgegraff iwwert eisen SCRIPT -dat ass eis Entitéit di e bëssen sou *Recherche pédagogiques* mécht an och *Léiermëttel* entwéckelt-. An di Serie hu mer eigentlech opgegraff, sou e bëssen nach ech so lo mol vläicht *vulgariséiert*, datt si méi nach di Jonke och erreecht an wou eigentlech e grouss flott Dealer vun der *Geschicht* zeréckgoe ging (géing). Déi sou Aspekter wäerten och an di Materialer fir de Cours erafléissen. Dat heescht do soll eigentlech e flotte Programm entwéckelt ginn, mir hunn do/lo eng Kommissioun (Programmkommissioun presidida por Shari Schenten) di domadder amgaangen ass an den? (habrá sido un error suyo? 13:22) eigentlech schon engem Enseignant e bëssen sou *clé en main* eppes gëtt, wou een mat de Jonke ka schaffen, wou een sech net méi [?] oder sou, mee wierklech flott Material kritt fir mat den Jonke kënnen ze schaffen. Dat ass de ganz konkrete Projet di mer am Secondaire hunn.**

Bon, [am] Fondamental hu mer... Also e Lëtzebuergesch virgesinn, do sinn d'Enseignanten mol méi a mol manner kreativ fir mam Sujet ëmzegen. Ech weess meng Kanner hunn z.B. *Texter* vum Gereefenech? [13:50] gelies; di relativ flott mat de Kanner sinn, iwwer eng grouss Rhythmik dran hunn an e grouse Witz dran [ass?] an d'Kanner grouss *Ouverture* och weise fir mat sou Saachen ëmzegen. Mee och do leeft vill an deem Sënn datt och vill iwwer d'Lëtzebuurger *Sprooch* transportéiert gëtt. Mir hunn och en *Effort* gemaach fir Lëtzebuergesch an der *Education informelle* –Crèchen an sou weider-, ranzebréngen. Dat heescht dat ass eigentlech, vun der *Crèche*, *Précoce* un, also eigentlech eppes wat d'Kanner bis an de *Fondamental* ran e bësse vläicht nach méi indirekt begleet, a wou et dann herno awer méi konkret och ëm *Léierstuffer* geet.

Q: Bei eisem éischten Austausch per E-Mail hutt dir gesot, dass et e villschichtegen Dossier ass. Kéint Dir wgl. erklären, wat dat heescht?

[14:53] Jo dat ass engersäits, also mir hunn, wi soll ech soen, den Educationminister ass a mengen Aen e bëssen responsabel fir eng Cooperatioun an deem Sënn, et hält net op mat enger Première oder mat der Schoufflicht oder sou. Fir mech ass den Educationminister eigentlech ech soe lo mol vun Null bis Nenganonzeg (99) zoustänneg an dofir ass et an deem Sënn villschichteg. Education informelle, dann hu mer Education formelle an der Gronnschoul, dann hu mer d’Lycéeën... D’Uni, wou och vill Offere ech mengen wéi Dir selwer sidd dat bescht Beispill, dass do och flott Initiative lafen. Do si mer och [?] mat der Uni fir do d’Offer wierklech och auszebreden an, an och di Sektoun ze festegen. Dann hu mer alles wat d’Formation adulte ass, mir hunn den INL, den Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen ubitt, wou d’Zuelen nach immens no uewe weisen. Dann hu mer d’ganz Promotioun vun der Sprooch, alles wat iwwer den Zenter geet, sou weider, do hu mer jo schon driwwer geschwat. **Dann hu mer de Kommissär, ech wollt nach drop kommen, de ganz transversal iwwert ganz Ressorte vun der Regierung, den Uspréchspartner ass. Engersäits Uspréchspartner wann ee Froen huet oder Suggestiounen, an anerersäits awer och e Multiplikator ass vun Iddien oder Initiative fir, „ah, dat do ass mol lo ugedroen (angeboten) ginn, wéi wär et wann der mol dorunner géif denken?“ an esou weider, dat heescht hien ass am Fong an engem permanenten Austausch och iwwer den méi (in?)formellen [16:31] *Groupe interministériel* mat de Ministèren, informell eeben an deem Sënn sech fir méi kleng Reuniounen gesäit.** An voilà. Dat heescht et ass, jo, an deem Sënn e villchichtegen Thema, dass mer all eis *Direction-généralen*, dat heescht vum Fondamental iwwert de Secondaire iwwert d’Héichschoul, iwwer d’Formation adulte an esou weider, si [?] mam Thema befaasst, an dat mécht et dann och sou villchichteg an transversal an deem Sënn. Dofir hat ech am Moment iwwerluecht ob mer wien ech soll proposéieren als Partner, ech hat mam Minister doriwwer geschwat, an hien awer huet du gemengt ech soll dann huelen. Hutt dir schon de Kommissär geinterviewt?

Q: Jo, de Marc Barthelemy an och den Direkter vum ZLS, de Luc Marteling.

Genau, dat si wi gesot **eis zwee Haaptorganer** an deem Sënn, wi déi aner hunn och alleguerten ëmmer e bëssen en eegestännegen/eegesënnegen? [17:35] Aspekt dee matschwéngt (resonate), wat an der Natur vun hirer Aufgab läit an deem Sënn.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbescht tëschent Enseignanten an dem Ministère de l'Education bei der Erweiterung vun der Offer vun Optionscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen"?

Jo dat ech Iech scho lo gesot, de Cours fir 4ème an 3ème, also op der Classique a Général, de beinhalt di doten Aspekter eeben an do ass eng Programmkommissioun wou aus engem? [18:17] Aarbechtsgrupp eraus sech zesummesat fir di dote Kurrikula an och didaktescht Material ze entwéckelen. Dat heescht dat sinn eigentlech gréisstendeels Enseignanten di do zesummekommen an di natierlech och de Know-How (pronunciado de una manera extrañísima, 18:32) hu fir ze soen wat kéint di Jongen/Jugend? interesséiere, wéi kënne mer hinnen dat vermëttelen, an sou. Dat heescht do sinn eigentlech, wi an all eisen Prozesser, Enseignanten um Wierk am Kader vun eiser Programmkommissioun, **di di dote Saachen zesummestellen an entwéckelen an dann iwwer de SCRIPT vläicht méi nach dat didaktescht Material, ech mengen wann herno en Internet-Site ze bauen ass, ze financéieren, vläicht eng Print-Publicatioun, e Buch oder sou, da kommen si éischer an d'Spill**, dat heescht dat ass en **Zesummespill vun all eisen Instrumenter di do...** mee do sinn och Enseignanten op alle Fall mat um Wierk, sief et an dem SCRIPT selwer, wou Enseignanten oder *detachéiert Enseignantë* schaffen. Oder wi gesot an der Programmkommissioun wou *carrément* Enseignantë setzen.

Q: Nom rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen a bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Also wi gesot do si mer amgaangen um Schaffen? [19:49] ganz aktiv. Dat soll am Prinzip, mussen mer mam Covid alles eng Kéier ofweien (ponderar, sopesar), mee dat ass eemol de Plang, also dat war den initiale Plang, dass mer am September mat dem Fach géifen ufänken, **dat heescht dat didaktescht Material muss dee Moment och stoen**. Dat ass di eng Saach, aner Saachen ass wat ee vu Lëtzebuenger Geschicht a Kultur an anere Fächer kann agoen. An gouf ech och schon sou Iddien wi vläicht, ech mengen wann ech lo an der

Physik iwwer Energie schwätzen, iwwer den Newton an sou weider, **da kéint een och en Detour maachen, z.B. iwwer d'Famill Tudor, di den Akku erfondt hunn** (interessantísimo). Ech mengen haut hu mer alleguerten en Handy an e Laptop an sou weider, si hunn en Akku dran a mer stellen eis keng Froen? [20:42], mee iergendeen soll op d'Iddi kommen si si gewiescht fir dat ze maachen, an **en Deel vun deenen Iddie sinn hei am Land ze Rousport entstanen a firwat net dat lo an engem Physikscours abauen zum Beispill.**

Dat si mengen ech einfach d'Pisten di mir suivéieren, datt een engersäits d'Spezifitéit vum Fach natierlech muss bäibréngen, an anerersäits awer och vläicht d'Spezifitéit vum Lëtzebuerger Land ka benotzen fir genau dat ze maachen. Dat sinn natierlech Prozesser di een net vun haut op muer kann änneren, et sinn och vill Enseignante di vläicht eng eegen Initiativ hunn, mee sou Saachen hu mer um Radar, mee wi gesot dat ass an enger Developmentsphas an do muss ee kucken, also wi gesot d'Fach ass relativ kloer, ech mengen do ass den Optrag... Do [21:36]. Mee bei den anere Saachen ass dat eppes wat no an no muss kënne wuessen. Wou ee muss e bësse sou Denkestéiss (Denkantoss) uginne oder sou an eventuell och fir et da méi attraktiv ze maan (maachen) solle mer d'didaktescht Material entwéckelen an zur Verfügung stellen an dann ass et vläicht scho méi attraktiv fir et iwwerhaapt ze benotzen.

Q: Lëtzebuerg ass e méisproochegt Land, dat vill Wäert op dës Méisproochegkeet leet. Ass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Fir mech, absolut. **Eise Kommissär vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch ass och kee Sproochpolitist, au Contraire, mir hunn ëmmer di Notion vum Multilinguisme an eise Käpp.** Ech hu mer jo lo de 40-Punkte-Plang ugekuckt, de mer, ech weess net mi (méi) genau wat den Term deemols war, mee dat war den Zenter, de Kommissär an sou weider, dat ware jo Punkten di an deem Plang och ernimmt (erwäänt) goufen an di dunn ëmgesat goufen an de Kommissär huet jo och en Optrag fir en Aktionsplang iwwert 20 Joer. **Ech mengen et si vill Länner, di méisproocheg sinn a wou eng Sprooch vläicht e bësse manner... Ech soe lo net manner dominant, et ass lo net dass mer lo, dass Lëtzebuergesch just zéng Prozent oder sou géif ausmaachen, mee wou méi Sproochen niewentenee mussen funktionnéieren a wou vläicht Ängsht sinn, berechtigt oder net,**

et ass eng Angscht di [?] automatesch och berechtegt?? Mee ech mengen et gëtt deelweis Ängshten an der Populatioun dass d'Sprooch kéint verschwannen, an d'Iddi vu sengem Aktiounsplang ass eigentlech fir dem entgéintzewierken an... bon, ech mengen en Deel vun deem wat dodranner gehéiert? [23:45] maache mer schonn. Mir wollten **och Konsultatioune maache vun der Populatioun** fir ze kucken wat **vun ënne kënnt** (INTERESANTÍSIMO) vun Iddien, fir den (se supone que sea DEM pero dijo „den“ porque buscaba las palabras) Aktiounsplang wierklech schonn eng breed Akzeptanz ze ginn. Och dat ass e Prozess den elo wéinst Covid ongeféier e Joer no hanne muss verréckelt ginn, da sollte mer eigentlech am Hierscht mat esou regionalen Konsultatioune [?] och mam Minister ufänken, an bon, présentiel ass dat lo net méiglech an iwuer Teams ass dann och, bon... Dofir mir hunn dat no hanne gesat, mee... do sinn op alle Fall Iddie fir do d'Populatioun matzehuelen. **Mee keen, kee mécht sech Illusiounen dass... oder gesäit och de Sënn dran (interesante el cambio de oración) Lëtzebuergesch als eenzeg Sprooch ze Lëtzebuerg duerchzesetzen**, der Leit di ähnlech Iddie [?] gëtt et, mee ech mengen an eisem Ministère sinn déi net onbedéngt ze fannen, ech mengen et ass **illusesch Abstraktiounen dovunner ze maan (maachen)**... dass mer Franséisch an Däitsch an och Englesch, an och nach ganz aner Sproochen hei ze Lëtzebuerg hunn an dat ass och wichteg, an et ass och gutt. Ech mengen wann een duerch d'Welt fiert a méi Sprooche kann ass een ëmmer [?], ech mengen dat musse mer alleguerten, dat heescht, **ech mengen, kengem seng Iddien... fir di aner Sproochen sou wäit ewechzedrécken dass just nach Plaz fir Lëtzebuergesch wier, mengen dat wier ganz onglécklech, ech mengen et ass éischer eng Fro vun Facilitateursinn**, dat heescht, de Leit *d'Moyene* gi fir d'Sprooch ze léieren, hinnen Loscht maachen, an hinnen d'Moyene gi fir d'Sprooch ze léieren, an dofir hu mer ganz vill Energie och dragestach, dass den INL **méi Course kann ubidden**. Mir hunn do Energie dragestach dass mer mat Blended Learning Modelle kënne fueren? [25:40] a mir wäerten och iergendwann, wäerte mer do landen dass mer ganz online Coursen kënnen offréieren, e bässe wi et och Programmer gëtt wou een sech ka kafe fir eng Sprooch ze léieren. Dat heescht do ass herno e bässe fir jiddfereen eppes dobäi an ech mengen **dat ass wichteg datt een dat offréiert fir einfach en Accès ze erméiglechen, mee keen gëtt herno drop gescreeened op der Stross op e Lëtzebuergesch kann oder net**. Ech mengen dat ass a kengem Sënn d'Intentioun.

Also wi gesot de Multilinguisme ass eng absolut Realitéit an ech gesinn dat net am Widdersprooch zum Developpement vum Lëtzebuergesch. Wi gesot et ass éischer

de Lëtzebuenger Loscht maan (maachen) un der Sprooch an den Ausländer Loscht maachen d'Sprooch ze léieren. An och vläicht d'Lëtzebuenger encouragéiere mat Ausländer di amgaangen sinn ze léiere, Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen. Mir hunn natierlech och ëmmer relativ séier d'Tendenz an der Sprooch ze switche well mer et kënnen, an dass een do och vläicht sensibiliséiert dass een... [eng] Remarque di reegelméisseg vun Ausländer gemaach gëtt, „wi soll ech dat léieren? Dir schwätze mat mir op Franséisch oder Englesch“ a sou weider, an do dass een och eng Kéier sensibiliséiert, wann een sech d'Méi gëtt fir et ze maan (maachen), dann huelen ech di Zäit, et dauert vläicht e puer Sekonne méi laang, et ass awer gutt. Voilà, dat sinn di Aspekter di een iergendwann an enger flotter Campagne oder sou kann thematiséieren.

Mee, Multilinguisme ass extreem wichteg an ech gesinn d'Lëtzebuergesch absolut dodranner matschwammen.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vu verschiddenen Institutiounen wéi z.B. den Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Nee, neen. **Et ass net automatesch sou datt jiddferen deen op Lëtzebuerg kënt, Lëtzebuergesch léiert, dat ass wi gesot eng fräiwëlleg Saach. Et ass an deem Sënn eng Integratiounssprooch dass een... a sengem direkten Ëmfeld, sief et bei den Noperen, wann et op d'Duerffest (fiesta pueblerina) geet an sou weider.** Wahrscheinlech [?] anescht wouergeholl gëtt, an och et engem erlaabt un enger **Communautéit** deelzehuelen, ech mengen, Gemengen, de Radio, kulturell Veranstaltungen, do leeft vill op Lëtzebuergesch, a wann een dat net kann, kann een och net dovunner profitéieren, an dann ass een an deem Sënn net integréiert, ass een excludéiert, éischer. An deem Sënn gesinn ech et als Integratiounssprooch dass et engem erlaabt un enger *Gesellschaft* deelzehuelen, seng *Zivilrechter* soen ech lo mol, voll a ganz wouerzehuelen an och vun der Kultur ze profitéieren an sou weider, dat sinn och fir mech, et gehéiert och zu engem zivilen Recht an zu enger *Citoyennetéit* dozou, an ech gesinn et éischer an deem Sënn als Integratiounssprooch well, au *Contraire*, wann ech lo, ech so lo, a Schwede plënnere, kéint ee [?] op Englesch schwätzen, mee do ass et schonn relativ schwiereg fir ouni Schwedesch eens ze ginn, oder wann een z.B. am

flamänneschen Deel vun der Belsch ass, di och vill Sprooche? [?], ass et sou immens schwéier wann ee kee Flammänesch kann well d'Schëlde just op déi Sprooch sinn, ne? Dat heescht do ass et eng e bësse forcéiert Integratiounssprooch, quasi. Ech gesinn et bei eis éischer lo sou als eng Integratiounssprooch an deem Sënn dass et **engem, jo, dass een sech besser integréiert kritt an een sech och vläicht besser an dëser Gesellschaft erëmfënnt, mee ech gesinn awer lo net wann ee mat eise gängege Sprooche kënnt, dass een do net duerch d'Liewe gif (géif) kommen, also, een de just Franséisch kann, den kann zwanzeg Joer hei ganz glécklech liewen, an e fënnt souguer kulturell Offeren? an sou weider, e fënnt d'Press an ech mengen e geet ganz gutt eens. Mee ech mengen awer dass et och zu engem Prozess gehéiert wann een an engem Land ukënnt, datt mer mol a mol d'Rechter géif gesinn? [?] an handhaben, den och d'Loscht fir di Kultur an di Sprooch entwéckelt, an di Kulinarik an sou weider, **dass dat einfach e Moyen ass fir sech do nach eng Kéier en aneren Usschloss an deem Sënn ze fannen.****

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Jo, also op alle Fall, mir hu jo grouss Efforte gemaach, wi gesot mir hunn ganz vill Kanner di an der Betreuung sinn, well Eltere schaffe ginn, dat ass och e Phenomen dee mer natierlech bei auslännesche Kanner mierken, an net nëmmen also, dat ass duerch [palabra que no entiendo, 31:04] et ass e Pourcentage den duerch [misma palabra] sou ass. Mir mierken, also, well éischtens an engem jonken Alter [mir?] si ganz rezeptiounsfäeg fir Sproochen. **Das (dat ass) di eng Sach, dat ass einfach eng physiologesch, eng neurologesch Wouerecht, an op der anerer Säit, wann d'Kanner an d'Crèche ginn si si einfach op enger Plaz wou di Méiglechkeet besteet, an dofir ass jo do agefouert ginn dass Lëtzebuergesch an enger Crèche muss geschwat ginn, wann een eng konventionéiert? [31:45] Struktur huet, awer och ëmgedréint: gëtt et zwee Weeër, dat heescht d'Lëtzebuurger sollen engersäits Franséisch léieren oder eng aner Sprooch léieren andeems déi an der Crèche geschwat gëtt. Dat ass de flotten Nieweneffekt, de gouf et jo eigentlech schonn. Den Aneren ass eigentlech e bësse méi rezent: et mussen och Educateuren an Educatricen an enger Crèche sinn di Lëtzebuergesch kënnen, fir genau deene Kanner schonn den éischte Kontakt mat der Sprooch ze ginn, fir se net am Cycle-1 (pronunciado Cykel-Eent) ze iwwerfuerderen. Bon et dierf een net vergiessen dass eis**

Kanner extreem fréi scolariséiert ginn, ze Lëtzebuerg, mat véier Joer an d'Spillschoul, mat dräi Joer an de Precocce. Wann ech do/no? [32:30] Däitschland kucken, et fänkt vill méi spéit un, dat heescht, d'Schouflicht fänkt ganz fréi un an ech mengen dat ass och an deem Sënn historesch esou gewuess, datt di Kanner fréi mat deene Sproochen, di si vläicht doheem net sou hunn an net (er?)kennen, a Kontakt kommen. An deem Sënn mengen ech dass do grouss Efforte gemaach gi sinn, an dass dat och zur Flicht? [?].

Q: Gëtt eng méiglech Alphabetiséierung op Lëtzebuergesch envisagéiert?

Dat sinn Diskussiounen di mer schonn deelweis gefouert hunn, **do sinn ech lo net den absoluten pedagogeschen Expert, fir op d'Fro ze äntwerten.** Ech hunn awer d'Impressioun datt et als ze schwéier am Fong/fonnt? [33:20] gouf, fir den dote Wee ze goen, well et eng **Partie aner Défien do lauerer (lurk, guetter), wann een op den dote Wee géif goen, an dass eigentlech di däitsch Alphabetisatioun méi einfach vun Hand geet.** Ech mengen dat ass dat wat d'Experte mol sou gesot hunn. **Wi gesot ech si jo kee Pedagog, an och lo net an denen doten Prozesser genuch dra fir prezis kënnen drop äntwerte mee ech weess dass [?] d'Froen an deem dote Sënn gestallt goufen an dass éischer d'Konklusioun war sou, „Neen, dat mécht elo net onbedéngt méi Sënn“.**

Q: Wat sinn déi nächst Schrëtt, déi Ärer Meenung no gemaach solle ginn, fir d'Zil vun der Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen am Educationnssecteur z'erreechen?

Ech mengen, de Schüler e bëssen schonn en Ausbléck ginn wat mer alles amgaangen sinn ze maachen, dat heescht, et ass schonn eng ganz zolidd To-Do-Lëscht. Wat an deem Sënn nach interessant gëtt ass de ganze Prozess vum Aktiounsplang, wou all di dote Saachen eigentlech och eng **Kéier néier wäerte geschriwwe ginn** (separación del prefijo „néier“ de „schreiwen“ mediante un verbo modal „wäerten“), a mat e bëssen Horizont wéini a wou wäert landen. **Dat heescht, ech mengen, dat gëtt e flott, wahrscheinlech och voluminöst Dokument wou eng ganz Partie Akzenter wäerten drastoen, di och transversal iwwert eise Ministère rausginn,** ech so lo [35:13]... Och do sinn Efforte gemaach ginn, ëmmr och gutt Kontakter, ech so lo, Uertsnumm op Lëtzebuergesch, do si mir éischer bei engem **Ponts-et-chaussées, Travaux-publicsministère (genial la conexión mediante la „s“),**

d'Sproochesituatioun an de Spidäler, si mer éischer bei der Santé, dat heescht dat sinn nach spannend Diskussiounen di do kënnen a wäerten gefouert ginn. Ech mengen dat si jo alles Punkte... [di] d'Populatioun sech an deem Sënn erwaart dass déi och iergendwann attackéiert ginn. An wi gesot eise Kommissär ass do a Kontakt mat deene Ministèren an dat do sinn alles Froen di do um Radar sinn, an di een eigentlech e bësse stellt, „Wat geschitt? Wat maache mer? Wat wëlle mer maachen? Wat kéinte mer méi maachen?“ an ech mengen den Aktiounsplang, wou mer eis en Roadmap gi fir zwanzeg Joer, mat der Sprooch ëmzegoen, mat der Promotioun vun der Sprooch... ech mengen dat ass eigentlech nach eng vun den Haaptaufgaben an dëser Legislatur a wi gesot, do schaffe mer drun an... si mer e bësse ausgebremst gi mam Covid, wi sou vill Ministèren ausgebremst goufen, an dann och grouss Deeler vun der Gesellschaft, dat ass schued, mee ech mengen dat wär eng nei grouss Aufgab di mer virun eis hunn. Dat Anert si wi gesot kleng Prozesser wou scho Villes leeft, ZLS an sou weider, Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, dat sinn Institutiounen och déi lafen, och do nach ganz vill Iddie, wat mer an Zukunft wëllen mat deenen maachen.

Als grousst To-Do op eiser Lëscht gesinn ech den Aktiounsplang fir zwanzeg Joer, wou een sech einfach als Regierung an och, fir mech ass dat e bësse awer parteiwwergreifend herno... sech e Moyen gëtt fir di nächst zwanzeg Joer... wi mer d'Sprooch wëllen héichhalen an ahalen. An wi gesot ech sinn absolut net der Meenung datt et zum Ausstierwen ass, mee... voilà, wéi een se flott um Liewen hält an och integréiert kritt an di [palabra que no entiendo, 37:28] Entwécklung di och ze Lëtzebuerg amgaangen ass ze geschéien a wi een dat alles agebeet??? [37:35] kritt, wéi dat och nach an den zéng/zwanzeg Joer de Fall ass.

XIII.1.4. Former President of the Program Commission: Shari Schenten

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant. Kéint Dir wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech hunn, bah, de Lycée gemaach ze Lëtzebuerg, dunn hunn ech Däitsch studéiert an dunn gouf de Master am Lëtzebuergesch op der Universitéit hei ze Lëtzebuerg gemaach an dat huet mech direkt interesséiert, dofir hunn ech de Master am Lëtzebuergesch gemaach. Nom Studium hunn ech am INL als Chargée ugefaangen, an dunn hunn ech de Concours gemaach, an dono Lëtzebuergesch-Prof. Voilà, lo sin ech 7-8 Joer Lëtzebuergesch-Prof ze Péiteng am Lycée an ech hunn do virun allem Klassen di Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch léieren. Dat heescht, d'Insertiounsklassen oder Classes d'insertion,

Q: Kënne mir soen, dass déi meescht Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen a Lycéeën Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Course sinn?

Jo, also d'Majoritéit vun de Coursen ass dat, och Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen hunn virun allem déi Coursen, mee et wäerten elo e puer Changementer kommen. Soll ech dat erklären?

Q: Et wier och gutt wann s de dat erkläers.

Voilà, also d'nächst Joer hu mer am Lycée Changementer, do kommen och aner Course wi Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch dobäi, hu mer am Lycée classique eng Stonn Lëtzebuergesch op der 4ème, an do geet et och drëm fir, voilà, e bëssen d'Geschicht, e bëssen iwwer d'Land, Traditiounen, d'Sprooch och, d'Sproochgeschicht, d'Ortografi, voilà, alles dat an dem Cours ze maachen, dat kënnt och am Enseignement général, och op 4ème eng Stonn. Do maache mer awer manner Ortografi, well mer soen dass dat fir si net sou interessant ass an do kucke mer och méi op d'Sprooch anzegoen déi si schwätzen, wa se Feeler am Schwätze maachen; fir dat méi ze thematiséieren. An dann, e ganz interessante Projet kënnt d'nächst Joer an (de?) Classique [2:17]. Dat ass op der 3ème A(sektioun), do gëtt et de Projet, dass ee kann... an der/op der/un der? Sproochesektioun Lëtzebuergesch

wielen, dat heescht wierklech Linguistik an Literatur maachen, dat dräi Joer 2ème a Première, an datt de Pilotprojet ass eemol e Projet, an engem Lycée, an dat ass d'nächst Joer wou dat och mol ufänkt. An do si mer gespannt, wat dat gëtt.

Q: Wéi ass dat entstanen? Bass du en Deel vun engem Komitee oder Kommissioun?

Also ech sinn d'Presidentin vun der Programmkommissioun am Lëtzebuergesch, dat heescht mir këmmen eis ëm offiziell(e?) [3:16] Programmer. De Problem ass, an der Programmkommissioun, do sinn nach immens vill Däitschproffen, dat heescht nach net all Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen, an dofir hu mer am SCRIPT vum Ministère en Aarbechtsgrupp gemaach, mat quasi just Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen an och externen Experten wi d'Caroline Doehmer -ech mengen dat kenns de och- fir Linguistik; Elise Schmit fir Literatur, a mech/an ech??? [3:40]. Voilà, dat ass um SCRIPT sou en Aarbechtsgrupp, dee funktionéiert fir d'Programmer di lo kommen opzestellen, an dann wat do opgestall gëtt am Aarbechtsgrupp huelen ech mat an d'Programmkommissioun, presentéieren dat an der Programmkommissioun, an da kënnt do Feedback oder et gëtt ofgestëmmt, fir ze soen, „OK, de Programm ass gutt, den akzeptéiere mer“, mee u sech den Aarbechtsgrupp ass schonn e bëssen onofhängeg vun der Programmkommissioun well mer do net ëmmer di richtig Leit hunn.

Q: Also gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent den Enseignanten an och Memberen vun aneren Institutionen wéi den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch an dem Ministère de la Education Nationale?

Jo, genee. Beim Ministère do schaffe mer virun allem mam SCRIPT zesummen, well si en charge si fir da mat d'Programmer an alles opzebauen, dat heescht, mir hunn an eise Aarbechtsgrupp dee Ee? [4:37] vum SCRIPT, dat ass, soe mer, den en e bëssen alles leet, oder och, wa mer och alles iwwert Videokonferenz maachen, eise Moderator an der Videokonferenz. An dann effektiv schaffe mer mam Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch zesummen, do ass eeben d'Caroline Doehmer, wat si representéiert an hatt schwätzt dann och mat sengem Chef oder mat den Aner(e) vum Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch a mécht dunn en Update, mee et ass virun allem hatt mat dem mer [?] austauschen.

Q: Sinn och Enseignanten um Prozess vun der Iwwerschaffung vun didakteschem Material bedeelegt?

Jo, ëmmer. Also mir si lo an deem Aarbechtsgrupp (ze?) dräi Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen [5:20], bon do geet et virun allem ëm Programmer opstellen, herno jo didaktescht Material, dat ass och nach wahrscheinlech eng nächst Etappe, dass mer dat mussen opstellen, do feelt et heiansdo nach e bëssen soen ech mol effektiv un Man-Power [ech laachen], u Leit, well mer nach guer net vill Lëtzebuergesch-Proffe sinn, an déi Eng sinn eréischt fäerdeg mam Stage, oder kréien e Kand, oder hei an do, an ech mengen dat kënnst ëmmer méi an den nächste Joren, wat mer méi Lëtzebuergesch-Proffe kréien, wat déi effektiv och ëmmer méi kënnen Material ausschaffen.

Q: Ginn et Entwécklungen, déi dorop hiweisen, dass d'Zuel vu Lëtzebuergesch Enseignanten an de Lycéeën zouhëllt?

Jo, ech mengen, da gëtt et?? [6:09] op der Uni vill, dass do d'Aschreiwungen am Lëtzebuergesche Master an d'Luut (Luucht) ginn. Ech denken et ass well ëmmer méi bekannt gëtt, dass et Karriäre fir/?vum Lëtzebuergesch gëtt well och de Minister vill op Lëtzebuergesch gesat huet an dat mierke mer dëst Joer och am Stage hunn e Rekordzuel u Stagiairen, 23 Stagiairen dëst Joer. Et sinn awer net all am Lycée, also d'Majoritéit ass am INL, an do sinn der? [6:33] och vill di scho méi laang am INL schaffen di lo de Concours gemaach hunn, mee egal, also mir haten nach ni sou vill Stagiairen an och am Lycée kommen der ëmmer méi. Also ech denken dass dat och lo di nächst Joren sou wäert weidergoen. Lo hunn siwe (7) Leit de Concours, sinn amgaangen de Concours ze maachen, fir an de Lycée ze kommen an, bon, mir sinn nach net fäerdeg mam Concours, mol kucken wéi vill en/den? [6:58] herno packen. Wa se e packen, hätte mer effektiv 7 Leit och di d'nächst Joer dann erëm an de Lycée kommen. Dat fannen ech schon net schlecht. [SIGUE EN LA PREGUNTA sobre ortografía estricta]

Q: Soll d'Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergeschen Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

[Laacht] Dat ass eng interessant Fro. Also [a] Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, ganz relax. Do kucken ech, ech zéien do keng Punkten of wann e Wuert falsch geschriwwen ass, och wann ech e Vocabulairestest (otra palabra interesante) maachen, wann et plus-minus korrekt ass, ass et fir mech OK. Di aner Coursen, di och lo nei kommen d'nächst Joer, do ass et e bëssen och, soen ech mol, e politeschen Drock, do ass et scho gewollt dass d'Ortografi enseignéiert gëtt, an och schonn e bëssen evaluéiert gëtt, dat heescht an deenen Coursen di d'nächst Joer ulafen, do muss d'Ortografi e bësse mi (méi) streng gekuckt ginn, awer soll kee Schüler doduerjer duerchfallen. Dat ass och net de But, dass herno all Mënsch Ortografi perfekt kann, awer duerchgefall ass duerch d'Lëtzebuergesch.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Jo, z.B. bei mir, ech schaffen ze Péiteng, do hu mer dann, also d'Minett ne? D'Sprooch vum Minett, dat héieren d'Schüler jo och, an, bon ech probéieren hinnen d'Standardsprooch bäizebréngen, awer si froen nach heiansdo, „Madamm, ech héieren [et] awer sou, ech héieren dat“ an ech soen „Jo, effektiv hei an dëser Regioun gëtt et sou gesot“, an mir hunn nach heiansdo Schüler di éierens anescht (quelque part ailleurs) liewen, di heiansdo dat sou méi? [8:00] matkréien, dat ass sou bei Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch. An dem anere Cours, lo soen ech mol, „Mammesproochler“, et sinn net nëmme Mammesproochler mee do gëtt et och méi nach an Detail thematiséiert. Ech maan (maachen) z.B. no der Vakanz elo och do e Cours mat der Schnëssen-App, fir dorop opmierksam ze maachen, dass mer schonn vill Varietéit hunn, ne? An jo, Dialekter hunn. Dat heescht, dat gëtt schonn ëmmer thematiséiert am Cours. Ech mengen bei den di Lëtzebuergesch léieren, do gëtt et méi ugeschwat wa si vu selwen domadder kommen, well ech wëll se net sou vill duerchenee maachen [laacht], wann ech scho mat sechs Variante kommen, dat bréngt och näischt, mee wa si selwer et kennen, da schwätze mer driwwer.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Léiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Also bei Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch wierklech de Fokus läit um Héieren a Schwätzen, dat sinn di Haaptkompetenzen di mer am Cours wierklech trainéieren. Ech probéiere wierklech an all Cours eng Schwätz-Aktivitéit ze maachen. Heiansdo am Lycée wann ee fofzeg (50) Minutten huet oder an anere Schoulen 45 Minutten heiansdo... wann een eppes Komplizéiertes geléiert huet, da geet et net, mee da probéieren ech dat den nächste Cours ze kompenséieren. Bei den Erwuessener am INL, do ass et obligatoresch, [an] all Cours muss vill geschwat ginn, och gelauschtert ginn, ne? Mee och am Lycée mir soen de Stagiairen „wierklech kuckt dass der awer an all Cours eng kleng Aktivitéit hutt fir ze schwätzen“, herno di jonk wéi seriö se et maachen, ass di aner Saach, ne? Ech hunn eng Klass dëst Joer, do ass et méi schwierig well si et net sou seriö maachen; aner Klassen do geet dat tiptop. Mee ech denken et ass d’Wichtigst am Cours, fir wierklech si ze schwätzen/zum Schwätzen? [9:56] ze bréngen. Et ass awer net datt mer lo aner Kompetenzen net trainéieren, ne? Zum Beispill Schreiwen, et ass fir mech vill, d’Hausaufgab. Dat wat si z.B. am Schwätzen, soen ech dann „Schreift dat och eng Kéier; schreift zéng Sätz doheem“ oder sou fir awer méi bewosst vu Structure vun der Sprooch ze denken. Mee effektiv Schwätzen ass [den] Haaptfokus.

Bei vläicht den net als Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, den anere Cours, do ass et e bëssen anescht well do d’Wëssensverméttlung och wichtig ass, datt si Informatiounen kréien iwwer d’Lëtzebuergesch, an och kritesch nodenken ne? Do ass eist Zil wierklech méi dass een se, sech mat der Gesellschaft an de Problemer oder den Challengeen ze Lëtzebuerg ausemanersetzen.

Q: Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d’Material, dat vum Ministère de l’Éducation geschafen gouf, oder nach anert Material?

Ech, virun allem mäi Material. D’Explicatioun ass, wi ech ugefaangen hu mam INL, do gouf et sou al Bicher, déi net méi immens gutt waren oder net méi modern, an doduerjer hunn ech vum Ufank un einfach immens vill Material selwer ausgeschafft an mäi Stil (estilo) do fonnt. An elo di nei Bicher di vum INL ausgeschafft goufen, di benotze mir och am Lycée, mee ech hu Problemer d’Saachen ze integréieren a mäi Cours. Also am Ufank, Ufängerniveau geet et, do huelen ech d’Buch och vill, awer dono huelen ech d’Buch ëmmer

manner, och well et do méi op Erwuessener ausgeluecht ass. Mee ech hunn d'Tendenz awer méi mäin eegent Material auszeschaffen. An dat ass effektiv als Lëtzebuergesch-Prof allgemeng wichteg, datt een zousätzlech zu engem [casi contraído a „en“] Buch, Material ausschafft, well net alles an de Bicher ass. Egal wéi, mengen ech, et gëtt kee gudde Cours wann een net selwer Material ausschafft.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et sinn nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material oder ass et nach amgaangen, unzufänken [ech laachen]?

Ech mengen, mol nach net amgaangen unzufänken. Also elo ass wierklech de Fokus op Programmer opstellen, an do kënnst effektiv och Material zu deene Coursen, z.B. d'Caroline, hatt schafft och Material, awer fir Linguistik, aus, well do jo guer näischt existéiert. Och bei der Literatur, do kënnst e Reader mat Texter dran. Mee... dat ass et och schonn e bëssen, ne, do misst effektiv nach e bësse méi geschéien, virun allem fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch am Lycée. Do bräichte mer einfach och eng Kéier e gutt Buch an, jo, do feelt een nach un Energie, un Zäit, u Leit di et wëlle maachen, mee ech hat lo virun e puer Wochen och dem SCRIPT gesot, „et wier gutt wa mer do eng Kéier gifen (géifen) drun denken“ iergendwann wier et awer gutt e Buch ze hunn, mee ech denken dat dauert nach.

Q: Vill Enseignanten di ech scho geinterviewt hunn, hunn diselwecht Remarque, dass d'Buch dat disponibel ass, fir Erwuessener ass. Et gëtt kee Material fir Ados (Jugendlecher). Mee ass dat och de Fokus vum Prozess?

De [palabra que no entiendo, 15:24] dass d'Material dat kënnst vum INL a si kënnen intern Saache ausschaffen, ne? D'Bicher sinn och gutt, net an allem, an am Lycée do musse mer einfach nach méi lo insistéieren dass do eppes geschitt. Also wat ech gemaach hat lo -an och e Lëtzebuergesch-Prof, ass och mat der Idee komm-, mir hunn lo, mir schaffe jo mat

Microsoft Teams, och mat de Schüler an do hunn ech en Team gemaach mat de Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen fir einfach dass mir mol Material austauschen. Dat heescht, ech hoffen dass dat lo ëmmer méi kënnt, dass Leit einfach do Material dropsetzen an ech soe mer eigentlech wa jiddereen do vill Material gif (géif) setzen, dat wier schonn e gudden Ausgangspunkt fir e Buch ze maachen. Wa jidderee säin Accord géif ginn, kéint een da Materialien och huele fir herno an e Buch ze setzen. Dat ass lo mäin Hannergedanke, lo vläicht Material sammelen, da bei de SCRIPT goen „hei, do sinn all Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen di Material ausgeschafft hunn, vläicht kann een domadder schaffen fir dann e Buch opzesetzen. Well et gouf e Buch vum Ministère, mee dat ass einfach net gutt, dat gouf och vu Leit opgesat di net am Lycée enseignéiert hunn, et respektéiert och net de Programm an dat kann ee wierklech net gebrauchen. An dat ass och net méi offiziell um Programm an ech si frou, well Leit di lo Lëtzebuergesch enseignéiert hunn di net Lëtzebuergesch-Proffe waren, di hunn dat Buch [bis hanne?? 16:39] gemaach, mee hunn Schüler ni geléiert.

Q: Wat ass den Titel vum Buch?

„Wat gelifft?“

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

[Laacht] Dat ass eng ganz komplizéiert Fro! Dat ass komplizéiert. Jein. Ech fannen et wichteg, fir een den awer hei ze Lëtzebuerg lieft, fir méi iwver d'Land, d'Méisproochegkeet, seng Kultur, gewuer ze ginn, dat huet mir am Lycée oft gefeelt. An dofir hunn ech och herno de Master gemaach, well du hues da d'Literatur vun anere Länner studéiert, [mee] ech hu kee Buch kannt vu menger Literatur. An dofir fannen ech scho wichteg dass dat op de Programm kënnt am Lycée, fir awer dass ee e bëssen Notiounen iwwert säi Land huet, well, wann een si freet, „nennt e lëtzebuergesche Schrëftsteller“, da kënnt z.B. net vill. An och di aner, soen ech mol, Konscht, Kultur an esou, ech fannen di hunn awer e Recht och enseignéiert ze ginn. Voilà.

Natierlech mam méisproochege Kontext ginn et Leit di soen, „Jo, brauch een dat Lëtzebuergesch, wierklech?“. Ech fannen et geet méi ëm Wëssen iwwert säin eegent Land. Lo wa mer Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch kucken, do ass et méi komplizéiert well do geet fir mech d'Offer u Coursen net duer, fir d'Integratioun anstänneg ze maachen. Well mir hu meeschtens just dräi Joer Lëtzebuergesch, an do léiere se d'Sprooch net, an do fannen ech dass d'Offer iwwerhaupt net duergeet, déi misst wierklech ausgebaut ginn, ne? Do misste mer méi maachen.

Also dräi Joer, wéini fänkt dat un? A wéi eng Cycle?

Also dat hänkt dovun of, wéini si op Lëtzebuerg kommen. Et ass wierklech um Alter gebonnen, wéini een op Lëtzebuerg kënnt. Wa si lo a Primaireschoul, wa si dann kleng sinn, da fänken si do schonn un mat de Coursen. Di Klassen di ech lo vill hunn, di sinn lo manner wi fënnef Joer am Land, a kommen oft, voilà, sou de Lycéesalter mat dräizéng (13), véierzéng (14) Joer, kommen se dann. Dann hu mer 7ème, 6ème, 5ème, wou si mam Lëtzebuergesch ufänken. Wa se méi al sinn, also z.B. siwenzéng (17) Joer hunn, do ginn [et] och nach spezifesch Klassen, dat sinn Classes d'intégration pour jeunes adultes – d'CLIIJA-Klassen-, dat ass fir déi wierklech iwwer siechzéng (16) Joer, an do ass de But einfach minimal Kompetenzen fir datt se herno kënnen schaffe goen. An deem Alter ass et ganz ganz schwéier si ze integréieren an d'Schoul, well do ass och vill Retard an de Sproochen do, [?] wierklech ganz komplizéiert ass.

Q: Wat sinn dann d'Ënnerscheeder tëschent Classe d'accueil an Classe d'integration?

Et ass just den Alter. Dat ass wierklech just wéi al se sinn. An de Classes d'accueil ass et déi di manner wi siechzéng (16) Joer hunn, an d'CLIIJA, dat ass da fir déi di iwwer siechzéng Joer hunn. Bei der Accueilsklass ass d'Zil dass si herno awer kënnen an di „normal“ Klassen integréiert ginn a méi Chancen herno hunn. D'CLIIJA, et si wierklech d'Exceptiounen di nach kënnen herno am normalen Schoulsystem weidermaachen, well si einfach an den? [20:05] Sproochkompetenzen ze vill Retard hunn, Franséisch, Englesch virun allem. Also do... wa si net entweder ganz gutt sinn oder scho mat Wësse kommen, dann ass et wierklech schwéier si nach an de Schoulsystem ze integréieren. Ech fannen dat e grouse Problem, well do gesi mer, déi sinn net domm, ne? Di sinn gutt, mee si kënnen de Retard net ophuelen an kréien herno net den Diplom den se vläicht an hirem Land awer kritt hätten. Et ass schwierig.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnst ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Lösung sinn?

Ech denken net, ech denken dass een awer all Sproochen brauch an ech denken dass een Franséisch méi brauch, dass dat awer dat Wichtigst ass, fir ze léieren, fir hei an der Gesellschaft ze funktionéieren, ne? D’Fro ass méi Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch. Do sinn d’Diskussioune vläicht méi dass ee seet, „brauch jiddereen nach Däitsch?“ Jo, fir herno studéiere vläicht ze goen, oder och um Aarbechtsmarché ass awer wichtig, mee et ass wi s du gesot hues, de Fakt ass dass Kanner ëmmer manner mat deenen Sproochen all eens ginn, also Däitsch, Franséisch sinn net? [21:37] an deenen zwee gutt, et mierkt een dat wierklech, datt eng Sprooch gutt ass an di aner wierklech schlecht ass, méi Problemer? [muy difícil de entender, 21:38] mécht, mee ech denken dass d’Lëtzebuergesch do awer net sou vill hëlleft.

Q: Mee, fir dech, ass et eng Optioun, d’Alphabetiséierung op Lëtzebuergesch ze maachen?

Uuh! [laacht] Well ech net mat klenge Kanner schaffen, ech weess et net. Et ass schwéier, well sou vill Kanner mat verschiddene Backgrounden kommen, ne? Well dann een dee kee Lëtzebuergesch kann, da gëtt et scho rëm schwierig, mee, jo, fir lëtzebuergesch Kanner ass et méi einfach, ech denke vläicht muss een, einfach éischer e System maachen, iwwe d’Franséisch fuere an da vläicht Däitsch oder Lëtzebuergesch. Mee do sinn ech wierklech net Expert. [laacht] Da trauen ech mech keng konkret Ausso ze maachen well do sinn ech net genuch informéiert fir datt mat der Alphabetiséierung alles geet [laacht].

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Ech mengen Franséisch ass méi wichteg, also alleréischt, ech denken dass [do?] d'Franséisch wierklech méi wichteg ass, dono awer effektiv Lëtzebuergesch. Ech fannen do... dass een awer ni ganz ze Lëtzebuerg integréiert [ass] an d'Gesellschaft wann ee Lëtzebuergesch net kann. An dofir fannen ech dass mer am Lycée nach méi missten Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch ginn, oder eng Offer maachen fir datt si nach vill méi kënne léieren, an net just e basic Niveau, A2 herno vläicht wa si gutt sinn, an dat geet fir mech dann net ganz duer. Dofir fannen ech dass mer am Lycée méi missten/missen [?] awer e bèsse méi insistéieren dassen se d'Sprooch nach méi kënne weiderléieren. Ech denken dass et fir d'Integratioun ganz wichteg ass, jo.

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Also, [laacht], et ass eigentlech net? einfach. Also mir hunn dräi Joer Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch an dono hunn di meescht kee Lëtzebuergesch méi, mir maachen Däitsch. A fir mech ass et ganz einfach: et soll een hinnen d'Optioun ginn. Dat heescht, déi di gutt am Lëtzebuergesch sinn, da soll ee hinnen d'Méiglechkeet ginn Däitsch ze léieren, ne? Dat fannen ech wichteg, mee ech fannen et soll een hinnen de Choix ginn, „maan ech Lëtzebuergesch oder maan ech Däitsch?“, dassen [24:25] si net forcéiert ginn Däitsch ze maachen, well dat iwwerfuert si, si kënne lo weder Däitsch nach Lëtzebuergesch, well di zwou Sproochen zesummeléieren ass net wierklech, jo, gutt. An dat ass fir mech dat wou een dann mindestens fënnef Joer hätt. An ech mengen fënnef Joer Lëtzebuergesch léieren ass schonn eppes anescht, dat wier gutt. An dann, an den internationale Schoulen, do misst och nach méi ausgebaut ginn. Do sinn zwou Stonne Lëtzebuergesch pro Woch, an dat geet net duer fir d'Sprooch ze léieren, do misst een mindestens dräi Stonne maachen an och iwwert fënnef, sechs Joer. Dat heescht dass fir mech méi dass een d'Joren, dass een erméiglecht [et] iwwert méi Joren ze léieren. [Et] muss d'Stonne mol net onbedéngt eropsetzen, vläicht an den internationale Schoulen. Mee soss éischer soen, „OK, fënnef Joer huet jiddereen d'Méiglechkeet Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren“ an awer och eng Offer dono maachen, fakultativ, wann een nach wëll weider maachen, z.B. no der Schoul, dass ee vläicht do nach Course gif (géif) ubidden, fir déi di nach wëllen. Ech fannen eis Responsabilitéit ass et fir eng Offer ze maachen, datt si kënnen nach léieren.

XIII.1.5. Director of Division from SCRIPT: Albin

Q : Dir sidd Responsabel fir d'Division de la coordination d'initiatives et de programmes pédagogiques beim SCRIPT – kënnt Dir wgl. äre Lieweslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech hunn studéiert Däitsch a Geografie mat Specialisatioun Soziolinguistik. Ech hunn dono no mengem Magister-Studium zu Freiburg op der Uni Lëtzebuerg en Doktorat gemaach am Institut fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch- a Literaturwëssenschafte ënnert der Supervisioun vum Peter Gilles, wou et och ëm d'Entwécklung vun der Lëtzebuenger Schrëftlechkeet an de soziale Medie gaangen ass. Dono nom Ofschluss vu mengem Doktorat hunn ech Freelance geschafft als Linguist, wou ech ënner anerem och e Kontrakt hat beim SCRIPT, vum Educatiounsministère, wou ech sechs Méint zoustänneg war fir lëtzebuergesch Programmer ze koordinéieren am Kader vun der Flüchtlingskriis, wou ech a Foyeren eeben Enseignanten ausgebilt hu fir Lëtzebuergesch-Courseen ze halen, an well ëmmer méi Aufgaben am Beräich dobäikomm sinn, krut ech iergendwann eeben en CDD ugebueden -also en Deelkontrakt vum SCRIPT- den ech du geholl hunn, an wou ech dono, krut ech dann eeben do [?] en CDI ugebueden, wou ech dann eeben als Independant opgehal hu mat schaffen a sinn säit September 2016 lo ganz um SCRIPT, wou ech am Ufank als Gestionnaire de projets geschafft hunn, virun allem am Beräich Material ausschaffen fir Lëtzebuergesch a méisproocheg Materialien. No engem Joer [oder] an engem/e halbem? Joer krut ech de Posten ugebueden als Responsable de division, fir d'Initiatives et programmes pédagogiques, wou ech säitdeem eeben zoustänneg sinn fir alleguer déi Projeten an de Schoulen, vum éischt[e] Schouljoer bis op d'Première an de Lycées. All Forme vu Projeten di mer ubidden an de Schoulen, an der Kultur, am Wellbeing, am Entrepreneurship, mir hunn e ronn achtzeg Projeten, di an eiser Divisioun zesummelafen an wi gesot ech sinn eeben responsabel fir d'Gérance vun deene Projeten. Voilà.

Q: Wat heescht Ärer Meenung no d'Standardiséierung vun enger Sprooch resp. vum Lëtzebuergesch?

Ech mengen, ech perséinlech eng aner Meenung, well ech och duerch di Schoul gaange sinn eebe vun der Uni, wou ech mech dann awer froen, wat ass alles standardiséieren, wou brauch mer [?] Standardiséierung, et ass awer kloer datt ech wi gesot lo säit fënnef Joer mam/beim? Educationnsministère schaffen an all di Prozesser vu Standardiséierung natierlech matkréien, sief et duerch eng Schaffung vun engem Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, wat natierlech e ganz wichtegt?wichtege? Gremium ass am Kontext vun der Standardiséierung; sief et fir en Ausschaffen vun Dictionnairen eng méi professionell Gérance vun der Ortografi. Op der anerer Hand ass natierlech Standardiséierung, ass d'Education einfach e wichtige Faktor well mir hunn op der enger Säit all di Organer di kucken eis Sprooch ze standardiséieren, mee wann d'Education net Generatiounen ausbillt di di Standardiséierung beherrschen, dann hu mer keng richtig Standardiséierung. Dann hu mer just eng an der Theorie, awer ni an der Praxis. Vun dohier ass dat [?] am Ament ganz wichteg datt mer kucken no eiser Mëndlechkeet elo virun allem eis Schrëftlechkeet ëmmer méi ze standardiséieren a festzehalen, an do muss d'Education eebe lo matzéien fir di Standardiséierung eeben och bei deene jonke Leit ze verankeren.

Q: Wat heescht Ärer Meenung no d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch?

Ech mengen dat wat ech lo [?] Standardiséierung gesot hunn, ass scho e bëssen, den zweeten Deel war och schonn Promotioun, et ass eeben dat wat ech soen: **mir kënnen eng Ortografi schreiwen, mir kënnen Dictionnairë schreiwen, awer keen dat matkritt, datt dat sou ass, an datt Ännerung[en] do sinn an datt d'Standardvariante festgehalten ginn, dann kann sech eng Sprooch ni weiderentwéckelen an DEEM Sënn [4:34].** An do ass et eebe wichteg eng Promotioun ze maachen, eng Promotioun fir de Grand Public, fir di Leit dobaussen, mee eeben och eng Promotioun iwwer d'Schoul, datt di Leit di lo méi jonk sinn, mat der Standardvariant opwuessen an dat eeben och weiderdroe kënnen, dat heescht fir mech eebe Promotioun, also keng gelonge Standardiséierung ouni Promotioun.

Q: Lëtzebuerg ass e méisproochegt Land, dat vill Wert op dës Méisproochegkeet leet. Ass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch mat der Méisproochegkeet vum Land kompatibel?

Jo, ech mengen, eis Geschicht weist dat. Wi der sot, mir sinn e méisproochegt Land, mir waren ëmmer e méisproochegt Land, mir haten ëmmer eng méisproocheg Situatioun. Ech mengen sou prominent wéi d'Sprooch Franséisch an Däitsch, an och Englesch, an eiser Schoul, an de Curricula, verankert sinn. **Et brauch ee sech keen Gedanken ze maachen, datt Lëtzebuergesch iergendanner Plaz ewechhëlt, also, mir si scho sou ausgeriicht an dat weess och all Politiker an all wichtege Mënsch, datt Lëtzebuerg ouni seng Méisproochegkeet guer net existéiere kann, an der realer Welt.** Vun dohier, jo, fir mech ass dat absolut kompatibel well di aner, aner Sproochen, déi historesch di Plaz hunn di si hunn, an do wäert een och ni eppes veränneren? [?].

Q: Wéinst dem relativ rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et sinn nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Et muss een do ënnerscheeden vum dem Material fir erwuesse Leit, ech mengen do kennt der all di Publicatioune vum Zentrum fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, do ass jo immens, immens vill geschitt, an di schaffen immens gutt an do wäerten? [6:44] och all d'Projeten di si wëlles hunn, also fir de Grand Public, fannen ech et ass ganz vill geschitt. An d'Education fir d'Jugend, di huet lo verschidde Mechanismen op Plaz gesat fir dat och ze maachen. Wa mer z.B. kucken, mir hunn international Schoulen lo kritt, di ëffentlech sinn, wou Lëtzebuergesch eng aner Roll am Curriculum spillt, wou doduerch eeben nei Materialien a Coursen ausgeschafft goufen, dat heescht mir hunn der/da? (partitiv oder adverb?) schon lo véier [oder] fënnf Schoulen am Land wou wierklech Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch kontinuéierlech vu jonke Joeren un geléiert gëtt an ab September hu mer natierlech dat neit Fach Lëtzebuergesch am Lycée op der 4ème, wou natierlech lo och eeben ganz vill Material ausgeschafft gëtt fir dee Cours eeben ze halen, well e Cours op 7ème halen ass eppes Aneres wéi e Cours op 4ème halen, dat heescht mir hunn e ganz neien Public cible an do muss een natierlech Material gemaat (gemaach) ginn fir datt di Jugendlecher eeben och scho Lëtzebuergesch a seng Kultur a Literatur kënnen ze léieren.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch huet och Wirkunge op d'Enseignéieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiderung vun der Offer vun Optiounscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Kommen esou Entwécklungen gutt virun?

Jo, dat ass... den eenzele Virdeel... en Aarbechtsgrupp kann och fonctionéieren iwver Zoom, oder Teams, also mir wäerten all Deadline halen, di de Minister gesot hat an der Press. Ab September ass d'Start vun all deenen neie Projeten an der [?].

Q: Sinn och Enseignante vum Lëtzebuergeschen um Prozess vun der Ergänzung vun didakteschem Material bedeelegt?

Exclusiv. De ganzen Aarbechtsgrupp ass exclusiv en Aarbechtsgrupp aus der Programmkommissioun vun de Lëtzebuerger Enseignanten, mat enger Liaison mam Zentrum fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch fir de Volet „Grammaire“ ofzedecken, mee dat kann ee soen, et sinn Experte vum Lëtzebuergeschen, vun der Lëtzebuerger Literatur, an der Lëtzebuerger Grammatik, an dem Aarbechtsgrupp.

Q: Wéi ass d'Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem SCRIPT an den aneren Institutiounen bei der Entwécklungen vun de verschidde Moosnamen (z.B. mam Conseil permanent, mat Schoulen an Enseignanten an engagéierte Bierger)?

Ech géif soen, ganz gutt. Jiddferen huet seng verschidde Felder wou se am Normalen? dru schaffen? [?], mee mir hunn natierlech iwver [?] di Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuerger Sprooch, hu mer ganz oft zesumme mussen schaffen, an ech mengen awer datt dat ganz gutt a problemlos fonctionnéiert. De SCRIPT huet e ganz gutt Verhältnes mam Luc Marteling an huet e ganz gutt Verhältnes mam Marc Barthelemy. Wi ech lo sot, am Aarbechtsgrupp dee mir lo hunn, ass och ëmmer e Vertrieder vum Zentrum fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch, dat heescht, di Vernetzung ass ganz enk. An och de Kommissär hat mam SCRIPT regelméisseg Projeten zesummen. D'lescht Joer hu mer zesummen eng nei Landkart mat

Lëtzebuenger Uertsnimm erausginn, dat war op d'Initiativ vum Kommissär an Zesummenaarbecht mam SCRIPT, dat heescht do sinn permanent Kooperatiounen do.

Q: Gëtt och d'Diversitéit vun der Sprooch (lokal a regional) beim Ausschaffe vu Programmer betruucht?

Manner, muss ech éierlech soen. Also Dialekt an all dat spillt elo manner eng Roll well mer [?] musse soen, „mir sinn hei op e[ngem] basic Niveau: Introductioun vum Lëtzebuergesch“, an do gi lo esou Classesaache gemaat (gemaach), datt lo sollen d'regional Varianten an Dialektik an enger éischer Phas wierklech manner eng Roll spillen.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Ech kann do keng Äntwert allgemeng ginn, ech kann se just op d'Schoul bezéien, an do gesi mir et an der Petite-Enfance -also bei de ganz klenge Kanner-, ass et esou datt Lëtzebuergesch dat ass, wat an de Crèchen, am Précoce, an der Spillschoul, iergendwann als gemeinsam Sprooch gewielt gëtt. **Wann ee lo bedenkt, datt mir iwwer 50% hunn vu Kanner, di an d'Schoul kommen, di als éischt Sprooch net Lëtzebuergesch hunn, dat heescht do kënnst e Mix vu sou vill Sproochen zesummen, an do, och wann di ganz méisproocheg Ausriichtung do opgebaut gouf fir e puer Joer, ass Lëtzebuergesch scho/jo? [11:45] de *Fixpunkt* an dat muss schon weider [?] d'Zil sinn: datt Lëtzebuergesch do vun klengen un als Integratiounssprooch genotzt gëtt fir datt dat (*dat = Kand oder wat?*) ëmmer méi natierlech eeben integréiert gëtt.**

Q: Den dräisproochege Schoulsystem kënnst ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint Ärer Meenung no eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Jo, nee, also ech mengen einfach fir de Fall, den Dir do genannt hutt, et gëtt Fäll vu Kanner a vun Persounen a Lëtzebuerg, wou de klassesche lëtzebuergesch System vläicht net **de gëeegenten ass, ech mengen dat muss een éierlech sou soen**. Mir hunn e System, de staark op Däitsch opbaut, de staark op Franséisch opbaut, an ech mengen einfach datt eng Léisung op di dote Situatioune virun allem an/un/nothing? [12:51] di international Schoule si wi si elo ze Déifferdeng, Esch, wi si ze Clierf, ze Mondorf sinn, ze Jonglënster; wou mer einfach méi kënnen op de Kanner hir éischt Sprooch agoen, wou awer dann och iwwer deng/déi? zweet Sprooch, sief et Englesch, Däitsch; an eng drëtt Sprooch, di *fix* Lëtzebuergesch ass, datt mer *doriwwer* probéieren di Kanner beschtefalls an de System ze integréieren. Also vun dohier ass dat menger Meenung no eng Léisung op di Fro di Der sot, éischer wi... **ech mengen och net datt de Lëtzebuerger System Erfolleg huet wann ee lo just Lëtzebuergesch kann, an dann Däitsch a Franséisch net kint (kéint), dann kint (kéint) ee sécher de System net packen. Bon, et ass normal, wann ee Lëtzebuergesch kann, da fällt een och méi einfach Däitsch ze léieren, mee, wi gesot, op Är Fro, Lëtzebuergesch als Integratiounssprooch hëlleft beim Succès an der Schoul lo net esou vill. Menger Meenung no.**

Q: Vill Lëtzebuergesch-Proffe mat denen ech geschwat hunn, fannen, datt et net genuch didaktescht Material gëtt fir d’Lycée-Niveau par Rapport zu Material fir Erwuessener, déi Lëtzebuergesch léieren. Wat haalt dir dovun?

Stëmmt jo och, et ass evident, mee et muss een och soen, et gëtt jo e Grond do dofir, wann ee lo ënnerscheid Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch hu mir en INL an eng einfach Formation des adultes, iwwerall an de Gemenge Coursen halen, do sinn Dausende vu Leit di all Joer Coursen an der Erwuessenebildung maachen a wi gesot den INL e ganz staarke Partner [ass?]; fir d’Ausschaffe vu Material, ech mengen et ass do normal datt ganz vill Dynamik do dran ass, fir nei[t] Material ze schafen, well et néideg ass. **Mir hunn, am Schoulsystem hu mir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch op de Classen, do musse mer einfach soen, mir hunn och Aarbechtsmaterial mam „Watgelift?“, dat deemols ausgeschafft gouf, fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch. Dat wat d’Enseignanten mengen ass éischer menger Meenung no dat wat fir d’Reegeleclassë, wou Lëtzebuergesch net als Friemsprooch enseignéiert gëtt. An do muss ee soen, do huet de Lëtzebuerger Curriculum bis elo just di Stonn op 7^{ème} gehat, an do ass et normal**

datt do keen esou grouse Besoin do ass, fir grouss Materialien auszeschaffe wi lo an enger Erwuessenebildung. Mee ech mengen awer wi ech scho virdu gesot hunn, duerch di Dynamik mat der 4ème an eeben och di weider Projeten di lo kommen, wäert an Zukunft ëmmer? [15:33] méi Material ausgeschafft ginn.

Q: Bei der Entwécklung vu Material, läit de Fokus op Schwätzen oder geet et méi a Richtung Schreiwen?

Mir ënnerscheiden do. **Mir hunn ganz kloer ee Fokus op d'Ortografi läien, et ass awer ëmmer nach wichteg... mir hunn eng standardiséiert Ortografi a mir wëllen datt d'Kanner a Jugendlech[er] déi no an no léieren, fir dono, [?] a virun allem am Beruffleche kënnen ze notzen, mee mir hunn awer virun allem och an engem Beräich vun enger Formation professionnelle, hu mer éischter Schwätzkursen, well och do di Leit maachen di Ausbildung fir dono de Beruf, an di hu ganz oft de Beruf sief et am Commerce, sief et an der Vente, sief et awer och am Bauwiesen, wou si ganz konkret mussen schwätzen, an do ass et einfach wichteg, fir sproochlech, mëndlech Kompetenzen ze üben, wougéint (tandis que, whereas, wohingegen) lo op engem Classique 4ème duerchaus eeben d'Ortografi eng wichteg/richteg? [16:48] Roll spillt.**

Q: Wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi nach gemaach solle ginn fir d'Enseignéieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Lycée, mengen ech, si mer op e[ngem]? richtege Wee andeems mer einfach elo an de Cycles moyens, also Siechzéngjäreg (16-year olds), dat Fach Lëtzebuergesch setzen. **Mir hunn eng Spezialiséierung mat Pilot-Projet Lëtzebuergesch op der A-Sektioun, deen d'nächst Joer och start, dat heescht, wann elo wierklech Schüler sech wëllen spezialiséieren am Lëtzebuergesch hunn si och d'Geleegeheet, et ass ëmmer wichteg. Wann ee lo freet, „wat kéint den nächste Schrëtt sinn?“, dat kéint een [?] iwwerleeën, wéi eng Roll soll Lëtzebuergesch an der Primärschoul spillen? Dat ass eppes... Ech soe lo net datt se do scho mussen schreiwe léieren, mee wa mer lo kucken allgemeng wou hu mer Lëtzebuergesch gutt verankert a wou vläicht manner, da kéint ee kucken a wéi wäit Lëtzebuergesch an der Primärschoul e nächste Bausteen ass, [deen ee schaffe kéint?]**

XIII.1.6. Lexicographer at the ZLS: Paul

Q: Dir sidd de Lexikograf vum Zenter d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch – kéint Dir wgl. äre Lieweslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Jo ganz gär (.) Also uhh (.) fin [from *enfin*] ech hu mäi ganz Sclaritéit (.) also Primärschoul an (.) Lycée hei ze Lëtzebuerg gemaa (.) um Enn vum Lycée sinn ech éischer méi an di (.) an di naturwëssenschaftlech (.) Bunn geroden dat heescht (.) meng Première (.) hat ech éischer den (.) Schwéierpunkt *Physik* a *Mathematik* (.) hunn dono e Joer Physik studéiert awer (.) do gemierkt dass dat (.) awer net sou richteg dat wier wat (.) mer (.) gif Spass maachen (.) an (.) sinn do gewiesselt op Linguistik (.) hunn awer och ëmmer e bëssen deen (.) mi (.) umm (-) naturwëssenschaftleche Bléck op Linguistik gehat dat heescht vum Ufank un hunn ech mech och iergendwéi méi interesséiert fir (.) wéi fannen d'Reegelméissegkeiten an der Sprooch rëm an och uhh (.) méi ëmmer gekuckt wéi kann een och de Computer do méi erabrénge fir di ganz (.) Problematik unzepacken (-) an als Linguistikstudent sinn ech do schonn (.) dat muss (.) am Ufank vun den 2000er Joere gewiescht sinn ech kontaktéiert ginn (.) als Student an der Linguistik fir an der Vakanz matzeschaffen (.) um Projet deen deemols Dictionnaire pratique de langue luxembourgeoise geheescht huet (.) wat ech dono mat Freed gemaach hunn an ech mengen ech sinn ee vun deenen (.) di am *meeschte* begeeschtert ware vun dem Projet well ech du meng ganz Studien och an déi Richtung orientéiert hunn (.) an eng Spezialiséierung gemaach hunn an der (.) Lexicografie eeben an an der (.) Korpuslinguistik (.) wat mech dunn derzou geféiert huet (.) uhh uhh (.) e bëssen den (.) de Lead ze iwwerhuelen wat den (.) Projet Lëtzebuenger Online Dictionnaire ugeet (.) dee jo och laang Zäit just dee Projet (.) *war* (.) also de Grupp (.) den Aarbechtsgrupp huet LOD geheescht (.) an dann den (.) Projet ass awer lo integréiert gi wat eng gutt Saach ass (.) zanter Kuerzem mat méi eng (.) umm grouss Struktur (.) mat méi Missiounen an zwar den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch (.) an do sinn ech dann lo an deem Grupp (.) uhh beschäftegten ech mech natierlech nach ëmmer an der Haaptsaach mam (.) mam LOD (.) awer och mat der Valoriséierung (.) vun den (.) linguisteschen Daten di mer dann eeben do hunn (.) mir hunn natierlech eng ganz grouss Datebank (.) vu linguisteschen Daten di (.) de Virdeel hunn dass mer se vun null (-) *opgebaut* hunn also (.) Korpuslinguistik sammelt (.) ganz dacks Date vu lénks a rieds di een net komplett matriséiert (.) Da hu mer och en Datesaz dee mer vun null (.) uh opgebaut hunn awer mer genee wëssen [? 2:40]

wi en ass deen och (.) uuh vum informatesche Point-de-Vue hier ganz gutt strukturéiert
ass an awer mer hoffen dass mer nach aner Saachen kënnen (.) draus erauszéien (.) dat
heescht dat ass am Fong meng (.) Aarbechtsalldag (.) dofir suergen dass den LOD weider
wiisst (.) inhaltlech ëmmer besser gëtt (.) nach ëmmer verbessert gëtt (.) an awer och
kucken wat kann ee mat dem Produit (.) wéi kënnen mer en nach funktional ausbauen (.)
uuh mir sinn amgaangen ze kucken (.) fir en neien Internetsite (.) fir do all di Doléancen
di d'Leit hunn (.) di eis Useren hunn (.) kënnen dem Rechnung ze droen (.) dass di Daten
nach méi effikass kënnen (.) kënnen nobaussen (.) uuh gedroe ginn.

**Q: Als Lexikograf am ZLS leescht Dir e wichtege Bäitrag zur Standardiséierung vum
Lëtzebuergeschen. Gëtt och d'Diversitéit vum Lëtzebuergeschen (regional a lokal
Variétéiten) dokumentéiert?**

**Jo, ech (.) ech äntweren iech ganz prezis op déi Fro well ech awer och [??? 3:45] mat
der Standardiséierung (.) ass natierlech (.) een Aspekt vum Lëtzebuergeschen Online
Dictionnaire (.) mee *wierklech* standardiséiert ass dee vun der Ortografi (.) uuh well
(.) natierlech uuh (.) hu mer zanter (.) mir hatte scho virdrun (.) ziimlech prezis
ortografesch Reegelen di 1975 (.) uuh déi vun 1975 an 1998 oder 1999 (.) ech hunn
den Datum net méi genee am Kapp (.) an elo mat dem neie Reglement vum
November 2019 (.) natierlech (.) eng Referenz (.) wou den LOD natierlech muss (.)
ze 100% konform sinn (.) an do ginn ech Iech Recht (.) si mer wierklech an enger
Demarche vun der Standardiséierung an dat uuh (.) gëtt jo sou nobaussen (.) uuh
gesot (.) wat all di aner Aspekter sinn (.) wi wéi gëtt e Wuert benotzt (.) wat bedeit et
(.) ass natierlech keng absolut *objektiv* (.) Referenz do wou ee kéint soen (.) „mir
berufen eis do drop (.) also ass dat alles a Stee gemeesselt“ (.) dofir leeft do nach
ëmmer en Dictionnaire weider (.) do (.) kann een am Fong (.) kengem verbidden e
Wuert sou oder sou ze benotzen (.) et anescht ze benotze wéi et vläicht am LOD
beschriwwen ass (.) dat heescht (.) mir probéieren eng *deskriptiv* Aarbecht ze
maachen (.) di awer vläicht nobaussen als Nomine (.) *Norméierung* (-) *ugesi* gëtt (.)
dat heescht et si vläicht Leit di da soen „oh ech soen awer sou an et ass net am LOD“ (.)
wann et net am LOD ass heescht net dass een dat net giff soen (.) oder dass dat falsch
wier (-) mir huelen ëmmer sou Saachen ze Kenntnis an da muss gekuckt ginn (.) voilà
„ass dat verbreet genuch fir och seng Plaz am Dictionnaire ze hunn?“ (.) **Da kommen****

ech lo zr ck op di aner Fro d i vun den uuh (.) vun de Lokalvarianten (.) d i (.)
 hunn de Moment (.) de *Moment* soen ech am LOD (.) *nach* net (.) uhh hir Plaz (.)
 firwat? Well et an enger  ischer Phas mol dr m geet (-) *m iglechst* vill Wieder
 opzehuelen (.) an dann (.) d i mol an den (.) wat een als Standardvariant emp ennt
 (.) uhh ze dokument ieren (.) an dann an enger zweeter Phas (.) vl icht m i
 systematesch ze kucken (.) an och vl icht mat Experten (.) uhh op deem Gebitt ze
 kucken (.) w i kann ee gezillt och nach Lokalvarianten (.) uhh ophuelen (.) mee den
 Ament sinn d i  ischer (.) uhh d'Ausnam am LOD.

**Q: Den LOD ass en Deel vum ZLS an eng vun de Richtlinnen vum ZLS ass d'Promotioun
 vum L tzebuergesch. Soll  rer Meenung no och d'Diversit it vum L tzebuergesch
 promov iert ginn (z.B. d'Promotioun vu schreiwen.lu)?**

Ah jo op alle Fall (.) do kommen ech r m op dat ze schw tze wat mer (.) wat ech
 virdu gesot hunn (.) uuh (-) jiddferen ass Meeschter iwwer s i Sproochgebrauch
 an do kann een net engem eppes falsch maache w llen (.) well hien a sengem
 Sproochgebrauch (.) a senger Sproochgewunnecht eppes benotzt (-) wann hien dat
 seet an e g tt vun anere Leit verstanen dann huet d'Sprooch hiren D ngscht
 gelescht (--) an do (.) dat ass  ischer de R ichtum vun enger Sprooch (.) dat m cht
 eng Sprooch lieweg (.) an do wier et schued wann een (.) sou Aspekter muss een
  mmer interessant fannen (.) an se (.) se akzept ieren (.) an se ber cksichtegen (.)
 uhh jo (.) op alle Fall (.) ass et wichteg dass een dat m cht (.) herno ass natierlech w i ech
 virdu gesot hunn eng Fro (.) vun der Z it (.) dach [?:15] mat enger begrenzter (.) uh
 Zuel vu Leit (.) dem alles k nne Rechnung ze droen? (.) **Do ass et gutt dass een an
 Etappen fiert (.) a seet "lo (.) maache mer eppes wat vl icht m i *wierkt* wi eng
 Standardis ierung well mer effektiv (.) eng Standardvariant de Moment am LOD (.)
 just weisen" (.) wat awer net heescht dass en net soll (.) a muss (.) sp ider dat (.) m i
 m i (.) m i breet gesinn (.) an all di verschidden (.) verschidde Varianten och (.) och
 ber cksichtegen.**

- 1) Schafft Dir als Lexikograf vum ZLS och mat Akteure vun anere Secteure (z.B. Enseignanten, Politiker) fir iwwer d i n chst Schr tt ze diskut ieren/weider Mesuren z'entw cklen?

Jo op alle Fall (.) Also den (.) den uhh (.) di dräi (.) Hauptakteuren di och am Gesetz vun (.) uhh (.) wéini ass d'Gesetz gestëmmt ginn? 2017 virgesi sinn (.) also de Conseil (.) permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise (.) den (.) umm Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch (.) an den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch (.) schaffen natierlech ganz enk zesummen (.) an et ass och jiddfereen informéiert (.) wat den Anere mécht an (.) d'ass am Fong eng ganz (.) uhh (.) **eng ganz flott Zesummenaarbecht an ech mengen dat muss och esou sinn** (--) natierlech ass (.) sinn och aner Akteuren do (.) den uh den (.) d'Uni Lëtzebuerg di jo natierlech e ganz wichtegen (.) Bäitrag leescht (.) uh do gëtt et och Kontakter (.) uh méi allgemeng Kontakter awer och fir ganz spezifesch Projeten (.) uhh Enseignanten hutt Dir genannt (.) jo (-) di lo nach verstärkt goufen eeben duerch di *ortografesch* Reform (.) d'lescht Joer (.) si waren dann natierlech ganz ganz enk am Austausch mat den Enseignanten (.) wat een natierlech och di (.) di Reform (.) engersäits ganz genee mussen iwuer di Info(.) **di Reform informéiert ginn an och dat Wësse weiderdroen do (.) well et sinn och Coursen zesummen organiséiert ginn (.) a sou (.) di Zesummenaarbecht ass schon eng ganz flott an ech mengen et ka keen (.) sech erlaaben [? 9:17] kontraproduktiv aus sengem Eck eppes gif maachen an net iwwert den Aneren hir Aktivitéiten informéiert wier (.)** dat heescht uhh (.) di Saach leeft am Fong och lo ënnert der Leedung vum Här Marteling (.) mat dem Dir jo och virdu geschwat hutt (.) [? 9:32] bestëmmt huet hien näischt Anescht gesot (.) ass eng ganz oppen (.) oppen Struktur wou jiddferee wëllkomm ass an all Stëmm gehéiert gëtt (.) an uh (.) jo do kann ech mech natierlech nëmmen driwwer freeën.

Q: Ech hunn och gesinn dass Gebäerdesprooch och an den LOD integréiert gouf. Wéi sidd Dir dozou komm, wat d'Zesummenaarbecht ugeet?

Jo, also di (.) am Fong ass d'Demande komm vun der Associatioun (.) di *Hörgeschädigtenberatung* (--) si haten de Projet virop hirem (.) Site (.) eng Art Dictionnaire ze maachen (-) uhh an dunn (.) uh natierlech well si ze Lëtzebuerg hei sinn (.) ass d'Iddi opkomm fir et mat Lëtzebuergesch ze maachen (--) mussen awer och wëssen dass di Gebäerdesprooch (.) dat hunn ech awer och alles lo (.) viru kuerzem geléiert (.) di Gebäerdesprooch di hei ze Lëtzebuerg benotzt gëtt ass di aus dem däitschsproochege Raum (.) also Lëtzebuerg huet am Fong keng eegen (.) awer fir di (.) eebe franséischsproochege Raum an den däitschsproochege Raum (.) am engleschsproochege Raum [10:50] wou ech lo Bescheid weess (.) sinn am Fong dräi (.)

dräi e bëssen verschidden Approchen (.) an hei ze Lëtzebuerg ass am Fong di däitsch (.)
 uh am Gebrauch (.) well si do awer net sécher waren (.) wéi eng Wierder solle mer do
 prioritär huelen [? 11:02] keng Know-How onbedéngt an der Lexicografie hatten (.) hunn
 se sech beim ZLS gemellt (.) ob mir si do kéinte beroden (.) an do ass d'Iddi opkomm
 „ma jo mer maan einfach eppes zesummen“ (-) well (.) wann een (.) wi mer virdu gesot
 hunn (.) d'Sprooch (.) uuh *opmaachen* a fir jiddferen accessibel maan (.) ass dat
 natierlech super (.) wann een (.) Leit di (.) fir déi den Accès net sou einfach ass (.)
 natierlech do d'Saach vereinfacht (.) a well mir dann eebe wëssen (.) uhh well mer
 nëmmen do eis Logfichier vum LOD brauchen ze kucken (.) wéi eng Wierder d'Useren
 am meeschten interesséieren (.) wéi eng (.) Wierder am meeschte gekuckt ginn (.) ass
 d'Iddi opkomm „mer maan eppes zesummen (.) mir huelen di dausend heefegst gekuckte
 Wierder (.) an déi ginn da prioritär an d'Gebäerdesprooch (.) iwwerdroen“ (.) an dat ass
 ganz flott well (.) engersäits hu mer e Know-How (.) beim ZLS (.) den (.) di Associatioun
 guer net hat an andersäits hunn si natierlech (.) en enormen Know-How an engem Beräich
 wou mir wierklech guer näischt woussten (.) an di Zesummenaarbecht huet **relativ** gutt
 geklappt an (.) geet och nach virun also et ginn och nach ëmmer (.) di Accessioun [?
 12:12] gemaa (.) dat heescht (.) bis Enn des Joers kommen nach e ganze Pack Wierder
 bäi wou een dann och kann op den Artikel goen an d'Videoen (.) de Video kucken.

**Q: Kéinte mer da soen, dass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen mat der
 Méisproochegkeet kompatibel ass?**

**Jo op alle Fall (.) ech mengen et kann een d'Lëtzebuergesch net isoléiert kucken
 uhh (.) ,t ass wi all Sprooch ass sou beaflosst vun den anere Sproochen (.) an dat ass
 mengen ech fir d'Lëtzebuergesch (.) uhh (-) ëmsou *méi* de Fall (.) eben duerch
 d'Gréisst uhh (.) vum Land (.) duerch uh (.) wann een och di uhh (---) de
 sproochleche Kontext einfach kuckt (.) mengen ech wier et (.) *illusoresch* a komplett
kontraproduktiv (.) fir d'Lëtzebuergesch net an de méisproocheg Kontext ze
 kucken (.) also (-) do ginn ech Iech Recht.**

Q: D'Standardiséierung leeft. Déi Schreifkompetenzen am Lëtzebuergeschen tëschent de Leit verbessere sech lues a lues. Mengt Dir, datt déi „Freiheet“, déi vill Leit hunn, wann se schreiwen „wéi se wëllen“, wäert verschwannen?

Ooh dat ass eng gutt Fro (--). Do muss ech soe kennen ech mech net genuch aus (.) ech gif soen (.) d'Offer ass do fir di Leit di et wëllen (-) *richteg* schreiwen ass sou eng Saach (.) also di (.) d'Offer ass do fir gehollef ze kréien (.) ech mengen den uh (.) eeben d'Missioun vum Zenter ass et (.) fir (.) och Outilen ze Verfügung ze stellen an ech mengen do ass den LOD e ganz wichtegen (.) fir di Leit di sech iwwe d'Sprooch wëllen informéieren (.) an déi se (.) an enger gewësser Hisiicht richteg an do (.) [14:06] **ech dann erëm haaptsächlech op d'Ortografi (.) dat ass den eenzege Volet wou ee wierklech ka soen „den *ass* geregelt an deem Sënn“ (.) do kann ee [?] vu „richteg“ oder op d'mannst (.) „deenen aktuelle Reegelen entspriechend oder net den aktuelle Regeelen entspriechend“ schwätzen (-) d'Offer ass do an (.) wann ee kuckt (.) wéi vill Succès mer hatte mat der Publicatioun vun dem (.) vum (.) Buch „D'Lëtzebuurger Ortografi“ (.) mengen ech ass de Wëlle schonn vu (.) verschiddene Leit op alle Fall do (.) fir et (.) méi konform mat de Reegelen ze maachen (-) ob dat Anert komplett verschwënnt (.) kann ech Iech net soen.**

Q: D'Standardiséierung vum Lëtzebuergeschen soll ë.a. en Normwerk schafen. Gläichzäiteg gëtt d'Offer vum Lëtzebuergeschen als Schoulfach verstärkt. Wéi kéint Är lexikographesch Aarbecht fir dësen Zweck benotzt ginn?

Also do hu mer de Virdeel dass mer effektiv un enger neier Versioun vun (.) vun eisem Internetsite schaffen (.) an do hunn ech scho gesot do ginn Daten op méi eng (.) uuh *nach* méi eng attraktiv an zougänglech Art a Weis ze Verfügung gestallt (-) wat awer nach dobäi kënnt ass dass mer wäerten (.) do gëtt et e bësse méi technesch (.) en ABI kréien (.) dat heescht do (.) hätt een d'Méiglechkeet (.) uhh ënner Ensemblen oder ganz gezillt Informatiounen aus dem LOD (.) rauszezéien (.) dat heescht (.) ech kéint mer virstellen dass een do (.) uhh spéider (.) vill méi einfach wäert hunn (.) am Kader vum Enseignement (.) als Schoulfach ze soen „do kucke mer all di Wieder di (.) uhh am LOD als Neologismus (.) uuh markéiert sinn“ an da kucke mer all déi di e bëssi „vereeelt“

markéiert sinn“ (.) dass een do flott (.) ënner Ensemblë vun Date kéint sammelen (.) einfach fir d’Diskussioun (.) uhh unze (.) unzekierpen (.) dat heescht ech menge schonn (.) dass den LOD de Moment uhh (---) zwar do ass (.) awer den *Accès* op seng Daten nach ze vill [? 16:55] ass (.) „ech sichen eppes (.) ech fannen eppes“ (.) **et wäert herno am Kader vum Enseignement vill méi flexibel sinn (.) fir kënnen ganz gezillte Phenomener och erauszéien an elo ech weess net (.) d’Positioun vum Modalverb analyséieren (.) einfach ganz gezillt alleguerten (.) Beispillsäz erauszéien vun deenen een dann wéisst (.) vun deenen den Enseignant wéisst (.) di sinn ortografesch ze 99,999% richteg geschriwwen a fir fir fir (.) sou Phenomener linguistesche Phenomener (.) ze analyséieren (.) sech vill méi séier wäert kënnen Schoulmaterial *unhand* vum LOD (.) produzéieren (.) fir (.) eeben d’Sprooch (.) op eng flott an attraktiv Art a Weis ze enseignéieren.**

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Ech menge Lëtzebuerg ass eng uhh (.) eng dräisproochegt Land (.) an sinn (.) do schwätzen ech lo wierklech perséinlech ech kennen och Leit di hei wunnen (.) an di perfekt (.) integréiert sinn (.) professionnel an och privat (.) an di lo net onbedéngt Lëtzebuergesch beherrschen oder en Intérêt hunn den (.) méi anekdotesch ass (.) dat heescht (.) also dat ass lo wierklech meng perséinlech Meenung (.) et ass en dräisproochegt Land an di zwou aner Sproochen uhh (.) hëllef do natierlech och als Integratiounssprooch (.) Lëtzebuergesch ass do natierlech och eng (.) eng Komponent (.) dovun.

Q: Wéi gesinn an Zukunft d’Früchte vun Ärer Aarbecht fir d’Sprooch?

D’Früchte fir d’Sprooch (--) also schwätze mer lo wierklech (.) wierklech vun uh (.) vum LOD? Grad mir hu lo vu Méisproochegkeet geschwat (.) do kéint ee sech iwwer den LOD (.) uh di Manéier wi e fonctionnéiert (.) d’ass jo net e classeschen (.) uh Definitiousdictionnaire (.) mee d’ass schonn den Effort gemaa ginn eebe fir den (.)

méisproochegen Aspekt och *komplett* an dem Produit ze weisen (.) en huet e puer extra Spezifizitéiten (.) ech hoffe dass mer dann an Zukunft eng Kéier dann Zäit hunn (.) da kann ech Iech alles ganz an Detail (.) erkläre wéi den (.) wéi den LOD (.) funktionéiert (.) an eeben (---) den (.) de Fait dass den LOD duerch di Méisproochegkeet (.) mir hu jo elo fënnef Sproochen (.) en ass esou ausgeluecht dass duerchaus nach aner Sprooche kéinten (.) uh bäikommen (.) eeben (.) uh Leit (.) zesummebréngt (.) also di Sprooch (.) Sprooch ass jo am Fong do fir d’Kommunikatioun (.) a wat mer méi Sproochen zesummebréngen (.) wat Leit héchstwahrscheinlech an *hoffentlech* besser mateene kommunizéieren (.) an do ass den LOD mengen ech spillt do (-) eng zentral Roll (.) domat wëll ech meng Aarbecht net schéirieden mee (.) einfach de Produit un sech (.) un dem ech natierlech net elleng schaffe mee [? 20:30] (-) ass ëmmer den Effort (.) di Méisproochegkett an di (.) **jo d’Zesummespill vun deene verschidden (.) d’positiivt Zesummespill vun deenen (.) ville Sproochen eeben ze weisen (-) an (.) doduerch ass natierlech den Accès zur Lëtzebuenger Sprooch méiglechst breet méiglechst grouss (.) a fir all di Leit di sech dann (.) fir d’Lëtzebuergesch interesséieren [? 21:00] eeben eng Plattform do wou se (.) wou se (-) *den* Accès och kréien zur Lëtzebuenger Sprooch (.) also hoffen ech dass mer nach weider kommen (.) dass mer de Projet ausbauen (.) an och nach méi (.) Dir hutt virdru vum Lycée geschwat (.) nach méi *Jugendsprooch* vläicht berücksichtegen (.) ee Volet ass et (.) dat wat um Verschwannen ass (.) festzehale fir dass een eng Plaz huet wou dat nach ëmmer steet (.) wou een dat nach ëmmer kann noliesen (.) [? 21:27] et mol eng Kéier gouf (.) an awer och nach méi dem Rechnung ze droen wi di *Jonge* schwätzen (.) an dann hätte mer (.) Méisproochegkeet engersäits an awer och di (.) di verschidde Generatiounen (.) vläicht och besser zesummebruecht (-) also d’Sprooch ass do fir d’Leit zesummenzebréngen an ech gesinn den LOD (.) hoffentlech do e kleng (.) e klengen Déngscht dozou (.) bäidroen.**

XIII.1.7. Teacher: Belinda

Q: Dir sidd Chargé de Cours am Lycée Mathias Adam ze Lamadelaine, wou Dir haaptsächlech Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch enseignéiert. Kéint Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech hunn hei ze Lëtzebuerg eng Technique gemaach dat heescht ech hunn d'Diplom vun enger Treizième Commerce de Gestion, deemols has de wielen? téschent Technique a Classique an 't ass bei mir wéinst der Mathé ee Punkt net duerchgaangen, net duergaangen. Dat heescht du hast missten 110 kréien an ech hat 109. Deemols war ech rosen, am Endeffekt war ech zrëckkucke, war dat mega? Ech sinn no menger 13^{ème} op Bréissel gaangen an ech sinn an de ganzen Bologna-Verfahren dragefall, dat heescht ech hu mech fir véier Joer ugemellt, war awer do fënnf Joer op der Uni, an ech hunn Iwwersetzung an Dolmetscherei, dat heescht, den Diplom ass *Etudes d'interprétation et de traduction*, gemaach. Sinn 2006 op Lëtzebuerg zrëckkomm an 2005 gouf et mengen ech op der Uni Lëtzebuerg fir d'éischte Kéier de lëtzebuergesche Master. An ech hat dunn wielen téschent Bréissel ophalen ouni Diplom an zrëckkommen an ufänken, oder Bréissel fäerdegmaan (maachen), zrëckkommen an *iergendswann* de lëtzebuergesche Master maan. An den Iergendswann war n 2012, wou ech da mam Peter Gilles geschwat hat an hien huet gesot, „Uuh jo, maa (maach) dat absolut, dat wär ganz gutt, maa de lëtzebuergesche Master“, an ech hunn 2012 niewent menger Aarbecht ugefaangen, an ech war réischt am Juni 2017 fäerdeg, well dat à mi-temps war an ech krut och nach mäi Bouf, dat heescht dat war dann alles e bësse méi speziell. 2014 hunn ech di Aarbecht wou ech deemols 2012 d'Aarbecht? ugefaangen mam Master verluer, soudass ech 2014 am September ugefaangen hunn als Indépendant, dat heescht Freelance, owes Coursen ze halen am Lëtzebuergeschen. Dat heescht, virun allem Gemengenassociatiounen, do war dann nach eng grouss Associatioun wou ech Vize-Presidentin war, eebe virun allem fir d'Lëtzebuergesch dann kënnen un Erwuessener ze enseignéieren. Voilà. Do sinn ech lo am Januar 2020 zrëck heihinner an d'Schoul komm, wou ech u sech 2014 am Oktober an den Owescoursen ugefaangen hat, dat heescht ech sinn dann am Dach hei an 2014 war ech da vu Méindes bis Donneschdes hei ënnerwee, dofir relativ schéine Krees deen dann erëm zougeet. Voilà, fir de Résumé.

Q: Wa méiglech, kéint Dir déi verschidden Etappe vun der Formatioun vun Enseignante vum Lëtzebuergesche beim IFEN beschreiwen?

Op der Uni oder elo dass ech Chargé sinn? D'béid? Ah ok, kee Problem. Op der Uni wi gesot hunn ech 2012 ugefaangen, ech hu wi gesot mi-temps gemaach, dat heescht ech mengen ech hat zweemol Semester wou kee Cours ugebuede ginn ass, well einfach deemols net genuch Leit do waren. Ech weess a menger éischer Klass hu mer ze ning (néng) ugefaangen an am Endeffekt ware merz e fënnf di en Diplom krut hunn, vun der Grupp, vu dass ech dann zwee Joer kennegeléiert hunn, an eisem zweete Joer mengen ech ware mer un di drësseg den éischen Dag a lues a lues waren ëmmer manner Leit do fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, dat heescht vläit [hunnt se] den Interessi verluer oder gemierkt dass et awer ze vill pousséiert/presséiert? war an ech sinn eebe lo am September an de Stagiaire/Stage dann? dragefall, dat heescht ech sinn Employé de l'État a muss dann eeben zwee Joer e Stage matmaachen, an do gi mer da relativ oft op den IFEN geruff respektiv am Moment Gott sei dank hu mer dann Zoom, Teams, wat och ëmmer-Formatiounen, dat heescht mir maachen do e bësse méi allgemeng Formatioune eeben fir dass mer wëssen, wat mer hei an der Klass solle maachen. Mir kréien dann och méi spezifesch Formatiounen eeben an eisem Fach, dat heescht fir mech ass dat da wierklech Lëtzebuergesch wa mer dann ganz spezifesch Formatiounen iwwert d'lëtzebuergesch Sprooch kréien, mee virun allem wéi ech dat soll enseignéieren. Dat heescht dat geet e bëssen an all Richtung, vun wéi bauen ech e koherenten Cours vun Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch op, mee wat ass och en Héierverstoen, wat ass en Acent(???), wat sinn di verschidden Erklärungen ze dene verschidden Niveauen. Dat heescht dat geet e bëssen an all Richtung.

Q: Dir hutt erwäant, dass beim IFEN (Institut de Formation de l'Éducation Nationale), Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignante gesot kréien, dass „Lëtzebuergesch net wichteg ass a senger Schreifweis“. Et gëtt awer eng nei Ortografi vum Zënter fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch. Gëtt déi elo geléiert bei der Formatioun?

Dat stëmmt, dat war eng Formatioun effektiv wou dat gesot ginn ass, zwou méttlerweil schon, jo... [5:30] Also mir selwer kréie lo u sech net bäibruecht wéi mer et solle schreiwen, dat heescht et ass supposé connu wann s de an iergendenger Form

Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant bass oder Chargé, egal wéi s de et lo wëlls definéieren, muss du dat kënnen, dat ass däi Fach, egal wéi s de dozou komm bass, an dat ass dann immens lëschtég well de Proffe-Concours am Lëtzebuergesch ass zënter 2020 och fir Leit op di Germanistik gemaa hunn, dat heescht du muss iwwerhaapt kee Lëtzebuergesche Master hunn oder e Bachelor oder wéi och ëmmer, ech mengen just e Master, fir kënnen dee Concours matzemaachen, dat heescht du hues effektiv lo Leit do, déi hunn da fënnef Joer laang just germanistesche Studie gemaa, di dat da kënnen probéieren [...] wann déi Gléck hunn, da klappt dat och, an da stinn déi virun enger Klaass an hunn null Iddee wann et dann drëms geet den Ënnerscheid tëschent *hatt* an *si* z'erkläeren oder wat ass den *et*, oder firwat ass et de Knéi, e Knéi, Masculin op Lëtzebuergesch, mee *das Knie* am Däitschen. Dat heescht et kommen di schéinste Saachen eraus, an da kriss de heiansdo Schüler di dech ukucken, also „jo nee, Madamm XY oder en Här ZA huet gesot dass...“, dat ass vläit net sou ideal mee effektiv an de Formatiounen do hat ech [?] zwou och, an spezifesch am Lëtzebuergesch, wou dann eng Formatrice gesot huet, jo d'Bewäertung vum Lëtzebuergesche misst just oral sinn an op kee Fall schrëftlech an ech war e bësse schockéiert well ech hunn eeben eng Commerce-Klaass an di solle kënnen awer E-mailen opstellen an SMSen verfaassen, oder... Notizen maachen op Lëtzebuergesch an ech weess jo sou direkt ganz éierlech net wéi ech meng Prüfung soll di nächst Woch bewäerten, well do geet ëm d'Schreiwen an dat hunn ech da lo en Dënschden an enger aner Formatioun da gefrot an di Formatrice huet mech ugekuckt esou, „Jo also et ass scho wichteg mee et soll lo net *dat Wichtigst* sinn“, ok et ass e bësse méi nuancéiert an d'Texter wann s de et phonetesche verstees, ass et an der Rei. Ok, dat huelen ech dat lo mat op de Wee (risa)... an an enger anerer Formatioun hunn di zwou Formatricen real verbuede Lëtzebuergesch ze schreiwen, dat heescht mir mussen do Kommentarer maachen, op verschidde Saachen, jo dat schreift et op Däitsch oder op Franséisch, da hunn ech gefrot, „Lëtzebuergesch dann och?“, „Ah neen, dat geet net“, ech hunn d'Frau ugekuckt, „wéi dann?“ „Jo nee, kee Lëtzebuergesch“ an ech hunn dunn natierlech net gesot et ass awer eng offiziell Sprooch, ech wëll mech op Lëtzebuergesch ausdrécken, ech man dat och an hunn si gelooss ech hu Franséisch geholl, et ass egal, ech hunn datt da lo en Dënschden enger anerer Formatrice gesot an di war absolut entsat, well si huet gesot „dir musst alles op Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen an dem Stage well dir gitt jo drop bewäert“, an dunn hunn ech hir dat och gesot, „Jo dat däerf net sinn...“

Richtig Enseignement vun der Ortografi kréie mer lo net, dat kënne mer oder kënne mer net, ech hoffen di meescht kënne, dat heescht, datt et lo net eppes wat mir lo nach eng Kéier bäibruecht kréien, mee perséinlech bréngen ech dat awer menge Schüler bäi, well et fir si wichteg ass, an da maachen ech eng Klammer zu menge Coursen wou ech dann awer op di richtig Ortografi aginn an op d'Ännerunge vun November-Dezember 2019 [8:45].

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Enseignéieren vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert (Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch oder fir Mammesproochler)?

Mammesproochler mengen ech kënne et jo souwisou scho schwätzen a verstinn et och ouni Problem, déi sinn da just emmerdéiert wann si mir da mussen eng E-Mail schreiwen, si soen „ech ka kee Lëtzebuergesch, däerf ech op Franséisch schreiwen?“, an di sinn nach ëmmer schockéiert well si sech schummen wéinst de Feeler [...] Wann s de mäi Schüler wars [bass?] a du méss zéng Feeler an ee Saz kriss du vu mir natierlech eng Verbesserung. Wann ech d'Persoun awer lo vun néierens kennen oder Aarbechtskolleg oder esouguer hei meng Direktioun di seet „jo wann ech mat dir schreiwen da muss ech sechsmol iwuerliesen un duerch de Spellchecker“, dat ass jo egal, mee mir hate jo u sech an der Schoul elo an der aktueller Situatioun ni di Chance fir d'Sprooch an der Schoul ze léieren. Du hues ongeféier geschriwwe wi s du Loscht hast, et goufen schonn deemols zwou Grammairen oder Usaz vu Grammairen, mee et huet keen dat richtig enseignéiert krut. Also mir hunn KTS?? [10:28] wann ech geléiert, mee *wéi* dat deemols genau geschriwwe gi war vum Lies?? weess ech och lo net; et gëtt lo schonn eng nei Versioun mee, dass en lo net eppes wou, haut de Fokus drop läit op dat richtig Schreiwen, et ass Schwätzen, Verstoen, an am Alldag eens ginn. Et ass wierklech dat d'Wichtigkeet, also lo mol kloer am Lycée an zum Deel och an den Owescoursen.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschaft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaften an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Hoffen ech (risas). Ech hu just gesot krut dass d' „Wat gelift“ net mi (méi) géing verkaaf ginn an dass mer et am Lycée net méi solle benotzen. OK, liich mer och an, do sinn immens vill Saachen di wierklech geännert hunn a wann een net op [?] dann iwwerhëlt een dat *tel quel*. **Dommst Beispill: d'Schoulgebai. Kënnen sech am Schoulgebai rëm fannen, „ech ginn an d'Cantine, C-A-N-T-I-N-E “ gëtt haut net mi sou geschriwwen. Dat heescht, wann een dann do net oppasst, dann huet een hinnen eppes Falsches bäibruecht oder et huet een eng mega cool Klass an si soen „Madamm, dat gëtt net méi sou geschriwwen“ an da sinn ech ëmmer ganz frou, wann se et vun selwer mierken; mee konkret hu mir do lo näischt.** Also weder am Lycée nach an den Owescoursen an ech géing soe wann een Independant ass an an den Owescoursen huet een *nach* manner, dat heescht et muss een entweder sou motivéiert sinn an alles selwer ausschaffen, dat heescht eng Stonn Cours ass gläich dräi Stonnen Aarbecht, an *ëmmer* net Recyclage vun engem Joer op dat Anert maache well et geet iwverhaapt net, dat hänkt da wierklech vun der Dynamik vun de Gruppen of. **An am Lycée muss ech soe si mer am Ament praktesch op derselwechter Plaz.** Mir kënnen eis inspiréieren um „Wat gelift?“, mir kënnen awer ganz sécher keng Kopië méi maachen, ganz sécher näischt méi ascannen, well et net mi adaptéiert ass. Dat heescht am Lycée wierklech di ganz [?] nei opstellen, en plus den Text an sou [?] di Zäit hu mer net, och net wa mer am Stage sinn. An da schaffe mer mat den „Schwätz Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“, di iwverhaapt net adaptéiert si fir de Lycée, well „dierzen“ (decir usted), jo si wësse wat dat ass, mee „wéi fuere? de moies op d'Aarbecht?, ech fuere mam Auto“, nee di meescht net, well se nach keng uechzég Joer (18) hu bei mir, ne? Dat heesch do muss ee rëm eng Kéier alles upassen, oder „wat sinn är Hobbyen? Fëschegoen?“ Si verstinn iwverhaapt net wat dat heescht mee dann esou witzeg Saache wi Netflix kucke, Serië kucken, Fussball spillen, Basket spillen ass iwverhaapt net dran, an Superhobby bei hinnen och *Schlofen*, kënnt iwverhaapt net vir, dat heescht ,t ass iwverhaapt net mi ugepasst un si an ,t verléiert een onmoosseg vill Zäit a wann ech mech richtig erënneren ass am Moment näischt mam Iwwerschaffen amgaangen, och duerch d'Pandemie bedéngt an esou, mee ech mengen di Informatioun hat ech nach krut dass dat am Moment net weider uleeft.

Q: Et ginn elo verschidden Institutionen, déi d'Standardiséierung vun der Sprooch virundreiwen. Ginn d'Einseignante vum Lëtzebuergesch och weider forméiert als Äntwert op déi nei Entwécklung bei der Standardiséierung?

Am Ament wat mech ugeet net. Also ech sinn et elo a mengem aktuelle Statut an der Schoul na net ginn informéiert, oder forméiert, mee ech hu mech selwer virdrun domadder befaasst, dat heescht ech hu mech selwer doranner agelies, ageschriwwen, einfach well ech et wëll maachen a well ech och mengen, ech muss e gudde Krack méi wëssen wi meng Schüler fir kënnen dorobber ze äntweren. An ech mengen hunn domadder ugefaangen virdu wou ech als Independant geschafft hunn wou ech awer Erwuessener do setzen hat an di vläit eng aner Approche hatten an ech hunn nach eng Zäit fir den INAP(??) geschafft, dat heescht do hat ech Leit aus den Administratiounen do setzen. Do hat ech den Employé d'État, den dann iergendswann an enger Receptioun well den huet misse kënnen...

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen beim Léieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiterung vun der Offer vun Optionscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Mengt Dir, dass esou eng Verdeelung vun Optionscoursen dozou féiert, dass d'Ortografi keng Prioritéit géif hunn an de Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch?

Absolut, ech mierken, -ech soen et lo ganz pauschal- (laugh) di kleng Ausländer well ech praktesch just der hunn, sinn immens drun interesséiert well et fir si einfach wichteg ass sech richtig z'intégréieren, a mat richtig integréieren ass fir si: kënne schwätzen, kënne verstoen, kënne liesen, mee och kënne schreiwen. Dat heescht d'Emailen u Proffen oder um Teams sinn op Lëtzebuergesch „Madamm ech sinn a Verspéidung“ [17:07], alles komplett richtig geschriwwen, oder „Madamm ech hunn den Exercice op der Säit XY gemaa (gemaach), kënnt dir dat iwierliesen, verbessern, nokucken“, alles richtig geschriwwen, dat heescht fir si ass et immens wichteg well dat fir si en zousätzlecht Zeechen ass dass si integréiert sinn, an dann si der och immens vill di sinn extreem sportlech aktiv, Fussball, Basket, Volley, Hockey, an di schreibe mat de klenge Lëtzebuenger gär op Lëtzebuergesch, well déi jo Schwierigkeete mat Franséisch hunn, Däitsch vläicht net sou gär hunn, oder si selwer, hei meng Schüler benotzen keen Däitsch,

mee dann ass Lëtzebuergesch immense wichteg, a wann een dann e Feeler mécht, “ech muer kommen”, da laacht den Aneren, respektiv da schummt een sech an dann huet ee keng Loscht méi, da wëll en et richteg kënnen. Esou dass si dann immens stolz sinn wann si kënnen soen „ei Groussen ‚kommen‘ kritt zwee M, wéi weess du dat du kleng Portugiiser“ oder Gott weess wat, „ech hunn dat geléiert“, dat heescht et ass en zousätzleche Stolz ze soen „du kanns deng Sprooch net, ech bréngen dat dir elo bäi“ dat heescht fir si ass et immens wichteg an ech hunn dat och an den Owescourse gemierkt dass et fir di Elteren oder fir di Leit di do souzen –di Erwuessenen eeben- immens wichteg war zousätzlech kënnen ze schreiwen, well dat fir si eng aner Art a Weis [ass?] eeben och mat eise Medien, sief et de Messenger, Whatsapp oder wat och ëmmer, fir do kënnen richteg ze schreiwen. Et ass fir si immens wichteg. Dofir och wann een d’Optioun gëing opmaachen, lo net als Owescoursen oder no de Schoulcoursen, mee während der Schoulzäit-Coursen... Literatur a wat och ëmmer, da géinge d’Leit wierklech dohanner goen an da missten si jo eppes produzéiere well si sech jo fräiwëlleg ugemellt hunn.

Q: Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d’Material, dat vum Ministère de l’Éducation geschafent gouf, oder nach anert Material?

Ech hunn dat vum Ministère gesi gehat, ass leider fir meng Klassen net gutt, also net appropriéiert. **Ech entwerfen am Moment sou relativ vill meng eege Saachen.** Ech schaffe minimal mam Buch wann et grad super passt, mee ech soen ëmmer d’Buch ass fir all Mënsch gemaa, fir **Monsieur/Madame Tout-le-Monde**, dat heescht et ass net **spezifesch op dat wat een hei an der Schoul brauch** a ganz sécher net spezifesch op d’Leit ofgeschwat? [?]. Dat heescht wann ee lo méi konkret kuckt. Sou dass **ech onmoosseg vill selwer maachen, an effektiv och wéi s de gesot hues, op aner Sproochen zrëckgräifen. Manner Däitscht mee éischer Englesch a Franséisch well ech do d’Optik heiansdo e bëssi méi einfach fannen oder net sou schwéier** [palabra que no entiendo, 19:47] **wéi am Däitschen, obwuel d’Struktur dann am Däitschen méi no ass,** mee et geet mer? da méi ëm d’Presentatioun. Dat heescht, am Franséischen ass heiansdo e bëssen **méi Humor** agebaut oder am Englesche virun allem extreem vill Humor agebaut, **wat mer iwwerhaupt net am Däitschen oder net vill am Däitsche rëmfannen.** An dann iwwerhuelen ech léiwer e bëssi méi sou Karikaturen, BDen, eppes mi (méi) Witzeges, sou

ech da weess? [20:07] dass bei menge Schüler domadder ukommen. Dat ass vläit lo net ideal fir d'Owescourse well déi dat do net sou géinge verstoen, mee hei am Ament immens vill Englesch- an Franséischsproocheg Saachen op alle Fall, di ech mer dann als Base huelen an op Lëtzebuergesch dann erëm ëmschreiwen [laacht], fir et kënnen ze gebrauchen.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Nee, iwwerhaupt net, op alle Fall an dem wat mer bäibruecht kréien, mir kréien wi gesot e Buch als en Unhaltspunkt (point de repère, Orientierungspunkt) an duerno soll een?/der? d'Standardortografi hunn. OK, dat versiche mer dann och sou wäit ze maachen, ech amuséiere mech awer ëmmer rëm mat den Wochendeeg, well ech dat deemols och super interessant op der Uni fonnt hunn. An deemols hat een net Variatiounen, mee d'ass just mat "Méindeg, E-G" gaangen a net mat „Méinden, E-N“, dat heescht mëttlerweil, hoffen ech... Ech weess och net mi wat den LOD haut seet, dat ännert lo mëttlerweil e bëssen?? [21:02]. **Dat heescht mëttlerweil war och „MéindeN“ zougelooss, wat jo deemols bei eis fuerchtbar war, dat konnte mer net maachen.** An dann [?] hinnen elo bäibréngen, „OK wann een mat Méindeg?? Ass alles OK. Mat Méinden dierft och eng Kéier d'N-Regel upassen“. Bon, jo, OK, „Jo mee Madamm ass dat elo e Nom proper oder net?“, “[laacht] gutt Fro, jo“, dat heescht d'Beispill ass och net ëmmer kohärent an am Norden heescht et jo aneschtens, am Osten heescht et jo aneschtens, sou dass ech hunn dann awer eng Kéier di Approchë ginn, an si kucke mech ëmmer mat groussen Aen un an da soen mir eng mega cool Theorie, sou „mee Madamm, hu mer dann 21 Deeg ze Lëtzebuerg?“, „Jo genau, dorëms geet et, dat heescht eis Woch huet 21 Deeg an net 7“, mee fir si sinn dat komplett nei Wieder, an si fannen dat awer interessant, well ech hunn och am Ament ee Schüler, dee kënnt vun, hanner Dikrech, an den ass da mega stolz wann en awer dat héiert, de seet, „Wow sou schwätzen se bei mir!“, „Bei mir“ ass just e puer Kilometer méi wäit am Norden mee hien ass da mega frou dass ech dat dann awer an de Cours abannen.

Et misst méi gemaa ginn natierlech, well mer awer lo immens vill Proffen am Süde lo ronderëm hunn, am Lëtzebuergesch. Een ze Clierf, deen ech jo lo nach kennen, an dee seet dann ëmmer, „ech muss mäin Iwwersetzer mathuelen“, dat heescht bei him ass an di aner Richtung. Hien soll da Lëtzebuergesch enseignéieren, kënnt en hei soe mer aus dem

Süden-Osten, a muss dann [?] op Clierf, wann ee wierklech seng Schwieregkeet net [?] fir dat Lokalt ze verstoen.

Q: Soll d'Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergeschen Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Strikt. Lo am Moment op alle Fall mol strikt wa mer wëllen eppes errechen. Well wa mer elo rëm ufänken „Jo, mir kënnen e G maan oder EN, oder mir kënnen awer och IG schreiwen oder ICH“, da kënne mer grad sou gutt op eng Ortografi verzichte mengen ech, op alle Fall op eng standardiséiert. Wann een dat mol eng Kéier wëll un d'Rulle bréngen da muss ee méi strikt sinn an duerno vläit oplockeren, awer net ëmgedrëit. Well wann et lo opgelockert ass dann hëlt e bëssi jiddferee seng Method an ech kucke lo, virun allem an den Owescourse well et einfach méi kuerz Periode sinn, dat ass normalerweis am private Beräich, - net den INL, do sinn ech net sou informéiert -, am private Beräich ass een do 45 oder 90 Stonnen pro halwe Niveau, dat heescht éischten Niveau A1.1, ee Prof, A1.2, en anere Proff. Dat heescht den een seet da Méindeg an den anere kënnt da mat enger anerer Endung. An da gees de riwwer an den A2.1, an du hues en drëtte Prof, an de seet da rëm eng Kéier eppes Aneschtes. Pardon, mee um zweeten Niveau huet een da keng Loscht méi. Dat heescht dat léiss een net sinn??? [23:48]. Allkéiers eng aner Ortografi, ,t ass allkéiers eng aner Art a Weis fir et auszeschwätzen well et jo normalerweis dann sou ausgeschwat gëtt wi et geschriwwe gëtt, dann huet een do keng Motivatioun méi, ob een do lo d'Nationalitéit wëll oder net, ma da krut een dass een eens gëtt, an da geet ee just nach an A2.2 sëtzen, da kann een dunn d'Nationalitéit maachen, an dann si roueg, et huet een ee Prof gesinn. Dofir a mengen Aen wierklech am Ufank misst strikt an dat iwwer e puer Joer dann duerchzéien an duerno vläit e bëssen oplockeren, awer ganz sécher net am Ufank.

Q: Soll d'Ortografi den lokale Charakteristika ugepasst ginn, oder soll et uniform sinn, also eenheetlech?

Ech géing soe schonn eenheetlech, an awer soen „hei, do gëtt et di dote Form. Do kann een dat benotzen“, well ech et awer e bëssen traureg fanne wann ze Clierf d'Schüler an d'Schoul ginn a di müssen dann d'Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen, oder kënnen, dat

sinn sécher [palabra que no entiendo, 24:48] dat guer net benotzen. An dat heescht nach laang, et ass all déi vu Clierf an iergendenger Form an d' Stad an iegendee Ministère oder Bank oder Gott weess wou schaffe ginn, da gëtt jo kee Sënn. Dat heescht dassen si awer vläit wëssen, „hei am normalen muss een et sou schreiwen, mir kënnen awer ënnert Kolleegen dat dote benotzen“, dass een do vläicht di Fransatioun??? [25:03] mécht, dass eigentlech... **Fir mech a mengem Kapp ass et den Ënnerscheid am Franséischen op een de Soutenu schwätzt oder ënnert Kolleegen:** „T'as vu?“ **anstatt** „Est-ce que t'as vu?“ (Eso es Soutenu? Claro que no), also dat maan ech lo als di **Fransatioun**, dassen net dass et dramatesch ass, mee et huet kee Sënn uniformiséiert eppes **wëllen duerchzebriechen? wat dunn awer net natierlech ass.**

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Absolut. A menge Klasse si si super begeeschtert fir Lëtzebuergesch ze maachen, an ech hunn eben d'Schwieregkeet, an der Klass di ech lo grad hat, ech hunn keen richtegen Frankophon do sëtzen. Dat heescht Franséisch ass di éischt Sprooch di si mol *musse* léiere fir dass di aner Proffe eppes kënnen drop opbauen. Dat heescht... Ech hu Kap-Verdianer, ech hu Chinesen, ech hunn zwee Syrier, ech hunn een Senegalees, ech hunn zwou Portugisinnen an nach vun zwou verschiddene Regiounen di ënnert sech diskutéieren ob een da lo sou [?] an dann hunn ech een... aus Namibia, mengen ech. Dat heescht, d'gemeinsam Sprooch ass op der doter Säit vun der Klass Franséisch an do Englesch. Ech kéint zwar nach anerer mat schwätze mee ech wëll dat net, well dono schwätze mer just déi Sprooch an dat weigere ech mech einfach. Dat heescht si sinn hei fir Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren, mee haut hu mer z.B. d'Schoulmaterial gemaa an da sinn do Saache komm, wéi en Heft, a si wëssen dann net an hirer Mammesprooch wat dat ass. Da gëtt et schon e bësse méi komplizéiert, dat heescht wann déi all hiren Handy raushuelen a kucken dass du eng Iwwersetzung fënns, vum LOD aus. LOD ass mega, mee net ëmmer komplett, sou dass dat schon e bëssi méi komplizéiert gëtt an da muss ech an iergendenger Form iwwersetzen. Dat heescht, d'Méisproochegkeet, komme mer net derlaanscht, an dat ass awer fir d'Lëtzebuergesch immens wichteg *dass* eben de Parallel vun deenen anere Sproochen do ass, well dat dann awer allkéiers aneschtens opgeholl gëtt. Ech hunn dat bei de Kap-Verdianer gesinn, di mussen dann éischer op Portugisesch iwwerleeë fir

d'Aussprooch [palabra que no entiendo, 27:23] Franséisch. An si soen ëmmer „t ass wi bei eis, t ass wi bei eis“. Ech fannen dat awer immens lëschtég well da probéieren si an da geet et. A wann si op Franséisch komme geet et dann net. Voilà. Dat ass op alle Fall immens wichteg.

Q: Sinn och Enseignante vum Lëtzebuergeschen um Prozess vun der Ergänzung vun didakteschem Material bedeelegt?

Jo, aus dem INL awer virun allem. Lycéeë sou wäit ech weess, guer net. Dat heescht um INL hues du lo e puer, ech so lo mol, Schrëftsteller fir et béis auszedrécken. D'Jackie Messerich, immens gutt vun anere lëtzebuergesche Bicher bekannt, dat huet jo aner Saachen niewendru gemaach wi d'Assimil, Le luxembourgeois à grande vitesse, de Franck Colotte, dat heescht déi sinn all zwee am Enseignement mee d'Jackie ass mëttlerweil am INL, dat heescht et war jo virun Ville de Luxembourg, di aner si ech lo sou graff kennen, sinn bal alleguerte um INL wann ech dat och richteg an Erënnerung hunn. Lo aus dem Lycée mengen ech „t ass just d'Shari Schenten, dat jo och Presidentin vun der lëtzebuergescher Kommissioun eeben ass. Ech ka mer denken dass dat do lo schon dozou bäidreet mee ob et wierklech nach vill Zäit huet mat all deem wat et awer vun Verantwortung huet, weess ech net. Mee souwäit ech weess, direkt net an de Lyceeën, also perséinlech sinn ech souwisou net drop ugeschwat ginn, mee ech weess net op an de Lycéeën och di Zäit do ass. An di aner Fro ass, „si wierklech sou vill lëtzebuergesch Proffe schon an de Lyceeën ënnerwee, di dat kéinte maachen, di do kéinte an iergendenger Form matschaffen?“ Well wa mer do éierlech si mengen ech [?] zwanzeg Stéck di an iergendenger Form e richtege lëtzebuergesche Master gemaa hunn oder wierklech di Richtung ageschloen hunn fir et kënnen ze maachen.

Q: Also d'Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an de Lyceeën soll verstärkt ginn?

[Et] muss iwwehapt stattfannen, also ech sinn en immense Teamworker, ech weess so lo ongeféier wou verschidde Leit sëtzen, effektiv och immens vill Kolleegen um INL, wou ech dann awer heiansdo Saachen gesi hunn fir ze verbesseren?? Lo an de Lycéeën, jo, d'Equipe di mer lo dëst Joer hunn, di do Stagiairen, Fonctionnairen, Employéen,

scheissegal, ënnerwee sinn, also **mir tauschen sou vill aus, schonn eleng „wi mëss (méchs) du dat, géings du dat sou maachen?“** „Ah jo, ech hunn dat och sou gemaa, kanns de mer et weisen?“ **Da kann een aner sou switchen, och mat de Biller, klenge lizenzfräi Biller [laacht], gëtt et och net sou vill. „Jo wat hues du dat geholl fir ze illustréieren sech undoen?“ oder „wat hues du dat geholl fir z illustréieren an de Schaff goen?“** an dann tausche mer Biller aus ob ech soll lo kafen oder hien. **Voilà ech ginn a meng Aarbechtsplaz... Mir versiche lo schonn immens zesummenzeschaffen, mee ech mengen et ass och eng Saach vun der Mentalitéit well dee géing et awer lo net esou vill virdrun a wann ech och lo di aner Leit am Gebai gesinn di u sech Däitsch-Proffe sinn awer musse Lëtzebuergesch hale well et net genuch Lëtzebuergesch-Proffen do sinn, voilà ech gesinn dat am Alldag. Mee di kommen heiansdo kräischen [...] well si eeben do dat ganz Hannergrondwëssen einfach net hunn, soudass si och guer näischt domadder kënnen ufänken.** Dat heescht, do ass et immens wichteg dass iergendeen hinne seet „hei informéieren ech mol do“ oder „kuckt dat doten“ oder „du kanns dat doten Kapitel benotzen“, dann tauschen d’Material aus ass mengen ech, a mengen Aen elo net illegal, well ech dat awer kaf hunn [...] **Mee di Zesummenaarbecht muss mol ufänken ze existéieren, an ech schwätzen lo just vum Lycée well an den Owescourse gëtt et dat iwwerhaapt net.** Also do huet ee Gléck wann een en anere Lëtzebuergesch-Proff kennt, den och Freelance ass, dee vläit eng Informatioun méi huet.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegheet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Op alle Fall, also och wann ech lo hei am Süde kucken, mir hu Klassen wou mer dann, soen Frankophonsklassen, di léieren Däitsch an dann iergendswann eng Kéier kënnt Lëtzebuergesch als Optioun derbäi... Jo, OK, direkt am Süde froen ech mech, „wat maan déi mam Däitschen?“ well immens vill eeben op Franséisch geet an ënnert de Kollegen ass et eebe beim Sport oder an der Schoul op Lëtzebuergesch. Brauchen déi wierklech Däitsch? Also, am Alldag, sief et elo oder mi (méi) spéit natierlech oder [palabra que no entiendo, 32:40] souguer wann si géingen bei de Staat goe, géing ee seng Dispense linguistique kréien et ass jo alles schonn etabléiert, dann hätten si dann d’Dispense fir

Däitsch souwi Aner d'Dispense am Lëtzebuergesch huelen... Jo, kann een sech wierklech froen ob een hei am Süden, ech sinn am Ament jo ze Péiteng, ob een Péiteng, Esch, wat weess ech, Déifferdeng, ob een do wierklech *muss* fir d'éischt Däitsch enseignéieren an da Lëtzebuergesch, well ech fannen et do immens witzeg, well ech [?] da schreiwen meng Schüler?? Wat een do kritt...vun Äntwerten do ze liesen kritt, sou „Dat ist...“, an ech dann „Ah jo, kleng Interferenz“, an ech froen?? op en amgaange si Lëtzebuergesch ze liesen oder awer Däitsch, an da markéiert een eng Kéier a stellt ee fest dass en effektiv an Däitsch amgaangen ass ze liesen. Sou dass dat awer schonn eng ganz interessant Fro ass. Also fir de Süde lo, déi aner Plaze kéint een da vläit switchen dass een dann am Norden eventuell méi Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch brauch an net onbedéngt Franséisch... A voir!

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Dat hänkt dovunner of wou ee leeft. [laacht] Äiskal. Also, am grouse Ganze, jo. Et ass eng Integratiounssprooch well ech einfach mierke wéi einfach meng Schüler mat Lëtzebuergesch kënne Kontakt ophuelen, respektiv ech mierken och wéi se empfangen gi wann se Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen oder wann se Franséisch schwätzen, an ech soen hinnen ëmmer, „e gutt?? halwe Joer, da gees de nach eng Kéier dohin an da kënnst du ran an da sees de „Moiien, ech hunn eng Fro“. An da mierken se et schonn, wéi d'Leit si ukucken par rapport ze „Bonjour, j'aimerais savoir si...“, gëss du schonn ënnerbrach an voilà, dofir ganz kloer Integratiounssprooch. Ech sinn wi gesot vun Déifferdeng, also do gëtt et ganz kloer eng aner Integratiounssprooch, an dat ass net Lëtzebuergesch. Dofir, t ass vläit e bëssen *lokalbedéngt*, mee et féiert awer näischt laanscht Lëtzebuergesch (creo que significa que nada sobrepasa el luxemburgués en cuanto a lengua de integración), a mengen Aen.

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Ech géing mengen ganz uewe mol fir d'éischt Leit fannen di et wëlle maachen, vläit och erliichterem fir di Leit di schonn zwanzeg, drësseg Joer derbäi sinn, an duerno am Freelance gëtt et ëmmer di Diskussioun, et sinn immens vill Leit di et kënne maache, wëlle maachen, di och Zäit dofir hunn, mee di da gebremst ginn, du bass Independant, du gëss net all Mount bezuelt, du gëss all dräi, sechs, oder all néng Méint bezuelt, wann s de Gléck hues all Joer, dat si Leit di liewen als Freelance, si kee richtege Revenu hunn, bei der anerer Méiglechkeet do sinn si fort. Déi Leit kéins de ophuelen, di hunn jo eng bestëmmte Erfaarung, da forméier déi, forméier déi richteg, nach eng Kéier wéi si sollen an de Lycée eragoen, wéi si et kënne maachen an alles wat déi am Lëtzebuergesche verdéngen, misst oppe sinn. **Also ech ka mech erënneren deemols war ech Freelance, ech hunn saugutt verdéngt mee ech hunn och konsequent Steiere bezuelt**, an du weess am Ufank vum Joer net wat s de real verdéngt hues, well s de eeben all dräi, sechs, néng oder all Joer bezuelt gëss an deng, so mer lo, ëiskal Clientë bezuelen och net ëmmer datselwecht. Dat heescht eng Kéier kriss de de volle Betrag, eng Kéier kriss de d'Halschent, an voilà. Dat heescht wann ech lo sou kucke wéi en an den Owescoursen ënnerwee war, dat sinn héchstmotivéiert Leit di sech et och nach selwer bäibruecht hunn, dat heescht do ass schonn eng Motivatioun fir sech an dat alles eranzeliesen an dat eranzeléieren, fir dat dann och uerdentlech ze maachen; du hues absolut keen Accès op Formatiounen, wann s de Gléck hues kënnt dann iergendeng (In?)formatioun vum Service de la formation des adultes, oder du bass Member bei enger Associatioun fir elo di gréisst allen [palabra que no entiendo, 36:39] ass, well di awer probéiert dräi bis véier Formatiounen ze maachen, *déi s de, wann s de Gléck hues* och nach unerkannt kriss vum Ministère, mee soss gëtt et näischt. Du hues keen Accès op Teams, du hues keen Accès vun d'Informatiounen vum INL, well INL a Leit aus der Privatwirtschaft, di verstinn sech iwwehaapt net, also et ass wierklech Lëtzebuergesch komplett ageengt (einengen, restreindre). An deemols goufen och d'Demarchéen gemaach vun Associatiounen di eeben bei den Här Meisch gaange sinn, voilà, den Herr Meisch, méi muss ech net soen... do war awer den Här, den Eric Goerens?? aus dem Service de la formation, dee war immens oppe well deen ass jo wierklech dunn op di Chargéen zougangen an huet gefrot „Wat brauchst dir?“, mir hunn ëmmer datselwecht „mir brauche mol Informatiounen (pronunciado con la T alemana), Formatiounen (pronunciado con la T francesa), mir brauchen einfach en Accès“, well do huet een als Independante op de Portfolio deen ee muss fëlle mat Formatiounen, an et gëtt näischt. An ech weess d'Uni Lëtzebuerg huet ugefaange mol di Formatiounen unzebidden eleng déi fir d'Schnëssen-App, wéi dat géing funktionéieren, wat een do kéint maachen,

an ech mengen déi sinn iwerrant gi vun Ufroen, well do waren d'Leit mol endlech super interesséiert, „hey, dat do ass eppes wat eis uschwätzt fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, mir als Independanten hunn Accès dorobber“. **Et ass awer nach net konkret immens vill Aneres bäikomm, dat heescht, dass mer ganz kloer eng politesch Entscheidung an déi Richtung, dass mol Leit um Terrain wieren a wann d'Leit di um Terrain sinn, Material, einfach Material, Material, Material. De SCRIPT schafft jo immens vill aner Saache fir de Lycée aus; Lëtzebuergesch och. Wier interessant wat et do fir Saache gëtt, schonn eleng eng ganz Säit iwuer Lëtzeburger Geschicht, super. Mee do misst een hannendrun eng aner Formatioun stiechen „wéi vermëttelen ech dat?“. Wéi vermëttelen ech dat an engem Cours fir de Lycée, fir Erwuessener, wéi kann ech Lëtzeburger Geschicht weiderginn? Well just et duerch d'Cycliken ass net di richteg Léisung, dat geet net.**

An wann eeben alles fir d'Schüler adaptéiert ass. **Ech schaffen immens vill mat Biller di ech op engem anere Plaz eraushuelen; Material an der Schoul, et gëtt absolut kee konkret Vocabulaire oder Vokabelsblatt, do ass een Schachtel ofgezeechent, dat heescht esou op Lëtzebuergesch, an dass een dat dann iergendswann mam Audio ka fannen.** Den LOD huet souwisou an deene leschte Méint schonn kräfteg zougeluecht, well do waren immens vill Saachen och aus de Bicher, di net mol um LOD ze fanne waren, dat heescht mir hunn eise Schüler sou gesot, „mega, LOD géi dohinner wann s de eppes net kenns! Sichs de et an da fënns de et“, war iwerrhaapt net de Fall. A mëttlerweil ass awer wesentlech méi drakomm, [algo falta aquí, 38:58] souguer heiansdo d'Phonetescht derbäi, wat immens ass, da kann ech schonn eppes virstellen. **Dat heescht, et si Saachen di gutt sinn, awer ech mengen dee ganze politeschen Volet „Wëllen“ ass nach net wäit genuch. Dat heescht och fir Leit di d'Kompetenzen hu fir eeben un d'Material ze schaffen, fir dat real un d'Leit ze bréngen, dat feelt einfach alles nach. Och wat d'Ortografi ugeet, Leit, also am Enseignement, di wëllen dat léieren; eis aner Proffen, Mathé-Proffen, Franséisch-Proffen, mee di kréien d'Méiglechkeet net mol. Dat heescht wann déi sech dann informéiere beim IFEN, di Formatioune sinn direkt eraus, sief dat lo online, oder sur place nach virdrun, di Formatioune sinn direkt zou, well einfach sou eng Ufro do ass, der misst een dann *nach* méi proposéieren, well dann hätt een op d'mannst mol Multiplikatoren an de Schoulen.** Dat heescht, do ginn immens vill verschidden Etappen a verschidde Richtungen an do muss een a mengen Aen mol konkret wëssen wat wëll een an op wéi eng Dauer. An dann eeben di Leit mol fannen,

ech mengen wann een di Leit bis [?] huet da kann een och konkret eppes veränneren oder verbessern.

XIII.1.8. Teacher: Casper

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant am Lycée Edward Steichen ze Clierf. Kéint Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an äer Charge beschreiwen?

Ech hunn d'Schoul hei ze Lëtzebuerg gemaach, also d'ganz Primärschoul, dono de Lycée, do hunn ech de Régime technique gemaach. Dono sinn ech op d'Uni gaangen an ech hunn Germanistik studéiert am Bachelor an am Master. D'Uni Lëtzebuerg hat dunn de Master agefouert am Enseignement secondaire. Ech wollt mech do aschreiwen fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, mee dat Joer waren nëmmen dräi oder véier Studenten, di de wollte maachen, dunn huet d'Uni Lëtzebuerg en net ugebueden. Dunn hunn ech de Master am Enseignement Secondaire Germanistik gemaach an eemol hunn ech geduecht ech muss de Concours fir Germanistik, also Däitschproff, an dunn hunn ech gesinn datt de Ministère de l'Education Nationale och de Concours opgemaach huet, wann ee Langue ou Lettres studéiert huet, an dunn hunn ech mech gemellt an ech hunn dunn am Fong esou... ech si Lëtzebuergesch-Prof ginn, dat heescht ech hu mer all di Lëtzebuergeschkenntnisser ziimlech selwer bäibruecht, ech hat wuel Coursen am Bachelor Luxemburgistik, awer di (sic) richteg Lëtzebuergesch (sic) hunn ech mer am Fong selwer bäibruecht –d'Grammaire, an och d'Literaturwëssenschaft. Voilà.

Q: Dat muss dann ganz schwéier sinn, also Lëtzebuergesch intuitiv ze léieren an z'enseignéieren och, oder wéi war et am Ufank?

Enseignéieren war et ziimlech OK well ech jo scho ganz vill Methoden an der Germanistik gesinn hunn, et ass eben just d'Sprooch wat geännert huet, u sech war et do méi einfach well et meng Mammesprooch ass, Lëtzebuergesch. Ech muss och soen, ech hunn, éier ech de Concours gemaach hunn am Lëtzebuergesch zwee Joer als Quereinsteiger an dem Ecole fondamentale geschafft, als Schoulmeeschter an do konnt ech ganz vill léieren, sief et vun der Didaktik hier an voilà [...] [2:15] Wat eebe lo schwierig ass, ass Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch z'enseignéieren. [Wann een] ganz vill Classes d'accueil huet an voilà dann ass et natierlech eng ganz aner Saach.

Q: An Äerem Lycée, wéi ass et organiséiert ? Ass et haaptsächlech Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch oder gött et och Coursë fir Mammesproochler ?

Dat ass ganz verschidden, well de Lycée Edward Steichen huet souwuel den nationale System wi och den internationale System. Dat heescht den nationale System, do hu mer op 7ème eng Stonn Lëtzebuergesch an der Woch an dat sinn alles quasi Mammesproochler. Do huet een och e Programm. Do muss ee wierklech nëmme Lëtzebuergesch, net Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, an dann awer hu mer di international Classen, do sinn d'Course sou opgebaut, mir hu Cours de base a Cours avancé, dat heescht di Schüler scho méi kënnen, do ass et natierlech [?] méi komplex. An wat fir de Cours de base, do ass wierklech Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, d'selwecht op der Classe d'accueil. Do si Schüler di si knapps e puer Méint hei am Land a kënnen natierlech kee Lëtzebuergesch an do ass och d'Sprooch ganz verschidden, do ass et Franséisch, Englesch, Däitsch, mat Hänn a Féiss, mat Google Translator a voilà. Also wat ass flott ze gesinn ass d'Progrèsen di si maachen an si wëllen och wierklech Lëtzebuergesch léieren. Mee dat Ganzt ass natierlech ëmmer nach an de Kannerschong, ech sinn den eenzege Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant am Lycée ze Clierf an [?] hunn ech ganz vill Classen an schaffen op ganz verschiddenen Niveauen. Voilà.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Léiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Also, et ass fir d'Classes d'accueil an fir di Classen vun der internationaler Schoul, do ass haaptsächlech Schwätzen. Dat heescht spillt jo guer keng Roll an voilà de Cours ass sou opgebaut datt ëmmer eng Schwätz-Aktivitéit dran ass wou d'Schüler mateneen schwätzen, wou de neie Vocabulaire geübt gött. Dann natierlech am nationale Schoulsystem, do ass natierlech och [?] wann een d'Grammaire gesäit an di eenzel Reegelen di et ginn. Mee och hei ass kloer vum Ministère festgeluecht ginn datt nëmme een Zéngtel vun de Punkten däerf op d'Grammaire bewäert ginn. Dat heescht Schreiffeeler spillen am Fong bei Prüfung [?] op 60 (sechszeg), fir zéng Punkten spillen déi eng Roll.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et sinn nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Dat ass natierlech ëmmer de Schwéierpunkt „Material“, wann ee lo Däitsch, Franséisch enseignéiert do huet ee ganz vill Material, am Lëtzebuergesch ass natierlech „Wat gelift“, dat Buch wat lo net grad dat allerbeschte Buch ass, dat ass och net um Programm, um Programm ass de „Schwätz Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“, den A1 an den A2 an och lo de B1. „Schwätz Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“ ass relativ gutt fannen ech fir d'Erwuessenebildung, mee fir am Lycée, well do si ganz oft Themen dran di Kanner net sou UNSchwätzen, dat heescht z.B. bei der Famill, „sidd Dir bestuet, sidd Dir gescheet?“, jo et ass dass Kanner déi Wieder léieren mee si sinn net dofir concernéiert, et ass net de Public ciblé. Voilà ganz vill muss ech selwer ausschaffen wat och Ecoutë sinn op Lëtzebuergesch, di si gutt, mee si si vill ze schnell. Do sëtzen ech ganz oft –ech gi mam Handy bei meng Famill fir dass si e bësse schwätzen an ech dat dann ophuele kann, well ech hu lo net ëmmer, ech mengen wann een sech selwer héiert ëmmer am Cours, dat ass och vläicht ëmmer e bësse penibel, an och fir d'Schüler, dass si och mol aner Stëmmen héieren, fannen ech och relativ wichteg. Mee soss gött et nach den „Lies de bal“ (Buch), mee dat ass e Buch mat Texter dran mee dat ass wierklech schon en Niveau wou Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch wou een net da matschaffe kann. An och deelweis „Alles an der Rei“ (Buch), wou een e puer Exercisser ka raushuelen mee... voilà, [?] sinn ëmmer rieds a lénks a bësse siche goen an dann säi Cours esou e bësse wéi Puzzle zesummebauen.

Q: Et ginn elo verschidden Institutiounen, déi d'Standardiséierung vun der Sprooch virundreiwen. Ginn d'Einsegnante vum Lëtzebuergesch och weider forméiert als Äntwert op déi nei Entwécklungen bei der Standardiséierung?

[7:10] Zumools well ech si lo nach am Stage, do hue tee regelméisseg Formatiounen wou een di neisten Entwécklungen gewuer gött. Danieft sinn ech an der Programmkommissioun, sief et vum nationale Schoulsystem a vum internationale Schoulsystem, wou een –also

d'office ëmmer um neieste Stand quasi ass, well een do Programmer ausschafft, [Programmer] muss een adaptéieren, et gëtt gekuckt, "schaffe mer mat deem Buch oder schaffe mer mat deem Buch?" an voilà. Esou ass een dann awer e bëssen am neiste Stand.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen beim Léieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiterung vun der Offer vun Optiounscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Mengt Dir, dass esou eng Verdeelung vun Optiounscoursen dozou féiert, dass d'Ortografi keng Prioritéit géif hunn an de Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch?

Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch fannen ech et schwéier well wi gesot de Fokus drop läit fir ze schwätzen awer wa mer lo nach de Fokus Grammaire dabäi huele fäerten ech datt et relativ vill, [datt mer] ze vill Schüler iwwerforderen quasi. Dofir fannen ech gutt am nationale Schoulsystem gi mer jo elo op de Wee fir datt Lëtzebuergesch eréischt op der 4ème an op der 3ème agefouert gëtt an dono och d'Optioun als Pilotprojet bis Première, als Optioun. Do kann ech mer virstellen, dass een lo schon eng aner Sproochastellung an dem Moment huet, datt de Schüler da seet „Ok, ech wëll wierklech Lëtzebuergesch léieren“, well et mierkt ee wierklech den Ënnerscheid; op 7ème huet ee wahrscheinlech eng aner Astellung zum Lëtzebuergesche well wann ee gesäit wat een an der Primärschoul am Lëtzebuergesche mécht, dat ass souwisou? [?] net di Valeur an huet net de Stelleväert wi dat soll herno op der Première hunn. Dat heescht et ass wierklech e Wandel ze gesinn an och e Bewosstsinn op de Säite vun de Schüler, ob mer lo wierklech dat, si dat wëllen oder ob si soen „Ok, nee, et war schéin ze gesinn an ech maachen awer léiwer eppes Aneres“, well d'Argument, wat ëmmer bruecht gëtt, datt zu 75% vun de Schüler, di ginn herno op d'Uni, wat ass herno de Mehrwert wann ech do Lëtzebuergesch-Parcours maachen. Voilà et ass nach ëmmer di Diskussiounen... "Wou soll di Stonn hierkommen op 4ème fir d'Lëtzebuergesch?" Et gëtt jo e bësse gespart [?] fir eng hallef Stonn Däitsch ewechzehuelen, eng hallef Stonn Franséisch, mee da soen di Proffen och „OK, da muss och bei eis de Programm reduzéiert ginn, well mir brauchen di Zäit einfach“. An, jo, et ass e bësse wi gesot alles nach an de Kannerschong an et muss ee kucken wouhin d'Rees geet.

Q: Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d'Material, dat vum Ministère de l'Éducation geschafent gouf, oder nach aner Material?

Ech muss dobäi soen dass all di Enseignants di lo mat mir ugefaangen hunn, mir waren ze zéng oder zwielef Stéck, mir hunn esou grob op Teams gemaach, wou mir all Saachen mateneen deelen, dat heescht wa vläicht een eng Kéier eppes Flottes huet, dass elo net den Egoismus wi vläicht an anere Sproochen ass [?] mir sinn do ganz oppen, mir deelen dat, well mer eis bewusst sinn, datt d'Material ziimlech knapp ass, an datt wann een eng gutt Iddi huet –e Power Point, oder soss Exercissen- datt mer dat einfach mateneen deelen, och Ecouter di mer ophuelen; mir schaffen do ganz vill mateneen, woubäi muss ech och soen datt d'Kulturhaus ze Miersch di Dossiers pédagogiques ausgeschafft huet, di sinn zwar op Däitsch, mee dat kann een dann ëmmer au fur et à mesure op Lëtzebuergesch adaptéieren.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gött och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruecht?

Absolut. Ech hat lo op der 7ème Classique, do hu mer iwwer(t) (d')Dialekter geschwat an do hu mer iwwerhaapt gesinn, wéi ze Lëtzebuerg d'Sproochentwécklung stattfonnt huet, an iwwerhaapt, ech hunn mat der, Schnëssen-App hu mer geschafft, dat heescht d'Schüler hunn di alleguerten um Handy, dat heescht di lescht zéng Minutten am Cours schaffen si domat. An och d'Bewosstsinn entsteet, datt net iwwerall d'selwecht geschwat gött, et ass zwar Lëtzebuergesch mee di am Éislek di schwätzen dann anescht wéi di am Süden. [?] Ënnerscheeder gesicht, déi géigeniwwergestallt(?) an voilà.

Q: Ganz interessant.

Absolut, a fir si och ziimlech witzeg well si hu Wierder dabäi gesinn, wou se guer net wëssen oder „Oh Freck, seet een dat esou?“ Voilà.

Q: Enseignéiert Dir och d'Ortografi, wann d'Schüler groussen Interessi dorun weisen?

Jo, also ech sinn do relativ flexibel, wann ech mierken, do steet e groussen Interessi, mee ech muss soen, et ass lo di éischt Kéier wou si wierklech richtig Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen hunn, si dinn sech wierklech schwéier. Also mir hatten lo eng Ortografi, eng reng Ortografisprüfung, wou ech da wierklech gesinn hunn, „Ok do muss awer nach geschafft ginn“. Si si bereet, Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren; wat mer ganz oft maachen, zumools, mir huele Facebook-Kommentarer oder RTL.lu-Kommentarer [13:28] an da liese mer déi, an dono probéiere mer déi ze verbesseren an dann hu mer gesinn ?[13:33] „oh Mäi, ok, do ginn awer ganz vill Feeler geschriwwen“, oder si soen och „Oh, ech hat dat och esou geschriwwen!“, voilà. „Ab haut, schreift dat wgl. net méi esou“, si mierken „ok, et ass esou“, oder si kommunizéieren ziimlech vill Facebook, Whatsapp, oder wat fir sech? [13:50]. „Monsieur, ech passen elo e bësse awer op wéi ech schreiwen“. Den lod.lu gëtt ganz oft benotzt, zumools op enger Classe d’accueil, well och do, di hir Sprooch kënnen, also vum Dictionnaire, benotzen, an si héieren et och eng Kéier, di Funktioun di ass ziimlech wichteg.

Q: Soll d’Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergesch Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn? Soll och d’Ortografi de lokale Varianten ugepasst ginn?

Menger Meenung no soll d’Ortografi ëmmer an engem Kontext geléiert ginn, z.B. wa mer lo en Text hunn, wou ganz vill [?], “du mools, hie moolt”, also di Vokaler dra sinn, wou ech mol soen, “OK, ech huele mol e puer Wieder raus” an dann, kucke mer firwat gëtt dat eng Kéier mat Duebel-O geschriwwen, firwat nëmmen mat engem O. Sou datt een dann an deem Sënn vläicht eng Reegel kann erschaffen, mee sou reng Ortografiscoursen, sou wi vläicht een am Fransésische mécht, fannen ech vläicht, dat iwverfuerdert einfach vläicht d’Schüler, mee wann hie mierkt, esou an engem Kontext eraus, dann fannen ech mécht dat schon ziimlech Sënn. 90 Minutten reng Grammaire ze maachen, éischtens vläicht fir mech als Enseignant och e bësse ze schützen, soen ech “Oh freck”. Ziimlech drechent kann ech mer dat virstellen.

Zu der zweeter Fro, ech fannen di standardiséiert Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch soll schon den Zentrum sinn, mee wann ech awer lo z.B. eppes Mëndleches iwverpräiwen, an voilà, ech schaffen ze Clierf, do schwätze ganz vill Schüler mam Dialekt, an dann ass et fir mech ganz OK, oder och wann si mussen eppes fräi schreiwe wou ech d’Grammaire net

bewäerten, dann as et och net schlëmm, ob se “nik” oder “net” schreiwen am Fall, wa Schreiffeeler net bewäert ginn, Haaptsaach ech verstinn wat se soe wëllen. Et ass och schwiereg fir si an [?] och di Angscht, dass di éischt wou di kënnt [?], „Jo, mee Monsieur ech schwätzen awer anescht wéi Dir“, ech soen him datt dat mir jo scho bewosst ass, an [?] an deem Kontext hei net bewäerten. Mee wann et awer drëm geet, fir Verben ze konjugéieren oder d’Reegel zu der Vokallängt (length) unzewenden, da muss een natierlech op di standardiséiert Sprooch zeréckgräifen esou wi si och enseignéiert gëtt.

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d’Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Et ass op alle Fall e Challenge, an och d’Art a Weis wi een domadder ëmgeet. Ech fannen, si muss schon thematiséiert ginn, drop hiweisen datt et di Méisproochegkeet tatsächlech gëtt, an awer géif ech soen am positive Sënn, net esou en „oh...“ wi d’Leit einfach genervt si wa si müssen op Franséisch schwätzen, mee einfach, soen „Ok Lëtzebuergesch ass och d’INTEGRATIOUNSSPROOCH, ah“ [17:14]. Voilà, et muss een drop hiweisen datt et di Méisproochegkeet hei gëtt a wéi si hei gelieft gëtt a wi de Lëtzebuerger sech domat upasse kann, an datt dat deelweis och e BONUS ass deen een huet.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an den anere Institutiounen wéi dem ZLS, dem Kommissär an dem Ministère de l’Education Nationale?

Ech weess datt et gëtt schon ëmmer e Coordinateur, den fir d’Lëtzebuergesch zoustänneg ass, de gëtt jo vum Ministère de l’Education Nationale bestëmmt an den schafft dann och fir den IFEN an dee kënnt reegelméisseg an d’Course kucken. Mir hunn den Echange, mir hunn d’Programmkommissioun di zesummekënnt wou Leit aus eenzele Lycéeën vun hirem Departement, also de vum Lëtzebuergesch, soe wi et leeft, hir Meenung soen a vläicht wat verbessert kéint ginn, an dann eebe wi gesot hu mer ëmmer, bon, e klenge Grupp gegrënnt wou mer eis austauschen...

Q: Soll d’Zesummenaarbecht nach verstärkt ginn?

Absolut well wi gesot dat steet nach alles an de Kannerschong, fir datt dat sech mol entwéckelt. Ech mengen mir brauchen d'Hëllef vum Ministère, ech mengen si brauchen de Feedback vum Terrain, a mir brauchen di Méiglechkeet, dat Lëtzebuergesch auszeliwwen an de Schoulen. Ech mengen, dat Eent geet net ouni dat Anert.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Wann ech den internationale Schoulsystem kucken, do ass et esou dass Lëtzebuergesch obligatoresch ass, well an dem internationale Schoulsystem si jo ganz vill Schüler di net Lëtzebuergesch Mammesprooch hunn, oder Franséisch oder Däitsch. Dat heescht, do ass et jo schon d'office dass si musse Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen, an ech fannen datt dat relativ gutt férdert. Anerersäits hunn ech, ma, di schwätze just dann an der Schoul, Lëtzebuergesch, si hu soss keng doheem wou si kënne schwätzen. Dat heescht wann een da mol eng Hausaufgab gëtt da kann een net ëmmer verlaangen datt de Schüler déi honnertprozenteg gemaach huet, well et keen huet doheem, deen dat ka kontrolléieren. A wann ech awer och di Classe d'accueil gesinn, mir hunn eng Stonn oder zwou Stonne Lëtzebuergesch pro Woch, wat och relativ schwierig ass, kënnt di lues virun, gesäit een de Fortschrëtt, si si ganz houfreg, mee wann si wéilten doheem mat engem schwätzen, jo, si hu keen mat dem si kënne schwätzen. Dofir ech fannen, datt d'Iddi misst sinn, datt een vun der Primärschoul un, méi geziilt do schon Kanner un d'Lëtzebuergesch run hëllt an datt herno, datt et e fléissende Iwwergang gëtt vun der Primärschoul riwwer an de Lycée an dann, wi gesot, datt vläicht méi wi nëmme eng Stonn d'Woch Lëtzebuergesch. Well et si ganz vill Schüler di soen „Oh et ass schued datt mir éischt nëmme eemol d'Woch hunn“, jo, well et ass wierklech, d'Bereetschaft ass deelweis do. Also ech weess lo net wéi et op den ënneschte Classen ass, wéi et do ass, mee ech fannen et ass jo relativ wichteg och fir herno wann seng??? Léier maachen, wann seng no??? bei e Patron ginn. Dat éischt wat dee jo kuckt ob ee Lëtzebuergesch kann. Géif ech soen et ass eeben d'Integratiounssprooch an ech fannen et immens wichteg datt ee Lëtzebuergesch léiert. Ech hat natierlech och ee Schüler dee sot, „Jo, Monsieur, fitwat geet et net duer wann ech nëmme Franséisch kann? Well mam Franséisch kann ech hei ze Lëtzebuerg och alles maachen“, jo mee da muss een

dem Schüler bewusst ginn, wou een dann hei wunnt, wou een herno wäert schaffen, wou ee wäert seng Sue verdéngen, an natierlech datt d’Kommunikatioun eeben iwwert d’Sprooch eeben [ugeet?, 22:23].

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d’Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Mir misse mol kucken datt an all Gebai e Lëtzebuergesch-Proff eeben och ass, well ganz oft gëtt Lëtzebuergesch nach vun engem Däitsch-Enseignant gehalen. Ganz oft héiert een och datt dann d’Lëtzebuergesch am Fong mol ewechgelooss gëtt, mol vläicht fir eng Woch, do seet een „OK, mir sinn do mam Däitsch amgaangen, mir hatten [?] Lëtzebuergesch, mee dann, huele mer dat eng Kéier no“, an gëtt si iergendwann nogeholl. Et weess een dann och net. Menger Meenung géif? [23:37] dat Sënn ginn datt all Lycée mol wéinstens ee Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant hätt.

Programmer mussen vläicht deelweis och adaptéiert ginn, op d’Classen, well ech fannen, wann ech ee Programm vun enger Classe d’accueil huelen, den ass enorm grouss an do sinn och deelweis Saachen drop, di Schüler net esou direkt concernéieren... Wat lo mol gutt ass fir di international Schoulen, do gëtt elo eng Programmkommissioun gebillt, di gouf et virdrun nach net, well och elo, wann ech dann no engem Program froen, et gëtt keen, do kann ech e bësse maan wat ech wëll. Dat heescht do muss ech dann de Besoin vun de Schüler kucken, wou ech mer soen „Ok, bei den do kann ech mer virstellen Grammaire ze maachen“, bei den do soen ech mer „Nee, dat do ass wierklech Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, di sinn einfach nach net sou wäit“, an do misst ee kucken ob een dofir e roude Fuedem eng Linn drakritt. Och d’Verdeelung vun de Schüler op di Accueilsclassen, oft gëtt nëmmen op den Alter gekuckt, an et gëtt [op] di sproochlech Kenntnisser gekuckt. Ganz oft no der Classe d’accueil ginn si net op eng 5ème d’accueil, mee da ginn di Schüler gekuckt fir am internationale Schoulsystem ënnerzekeréien respektiv si ginn erof op d’Préparatoire orientéiert, obwuel di Schüler vill, vill méi kéinten. Ech mengen do misst, bei der Verdeelung vun de Schüler herno [?] ze Classen, do misst méi genau gekuckt ginn. An do misst Lëtzebuergesch natierlech och eng Roll spillen.

XIII.1.9. Teacher: Damian

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant am Lycée technique de Lallange. Kéint Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an äre Charge beschreiwen?

Ech sinn ze Iechternach an de Lycée classique gaangen an hunn do eng 13ème gemaach, an duerno hunn ech Kommunikatioun- a Medienwëssenschaft ugefaangen ze studéieren, hunn awer dono de Switch gemaach op Germanistik an dono hunn ech de Bachelor an der Germanistik gemaach. Duerno hunn ech am Fong de Master an der Germanistik ugefaangen, well deemols de Master an der Luxemburgistik ee Joern et konnt organiséiert ginn, well et net genuch Participanten do waren, an dunn ee Joer drop dunn ass de Master vun der Luxemburgistik an de Master vun Enseignement secondaire gefall, sou dat mech dann interesséiert huet, an dunn hunn ech de Master am Enseignement secondaire am Lëtzebuergesch. Nom Master hunn ech am Fong als Journalist geschafft, freelance [...] Lo sinn ech eeben zanter Februar 2020 Enseignant fir d'Lëtzebuergesch ze Esch am Lycée.

Q: Deng Coursen, sinn di classes d'accueil, also Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, oder sinn si fir Mammesproochler?

Di Classen di ech hunn, dat ass alles Classes d'accueil. Dat heescht, dat sinn ganz ënnerscheedlech Parcoursen a Biografien, di ech do enseignéieren, an dat ass am Fong de gréisste Challenge an dem Beruf, well et am Fong ass esou datt wierklech keen Schüler a keng Schülerin d'selwecht ass, am Sënn vun den Niveauen, am Sënn vum sozioekonomeschen Hannergronn, am Sënn vum soziale Stand, an dat ass wierklech e Challenge, an ech hunn am Fong eng Classe d'accueil an duerno ass et eng 6ème, an déi Schüler kommen all aus enger Classe d'accueil, an dann d'5ème ass eeben d'zweet vun dëser 6ème, an et ass am Fong e Lycée-interne Projet, deen och [un e?] ministerielle Schoulprogramm gebonnen ass. Voilà, sou gesäit et am Fong aus.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Léiere vum Lëtzebuergeschen am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

So mer lo meng Classe(s) d'accueil di ech hunn, dat si Leit di ganz rezent am Land sinn, an fir do den Hiewel unzesetzen an just op Schwätzen an de mëndlechen Ausdrock sech ze orientéieren, ass extrem schwiereg, well si hunn en anert Schrëftbild, si hunn aner Sazstrukturen an dowéinst gëtt z.B. op der Classe d'accueil, di Leit di ganz rezent am Land sinn, och schrëftlech vill geschafft, an datt si sech kënnen verbildlechen, wéi d'Sprooch opgebaut ass. An dann, wann dat e bësse méi sëtzt, da gi mer hin an dann, probéiere méi ze schwätzen, well si jo da scho verschidden Musteren a Schemaen am Kapp hunn. An duerno gëtt am Fong weider de Fokus op d'Schwätze geluecht, mat ëmmer méi Exercisse während der Stonn. Lo während Coronavirus-Zäit ass dat extrem schwéier, well di Mask eng Sproochbarrière ass, an da muss een ëmmer adaptéieren. Voilà.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschaft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaften an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Jo an nee. Jo well wann een elo beispillsweis op d'Librairie kucke geet, da komme rëm quasi a ganz reegelméisseg Ofstänn didaktescht Material, kënn raus. An et ass am Fong eng gutt Saach. De Problem, deen ech gesinn, ass, mir hunn do näischt fir Kanner, fir Schüler, Schülerinnen tëscht zwielef (12) an uechtzéng (18) Joer. Dat heescht, de Problem ass deen, dass alles quasi op den Erwuesseneberäich orientéiert ass, mat Beispiller, mat Schwätzexercissen, mat Ecouter fir Erwuessener di d'Sprooch wëlle léieren, sief et d'Aarbecht oder privat. Wat ech feststellen ass -an dat ass och leider ganz schued-, dass wierklech keen adequat Material fir jonk Leit do ass. Dat heescht mäi konkreten Alldag gesäit esou aus, dass ech mech u verschidde Bicher an aner didaktesch Materialer orientéiere ginn an dann mäin eegent Material ausschaffen. An dat hält wahrscheinlech och dann net déi Qualitéit wéi wann sech Professioneller dann wierklech domat auserneesetzen

iwwer eng laang Zäit, fir da konkret op verschidde Saachen anzegoen. An dat ass a mengem Schoulalldag (vida diaria escolar) wierklech e Problem, also ech fannen dat als Problem.

Q: Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d'Material, dat vum Ministère de l'Éducation geschafent gouf, oder nach anert Material?

Ech erschaffe quasi alles eegestänneg, dat heescht ech servéiere mech am Fong lénks a rieds, an de Bicher, di et scho ginn, an da probéieren ech déi ze adaptéieren. An dat hält extrem vill Zäit. Dat ass mega Aarbecht an dann ass et esou datt dann de Volet vum Enseignéieren am Fong, et sinn am Fong zwou Saachen di sech mega treffen, an dat Eent ass net gutt fir dat Anert. Well doduerjer dass de extrem vill musst iwwerschaffen, verléiers de d'Energie fir Cours ze halen. Also sou geet et mir mol. Ech gesinn dat am Moment ziimlech problematesch an deem Sënn.

Q: Et ginn elo verschidden Institutiounen, déi d'Standardiséierung vun der Sprooch virundreiwen. Ginn d'Einseignante vum Lëtzebuergesch och weider forméiert als Äntwert op déi nei Entwécklung bei der Standardiséierung?

Jo, also dat mécht total Sënn. Ech mengen, wann nei Saachen ausgeschafft ginn, ech mengen da soll all Acteur an dem Beräich mat an d'Boot geholl ginn, oder alles ëm Rot gefrot ginn, oder d'Meenung dozou kënne soen, well di Leit man alleguer e mega Job, ech respektéieren dat och, de Problem ass just, si erliwen net de Schoulalldag, si erliwen net d'Problemer vun de Schüler, déi wëllen (los estudiantes) eppes iergendwou nokucken an engem Buch, a sinn awer keen adequat Material wat hinnen hëlleft, wou si kënne séier eng Reegel kucke goen. Och um Niveau vum Schwätzen ass dat wichteg, fannen ech, well wann s de näischt am Grapp hues –kee Material (no hay material). Et ass schwéier fir si, ne? Iergendwéi e logesche Sazbau ze kreéieren... Voilà [9 :22].

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuergescher Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen beim Léieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiderung vun der Offer vun Optiounscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Mengt Dir, dass esou eng Verdeelung

vun Optiounscoursen dozou féiert, dass d'Ortografi keng Prioritéit géif hunn an de Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch?

Ech gesinn et problematesch fir di Coursen di an d'Optioun solle ugebuede ginn, eebe wéi dat ‚kreatiivt Schreiwen‘, wéi ‚d'Ortografi‘, wéi ‚d'Literatur‘, fir déi Coursen ze vergläichen mam Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, well ee jo dovun ausgoe kann, datt di Leit di dann eng Optioun wielen, sech och dofir interesséieren, scho vläicht Virkenntnisser hunn, si hunn dat scho vläicht gesinn, an di Leit di am Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Cours sëtzen... [10:32] do ass jo net de Fokus op d'Ortografi, ech mengen do ass dann de Fokus drop, fir sech esou gutt wi méiglech aus-kënnen-ze-drécken (o: auskennen ze drécken? Fascinante, puede ser que Raoul haya separado el prefijo y puesto un verbo modal en el medio, 10:36). An, jo, ok, beschtefalls och nach e puer Sätz kënnen ze schreiwen. Mee ech gesi jo net, datt, wann elo an den Optiounen dee Sujet behandelt, vun Ortografi, Literatur, fräit Schreiwen, Medien, Kultur, ech gesinn dat am Fong elo net direkt an enger Liaison mat Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch. Well dat awer wierklech trotzdem en Ënnerscheid ass.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gött och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruecht?

Deels. Also ech enseignéieren jo ze Esch an wat do relativ kuriéis ass, datt do schon verschidden Escher Wieder mat rafléissen, wi z.B. [...] „Mäer“ amplaaz „mir“, ne? Esou Geschichten. Awer fir de Rescht, éischer net. Also et ass da just wann si dat ausser dem Cours eng Kéier wouergeholl hunn, a bréngen si dat mat an de Cours, mee ech maache si lo net dorop opmierksam, datt jee no Plaz am Land en aneren Dialekt am Fong geschwat ka ginn, also dorobber maachen ech si lo net opmierksam, sief dann et kënnt eng Fro, datt si dat héieren hunn, mee et ass awer lo net e Bestanddeel vum Cours.

Q: Enseignéiert Dir och d'Ortografi, wann d'Schüler groussen Interessi dorun weisen?

Jo, natierlech, heiansdo komme Froen, „firwat schreiwe mer dat sou an net anescht?“, mee et ass awer lo net dass ech si –bah ech korrigéieren, wann ech eng Kopie vun hinnen hunn, da verbesseren ech och d'Feeler, mee si kréien dann awer beispillsweis op enger Prüfung

keng Punkten dofir ofgezunn. Ech ginn awer lo net hin an ech erklären firwat datt mer, ech weess et net, bäi engem verschidde Plurielen d’Konsonanten verduebelen, oder esou Saachen enseignéieren ech net, huet kee Wäert [?].

Q: Soll d’Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergesch Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Bei Mammesproochler sinn ech schon der Meenung datt do d’Ortografi soll stëmmen, also ech mengen et huet jo kee Wäert wann ee schon sech di Zäit hält an et hält een e Cours oder geet een an e Cours, wou Lëtzebuergesch eben enseignéiert gëtt a wéi enger Form och ëmmer, sinn ech schon der Meenung datt dat soll effektiv esou gutt wi méiglech sinn. Zemoools well ee jo hautdesdaags, ech mengen, den Zenter fir d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch publizéiert ganz vill, si hunn di kleng Bichelchen, ech mengen dat kéint quasi all Schüler kréien wann een sech souwisou dofir interesséiert [?] an e Cours ze goen.

Am Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, jo bah, do mécht et natierlech Sënn datt een och e gewësse Wäert op d’Ortografi leet. Anerersäits ass et illusoresch ze mengen datt dat an iergendenger Perfektioun ëmsetzbar ass. Mee natierlech wann ee lo e Verb konjugéiert, da misst een och schon e bëssen am Kapp hu wéi et geschriwwe gëtt, soss geet dat jo net.

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d’Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Am Fong schon, ech mengen wann d’Leit ee realen Interessi dorun hunn, gesinn ech elo net firwat datt dat net kompatibel soll sinn. De Problem ass ëmmer wann et de Leit oktroyéiert gëtt. Wann s de sees, „du muss lo dat léieren, soss bass du keen Deel vun der Gesellschaft“. Ech mengen dat wier e falsche Wee. Ech mengen, et wier/fir? éischter drop ze sëtzen, dat als flotten Accessoire ze gesinn, an di Leit di dat wëllen, ech mengen, d’Coursen um INL, di si gutt besat, och an aner Institutiounen. Ech mengen do ass jo awer en Interessi do, an di Leit di si scho polyglot, ech mengen di sinn op d’mannst zweesproocheg géif ech soen. Ech gesi lo net datt dat an iergendenger Form d’Méisproochegkeet hemmt. Ech gesinn et just problematesch wann s de de Leit dat

oktroyéiers, an sees „du muss dat lo léieren“, ech mengen wann et net aus fräie Stécker geschitt, dorum kann ee kee Mënsch ze näischt zwéngen. Voilà.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an den anere Institutiounen wéi dem ZLS, dem Kommissär an dem Ministère de l'Education Nationale?

Ech gesi schon datt eng Zesummenaarbecht do ass, et ass relativ nei. Wat ech elo erliewen ass am Fong datt, ech hunn d'Impressiounen datt am Lycée jiddferen e bëssen säin Denge mécht, dat heescht, jiddferen e bësse säine? Wee geet [16:28], säin eegene Wee, an ech mengen et ass awer och lo virgesinn an et gëtt och lo ëmmer reegelméisseg gemaach, datt de Contrôle do ass, datt de Suivi do ass, fir e selwechte Programm ze hunn, fir selwecht ze bewäerten. Ech mengen et ass och e Facteur, deen Een mécht et esou, deen Anere sou, do giff ech mer hei esou wënschen datt awer trotzdem méi zesummegegesscht gëtt. Mee datt lo do keen Dialog ass, géif ech net soen. Et kéint awer menger Meenung no och nach verbessert ginn, an wi gesot et kéint menger Meenung no och bessert Material fir Schüler an engem Alter tëschent zwielef (12) an uechzég (18) Joer erschafft ginn.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Ech mengen, eng Léisung an deem Sënn schon, mee muss een dann och mat konkreten Beispiller respektiv konkreten Ziilsetzungen de Schüler quasi virun Aen halen, wat dann di real Plus-Value dovun ass, wann si dann kënnen e puer Wieder Lëtzebuergesch oder och e ganz elaboréierten Sproochgebrauch schon hunn, wat hinnen dat ka bréngen. Ech mengen, di meescht, di wäerten och vläicht iergendwann bei/an? d'Aarbechtsmaart hei ze Lëtzebuerg kommen, an dann, bleift trotzdem d'Lëtzebuergesch present, am Alldag, och wann ëmmer rëm gesot gëtt „jo et gëtt jo nëmme nach Franséisch geschwat“, ech gesinn dat net sou. Ob et lo Medie sinn, ob et lo Veräiner sinn, oder kulturell Institutiounen, do ass jo awer d'Sprooch present, an wann een dann den Leit virun Aen féiert wat awer kann e Plus-Value sinn, sief et fir un der Gesellschaft deelzehuelen, sief et fir vläicht deene Jonken ze weisen datt si kënnen hiren Elteren hëllef, di guer kee Lëtzebuergesch kënnen,

op Administratiounen, ech mengen op d'Bank goen z.B. oder [op] d'Gemeng goen oder esou. Ech mengen do muss ee mat konkreten Beispiller hinne weisen, „wann s du dat kanns, dann hues du eng Plus-Value“. Mee, wi gesot, fir op de Wee ze goen a just per Force do ze soen, „Lëtzebuergesch fest!“, fir lo, jo, fir dat e bësse provokativ ze soen; ech mengen dat ass falsch. Et muss ee vläicht ëmmer en Ziil virun d'Aen hunn, firwat et gutt ass.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

[19:56] Nee, sécher net. Ech mengen, di Integratiounssprooch ass Franséisch, Lëtzebuergesch an Englesch och. Et gi esou vill Veräiner, sou vill, wou d'Méisproochegkeet gelieft gëtt, an ech mengen wann s de di mannsten Notiounen hues an den jeweilege Sproochen di ech scho grad genannt hunn, fannen ech, et si mëttlerweil bal essentiel. Et mierkt een datt dat Däitscht e bësse erofgeet, dofir geet dat Lëtzebuergesch erop. Mee Lëtzebuergesch eleng als Integratiounssprooch ze gesinn, ass och falsch, well hei? [?] awer trotzdem och immens vill Franséisch geschwat a geschriwwe gëtt, a wanns de dat net hues, jo da kanns de net richteg och deelhuele, um Alldag.

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergeschen an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Material. An dann Ziilsetzung wéi ech gesot hunn, datt ëmmer nees virun Ae gehale gëtt „firwat maache mer dat? Firwat brauchst du dat? Wat ass d'Plus-Value?“. Dat. An eeben, wat ech erliewen, Material feelt, also dat ass wierklech markant.

XIII.1.10. Teacher: Evelyn

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant am Lënster Lycée. Kéint Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech si Lëtzebuergesch-Mammesproochlerin, ech hu mäi Lycée ze Esch gemaach an ech hunn dono decidéiert fir d'éischt wëllen Soziologie ze studéieren, well dat mech einfach interesséiert huet no der Première, dofir sinn ech op Stroosbuerg gaangen. Ech hunn awer séier gemierkt dass ech domadder net wëll eppes ufänken spéiderhin, dofir hunn ech mäi Bachelor a Geschicht gewiesselt, an ech hu mäi Bachelor an der Geschicht dono op der Uni/lu, e Bachelor in European Cultures gemaach. Dono hunn ech awer och gemierkt, och wa Geschicht mech immens interesséiert, dass näischt mat dem ech virufueren, oder mat dem ech iergendwéi herno kéint ufänken, an do hunn ech dunn decidéiert de Master an der Luxemburgistik ze maachen, eeben och well ech wusst dass ech mech domadder wahrscheinlech relativ nätzlech kéint maachen bzw. et e Master wier den gesiicht wier. Ech hunn de Master 2019 fäerdeg gemaach an ech hunn och dunn direkt am September ugefaangen ze Lënster an den International School ze schaffen. Ech hu mer d'International School spezifesch erausgesiicht, well ech wusst dass do wahrscheinlech vill Lëtzebuergesch gesiicht gëtt, an dat war och jo richtig, well et sinn [?] Plaze geschaf. Ech hu fir d'éischt als Chargée ugefaangen, dunn hunn ech de Stage als Chargée. Dunn hunn ech d'lescht Joer am Januar de Concours geschriwwen, an den jo och gepackt, an dofir sinn ech lo am Fonctionnairesstage an ech hunn wahrscheinlech muer meng Examensstonn, dat heescht da sinn ech dono fäerdeg quasi.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Léiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Also ech enseignéiere jo verschidde Gruppen. Wann ech do eng Kéier vläit kann en Iwwerbléck ginn, ech hunn zum Engen, also de Lënster-Lycée International School huet dräi Sproochesektiounen, dat ass eemol Däitsch, Englesch an zanter dësem Joer och di franséisch Sproochesektioun. A mir deelen d'Schüler am Ufank vum Joer op, an zwar an

quasi Mammesproochler bzw. di en wierklech héijen Niveau hunn, B2-C1 Niveau hunn, di quasi wi gesot Mammesproochler sinn, dat si meeschtens Schüler di hir Primaireschoul beispillsweis an enger lëtzebuergescher Schoul gemaach hunn. An natierlech dann d'Ufänger mat deene mer, normalerweis mat engem A1-Niveau ufänken, di just réischt an d'Land komm sinn, oder di hir ganz Schoulen an internationale Schoule gemaach hunn an dann net vill a Kontakt waren mam Lëtzebuergeschen.

Ech denken op den zwee Niveaue géing ech eigentlech soen läit de Fokus um Schwätzen. Also besonnesch natierlech am Friemsproochenunterricht wëll ech se drukréien (dazubringen, llevarlos a) ze kommunizéieren. D'Aktivitéite sinn op d'Schwätzen ausgeluecht, natierlech ouni Schreiwen a Lauschteren a Liesen geet et net. Mee, de Fokus ass absolut um Schwätzen. Also, do, d'Prüfungen, absolut kee Wäert, also, ech muss verstoe wat si schreiwen awer ech zéien? [3:59] näischt lo fir Schreiffeeler beispillsweis. Dann op deenen anere Klassen, wou et eeben net als Friemsprooch mee einfach als Sprooch enseignéiert gëtt, ass et meeschtens och Diskussiounen iwwert d'Aktualitéit, lëtzebuergesch Literatur hinne méi no bréngen, di lëtzebuergesch Geschicht, Sproochgeschicht, an do geet et méi haaptsächlech och drëms Projeten ze maachen, an si einfach schwätzen ze loossen, an hinnen ze weisen, wat di lëtzebuergesch Kultur ass, d'Literatur ass, an sou weider. Wat wollt ech soen? Ah jo, firwat ech och einfach vill Wäert drop leeën, dass et haaptsächlech geschwat soll: et ass eng Sprooch di haaptsächlech geschwat gëtt, an datt [et]? och wichteg ass, ze wëssen, an der International School léieren si deelweis véier oder fënnf Sproochen. Dat heescht, si hunn hir L1 fir „Language One“, mat der se op d'Sektioun kommen; wann se eng däitsch Sektioun sinn ass natierlech Däitsch beispillsweis. Deelweis ass dat awer net hir Mammesprooch, z.B. Dat heescht si kommen op eng Englesch-Sektioun mee si schwätzen doheem vläit Polnesch oder Hollänesch, dat heescht dat ass scho mol dann hir zweet Sprooch di si eigentlech léieren. Da mussen se eng zweet Sprooch wielen, wat dann eebe Franséisch, Däitsch, Spuenesch oder soss iergendeng Sprooch ass, wi si dann op dem drëtte Joer mussen relativ gutt beherrschen, well [?] op der Sprooch enseignéiert ginn. Dat heescht, do sinn deelweis Schüler di mol net mat enger zweeter Sprooch kommen, an di déi während dräi Joer sou intensiv musse léieren, dass se kënnen en Niewefach wi Geschicht oder Géo oder d'Sciencen, kënnen an deem Fach verstoen. Da léieren se nach eng drëtt Sprooch, di si zwou Stonnen d'Woch hunn, an da kommen ech nach mam/am? [5:46] Lëtzebuergeschen. Dat heescht... Dofir sinn ech mer wierklech bewusst, dass ech immens lues mam

Programm fueren, a vill Widderhuelungen abauen a wi gesot de Fokus wierklech drop leeën, dass se herno rausginn an sech kënnen virstellen an basic Saache kënnen verstoen. Also fir d'Accroche ze fannen, fir sech kënnen ze integréieren.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprouch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklung beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Souwäit ech weess, de Stand, elo net. Also ech sinn op jidde Fall net doriwwer informéiert. D'Jackie Messerich? [7:00] huet d'Wat gelift? jo beispillsweis ausgeschafft, ne. Also ënnert Anerem. Ech hat hatt virun e puer Méint an enger Formatioun iwwert d'B1-Buch awer vum INL, dat nei erauskomm ass. Mee bon, dat ass de Problem, dat ass jo op Erwuessebildung ausgeluecht. An ech hat mat him rieds, dass d'Wat gelift?, en ass méttlerweil e bëssen al a géif definitiv en Update brauchen. Ech hat och mat him rieds [?] gesot hunn, „e progresséiert immens séier“, an datt hat mir dunn och erkläert, dass et eigentlech esou ugeduecht war, dass et Schüler sinn, di an engem global lëtzebuergeschsproochegen Ëmfeld sinn, an an enger lëtzebuergeschsproocheger Schoul, an dass doduerjer, di Progressioun och vill mi (méi) séier geet, well [?] supposéiert [?] och vill Lëtzebuergesch ronderëm ze héieren, a vläit an anere Klassen, am Sport oder wéi och ëmmer, a Kontakte si mat der lëtzebuergescher Sprooch an dass d'Integratioun doduerjer vill méi séier géing goen, dat heescht, d'Buch fänkt jo eigentlech immens lues un mat „Moien“, wéi sech virzestellen, geet awer da relativ séier a wierklech säitelaang Texter di relativ komplex sinn. Wi gesot, hatt huet erkläert dass dat d'Iwwerleeung dohannert war, wat ech jo absolut verstinn, mee wat z.B. fir d'international (Englesch ausgeschwat) Schoulen absolut net ugepasst ass, mee hatt huet do och –ech ka mech net mi (méi) erënneren, mee- ech hat lo net konkret gesot dass do lo eppes um Schaffe wier, dass do lo soll en Update kommen.

Mir kréie vun der Schoul bzw. d'Schüler kréie vun der Schoul den A1 „Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“ vum INL, erëm ass [et] fir Erwuessener ausgeluecht, ass vun deem Programm deen ech lo hei verfollegen och net ëmmer ganz logesch opgebaut. Dat heescht,

wat ech maachen, ech bedénge mech aus deenen verschiddene Léierwierker an och villen Deutsch-als-Fremdsprache oder English as a Second Language an ech änneren d'Exercicer ëm wéi ech [?] brauch. Ech hunn elo z.B. eng Sequenz di ech amgaange sinn, wou ech ganz vill aus dem „Wat gelifft?“ geholl hunn, well en sech dofir ubitt, ech hunn dann awer och Saachen beispillsweis ech hunn aus dem A2-Buch geholl well et sech eeben einfach ubitt, dat heescht et muss ee wierklech ëmmer ganz laang sichen an individuell kucken wat ee grad brauch. Dofir, dat ass effektiv net sou einfach.

Mee wi gesot ech hunn näischt héieren dass et eppes géing virugoen.

Q: Ass et och schwéier Material ze fannen fir Coursen fir Mammesproochler?

Fir Mammesproochler... Et ass deelweis... Et geet. Et hänkt dovun of. Mir hu jo hei nees di zwee Wielsbicher, dat Eent ass den „Lies a Fléi“ eigentlech an der Primaire, an der nationaler Primaireschoul um Programm steet. An da gëtt et den „Lies de Bal“, den dann eigentlich fir 7ème um Programm steet, 7ème Classique. Mir enseignéieren awer –wat och interessant ass-, an der International School d'Lëtzebuergesch op der mammesproochlechen Niveau net nëmmen op der S1 -also op der 7ème-, mee mir zéien dat bis zum Bac. Si kënnen dat theoretesch bis zum europäesche Bac als Sprooch wielen, bei eis lo zum Beispill. Wann dat lo soll sou klappen... well mir hunn bis lo nach keng Klass di an deem Fall ass, mir/ech? [10:34] sinn eréischt bei S4 –also 4ème. Dat heescht ech hunn d'Niveau S1, dat ass wat eeben enger 7ème gläich kënnt, dann S2 (6ème), S3 an S4 de Moment. Ech si ganz éierlech ech maan do de Moment [?] d'nämlecht Programm well ech dat éischt sinn dat richtig Lëtzebuergesch-Prof ass, an dofir bauen ech et grad op, dat heescht ech man de Moment dat nämlecht an dann fänken ech mat der 7ème nees mat deene Saachen un an bon, progresséiere mer. Et geet. Dat hänkt dovun of wat ee mat hinne maache wëll. Ech fannen z.B. dass Texter an „Lies de Bal“ (long sigh), et ass immens schwierig. Du hues do dann di [?] di fir eng 7ème beispillsweis absolut net ubruet (ubruecht) sinn, oder einfach ze schwéier sinn. Ech hu vereenzelt Texter di ech doraus benotzen, ech sichen awer och ganz vill mäin eegent Material. Ech hunn z.B. en Dossier selwer gemaach, erschafft, den iwwer d'Jéinescht geet, also iwwer d'Lompekréimersprooch, wou ech och einfach muss ganz vill selwer recherchéieren, alles wat d'lëtzebuergesch/Lëtzebuergesch? Sprooch selwer betrëfft, an bedéngen ech mech ganz

vill vu Saachen aus dem Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, den do och verschidde Saachen rausbruecht... [Et] gi Saachen, mee wi gesot et fléisst vill Aarbecht a vill Häerzblutt dran wann een wëll en anstännegen an interessante Cours maachen, a wann een net einfach just wëll Texter mat hinne liesen, well dat ass jo och iergendwann net mi (méi) interessant.

Mee sou, et ass definitiv e Manque do an ech verstinn och dass de Moment zum Beispill op der 7ème, gött Lëtzebuergesch jo vun engem/den? [12:23] Däitsch-Enseignanten gehalen, an ech verstinn dass do d'Flemm grouss ass well einfach d'Material feelt an dass do d'Loscht einfach feelt fir di Stonnen ze halen, quitte dass ee flott Saache kinnt (kéint) maachen. Wann s de och nach Däitsch niewelaanscht z'enseignéieren hues, hues de? [?] di Méi net onbedéngt fir do am Lëtzebuergesch nach flott Saachen ze fannen, wat ech absolut verstinn. Also do ass definitiv e Manque do.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen beim Léieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiderung vun der Offer vun Optionscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Mengt Dir, dass esou eng Verdeelung vun Optionscoursen dozou féiert, dass d'Ortografi keng Prioritéit géif hunn an de Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch?

D'lescht Joer, war jo mäin éischt Joer, an ech hat deemols, also deemols sinn se u mech erugetrueden (address, s'addresser à, solliciter) an se hu gesot, gefrot, ob ech d'Optioun géing halen fir Ortografi. Si wollten se ubidden, si hu se ugebueden, ech hunn e flotten Text verfaasst, fir Reklamm dofir ze maachen, ech hu probéiert d'Ortografi sou sexy wi méiglech ze verkafen, fir dass d'Schüler solle kommen, mee et war keng Demande do, an doduerjer ass och natierlech dunn keng Optioun gewiescht. Et ass lo schwéier, dëst Joer duerch Corona sinn alleguerten di extrakurrikular Saachen natierlech verluergeangen. Dat gesot, wann elo kee Corona gewiescht wier, a mir hätte kéinten extrakurrikular Aktivitéiten oder Schoul maachen, hätte mer e puer Enseignanten en Theaterprojet gestart, den multilingualen Theater an Improvisatioun a sou weider matenee verbënnt, an do hat ech mech dragemellt als Expert fir d'Lëtzebuergesch an do sollen dann eeben och lëtzebuergesch Theaterstécker behandelt ginn. Dat gött och lo de Moment also iwuer Zoom gemaach, mee de Problem ass dass et trotzdem awer souwi mer eis dat am Ufank virgestallt haten, an d'Wasser gefall, mee ech hoffen allerdéngs dass dat an den Joren dono do iergendswéi e Konscht? [?] stattfannen an dass trotzdem dann awer en Abléck an

d'Lëtzebuenger Theaterlandschaft kéinte kréien, doduerjer. Mee wi gesot dat ass de Moment alles relativ relativ.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Ech hat lo z.B. virun e puer Wochen, virun der Chrëschtvakanz en Dossier ausgeschafft fir Dialekter. Dat heescht, jo, do hu mer effektiv eis eng Stonn laang mat Dialekter beschäftegt, an ech hat do op Kaarten an Daten, Donnéeë vun der Schnëssen-App zeréckgegraff, an déi mat hinnen ugekuckt an bësselchen erschafft? [?] fir hinnen dat einfach ze weisen. Jo dat war immens flott. An normalerweis fänken ech d'neit Joer op 7ème haaptsächlech och de Modüll? [?] un fir mat hinnen di verschidde Regiounen ze maachen, e bëssen och Recherchë maache fir einfach ze weisen dass Lëtzebuerg obwuel [?] sou kléng ass trotzdem och verschidde Regiounen huet, jo.

Q: Enseignéiert Dir och d'Ortografi, wann d'Schüler groussen Interessi dorun weisen?

Jo, wi gesot, ouni Schreiwen geet et jo och net an do maachen ech sou och deelweis op ortografesch Besonneschheeten opmierksam bzw. di Schüler, di voll derbäi sinn, di froe mech dann och Saachen, wann hinne Saachen opfalen. Zum Beispill hate mer lo, d'lescht Woch de Fall, d'Verb „molen“, ganz domm. „Ech molen“, mee „du mools“ mat zwee „O“ amplaz mat engem, eeben bedéngt duerch d'Konsonanten. Natierlech ginn ech do net am Detail [16:48], wi ech an engem mampesprochleche Cours géing goen, mee ech maachen se awer trotzdem dorop opmierksam bzw. et fält hinnen trotzdem op. Awer doriwwer raus, natierlech d'N-Regel, well dat natierlech e groussen Impakt huet. Mee doriwwer raus, probéieren ech d'Ortografi souwäit wi méiglech aus fir [?] ze loossen.

Q: Soll d'Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergeschen Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Am Friemsproochenunterricht wi gesot, hat ech schon am Ufank gesot, zéien ech beispillsweis just zéng Prozent fir Schreiffeeler of, natierlech probéieren ech meng Tester

sou opzebauen dass haaptsächlech d'Beispill eng Ecoute ass, bei der si mussen ukräizen, oder mol e Wuert musse schreiwen, oder Multiple Choice hunn, do ginn ech dem Ganzen souwisou aus [?], dann, ganz wichteg, leeën ech och de Poids (el peso) op Orallen, wou ech natierlech och keng Ortografi kann testen, mee just Grammaire an Aussprooch. An dann wann se dann trotzdem, well se awer eemol d'Semester oder Trimester en grouse schréfflechen Test solle maachen, wi gesot zéien ech zéng Prozent. Dat heescht wann se mir dann musse Sätz schreiwen, dann zéien ech herno, wann den Exercice vun zéng Punkten ass, zéien ech wierklech ee Punkt of wann et wierklech katastrophal ass awer wierklech an alleguerte e Feeler steet. Mee soss sinn ech relativ lasch dohanner well wi gesot de Fokus eigentlech net dorop läit.

An dann an dem Aneren, de mamesproochleche Cours, ech maachen net gären Ortografi mat hinnen well ech et einfach dréchent fannen. Duerfir... ech hunn d'lescht Joer mat hinnen e puer Reegele gemaach, well et dann [?] um Programm steet. Déi Reegele sollen se; di übe mer och, wann se déi en Test, en Exercice dozou kréien, natierlech zielt et dann. Déi Reegele mussen se dann och kennen. Fir de Rescht, wann si mir soss en Test schreiwen, zéien ech och keng Schreiffeeler, vu dass se et net geléiert hunn, oder net am Detail geléiert hunn. Nach mat enger Stonn d'Woch, fannen ech et gi méi interessant Saachen ze maachen wi wierklech do mat Ortografi op se ze klappen. Dofir leeën ech hei och eigentlech lo net sou vill Wäert drop. Ech weess allerdéngs, dass verschidden Aarbechtskolleegen vu mer di och musse Lëtzebuergesch halen, sech immens gären dorunner festhalen, well et eppes ass dat immens strukturéiert ass, a wat fir si méi einfach ze enseignéieren ass, de Moment. Di maachen och de Moment méi Ortografi mat hinnen.

Q: Solle Leit nach Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen, wéi si wëllen?

Ech wier natierlech frou, wann an offiziellen E-Mailen zum Beispill korrekt Lëtzebuergesch géif geschwat ginn, e proppert Lëtzebuergesch, quitte dass [?] ech mengen eis schoulintern Mailen sinn op, gréisstendeels, op Englesch, Franséisch oder op Däitsch geschriwwen eben einfach well et eng International School ass. Natierlech an offiziellen Mailen géing ech schon appreciéieren wann et méi oder wéineg korrekt geschriwwen wär. Ech mengen dofir ginn ech jo och Saache wi de Spellchecker beispillsweis oder den LOD.

Saachen, wi... (laacht) virun zwou Wochen ass jo eng Petitioun online gaangen, fir nach eng Kéier gär dass [?] Lëtzebuergesch méi soll gefërdert ginn, an do war all zweet Wuert falsch. Do géing ech lo appreciieren [datt] wann een esou eppes freet dass dat och wéinstens eng Kéier duerch de Spellchecker geheit gi wier an een do géing verstoe wat e wëllt. Fir de Rescht, bon, den RTL-Kommentar, dat ass... Denken ech et ass einfach flott ze gesinn dass iwwerhaupt Lëtzebuergesch geschriwwe gëtt, an et ass einfach flott ze gesinn dass Lëtzebuergesch ëmmer méi geschriwwe gëtt an dass d'Leit sech trauen, ech denken dass et sou eigentlech relativ egal ass. Also et ass relativ.

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Ech weess dass e Bréif vun den Däitsch-Enseignanten oder Franséisch-Enseignanten un de Ministère gaangen ass, wou se eebe gefaart [hunn?, 22:01], dass dat net kompatibel wier. Wann ech mer lo just d'Classique ukucken, do géing et jo dann de Moment als Optioun als véiert Sprooch agefouert ginn, dass een déi kéint vum 3ème bis Première huelen, wat jo dann zousätzlech ze Italiensch a Spuenesch komme géing, wann ech mech net ieren. An ech denken dass dat eigentlech dann net interferéiert, well et jo einfach just eng weider Offer ass. Lo ass et natierlech einfach eng Saach vun... ass genuch Nofro do, dass sech effektiv genuch Schüler mellen, fir dass och eng Klass kann opgemaach ginn, bzw. di Méiglechkeet ka gebuede ginn, an si genuch Enseignanten do di ausgebillt genuch sinn, well dat ass dann och nees? [?] eppes en anere Programm den se vun 3ème bis Première dann müssen duerchhuelen, di dat och kënne maachen.

Ech gesinn awer allerdéngs net de Problem wi si lo direkt... dass dat mat den anere Sprooche géing interferéieren, well wi gesot et ass als véiert Sprooch geduecht an et ass de Schüler jo iwwerlooss, ob se et wëlle maachen oder net. Ech mengen wann et lo effektiv Schüler wieren di en vue wieren, fir eventuell och de Master am Lëtzebuergesch ze maachen, wär et op jidde Fall interessant, oder och vläit di Germanistik studéieren, ech kennen der vill di an hirem Germanistik-Studium trotzdem och Aarbechten oder hir Bacheloraarbecht oder hir Masteraarbecht trotzdem a Relatioun mam Lëtzebuergesche geschriwwen hunn, am Verglach oder sou. Dofir mengen ech schonn dass et awer interessant wier.

Q: D'Iddi vun der Promotioun vun der Sprooch, ass si och kompatibel mat der Méisproochegkeet vum Land?

Absolut. Also ech géing scho soen. Ech denken, et gëtt hei jo haaptsächlech drëms, wa mer dat Lëtzebuergesch hei wëlle promovéieren, fir och einfach (d?)Kultur an Literatur a Gebräicher (Gebrauch – coutumes), Geografie a Geschicht an de Cours mat anzubauen, den awer denken ech trotzdem deelweis einfach a verschiddenen anere Fächer feelt. Ech denken och dass een di aner Sproochen domadder och kann opwäerten, well di lëtzebuergesch Literatur ass jo net nëmmen Literatur op Lëtzebuergesch. Dat ass och Literatur op Englesch, Literatur op Franséisch, op Däitsch, an do ginn et esou vill flott Texter, an esou vill interessant Auteuren an esou vill flott Momenter an der Geschicht, di a Relatioun si mat den anere Sproochen a mat den anere Kulturen wou ech einfach géing begréissen, wann een dat als Ganzt géif gesinn an net sou an d'Tiräng géing leeën a wou jidderee säin eegent Süppche/Sippche [25:10] kacht. Ech géing et wierklech flott fanne wann do fächeriwwergreifend einfach en Austausch wier an ech denken och dass dat immens interessant kéint sinn. Ech fannen einfach dat Schachteldenken (thinking in the box, calqued English idiom), dat fannen ech immens schued, an dass do einfach verschidde Sproochen d'Tendenz hunn just hir ze gesinn an net doriwwer raus. Dofir begréissen ech eigentlech immens an der International School ze schaffen well ech do vill, immens vill Aarbechtskolleegen hunn di och sou denken an, wou mer wierklech probéieren fir och fächeriwwergreifend einfach Projeten zesummemaachen, ze maachen (se equivocó), fir di Saachen einfach [?] ze verbannen.

Q: Sinn och Enseignante vum Lëtzebuergesch um Prozess vun der Ergänzung vun didakteschem Material bedeelegt?

Neen, also net dass ech wéisst. Ech hu wierklech keng Aanung. Ech denken trotzdem dass ech relativ vill Leit kennen di Lëtzebuergesch enseignéieren, an ech weess lo vu kengem spezifeschen dorunner schafft. Ech weess dass am/um? [26:31] SCRIPT sëtzt en Här Belling, de jo eigentlech méi mam Lëtzebuergesch ze dinn huet, mee ech weess, ech hunn absolut guer keng Aanung wat se maachen, oder ob iergendeppes geplangt ass, dofir wierklech guer keng Aanung.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an den anere Institutiounen wéi dem ZLS, dem Kommissär an dem Ministère de l'Education Nationale?

Net dass ech wéisst. Bon, ech sinn do net laang, awer ech sinn an der Programmkommissioun, an der nationaler Programmkommissioun fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, an ech komme lo och an d'Programmkommissioun fir d'Lëtzebuergesch an den internationale Schoulen, mee doriwwer raus, hunn ech guer keng Aanung wi do d'Zesummenaarbecht ass.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Schwéier [ze] soen. Ech weess dass hei am Haus, mäi Mann och z.B. de Master an der Luxemburgistik gemaach huet, an hien plädéiert ëmmer fir eng Alphabetisatioun op Lëtzebuergesch, [wat] natierlech ganz radikal wier, fir ewech vun der däitscher Alphabetisatioun ze kommen. Ech perséinlech, ech weess wierklech net, ech kann do wierklech keng kloer Äntwert ginn. Mee awer wahrscheinlech als gemeinsam Sprooch... fir iwwerhaupt eng gemeinsam Sprooch ze hunn wier et sécherlech net schlecht (laugh).

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Dat ass eng schwéier Fro (laacht). Et kann sécher eng Integratiounssprooch sinn. Ech géing et natierlech als Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignante flott fannen wann et effektiv déi Integratiounssprooch wier, mee vu datt mir alleguerten duerch eis Schoulen trotzdem herno dräi oder souguer Véiersproocheg sinn, weess ech net ob et forcément muss

Lëtzebuergesch sinn. Ech wëll et iergend ongären sou Protest stellen, fir ze soen, dat ass...
[?].

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Méi Léierwierker ausschaffen. Kohärenz-Léierwierker ausschaffen. Ech weess datt ech dat [?] gesot, dass et einfach immens schwiereg ass an ustrengend ass an och fir d'Schüler fir d'Léieren relativ problematesch ass, dass se einfach keen kohärent Léierwierk hunn, an dem si kënne bliederen an dat di wichtegst Punkten opgräift. Et muss net e Buch am klassesche Sënn sinn, dat kann jo och online Material sinn oder en E-Book sinn. Ech mengen hautzedaags ginn et do relativ vill Méiglechkeeten, mee datt einfach kann, datt haaptsächlech mol op de Friemsproochunterricht am Lycée, an de Kliijersklassen? [33:40], an de Classes d'insertion an an Accu-Klassen (Classes d'accueil), och an den international Klassen einfach ka benotzt ginn, wat einfach fir déi Schüler ugepasst ass. An dat wär e wichtige Punkt denken ech.

XIII.1.11. Teacher: Francine

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Proff. Kënnt Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech sinn ENSEIGNANT F, ech sinn wi gesot Lëtzebuergesch-Proff am Lycée technique. Ech war selwer am Lycée classique ze Dikrech an ech war do op enger Konschtsektioun an ech hunn awer gäer mat Sprooche geschafft an jo, dat heescht, no der Première sinn ech dunn op d'Uni gaangen, wéi jiddereen. An ech woussst am Fong net richtig wat ech sollt maachen an ech hunn och do ee Joer wou ech an England op der Uni war, wou ech gemengt hunn ech misst Englesch studéiere mee dat huet mer dunn awer net sou zougesot. Dono hunn ech dunn am Fong e Bachelor am Iwwersetze gemaach, also *vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. Dono hunn ech nach e Master am Iwwersetzen drugehaangen an Irland. Well ech dunn awer iergendwi gemierkt hunn dass ech net am Beräich vun der Iwwersetzung schaffe wëll –oder net nëmmen op alle Fall-, hat ech eeben de Master fir Lëtzebuergesch gesinn, op der Uni Lëtzebuerg, an dat huet mech einfach interesséiert, hunn ech geduecht „maach dat mol“, an jo. Dono sinn ech dann iergendwi, jo, dass ech am Enseignement [?]

Q: Ok, dat ass dann e bëssen spontan geschitt.

Jo, ech hunn ab 7ème gesot „ech wëll spéider e Proff ginn, oder...“ guer net.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Enseignéiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hänkt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Jo, dat hänkt dovun of wéi e Grupp dass een enseignéiert. Bei eis ass et lo sou, ech hunn, op deene meeschte Classen enseignéieren ech Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch. Dat heescht do léiere mer wierklech d'Basis einfach, also wierklech sech virstelle kënnen, an dann eebe je no Léierzil Saache wi iwwert d'Famill schwätzen, iwwert d'Ausgesi schwätzen. Also dat gött lues opgebaut eeben iwwert e puer Joer. Do geet et lo net drëms,

dass di perfekt schreiwe kënnen, do geet et wierklech drëms dass si kommunizéiere kënnen. Dat heescht, si sollen, also de Fokus läit wierklech op dem Schwätzen an dem Verstoen haaptsächlech. Dat heescht vill Orallen di gemaach ginn a vill Ecouten. Voilà.

Dann ginn awer och aner Classen déi eebe scho Lëtzebuergesch kënnen an do sinn ech zum Deel –also et hänkt vun der Class of-, mee zum Deel ass een do relativ fräi vum Programm. Ech probéieren ëmmer e bëssen eng Mëschung ze maache wierklech, also aus kulturelle Saachen, dat heescht Saachen di si och vläicht méi interesséieren, mee ech maachen do awer och ëmmer d’Ortografi, einfach fir datt si awer eng Kéier gesinn, wéi een et? richteg schreift [3:26].

Q: Hues du haaptsächlech Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch oder fir Mammesproochler?

Haaptsächlech wierklech als Friemsprooch.

Q: Sinn déi Classes d’accueil?

Dat sinn di GIF? [3:48] Classen di ech lo hunn, ech hunn eng 7ème an eng 6ème GIF, dat heescht dat sinn di Classen... Et ass net Accu (classe d’accueil), do ass jo 7^{ème} accueil, effektiv, CLASSES d’INSERTION, et sinn di Classen.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d’Promotioun fir d’Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschaft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d’Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d’Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklung beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Also ech schaffen jo elo net esou laang am Beruf. Dat heescht, virun zee Joer hunn ech scho geschafft mee, also ech muss éierlech soen dass sech lo vill gedoen huet fir didaktescht Material kann ech lo net sou soen. Et ass ëmmer sou datt ech wierklech, also vill selwer zesummestellt eben...

Q: Also benotzt du dann méi däin eegent Material wéi iergendeent Material, di, den, dat vum Ministère, jo, ausgeschafft gouf?

Also ech fannen eng Mëschung, ech benotzen [?] vum Ministère ausgeschafft gouf an eeben och, wat d'Bicher eeben hierginn an esou, an eeben och wat vläicht, also ech hu mer och ganz ganz vill Bicher di ech mer einfach privat kaf hunn, wou ech dann [?] ze kucken, „Ok, dat do [?] selbst kéins de maachen“. Mee wi gesot ech erscha-, also ech maachen awer och ganz vill Material einfach selwer, wou een da selwer Ecouten zesummeschreift. Also ech fannen et kéint méi ginn, wat Material ugeet.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen op d'Enseignéieren vum Lëtzebuergesch, wéi z.B. d'Erweiderung vun der Offer vun Optionscoursen wéi “Ortografi”, “Kultur a Literatur” an och “kreatiivt Schreiwen”. Wat häls de dovun?

Ech fannen et eng gutt Saach. Also grad well, ech soe lo? [6:18] lo d'Lëtzebuergesch awer méi geschriwwe gëtt wi jee virdrun einfach mat all deenen, also techneschen Mëttel di een huet. Fannen et schonn schlecht wann d'Leit net richtig schreiwen kéinten. Och wann een; **also d'Schüler wann si d'Méiglechkeet hätten et lo schon ze maachen, ech wier frou gewiescht, wann ech di Méiglechkeet kritt hätt et eng Kéier an der Schoul richtig ze léieren.**

Q: Denger Meenung no, soll jiddereen schreiwen wéi si (error mio) wëll, oder hänkt dat dovun of, a wéi e Kontext een ass. Oder soll een ëmmer richtig schreiwen?

Also ech hunn einfach [?] gäer wann et **richteg geschriwwen ass, egal a wéi enger Sprooch, well ech sinn einfach sou.** Dat heescht och wann ech privat meng SMSen schreiwen oder meng Messagen, dann schreiwen ech si scho grammatikalesch richtig an orthografesch richtig, dat heescht dass do schon dat richtig einfach ass, dat heescht ech schreiwen net mat iergendwi vill Ofkierzungen oder dass ech d'Accenten einfach

ewechloossen well et da méi séier geet. **Wat ech awer vu Schüler gesot krut, dat war schon dass dat hinnen ze vill Zäit gif (géif) huele wann si do ëmmer missten di Accenten an di Treemaen dropmaachen (laachen).** Dat heescht, di gifen (géifen) sech dat net zu Häerz huele fir hir Messagen op Whatsapp z.B. richtig ze schreiwen.

Ech perséinlech sinn ëmmer dofir fir d'Saache richtig ze schreiwe well ech perséinlech dat **einfach wichteg fannen**, mee ech fannen et **awer net schlëmm** wann ech vun Kolleegen oder vun der Famill Messagë kréie wou e puer Feeler drastinn, **well si et eeben net geléiert hunn. Mee wann si et awer gife (géifen) léieren, dann hätt ech scho gären dass si richtig schreiwen (laachen).**

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Uhum, ziimlech dacks esouguer. Also besonnesch elo bei deene Gruppen di eeben Mammesproochler sinn, [?] zesummen duerchginn oder esou, da froen si dacks „Jo, Madamm, meng Bom, si seet awer dat an dat“, an dat ass dann ëmmer flott fir hinnen/hien? z'erklären dass mer eeben fir esou e klengt Land relativ vill Dialekter hunn, dat heescht, et kënnt dacks, a si ginn nach Input, da soen si „Jo, mee bei eis doheem soe mer dat sou an esou“, an et ass ëmmer flott.

Op den anere Classen, wou ech eeben Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch ënnerriichten, kënnt dat och ab-und-zu schon vir, einfach deemno wéi e Material dass ee benotzt, oder wann ech Saache selwer schafen an ech hunn dann z.B. Kolleegen di mat Ecouten schwätzen oder sou, dann soen si z.B. eng Kéier „so lo“ [?] **MéindeN amplaz MéindeG** oder sou. Dat si Saachen di, di thematiséieren ech ëmmer, dat heescht wa mer d'Wochendeeg z.B. duerchuelen (lo pronunció como „duerchhuel“), dann erklären ech hinnen (lo pronunció „hin“) ëmmer, eeben dass dat d'Standardvariant ass, dass dat déi Variant ass di mir léieren, mee dass et eebe verschidden Zorten awer ginn, dass [si/mir?] [10:16] vläicht heiansdo mol eng Kéier en anert Wuert héieren, z.B. **MéindeN**. Voilà.

Q: Di Standardvariant, obwuel et (error mío) Standard ass, deplacéiert [si] denger Meenung no di aner Varianten oder ass et wéi eng Koexistenz?

Et ass eng Koexistenz, ziimlech. **Dat heescht wann elo an enger Prüfung „Eme“? giff (géif), also eng aner Variant oder amplaz „net“, „nik“ schreiwen, dat heescht fir mech net dass et falsch ass. [10:51]**

Q: Soll d’Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergesch Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Wann et keng Mammesproochler sinn, dann lax, well wi gesot do sinn ech jo frou wann si wierklech iwwerhaupt schwätze kënnen, mee wann et awer Mammesproochler sinn, dann hätt ech scho gären dass et richtig ass, well si kënnen jo d’Sprooch [?] nëmme wierklech just duerch di Reegelen ukucken an wann si et am Däitschen an am Franséische maache kënnen, da kënnen si et och am Lëtzebuergesch maan (maachen).

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d’Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Gutt Fro. Ech denke schon. Dass et compatible wier... Ech mengen, dass et einfach e bëssen drun happert, dass net genuch Schoulstonnen do sinn fir et richtig ze integréieren. Ech mengen, also wat ech e bësse matkritt hunn, wann aner Fächer dann Stonne verléieren zu Gonschte vum Lëtzebuergesch, ech mengen, jo, di sinn net frou di aner Fächer, natierlech (laachen). Also, ech denke schon dass et iergendwi maachbar wier an ech denken och dass et iergendwi sënnvoll wier, mee... jo, ech soe lo („so lo“ como el de arriba?) ze Gonschte vun engem anere Fach eventuell vläicht net, ech weess net.

Q: Mee ideologesch gesinn, ass et kompatibel, Lëtzebuergesch ze promovéieren an och d’Méisproochegkeet vum Land ze promovéieren?

Jo, also jo, wi gesot, et gehéiert eeben zum Land, dat heescht di Méisproochegkeet, dat ass elo net dass dat eréischt säit zwanzeg Joer sou ass, mee di gött et jo säit éiweg. An

eebe grad well mer esou vill Leit hunn di vun iwwerall kommen... Fannen ech, wier et wichteg dat ze ënnersträichen iergendwéi. Mee jo, wi gesot, et ass eeben dat wat ideologesch gesinn; vläicht, ech soe lo net, net onbedéngt richtig mee gutt wier, ass net onbedéngt dat wat eeben praktesch ëmsetzbar ass.

Woubäi ech muss soen dass een do och den Ënnerscheid gesäit op deene Classen, di Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch léieren, an déi di eebe scho Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen, well, also, meng Erfahrung [?] mat deene Classe gemaach hunn, an der Schoul wou ech lo sinn; **do sinn et déi di scho Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen, di net onbedéngt de Sënn dovunner gesinn, dat heescht di froe sech „firwat mussen mir dat léieren?“**. Meng GIF-Classen, di sinn awer ganz motivéiert, well si eeben dat als Méiglechkeet gesi fir sech ze integréieren, dat heescht, di meescht vun deene ginn sech och wierklech gutt drun an di si ganz motivéiert. [14:00]

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Ob et eng Léisung ass, weess ech net. Well effektiv, wann ee lo Kanner huet di –ech weess et net- aus engem arabesche Land kommen, an di keng vun deene Sprooche kënnen, ech weess net ob et dann ganz glécklech ass deenen dann probéieren direkt dräi oder - bon si kréien normalerweis keng dräi-, mee zwou Sproochen, wierklech sou opzedrängen... Et kënnt drop un. Ech denke schon dass et di [?] wann se Lëtzebuergesch géife kënnen einfach fir d'Integratioun méi einfach ze maachen. Mee bon, hei ze Lëtzebuerg kinnt (kéint) ee? mam Franséschen och, also kéint? [?] een sech och integréiert kréien. Vun dohier, weess ech net... Ech mengen et kënnt op di eenzel Fäll allkéiers un an di verschidde Classen di [?] Beginn fir di Leit wi z.B. d'Accuen (Classes d'accueil) oder d'Insertiounsklassen. Do ass dat am Fong schon net schlecht opgedeelt –ech weess net, vläicht kéint een [?] optiméieren.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Du hues schon gesot, dass och Franséisch e Faktor fir d'Integratioun wier. Ginn et dann zwou Integratiounssproochen?

Jo, ech mengen awer dass Lëtzebuergesch méi... Also, **ech denken di zwou si schon Integratiounssproochen, well wann ee kuckt wéi vill Leit hei mam Franséischen duerch d'Liewe kommen, dat ass jo... dat ass absolut maachbar. Ech denken eebe just dass de mam Lëtzebuergesch wierklech méi Chancen häss, dech wierklech... Bah ech soe lo bei de LËTZEBUERGER z'integréieren.** Mam Franséische wi gesot kënns de duerch d'Liewen, an du gëss och eens an du kriss däi Liewen hei bis zum Schluss gemaach, well eeben di wichteg Saachen [?] op Franséisch sinn. **Mee fir dech wierklech sou an d'Lëtzebuenger Gesellschaft ze integréieren, ass et mat *just* Franséisch méi schwéier. Wi gesot, du kanns däi Liewe maachen mee, sou als richtegen Deel vun der Lëtzebuenger Gesellschaft bass du mat *just* Franséisch éischer manner awer.**

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-View als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Ech giff (géif) definitiv méi Material ausschaffen. Also, well jo, fir mech ass dat do wou et de Moment e bëssen happert, wou nach méi kéint gemaach ginn. Ech weess dass dat ëmmer e bëssen Zäit hält bis dat gemaach ass? [?] an sou weider. An et ass eeben och schon e bëssen eppes gemaach ginn ass, mee et ass eeben am Verglach ze, wann ee lo Däitsch oder Franséisch hält, do kann een eeben op all di Literatur an sou weider, di eeben och am Ausland genotzt gëtt, zeréckgräifen. Dat heescht, och fir d'Englesch do fënnt een Tonne Material am Internet. Et gëtt ee bal geckeg well ee sou vill huet an am Lëtzebuergesch ass dat eeben nach net de Fall an ech hoffen dass sech do eeben eppes deet.

Fir de Rescht, an der Schoul fir den Enseignement, ech weess et net, ech denken dass schon vill gemaach ginn ass lo rezent, an dass do och lo nach Saachen eeben ënnerwee sinn wéi eebe lo op der A-Sektioun, dass dat lo probéiert gëtt. Bei verschidde Saachen [muss een lo?] einfach kucken wéi dat geet, wéi d'Offer opgeholl gëtt, dat heescht, wéi leeft di A-Sektioun -wou eeben dann och Lëtzebuergesch ugebuede gëtt-, wann do lo –ech soe lo- di nächst puer Joer kee Mënsch sech mellt fir de Cours, jo, dann muss een vläicht eng Kéier an engem anere Lycée probéieren an awer wann do dat och net geet, dann huet een mengen ech seng Äntwert.

Q: Vlächicht nach eng Fro, di lescht Fro: Wat heescht eng Standardsprooch fir dech?

Eng Standardsprooch? Bah, einfach eng Variant vun enger Sprooch di ee benotzt fir... engem se bäizebréngen, di jidderee versteet egal wéi en Dialekt vun der Sprooch dass ee schwätzt.

XIII.1.12. Teacher: Greta

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Proff. Kënnt Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech sinn am Fong nach ëmmer Lëtzebuergesch-Stagiaire respektiv Stagiaire am drëtte Joer. Kuerz zu mengem Liewenslaf, am Lycée war ech op enger A-Sektioun, dat heescht, ech hu Sproocher geléiert ë.a. Italienesch a Spuenesch. Spéider hunn ech mech dann fir e Bachelor an der Geschicht entscheed. An fir dann de Master an der Luxemburgistik ze maachen, well deen méi, jo, interessant war deemols, méi usprochsvoll; wat och e gudde Choix war an, jo, zu gudder Lescht hunn ech dann de Stage, de Proffestage gemaach. Do war ech dann zwee Joer ze Ettelbréck am LTETT (Lycée technique Ettelbruck), am technesche Lycée, an elo sinn ech a mengem drëtte Joer, also an der *Année d'approfondissement* ze Mondorf-les-Bains respektiv an der internationaler Schoul ze Munneref, an jo, soll ech eng Kéier op d'Classen agoen?

Q: Jo, also dat wier och ganz gutt

Also wi gesot et ass eng international Schoul, dat heescht, de System ass e bësse méi spezifesch wéi an den anere Schoulen. Ech hu lo beispillsweis souwuel de Primaire wéi och de Secondaire an och d'Erwuessener respektiv meng Aarbechskolleegen di Lëtzebuergesch léieren. Do hunn ech eng P3 -also en drëtt Schouljoer- eng Englesch-Sektioun, déi an zwou Gruppen agedeelt ass, souwuel Beginners wéi Avancés an dat nämlecht (gleich, identesch) ass och de Fall fir de Secondaire, do hunn z.B. also do hunn ech 7^{ème}, 6^{ème}, 5^{ème} verchidde Sproochenniveauen respektiv, all Class ass an Débutant, Intermédiaire an Avancé agedeelt fir d'Lëtzebuergesch ze léieren.

Also et ass haaptsächlech Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch?

Haaptsächlech jo, mee ech hu lo z.B. op der 7^{ème} respektiv S1 –sou heescht dat dann dohannen-, op der 7^{ème} hunn ech lo Mammesproochler, also d'Avancéen an dat sinn alles awer Lëtzebuenger di gutt Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Enseignéiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Oder gëtt och d'Ortografi enseignéiert?

Ech mengen et hänkt lo vum Grupp of -also huele mer lo d'Mammesproochler z.B.-, di d'Schwätze jo scho beherrschen: do steet d'Ortografi méi am Mëttelpunkt, mee lo op menger 6ème, also S2, do hunn ech eng Débutantsklass an do läit de Fokus op d'Schwätzen am Allgemengen, wat awer net heescht datt d'Schreiwen och net manner wichteg ass, dat ass natierlech och wichteg, mee haaptsächlech fir datt se sech awer trauen an schwätze kënnen. Ob se da mol? [?] um Schreiwe Feeler maachen ass dat net esou relevant an deem Kontext.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Ech sinn och an, wi heescht dat?, an der Programmkommissioun an mir hunn den neie Schaffgrupp, den net laang existéiert, fir den Programm opzestellen, fir d'international Schoulen, an effektiv, wat d'Material ubelaangt, ech mengen du weess dat och ganz gutt [laachen] dass do [et] ëmmer problematesch ass fir eppes méi Konkretes ze hunn, an och mam Shari si mer lo amgaangen lues a lues vläicht och en Aarbechtsgrupp ze maache fir selwer Material auszeschaffen. Awer lo konkret, gëtt et näischt Neies, nee. Do schaffe mer scho selwer oder mam SDL („Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“) an dat wär et.

Q: Also bass du en Deel vun der Programmkommissioun?

Jo, also ech si lo nei, also ech krut lo ganz nei Tâchen, dat ass immens spannend, mee wi gesot jo ech si lo neie Member souwuel am Aarbechtsgrupp wéi an der Programmkommissioun.

Q: Dat ass ganz interessant. Trotz Coronavirus kommen esou Entwécklungen virun oder ass et paralyséiert?

Ech géif net soen dass et sou paralyséiert ass, ech géif scho soen datt et sech beweegt, wann ech lo vergläiche virum..., also wann ech nach deemols am Stage war an elo, et kënnt awer schon ze Ännerungen, esouwuel di Aarbechtsgruppe, dat gëtt elo e bësse méi aktiv, esouwuel den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, den och flott Programmer, [flott] Projeten huet, also menger Meenung no kënnt et scho virun.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen fir d'Enseignéieren vum Lëtzebuergesch, wéi z.B. d'Erweiterung vun der Offer vun Optiounscoursen wéi "Ortografi", "Kultur a Literatur" an och "kreatiivt Schreiwen". Mengt Dir, dass esou eng Verdeelung vun Optiounscoursen dozou féiert, dass d'Ortografi keng Prioritéit géif hunn an de Coursen fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch?

Bah, ech fannen et ass mol positiv, also ech mengen du hues dat och jo héieren, dass lo d'Lëtzebuergesch agefouert gëtt an engem Lycée an an enger A-Sektioun an... et beweegt sech eppes, wat lo iwwer di lescht Joren menger Meenung no stagnéiert huet, lo mierkt een awer schonn dass et sech grad awer ännert, dass **d'Leit sech Méi ginn fir d'Lëtzebuergesch ze integréieren, dass et och, voilà, méi geléiert gëtt.** Dat mat den Optiounen fannen ech flott. **Wéi gesot, ob et vill Succès wäert hunn ass eng aner Saach, dat gesi mer lo ab September, ne? Mee fir mech beweegt sech dat schonn an ech fannen et och interessant. De Kader muss nach méi strikt gesat ginn,** mee dat leeft jo lo an dësem Joer, an dëse Méint, gëtt dat jo alles festgehalten, mee ech fannen et awer positiv.

Q: Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d'Material, dat vum Ministère de l'Éducation geschafen gouf, oder nach anert Material?

Schon am Stage hu mer wéi gesot, do hate mer „Wat gelift?“ an „SDL“ (Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?), op wat ech mech baséiert hunn. Natierlech gëss du net glécklech domat,

also et feele ganz vill Saachen, an ech hunn an deenen zwee Joer respektiv an dësem drëtte Joer, hunn ech ganz vill Saache selwer ausgeschafft, wat ech och benotzen, an ech muss awer soen, et gi verschidde Saache lo z.B. fir den Ortografiscours, datt/déi? [?] fir d'Mammesproochler benotzen, ech hunn den een/oder een? Cours den de Ministère ausgeschafft huet, mat, voilà, all deene Reegelen, dat ass ganz interessant. **Mee di meescht Saache sinn awer éischer meng Saachen.**

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Lokal a regional, jo, mee do muss ech éischer soen datt et? [7:54] dat op der Mammesproochler-Klass gemaach gëtt. Heiansdo komme Froen och vun de Schüler, wann ech soen „jo et gëtt d'Variatioun, et kann een dat Wuert sou schreiwen oder sou schreibe respektiv sou a sou ausschwätzen“, an dann thematiséiere mer dat och Firwat. **Mee awer de Fokus läit lo net op di verschidde Variatiounen, oder Dialekter soll ech mol soen.**

Q: Soll d'Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergeschen Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Strikt net. Soll schonn enseignéiert ginn mee awer lo, wann z.B. eng Evaluatioun gemaach gëtt, sief et summativ oder, jo, formativ, läit den Haaptpunkt soen ech jo/lo mol (mismo significado de la frase usada por Kathrin Gaul „ech soe lo“?) net op d'Ortografi. Also ech fannen et schonn wichteg, et ginn Aneren di/si [8:40] soen, „dat soll guer net gekuckt ginn“, **et soll scho gekuckt ginn mee awer d'Schüler solle lo net penaliséiert ginn, also wann [se] z.B. Feeler maachen. Mee ech fannen et gehéiert awer dozou, fir eng Sprooch ze léieren gehéiert och dat Schrëftlecht dozou, fir kënnen och ze liesen an Saachen auszeschwätzen.**

Q: Solle Leit nach Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen, wéi si wëllen?

Huhum gutt Fro, gutt Fro. Ma wi gesot et hänkt of a wéi en/eng? Kader oder wéi en/eng? Kontext du d'Sprooch gebrauchs, ne? Wann et **occasional** ass, dann ass dat jo net **tragesch**

soen ech jo mol sou/soll ech jo mol soen? [9:24] mee wann s de schonn an engem Beruf bass, wou d'Lëtzebuergesch gebraucht gëtt, wou et och schrëftlech méi gebraucht gëtt, da soll een awer schonn natierlech wéinstens de Spellchecker (spellchecker.lu) kennen an, voilà, e puer Korrektione maachen. Lo een deen näischt um Hutt huet mam Lëtzebuergesch natierlech gëtt et do menger Meenung no kee Sënn fir den ze forcéieren et richteg ze schreiwen.

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Erweiterung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet, mat der Dräisproochegkeet vun der Schoul, kompatibel?

Jo, ech fannen et schonn, wi gesot, mir sinn en dräisproochegt Land offiziell gesinn, du hues do verschidden Ecker wou, voilà, méi Franséisch geschwat gëtt respektiv manner Franséisch benotzt gëtt, mee ech fannen et awer scho wichteg, **WELL mer grad esou eng speziell Situatioun hunn, datt och déi Sproochen geléiert ginn.**

Q: Well s de en Deel vun der Programmkommissioun bass, sinn och do Enseignante vum Lëtzebuergesch um Prozess vun der Ergänzung vun didakteschem Material bedeelegt?

Also jo, am Fong sinn et, momentan sinn et *just* -soen ech jo/lo mol (de nuevo) - Enseignanten di do (er?)schaffen [11:01]. Ech mengen et gëtt och e Volet am SCRIPT, den sech dorëmmer soll bekëmmere, mee wéi s de selwer weess, si hu ganz vill ze dinn, am SCRIPT dat ass eeben och iergendeng aner Organisatioun oder Institutioun an dowéinst schléisst? [11:18] dat sech e bëssen, mee et si lo mëttlerweil awer Enseignanten di dat wäerten demnächst, wi mer dat [?], entaméieren. Also datt mer dat seriö, also seriö drunner schaffen.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an den anere Institutiounen wéi dem ZLS, dem Kommissär an dem Ministère de l'Education Nationale?

Jo, also a mengem spezifesche Fall ass et natierlech wouer, datt mer do a Kontakt sinn, lo wat aneren Enseignanten ubelaangt, dat weess ech lo net.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Huhum, interessant Fro, „kéint dat eng Léisung sinn?“, ech mengen eng perfekt Léisung gëtt et net, well mer esou an enger spezifescher Situatioun sinn. Well esou vill –ech soe mol- Ausländer och do sinn an doheem halt [13:04] net Lëtzebuergesch geschwat gëtt, well d’Elteren et jo net schwätzen, an du hues haut zwee verschidde Modeller: fir di Een ass dat eng Beräicherung wann vun den Elteren aus d’Loscht do ass fir d’Sprooch ze léieren, wann de Besoin do ass, dann –soen ech mol- misst dat och theoretesch klappe mee z.B. bei den Elteren di dat ni gebrauchen, bei deene Kanner ass et fannen ech scho méi schwierig a méi spezifesch. Ech mengen net, also net onbedéngt, dass dat géif Saache méi einfach maachen, mee et hänkt halt ëmmer vum Besoin of, firwat et geléiert gëtt, wéi et geléiert gëtt an wéi halt och di familiär Situatioun ass, vun de verschiddene Familljen. Ech ka lo net *global* eppes dozou soen well global passt et ni mee, halt spezifesch gesinn ännert et ëmmer.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Hmmm nee, net onbedéngt, well et kléngt jo schéin a gutt mee ech mengen an de praktesche Fäll ass dat awer anescht. Well, voilà, z.B. a menger Schoul respektiv an der internationaler Schoul lo wou ech dru sinn, den Accent gëtt schonn op d’Lëtzebuergesch gesat mee du gesäis awer dann Schüler, obwuel mer ganz, voilà, mir hu Sproochesektiounen an si ginn och gemëscht –bon, lo mat Corona ännert dat natierlech-, mee du mierks awer schonn datt se sech mat deene Gruppen oder Schüler ophalen déi *hir Mammesprooch* schwätzen z.B.

Ech weess lo net wi et an der Crèche ausgesäit, ech mengen do, ech mengen dass do den Accent och um Lëtzebuergesch läit, mee ob d’Integratiounssprooch ass, ech hu d’Gefill

dass do, dass do, voilà, Franséisch méi vläicht –et hänkt of vun de Secteuren-, mee vläicht méi Integratiounssprooch ass wéi dat Lëtzebuergesch. Menger Meenung no.

Q: An an dengen Coursen, di Schüler di Mammesproochler sinn, weisen si e méi grouss (error mio) Interessi un der Ortografi oder hänkt dat dovun of, also, vun der Persoun, vum Grupp?

Also dat hänkt och individuell of, ech hunn z.B. Kandidate setzen di dat wierklech wëlle léieren, an och ganz frou sinn an och kuriéis si fir di Reegelen ze léieren, an dunn hues de aner Mammesproochler di awer soen, voilà, wi verschidden anere Leit och, „firwat brauche mer dat iwwehapt? Firwat, et gëtt jo souwisou net geschriwwen oder Wäert drop geluecht“, voilà, dat ass einfach individuell, et hänkt vun der Erzéiung of, vun, voilà, vum Haushalt, an sou weider.

Q: An dengen Coursen gesäis du och Leit di sech fir d’Lëtzebuergesch interesséieren well si d’Sprooch als Integratiounsfaktor gesinn oder ass et méi, e bëssen méi komplex, denger Meenung no?

Et ass e bësse méi komplex. Ech géif lo mol soen, also, ech hunn z.B. op enger 6^{ème} Englesch-Sektioun, do gesäis de et (contraído casi como de’t: 16:55) net als Integratiounssprooch well do, si halen sech just mat deenen di Englesch schwätzen op. Integratiounssprooch oder, **d’Wichtigkeet vun der Integratiounssprooch gesinn ech éischer, wat och witzeg ass, mee gesinn ech éischer bei deene Kléngen.** Also am Primaire. An ech mengen dat hänkt och vill vun den Elteren of, di versichen voilà dass d’Kanner sech sou gutt wi méiglech do adaptéieren. U wat et läit weess ech konkret net, mee **am Primaire** mierkt een awer schonn en Ënnerscheid wéi am Secondaire. Datt do méi Interessi ass fir d’Sprooch, also, d’Schüler vu sech selwer aus méi Interessi hunn fir ze léieren, an sech och méi freeën mengen ech, fir ze léieren.

Q: Denger Meenung no, soll Lëtzebuergesch am ganzen Enseignement geléiert gëtt? International, privat, ëffentlech Lycéeën, z.B...

Ob et misst... Also, schlecht wier et net, soe mol sou, et wier net tragesch wéi gesot fir de Stellwäert bäizebehalen oder fir den e bësse méi ze fërderen, de Status vun der Sprooch. Ech mengen et wier net tragesch, also et wier schonn eng gutt Iddi datt dat landeswäit halt och geléiert gëtt. Wat dono gemaa (gemaach) gëtt mat der Sprooch oder ob een se brauch, dat ass dann eng aner Saach, mee awer schonn géif ech et wichteg fannen.

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-View als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaaich solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Ech mengen, mir si lo... Wat mer lo maachen, **mir si lo um gudde Wee**, sief et well mer di Programmkommissioun hunn, well mer lo di nei Aarbechtsgruppen hunn, well och Material ausgeschafft gëtt, an och zesumme mam Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, mengen ech si mer um gudde Wee fir, also, **wa mer dat soll bäibehalen, dann sinn menger Meenung no net weider néideg Mesuren**. Also, d'Uni proposéiert jo och lo nach de Master an eng(er) anerer Form, ne? Fir d'Luxemburgistik. Wi gesot, wann déi Mesuren weider bäibehale ginn an och politesch gesi wann do näischt ännert, also, mengen ech datt dat scho gutt duergeet.

XIII.1.13. Teacher: Heidi

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Enseignant. Kéint Dir wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Jo, also genau, ech schaffen an der International School ze Déifferdeng als Lëtzebuergesch-Proff an, jo, ech hu meng Première ze Esch am Jongelycée an, uh, sinn dono, hunn dono zwee Joer ze Wien Germanistik studéiert, hunn awer dunn do opgehalen an op der, sinn zeréck op Lëtzebuerg komm an hunn dono op der Uni.lu, uh, mäi Studium fäerdegemaach an der Germanistik, dunn hunn ech den (.) Bachelor ofgeschloss an nom Bachelor hunn ech dann zwee Joer e Master op, uh, Lëtzebuergesch, also Luxemburgistik op der Uni.lu studéiert(.) an hunn d'lescht Joer am Summer, also 2020 am Summer, meng Masteraarbecht ofginn an hunn dunn am September dann eben an der International School ugefaangen ze schaffen.

Q: Sinn d'Coursen Lëtzebuergesch als Friemsprooch oder éischer Lëtzebuergesch fir Mammesproochler?

Uh, di zwee(.) also ech hunn uh zwee, also zwou Klasse wou et wierklech just Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch ass, dat heescht, uh, di hunn en Niveau A1(.) eng Klass ass schonn e bëssi mi wäit(.) di hunn, uh, e bëssi mi héijen Niveau awer ,t ass en anere Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch, an ech hunn awer och vill Klassen, mir nennen di an der International School „Avancésklassen“, dat sinn dacks Schüler di entweeder als Mammesprooch scho Lëtzebuergesch hunn, oder meeschtens ass et sou dass se aus dem lëtzebuergesche Schoulsystem kommen, dat heescht, hir Primärschoul an dem lëtzebuergesche Schoulsystem gemaa hunn an eeben dowéinster Lëtzebuergesch och scho kënnen.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Léiere vum Lëtzebuergeschen am Schwätze gesat? Hängt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Nee, egal wéi, 't ass ëmmer am Schwätzen, also [wat] am Vierdergrond steet, also souwuel mam Friemsproochenunterricht wéi och bei Avancésklassen (.) uh, kënn et ëmmer drop un, d'Schüler un d'Schwätzen ze kréien an net un d'Schreiwen.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschaft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaften an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Hmmm also *mir*... leit elo näischt sou direkt vir, also de „Wat gelift?“ mengen ech ass nach ëmmer den alen do ass nach keng nei Versioun erauskomm, uhh, Aarbechtsmaterial oder didaktescht Material am Allgemengen ass wierklech relativ schwierig, jo, uh, rar oder seelen wat, mir hunn zwar vill Bicher awer (.) un der Qualitéit kéint wierklech nach dru geschafft ginn, mir schaffe virun allem mam „Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“, uh, wou ech fannen déi si relativ gutt opgebaut, awer och dacks éischter fir d'Erwuessenebildung an (.) manner fir am Lycée, uh, do sinn d'Themen einfach (.) spriechen d'Schüler net ëmmer sou un, sou dass mer eis zwar awer kënnen un *deem* Cours inspiréieren also un deem Buch inspiréieren, mee ganz iwwerhuele kann ee [d']Buch (.) denken ech net.

Q: D'Strategie fir d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch huet och Konsequenzen beim Léieren, wéi z.B. d'Erweiderung vun der Offer vun Optiounscoursen wéi „Ortografi“, „Kultur a Literatur“ an och „kreatiivt Schreiwen“. Wat mengs du dovun, also wat hëls du dovun?

Also ech fannen et flott. Ech fannen et wierklech eng gutt Saach well et férdert d'Sprooch an (.) verschiddenen(.) Beräicher, ,t ass net nëmmen de Friemsproochunterricht dee geféiert gëtt, ,t ass eeben och Leit di d'Sprooch schwätzen, wëllen d'Sprooch einfach léiere richteg schreiwen (-) an eeben esou en Ortografiscours fir, fir och eebe Mammesproochler ass awer wierklech sënnvoll well et awer ëmmer sou ass dass di meescht Lëtzebuenger d'Sprooch gutt schwätzen awer net richteg schreiwe kënnen (.) dat heescht, dat ass sënnvoll, genau souwi de Beräich vun der Kultur, wou ech mer soen, ,t ass immens vill bei eis an der Gesellschaft einfach guer net gewosst ass an och net (.) wierklech zougängeg ass (.) an do sinn ech frou dass awer lo ëmmer méi opkënnt an dass mir probéieren d'Leit dorun ze féieren also (.) genausou wi och kreatiivt

Schreiwen (.) also dat sinn alles Optiounen oder Coursen di ech wierklech flott sënnvoll an ech denken Zukunftspotenzial hunn.

Q: Ginn esou Coursen och an International Schools ugebidden, also ugebueden?

Nee ech mengen net, bei eis ginn esou Coursen net ugebueden (.) Nee, hmm hmm [negation sound]. Mir hunn zwar Optiounscoursen, dach, entschëllegt, mir hunn Optiounscoursen fir d'Schüler, also bei eis ass et esou dass si vun der 7ème bis 5ème Lëtzebuergesch muss, also Lëtzebuergesch d'office hunn, zwou Stonn[en] d'Woch (-) an dono kënnen se Lëtzebuergesch als Optioun wielen (.) fir déi Schüler di mam Lëtzebuergesch, uh, also dräi Joer Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch geléiert hunn ass et dann d'Optioun (.) weider (.) Lëtzebuergesch *schwätze* léieren (.) also Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch (.) fir déi di d'Avancésklass besicht hunn (.) fir déi ass et dann a Richtung "Kultur", jap [affirmation].

Dat didaktescht Material fir Lëtzebuergesch ass jo knapp am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt Dir d'Material, dat vum Ministère de l'Éducation geschafen gouf, oder nach anert Material?

Dat meescht ass mäin eegent Material (.) also dat muss ech lo soen (.) dat meescht ass d'eegent Material well et einfach (.) wéi s du och scho sos [past of soen] net genuch gëtt an eeben (.) uhh et kann ee sech u Saachen inspiréieren mee et muss een awer u seng Klassen *upassen* (.) sou datt dat meescht awer am Moment vu mir selwer ausgeschafft gëtt (.) wat ech didaktesche Material scho mol e bëssi méi benotzt hunn ass eeben de „Schwätzt Dir Lëtzebuergesch?“ an (.) vum CNL sinn *Dossier-pédagogiquen* ausgeschafft ginn (.) umm ze verschidden Texter vu Lëtzebuergger Auteuren an do hunn ech mech effektiv schonn (.) also di hunn ech schonn heiansdo an de Cours matintegriert (.) awer ni (.) uhh *integral* (.) also ech ginn ni integral vun engem didaktesche Material aus, jo.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruecht?

Also ob dat gemaach gëtt?

Q: Jo, genau.

Also, jo an nee also (-) ech schwätzen zum Beispill den (.) Mine (.) Minetter Dialekt mat den „mär“ an „där“ an ech enseignéieren eeben och an (.) ze Déifferdeng dat heescht och d'Schüler soen och (.) uhh schwätzen eeben och den (.) deen Dialekt (.) dat hunn ech eng Kéier kuerz ugeschwat (.) awer ech hunn et net thematiséiert, nee (-) Also heiansdo kommen [? 7:42] Saachen op, dassen si mir froen, „an der Stad soen se awer *sou* a mir soen *sou*“ (.) *sou* ass dat dann (.) dann (.) erklären ech et awer (.) e Cours drëm (.) dorëm hunn ech net gemaach nee.

Q: Enseignéiert Dir och d'Ortografi, wann d'Schüler groussen Interessi dorun weisen?

Uhh jo (.) also wa se géifen wierklech elo grousst Interessi weise giff ech et maachen (.) Umm heiansdo kommen eebe Froen dassen se soen „Madamm, wisou schreiwe mer dat lo sou?“ a „wisou kritt dat do zwee ‚A-en‘ an do awer just een A?“ dann heiansdo hunn ech et scho mol gemaa dass ech dann e Cours opgebaut hunn an dann d'Ortografi matagebonnen hunn (.) ech ginn ni vun Ortografi aus mee ech muss awer och soen (.) bass bei de Schüler d'Interessi un der Lëtzebuenger Ortografi wierklech *net* grouss ass an (.) uhh jo (.) da sinn se éischer (.) hunn ech d'Gefill domadder quint [?] wi e flotten Unterricht ass schwierig do (.) fannen ech opzebauen (.) an jo (.) voilà (.) si gesinn (.) fannen lo de Méiwert am Moment nach net (.) gesinn ech dohannen drun nach net sou bei menge Klassen (.) Am Friemsproochunterricht am Fong guer net (.) ausser eebe mol Reegelen (.) jo.

Soll d'Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergeschen Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Uh dat ass eng schwierig Fro (.) Ech denke strikt kann een net aféieren wa mer wieder Course kréiche wa mer weider Stonne kréichen (.) also déi Stonnen di eis lo zu Verfügung stinn (.) giff ech immens schued fanne wa mer déi giffen (.) mat enger strikter Ortografi *vollklacken* [? 9:25] a just Ortografi „da muss [?] mat hinne maachen well et sou um Programm steet“ (.) wa mer lo gifen vum Ministère zwou weider Stonnen fir d'Lëtzebuergesch kréien fannen ech et kéint een et (.) abannen an (.) ech denken d'ass

och wichteg ech fannen et och wichteg dass een d'Sprooch am Fong och *richteg* schreift
(.) umm dat heescht wa mer méi Stonnen hätten *jo* mee lo am Moment (.) gif ech et (.)
also [?: 9:49] ech net maachen, nee.

Q: Mengs du, datt d'Erweiterung vun den Optionscoursen mat Méisproochegkeet kompatibel ass?

Hmmm ech mengen ech hunn d'Fro net richtig verstanen, also d'Méisproochegkeet?

Q: Ech mengen elo d'Méisproochegket vum Land (.) also déi dräi (.) elo véier Landessproochen, di och (.) also Franséisch an Däitsch (.) och enseignéiert ginn an (.) vläicht (.) et géif eng Spannung ginn tëschent de Sproochen an ech froe mech ob d'Leit esou wouer (.) wouerhuelen.

Jo (.) ech hu verstane Merci (.) Bei de Schüler mierken ech et heiansdo dass si effektiv d'Sprooch e bëssi vermëschen (.) also am Friemsproochenunterricht (.) dass si dann virun allem Däitsch mam Lëtzebuergesche vermës (.) vermëschen (.) also do muss een am Friemsproochenunterricht e bëssen oppassen an dat ass vläit (.) *e klengen* Nodeel un der Méisproochegkeet (.) einfach dass si nieft dem Däitsche Franséische Engleschen an och nach (.) Lëtzebuergesch léieren (.) ass fir si (.) net (.) ëmmer (.) einfach (.) umm an awer soen ech mer (.) fannen ech et wierklech wichteg virun allem fir de Schüler hir Zukunft awer (.) geet net drëms dass si et perfekt kënnen, **mee ech fannen et awer wichteg fir sech kënnen hei am Land ze integréieren** an dono och auszedrécken. Jo.

Q: Solle Leit nach Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen, wéi si wëllen?

Hmmm jo (.) also wi gesot sou laang mer keng sou Coursen (.) *hunn* (.) oder **strikt** Coursen *hunn* (.) wou gesot gëtt (.) „hei dir hutt dat jo awer geléiert (.) dir misst dat richtig kënnen“ **kënne mer näischt aneshtes verlaangen wi just eeben dass si sou schreiwen wi se (.) wi se mengen (.) wat ech awer gif wichteg fannen ass (.) dassen d'Leit vill mi (.) selwer Initiativ agreifen an soen (.) „hei ech wëll d'Sprooch léieren an ech wëll eeben net just esou schreiwe wi ech menge mee ech wëll esou schreiwe wi et richtig ass (.) also mee dat fuerdert am Moment nach éischer méi eng eegen Initiativ (.) en eegene Wëllen (.) wi dass een et kann (.) verlaangen (.) jo.**

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent Enseignanten an den anere Institutiounen wéi dem ZLS, dem Ministère de l'Education Nationale, beim Iwwerschaffen vu Material, also bei der Kreatioun vun didakteschem Material?

Uum ech weess dass et e puer (.) Saache ginn (.) also mir hu jo ënner anerem och de SCRIPT (.) umm wou och Enseignanten doru bedeeleg also bedeelegt sinn (.) dat heescht Enseignante mat Erfaarung oder di an (.) an de Schoule schaffen di eeben um SCRIPT dann didaktescht Material ausschaffen (.) ech weess dass den CNL didaktescht Material den Enseignanten zesummen (.) also zu Verfügung stellt (.) **an den CNL och Feedback vun den Enseignante freet (.) wéi dat Material an de Schoulen ukënnt an ëmgëtt (.)** an dann (.) mat aneren Institutiounen ech weess just dass d'Proffen oder d'Enseignanten ënnert sech (.) umm och mol zesummeschaffen (.) ech fannen awer et kéint nach méi gemaach ginn.

Q: Also d'Zesummenaarbecht soll nach verstärkt ginn?

Jo jo jo (.) also ganz kloer (.) jo (.) well ech gif (.) gif soen dass et am Moment dass mer am richtege Wee sinn (.) mee et kéint nach vill méi (.) uhh gemaach ginn jo.

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnst ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Léisung sinn?

Ähh (--) an deem Sënn dass et vläit (.) dass mer dann eng gemeinsam Sprooch hunn an der mer eis kënne verstännegen (.) *jo (.) schonn (.)* obwuel ech denken d'ass nach ëmmer sou dass Franséisch dass dat Däitscht (.) also och Schüler di eeben doheem ech soe lo mol *Portugisisch* schwätzen (.) uuh schwätzen dann (.) just Portugiisich wann se an d'Schoul kommen ass et awer ëmmer sou (.) dassen si fir d'alleréisch Franséisch léieren (.) Däitsch (.) a Lëtzebuergesch (.) relativ (.) zum Schluss kënnst (.) ech fannen et am Fong an deem Sënn schonn schued (.) mee ech mengen et probéiert een d'Schüler (.) uhh do e bëssen (.) jo ze packe wou se gutt dra sinn an (.) Franséisch fällt engem engem (.) ech soe lo mol engem portugüisesche Schüler e bëssi méi einfach ze léieren wéi dat Lëtzebuergesch an si sinn nach méi (.) méi a Kontakt am Alldag mat der Sprooch wi mam Lëtzebuergesch (.) mee jo (.) natierlech fannen ech et schued (.) uumm ech fannen et ëmmer wichteg de Schüler awer ze (.) soen (.) dass (.) wann se hei

am Land sinn (.) umm (.) wi gesot net perfekt Lëtzebuergesch kënne mee (.) sech awer dru gi fir (.) fir e Minimum (.) jo.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch denger Meenung no di Integratiounssprooch?

Fir hei am Land fannen ech (.) jo (.) also ech denke schonn (.) also wi gesot mir hu jo virdrun (.) iwwer d’Kulturszene geschwat an och am Alldag (.) also ass d’Lëtzebuergesch awer (.) hei am Land eng (.) eng wichteg Sprooch an och (.) uuh (.) eng Sprooch di (.) *laang* eebe just gelieft ginn ass an eeben (.) mam Sproochgesetz uuh (.) 1984 festgehale ginn ass (.) umm (.) mee ech fanne schonn dass d’Schüler andeems se (.) d’Sprooch (.) Lëtzebuergesch léieren (.) heescht dat och fir mech Integratioun an d’Land an (.) uhh (.) fir si herno (.) soen ech ëmmer wa se sech virstelle ginn (.) bei e Patron (.) oder si maa [maachen] keng Uni mee si ginn dann (.) uuh (.) si wëllen eeben eppes (.) si wëllen ufänken mat schaffen a si gi sech bei e Patron virstellen (.) dann ass hir Chance (.) denken ech méi grouss (.) wann de Patron mol seet „kanns de dech och op Lëtzebuergesch virstellen?“ dassen si da geholl ginn (.) an (.) datt si sou Saachen ech fannen einfach och fir (.) d’Lëtzeburger selwer sinn och immens stolz op d’Lëtzebuergesch an wëllen déi (.) wëllen eeben och d’Sprooch förderen (.) ech weess et net mee (.) oft ass et sou wann een dann een huet deen (.) also viru sech huet (.) wou ee gesäit datt e gëtt sech awer drun (.) fir d’Sprooch e bëssen ze léieren oder ka se (.) ka sech e bëssen ausdrécken (.) dann huet ee schonn e bëssi méi eng Sympathie fir déi Persoun dat heescht ech fannen (.) *schonn* dass am Niveau vun der Integratioun (.) uuh (.) d’Lëtzebuergesch (.) léieren (.) eng Roll spillt jo.

Q: Wat heescht fir dech d’Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch?

Uhh (.) ech denken (.) Lëtzebuergesch (.) förderen an all de Beräicher heescht dat fir mech (.) souwuel am Friemsproochenunterricht wou ech fannen dass schonn relativ vill gemaach gëtt souwuel fir d’Schüler wi och fir d’Erwuessenebildung (.) umm Kultur fannen ech kann *nach* vill vill méi (.) uh gefërdert ginn einfach aus dem Gronn wat ech lo soen (.) dass (.) di (.) souguer d’Lëtzeburger (.) also déi di d’Lëtzeburger Nationalitéit

hunn (.) och nach vill vill ze wéineg wëssen (.) dat heescht do kéint nach vill méi gefërdert ginn (.) umm op der Uni fannen ech maachen se scho mol eng Superaarbecht (.) also d'Sprooch (.) gutt (.) an all den (.) Facetten analyséieren an ech mierken och (.) dass de Studium ëmmer méi populär gëtt (.) uhh voilà (.) also ech denken um Niveau (.) vun der Kultur kéint nach méi geschéien (.) um Niveau vum Friemsproochenunterricht si mer am gudde Wee an uhh (.) jo (.) also fërderen.

Q: Di lescht Fro. Also vun dengem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergeschen an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Umm (.) also ech gesinn nach ëmmer en uhh (.) Defizit e bëssen an den (.) an der (.) an den Aarbechtsgleeder [? 18:28] an (.) der Didaktik also (.) do mierken ech einfach dass eis nach vill feelt an (.) mir hunn zwar Programmer no de mer fueren (.) mee mir hu keng Aarbechtsgleeder [?] wéi mer dee Programm ganz kloer kënnen ëmsetzen (.) mir hu Bicher di wi gesot *gutt* sinn (.) awer (.) umm (.) do misst nach vill méi geschéien an et muss ee sech nach vill selwer aus de Fangere suckelen an sätz laang do fir selwer (.) umm Aarbechtsgleeder [?] auszeschaffen an (.) si mol Owender oder Weekender wou ee manner kreativ ass an (.) wat einfach dann ustrengend ass (.) **an do soen ech mer um Niveau vun (.) Aarbechts- (.) material kéint nach vill geschéien an och um Niveau vun [der] Zesummenaarbecht.**

XIII.1.14. Teacher: Helga

Q: Dir sidd Lëtzebuergesch-Proff um Lycée Michel Rodange. Kënnt Dir iech wgl äre Liewenslaf an är Charge beschreiwen?

Ech sinn ENSEIGNANT H an ech hunn am Fong mat Germanistik ugefaangen ze studéieren an nom Bachelor war et zimlech séier kloer dass ech dat net wollt weiderféieren mee eeben an eng aner Richtung goen, an zwar mam Lëtzebuergesch. An dunn hunn ech dann och de Master gemaat (gemaach) an dat huet mer dann och gutt gefall an hunn ech geduecht, domat wäert? [00:45] ech an den Enseignement goen. Dunn hunn ech de Concours gemaat (gemaach), dee gepackt, an de Stage komm an lo sinn ech eebe Lëtzebuergesch-Proff am Lycée Michel Rodange, dat ass e Lycée classique. **Dat heescht, am Fong sinn ech den éischte Lëtzebuergesch-Proff den an engem classesche Lycée enseignéiert.** Di meescht enseignéiere jo dat éischter als Friemsprooch –ech maan (maachen) dat zwar och well mer Classes d'accueil hunn-, mee ech enseignéieren et awer och bei Klassen di am Fong Lëtzebuergesch kënnen.

Q: Ass de Fokus beim Enseignéiere vum Lëtzebuergesch am Schwätze gesat? Hänkt et dovun of, wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert?

Dat hänkt ganz dovunner of wéi e Grupp een enseignéiert, jo. Also, bon, bei der Friemsprooch ganz kloer ass de Fokus op d'Bäibréngge vun der Sprooch, lo net „wéi schreiwen ech hei wat?“, mee beim classeschen, also am Lycée classique, dat heescht, bei de 7èmen, do maache mer scho ganz aner Saachen. **Do maachen ech och deelweis Ortografi mat hinnen an zwar ganz Basis, elo näischt ze Schwéieres, sou wi d’N-Regel e bësse kucken, Vokalen...** Awer lo dat geet och net komplett an (d’?)Detail well si sinn awer nach e bësse jonk an et weess een dass dat souwisou net hänkebleift, **leider** (laacht). Verschiddener fannen dat interessant, et ass awer meeschtens net ganz beléift (laacht). **An meeschtens kréien ech och gesot, „wéi? Lëtzebuergesch kann ee schreiwen wi ee wëll“, dat heescht do ass nach di typesch Astellung di di meescht Leit**

hunn, sou „Jo, et gëtt jo guer keng offiziell Reegelen“, dofir ass een ëmmer sou e bëssen, „muss ech dat lo léieren?“, mee soss fir de Rescht kucken ech awer och mat hinnen iwwer Kultur, Geschicht an sou, an do ass awer oft d'Interessi ganz grouss, an jo, ech fannen och wichteg dass se dat wëssen, dass se dat léieren, dass do och méi hannert eiser Geschicht ass, wéi meeschtens sou bekannt ass, well et ass jo am Fong schued, dat soll/soen een/ech ëmmer [3:15], mir léieren di ganz Zäit d'Geschicht vun der ganzer Welt, mee awer net vun eisem eegene Land. An da probéieren ech an deem Joer, an der Stonn, di ech just d'Woch hunn –well et ass jo leider just eng Stonn-, jo, di interessantste Saachen ze maachen.

Q: Wéinst dem rezente Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch soll och dat didaktescht Material iwwerschafft an ergänzt ginn. Z.B. d'Buch „Wat gelift“ fir Lëtzebuergesch-als-Friemsprooch-Coursen. Et si nëmmen 2 Joer vergaangen, dass d'Gesetz gestëmmt gouf, mee ginn et nei Entwécklungen beim Iwwerschaffen an bei der Ergänzung vum didaktesche Material?

Also, et ass jo lo sou... **Lëtzebuergesch gëtt ofgeschafft op 7ème an lo kënnt di Stonn op 4ème**, wat am Fong ganz positiv ass, well d'Schüler do scho e bëssi mi (méi) al sinn, an datt awer alles e bëssi besser verënnleche kënnen, besser kënnen diskutéieren iwwert di Saachen di och am Land hei geschéien an wéi alles e bësse fonctionéiert. An dat ass definitiv vu Virdeel, an dann ass d'Iddi dohannert, dass et dono als Optioun kënne weiderwielen. Dat heescht dann hätten se et no 4^{ème}, *kéinten* se theoretesch dann och dräi weider Joren sech iergendwéi domat beschäftegen, wann dat ugebuede gëtt, mee theoretesch *soll* et ugebuede ginn. An dann kënnt lo nach **de groussen Pilotprojet** (laacht) -fir den ech dann och zoustänneg sinn-, dass et op der 3ème A(sektioun) agefouert gëtt.

Q: An de Projet gëtt am Lycée Michel Rodange agefouert?

Jo, genau.

Q: Vlächcht kënne mer och vum didaktesche Material e bësse méi détailléiert schwätzen. Vill Enseignante soen, dass d'Material knapp ass am Verglach mat den anere Sproochen. Benutzt du d'Material, dat vum Ministère ausgeschafft gouf, oder däin eegent Material?

Béides. Mee ech hunn awer ganz vill selwer maachen. Also definitiv wann ech wëll dass en ofwiesslungsräiche (variado, diverso) Cours entsteet, dann muss een definitiv och selwer Saache maachen, wat jo OK ass, mee wou (en lugar de „wéi“?) een ugefaangen huet war dat trotzdem e bësse schwierereg, well een net vill hat. Iergendwann léiert ee bäi, oder respektiv et weess een op eemol wat ee wëll maachen, an dann, iergendwann huet ee jo Saachen, dat mécht et da méi einfach, mee am Ufank ass dat net sou einfach, besonnesch lo och op 7ème. Do gëtt et e Buch, „Lies de Bal“, an dat ass e Buch mat Texter, an dat war et... Mee dat geet vlächcht duer fir Däitsch-Proffen, déi d'Lëtzebuergesch-Stonn iwverhuelen, di Stonn dann eeben zu Alle (curso de alemán?) maan (maachen) eng Stonn Lëtzebuergesch? [esta oración es difícil, 6:26], fir dat geet et duer, mee wann ee wierklech wëll e flotte Cours maachen, wou si e bëssen och eppes iwver Kultur, Geschicht, oder soss eppes; ech schwätzen och vill mat hinnen iwver d'Méisproochegkeet... da muss ee wierklech vill selwer maachen. Do ass net extra vill zur Verfügung, leider.

Q: Beim Enseignéieren, gëtt och d'Diversitéit (lokal a regional) vun der Sprooch betruucht?

Fir d'Friemsproochler maan (maachen) ech dat manner well et ass eng Classe d'accueil, mee wi gesot de Problem do ass et... et gi ganz vill verschidden Niveauen, si sinn nach net eeben zougoe ginn [?] wéi staark se sinn. Dat heescht do variéiert, bon, d'Intelligenz (con cierta vergüenza), jo, vu Modulaire bis Classique, do sinn et, et si ganz staark, mir kënnen direkt wierklech super fillen; anere kënnen zum Schluss vum Joer nach ëmmer net bis zéng zielen. Dat heescht, do ass dat dann relativ schwierereg, **mee heiansdo huet ee staark Schüler dann effektiv Interessi, dass ee seet „ech hunn dat awer iergendwou anescht lo sou héieren“, dass een e Wuert anescht ausschwätzt, oder z.B. „ning, zing“ (amplaz vu „néng, zéng“) wi am Süden dat éischer gesot gëtt. An offiziell ass et jo „néng“, „zéng“ (IMPORTANTE E INTERESANTE), sou Saachen. **Dat kënnt mol op mee ganz ganz selten, mee effektiv op de 7èmen, do schwätzen ech oft e bëssi –net oft, mee- do schwätze mer schonn iwver d'Dialekter, wéi vu wou kënnt; vu que dass ech an der****

Stad enseignéieren, kommen di meescht awer och sou ronderëm d’Stad, dat heescht... me da soen si awer „Ah, ech hunn eng Bom, di seet awer dat an dat an dat“, oder heiansdo, dat Gespréich kënnt da meeschtens beim *Renert* op, also, mir kucken de *Renert* lo guer net an Detail, mee well dee jo an acht verschidden(en? 8:45) Dialekter geschriwwen ass, probéieren ech do ëmmer e bëssi mat hinnen driwwer [ze] schwätze wat iwwerhaapt en Dialekt ass, an wou si mengen, wou si vläicht, also wou si aneschtters schwätzen wi lo hir Kolleegen, oder ob si erkennen wien? dat aneschtters ausschwätzt. Jo.

Q: Enseignéiert Dir och d’Ortografi, wann d’Schüler groussen Interessi dorun weisen?

Jo, jo, Ortografi definitiv. Ëmmer sou... Ach, véier Stonnen ongeféier probéieren ech dat ze maachen. Well ee jo just eng Stonn huet, muss een sech do och ganz kuerz halen, well jo, [laacht] en Trimester huet jo och net sou vill Wochen. An ech wëll si och net just domadder nerven. Dat heescht ech kucken dass dat awer ëmmer begrenzt ass, an op d’absolut Basis, wi gesot, et ass e bëssen, jo, „wann zwee Konsonanten hannert dem Vokal kommen ass deen da laang“, ech ginn? [9:48] di typesch kleng Saachen. Mee, wi gesot, *ganz an Detail kann* ee mat hinnen net goen. An dat ass jo och net de But, et ass einfach fir hinnen e bëssen ze weisen et gëtt eng Ortografi [laacht] an sou an sou gëtt si geschriwwen.

Q: Soll d’Ortografi vum Lëtzebuergesch Ärer Meenung no strikt oder lax enseignéiert ginn?

Vläicht dunn e Mëttel [laacht]. Dass et dozwëschen... Ganz strikt, dat huet jo kee Wäert, dat hëlt hinne jo och... Strikt, also ech mengen, si léiere jo schonn Franséisch, Däitsch, Englesch, wou ëmmer muss extreem, muss opgepasst ginn, wi gëtt et geschriwwen [10:30]. Ech si scho frou wann si dat verhale, wéi gesot, wat ech hinne bäibréngen, dat ass scho [laacht] net sou einfach fir di meescht. Mee, jo, sou d’Basisreegelen, wann si déi verhalen ass Tiptop, mee sou komplex, strikt... Ech mengen, dat ass net d’Zil vun der Saach.

Q: Solle Leit nach Lëtzebuergesch schreiwen, wéi si wëllen?

[Laacht] Dat hänkt dovun of, wéi si schreiwen. Do hunn ech, do gesäit een deelweis ganz schlëmm Saachen, wann si wierklech sou schreiwe wéi si schwätzen, wat jo... [sigh] gutt Fro! **Natierlech wënscht een sech dass Leit ëmmer méi sou schreiwen wi et och wierklech virgeschriwwen ass, wi d'Reegele sinn. Mee esou laang d'Sprooch net sou komplett veronstalt [afear, deformar „verunstalten“, 11:39] gëtt... Wann se e bëssen eng Iddi hunn, wat d'Iddeen hannert de Reegele sinn ass et fir mech och OK.**

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Erweiderung vun der Offer u Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Wat mengs du genau? Dat et méi ugebuede gëtt?

Q: Jo, dat et méi ugebuede gëtt an och datt et méi enseignéiert gëtt.

Jo, natierlech ass dat extreem wichteg a positiv fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch. Ech mengen, d'Demande ass do respektiv et sinn ëmmer méi Leit drun interesséiert, d'Sprooch ze léiere wat jo just e Virdeel ass, fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, an dass déi sech dann och weiderentwéckele kann.

Q: An, dat ass och kee Problem fir d'Méisproochegkeet vum Land?

Nee, géif ech net sou soen. Also, op guer kee Fall, éischer e Virdeel wéi gesot, well soss war jo éischer, besonnesch wann een d'Verschrëftlechung kuckt, ass et jo haaptsächlech méi di aner Sproochen di ee soss gesinn huet a lo gesäit een awer ëmmer méi d'Lëtzebuergesch, och geschriwwen, op ëffentleche Plazen, op Plakater, op... wat weess ech, **Invitatiounen**. Also d'Lëtzebuergesch gëtt awer ëmmer méi benotzt méttlerweil. Och wann ee kuckt di Artikelen, gëtt ëmmer méi d'Lëtzebuergesch benotzt, wat ee fréier soss nimools gesinn hätt. **Do wier dann Däitsch benotzt gi, ganz sécher, an lo gesäit een awer dass d'Lëtzebuergesch ëmmer méi gewielt gëtt als Sprooch fir sech och schrëftlech auszedrécken.**

Q: Déi traditionell Dräisproochegkeet vum Land kënnt ëmmer méi ënner Drock. Vill Kanner schwätze keng vun den dräi Landessproochen doheem. Kéint eng verstärkt Presenz vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul eng Lösung sinn?

Op alle Fall, ech mengen, datt, et gëtt jo awer meeschtens, bon... ech sinn eeben lo an engem Lycée classique, do mierken ech och schon, dass Verschiddener ënnerteneen aner Sprooche schwätzen wi lo Lëtzebuergesch, **mee trotzdem ass et awer bei eis nach haaptsächlech d'Sprooch wou d'Schüler ënnertenee kommunizéieren.** Dat heescht, **déi Schüler di dat lo vläicht net sou gutt kënnen, di sinn awer do da méi gezwongen sech och mat der Sprooch ausereneenzesetzen. Definitiv.** An och, ech mengen, während de Coursen, net Lëtzebuergesch-Coursen, do ass dat dann awer d'Sprooch di agesat gëtt wann lo wierklech e Verständnisproblem iergendwou optaucht, während an der Mathé [15:10] oder an enger anerer Sprooch, dass wann et wierklech net geet, dass de Prof et dann eng Kéier op Lëtzebuergesch erkläert.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Jo. Also bei eis, ech ka lo net fir all Schoul schwätzen. Ech ka mer virstellen dass et besonnesch oder international Schoulen oder aner Lycéeën, wou vläicht den Niveau anechters ass, dass do eventuell anechters ass, mee hei bei mir ganz sécher.

Q: Wann s de d'Ortografi enseignéiers, ass et plus ou moins egal wann Schüler ausser der Klass, ausser dem Cours schreiwen wéi si wëllen, mee sollen si am Cours schreiwen wat z.B. der Standardsprooch entsprécht?

Esou gutt et geet, mee si maan (maachen) et net. [Laacht] **Sou bal d'Ortografi ofgeschloss ass hunn si och domadder Ofschloss.** Also, oder z.B. meng Prüfungen sinn net komplett Ortografi mee dat ass dann en Deel... Texter wou mer gekuckt hunn, oder de Renert, dat

hate mer do deelweis [?] oder sou; do ass dann direkt wéi se da schreiwen, do denken si mol guer net un di Reegelen, di mer scho gemaach hunn. **Dat ass am Fong e bëssi schued well do gesäit een, si associéieren dat “Ok bei Ortografi muss ech kucke wi ech richtig schreiwen an esou bal ech kann maache wéi ech wëll“** passen se net drop op (aquí hubo un intercambio entre cita en primera persona de un estudiante ficticio y vuelta a la voz narrativa).

Mee, jo, si froen dann och ëmmer „**Kréie mer ofgezunn wa mer dat lo falsch schreiwen“** an ech soen „**Neen, just beim Ortografisdeel kann ech iech ofzéien [laacht] fir di Feeler di der schreift“** soss wär et jo schonn direkt eriwwer [laacht]. Mee jo do gesäit een, si verënnerlechen et am Fong net, aus deene richtege Grënn, wat ze verstoen ass, si si wi gesot nach relativ jonk, et ass hir éischt Joer am Lycée, ass alles nei an et ass just eng Stonn d’Woch, Koeffizient-Eent (Gini? 17:33], dat spillt dann och leider alles mat, fir dat net sou seriö ze huelen.

Q: Wat heescht fir dech d’Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch?

Fir mech ass et am Fong, jo, et gëtt am Moment alles duerfir gemaat (gemaach) fir dass d’Lëtzebuergesch gutt dosteet, dass et **verstärkt gëtt an senger Signifikanz**, also am Fong dass et wierklech... net sou **belächelt** gëtt wéi et meeschtens och nach ëmmer gëtt. Mee dass et wierklech dofir agesat gëtt, dass et méi wichteg gëtt, dass **Leit et méi seriö huelen, also net, „seriö“** ass vläicht e bëssen streng; mee trotzdem dass net gesot gëtt „**jo firwat musse mer lo nach Lëtzebuergesch maachen“**, dass scho verstane gëtt, firwat et wichteg ass, och seng eege Kultur mol kennenzeléieren, an di meescht kënnen souger, streng geholl, mol net mi (méi) uerdentlech Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen. Richtig Lëtzebuerger, wann ech hinnen nolauschteren, bon et si **Jugendlecher natierlech huet e bëssi seng Jugendsprooch**, mee trotzdem wann ech kucken wéi do geschwat gëtt, deelweis soen ech mer... et ass sou wichteg dass mer dat net verléieren, dass net sou gesot gëtt, „**jo, musse mer lo nach eng Sprooch léieren?“**, mee am Fong ass et sou wichteg dat **bäizebehalen, och an engem schouleschen Encadrement**. Natierlech [?] net dass een dat e puer Stonnen d’Woch och nach zousätzlech maan [?] mee dofir fannen ech gutt wann een et eebe kann an engem spéideren Zäitpunkt wile wann een et wëll maachen. Dofir fannen ech super dass dat lo agefouert gëtt. **Eng aner Idee di ech och nach gif (géif) gutt fannen, dat wär z.B. dass wann een**

et op den anere Sektiounen och kéint wielen, amplaz vun enger anerer Sprooch, wann ee wierklech Interesse drun hat. Dat wär fir mech sou de nächste Schratt; dass et net just fir di ass, di wierklech Literatur onbedéngt wëlle maachen, oder wierklech sproochlech sou begeeschtert sinn [lacht], also dass eng A(sektioun) wielen dofir, mee dass eben dat och kéinte soen, „jo, ech wëll wierklech kee Franséisch méi maachen“, an dassen? [20:32] dann kéint een d'Méiglechkeet hu vläicht Lëtzebuergesch ze huelen, ze wielen.

Q: Vun Ärem Point-de-Vue als Enseignante, wat sinn déi néideg Schrëtt, déi gemaach solle ginn fir d'Léieren vum Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul an am Lycée?

Dat ass z.B. definitiv een Schrëtt deen ech wierklech gif (géif) begrëisse wann dat eng Kéier gif (géif) agefouert ginn, wär dat super. **Ech mengen, mir si lo schonn méi wäit wi ee virun zwee, dräi Joer geduecht huet, besonnesch am Enseignement secondaire.** Ech hätt/hat? [21:20] net geduecht dass elo sou séier gif (géif) Ännerunge kommen. Et waren nämlech ëmmer Leit di soten, „wéi, Lëtzebuergesch-Prof? Dat ass jo eng Stonn op 7ème“, „Jo mee lo kënn vläicht nach eppes“, an dass et lo sou séier komm ass, sinn ech wierklech immens frou doriwwer. Bon, et muss ee kucken wi dat ukënn, et misst ee wahrscheinlech a mengen Aen e bëssi méi Reklamm dofir maachen. Mee ech gif (géif) mengen dass d'Nofro vläicht och réischt lo net d'nächst Joer kënn, mee eréischt no dem Joer wou d'Schüler dann [et] och op 4ème mol haten, fir dann ze soen, „OK dat huet mer gefall, et huet mech interesséiert, dat maachen ech dat op 3ème gär weider“. Dofir, lo kann ech mer virstellen dass am éischte Joer vläicht d'Nofro nach net sou grouss ass, schonn eleng well d'Schüler hate fir d'Lescht Lëtzebuergesch op 7ème an ech fannen 6ème, 5ème, 4ème, dat ass laang an esou enger Schoul, fir dann ze soen „Ooh jo, d'Lëtzebuergesch, dat wielen ech lo“, also ech mengen dat misst, also do missten se schonn erëm méi rezent Saachen geléiert hunn oder gemaach hunn, fir sech eng Kéier aktiv dofir ze interesséieren an ze soen, „OK, ech gi lo op d'A an ech wielen dat bewusst mat Lëtzebuergesch ass ëmmer de Gronn? [?]“, jo ech gesinn dat lo als e bësse schwierig un, éierlech gesot. Et ginn der bestëmmt di et vläicht maachen, mee mech géif et net wonneren wann dat eréischt méi spéit uleeft, dass den Interessi ufänkt sech ze entwéckelen.

Q: Mengs du dass et eng Kontinuitéit soll ginn, fir dass d'Schüler gesinn dass si kënnen Lëtzebuergesch nach weider hunn?

Dofir si jo lo och di wichtegst Schrëtt gemaa (gemaach) gi fir ze soen „OK, op 7ème huele mer di Stonn ewech a mir setzen se op 4ème“, wéi gesot well d'Schüler sinn do scho e bëssi méi reif, hunn do aner Interessen, interesséieren sech vläicht och schonn e bësse méi fir hirt Land an hir Kultur, an, firwat Lëtzebuergesch steet/geet/gëtt?, an dass dann eeben effektiv et ugebuede gëtt op verschiddene Plaze wi d'Optioun-Lëtzebuergesch dann, oder eeben dann op der A(sektioun). Also do si mer definitiv um gudde Wee.

XIII.1.15. Member of the University of Luxembourg: Victor

Q: Du bass Professor fir Linguistik am Institut fir Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch- a Literaturwëssenschaft a vun 2006 bis 2013 wars du och den Direkter vum Institut. Du wars och vun 2007 bis 2013 den Direkter vun der Formation Continue „Lëtzebuenger Sprooch a Kultur“. Ausserdeem bass du den Direkter vum Master en langues, cultures et médias – Lëtzebuenger Studien an och e Member vum Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise. Kéins du deng Lieweslaf an deng aktuell Charge beschreiwen ?

Ech si säit 2006 hei op der Uni als Prof. Virdrun war ech eeben als Linguist op verschidden däitschen Unien, ze Fräiburg, ze Hamburg, an ze Heidelberg. Vu dass ech mech eeben mam Lëtzebuergesch auserneegesat hunn, och a menger Dokteraarbecht schonn an dono och an anere Publicatiounen, konnt ech mech eeben bewerben fir de Posten. Vum 2006 un hunn ech den? [?]. Vu dass deemols och den Institut, di éischte Kéier gegrënnt ginn ass, ne? Virdrun huet di Struktur u sech nach net bestanen. War ech mam Mélanie deemols... Mir zwee waren di éischt di dann heihinner komm sinn, fir dann no an no den Institut opzebauen an do war ech logescherweis deen eenzegen den och Institutshead hätt konnt sinn.

Q: De Conseil Permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise gouf 1998 duerch ministerieelt Reglement gegrënnt. Déi urspronglech Funktioun vum CPLL war haaptsächlech Korpusplanung duerch d’Kreatioun vun 3 Dictionnaren an och vun enger Orthographie, déi 1999 duerch groussherzoglecht Reglement unerkannt gouf. Mat der Zäit gouf de Conseil ëmgebilt (2004, 2007, 2017). Ech zitieren vun engem Rapport vu 2017 :

Zu den Haaptmissiounen vum "Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise" gehéieren d'Etude an d'Diffusioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, ma och d'Koordinatioun vun den Aarbechten um "Lëtzebuenger Online Dictionnaire" (LOD). Ausserdeem Avisen zu Sprooch-Froen op Demande vum Kultur-oder Educatiounsministère an d'Zesummenaarbecht mat aneren Instituter, déi sech mat der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch befaassen.

Säit 2018 huet de Conseil awer am Kader vum Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch eng méi konsultativ Funktioun.

Säit wéini bass du e Member vum Conseil a wat sinn deng Responsabilitéiten?

Effektiv, ech weess net säit wéini ech Member sinn, ech hunn dat vergiess. Wahrscheinlech kanns du dat rekonstruieren iergendwéi. Also ech sinn an der zweeter oder an der drëtter Phas. De Conseil gëtt jo net gewielt, oder iergendwi, et gëtt jo bestëmmt vum Ministère, an urspronglech vum Kultur- a vum Educatiounsministère a mëttlerweil ass et just nach [den] Educatiounsministère. Ech mengen ech sinn an der drëtter Phas, souzesoen an... Also, meng Roll am Conseil ass, dass ech d'Fuerschung vertrieden, oder d'Uni vertrieden, als Fuerschungsparticpant. Awer d'Aarbecht vum Conseil ass net sou organiséiert, dass et ganz konkrete Plange gëtt, den no an no Aufgabaarbecht gëtt, [et] ass éischer, dass de Conseil verschidden grouss Themen sech ukuckt an deenen nach vläicht méi gezilt schafft, awer och „schaffe“ géif ech dat och net am konkrete Sënn soen, mee éischer *Avisen*. Et sinn éischer *Avisen* déi den Conseil ofgëtt fir bestëmmt sproochlech Froen. Dat has de scho genannt, den éische Groussen dat war den LOD, an den ass am Fong ofgeschloss, also do leeft am Ament näischt, wat de CPLL ugeet. Den anere Groussen dat war effektiv -den ass jo a vill Joer gaangen? [5:28] Chantier-, dat war d'Ortografi. **A verschiddenen Etappen ass dat eebe gelaf, bis lo 2019 di aktuell Versioun, di aktualiséiert Versioun rauskomm ass. An do huet den CPLL eeben di verschidden Ännerungen déi gemaach gi sinn oder d'Virstufen vum Text selwer gekuckt, gelies, iwwerlies, korrigéiert, an och *accordéiert*.** Also den CPLL ass schonn di Instanz déi *accordéiert* ob Ännerungen an der Ortografi, an och am Text vun der Ortografi, wat lo als Buch rauskomm ass... ob dat alles an der Rei ass. An dat mécht de Conseil sou gutt wéi e kann, also net jiddfereen... Am Conseil sëtzen ganz ënnerscheedlech Leit... Jiddfereen huet e ganz eegenen Hannergrond, den, heiansdo, jo, ganz ënnerscheedlech Bléckwénkel natierlech mat sech bréngt op d'Sujeten. Also wanns de aus der Fuerschung kënns, hues de eng aner Vue op Ortografi, wéi wann s de aus dem Enseignement bass, ne? **Mir verstinn eis ëmmer ganz gutt, awer d'Perspektiven sinn schonn ziimlech ënnerscheedlech, och wat Ëmsetzung ugeet, an esou weider.**

Q: Dat géif mech interesséieren, wéi d’Perspektiven sech ënnerscheeden an wéi si zesummekomme kënnen.

Am Fall vun der Ortografi ass dat eigentlech... Et si vill Saachen eenzel diskutéiert ginn, also wierklech eenzel Reegelen, eenzel Wuertlëschten, a sou weider, an da kann et och relativ laang daueren bis jiddferen op dem selwechten Niveau vun der Diskussioun ass. Heiansdo si Leit dobäi di kënnen näischt Konkretes dozou soen, an [palabra que no entiendo, 7:48] dat dann och, „et ass net mäin Thema, ech kann net wierklech eppes dozou soen“, an dann entwéckelt sech da schonn sou, dass vläicht just e puer Leit sinn, zween oder dräi, di haaptsächlech decidéieren oder virschloen an dann mengen ech dréit de ganze Grupp dat, di Decisioun awer och mat.

Ee Punkt, ech hat vergiess, den och net onwichtig war an de leschte Joren, dat war d’Festleeëung vun den Uertschaftsnimm, dass de CPLL all Numm fir all Uertschaft am Land, an och eng Rei Toponymen, festgeluecht huet. Et war néideg an et waren och vill Ännerungen, Klenggekeiten, fir Klenggekeiten, awer du hues fir d’éischt Mol? [8:31] eng offiziell Lëscht, mat enger eenheetlecher Schreifweis di och mat der jeweileger Gemeng ofgekläert ass, an opgestall ginn. Dat war eng relativ grouss Aarbecht, jo.

De CPLL selwer gesäit sech jo net sou oft, also am Moment wéinst Corona, well meeschtens eeler Leit si di kënnen net, si dierfen souwisou net well si vulnerabel sinn, an engem Meeting sinn. [Et] waren praktesch keng Meetings, an dësem Joer war vläicht ee Meeting mengen ech. An soss si Meetings och a Phasen déi... zwee Méint, dat heescht, ech weess scho mol net... deelweis onregelméisseg, deelweis op d’mannst zwee Méint Abstand. Dat bedéngt dass net wierklech dass... de Conseil mécht Avisen, ne? **Awer de Conseil schafft net kontinuéierlech un engem Thema.** Dat ass net iergendwéi en Aarbechtsgrupp de konkret eppes ausschafft. E kann Avise ginn op der Basis vun engem Text dee scho virläit, a sou weider... Brauch ee groussen Input, de just da vun enger Persoun oder vun engem klénge Aarbechtsgrupp kënnt, awer de Conseil selwer schafft net géif ech soen, schafft net ganz konkret un engem Thema. Mee et muss schonn eng grouss Viraarbecht do sinn, an da kann sech de Conseil domat befaassen an gëtt säin Avis of.

Q: Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent de Membere vum Conseil, dem Zënter an dem Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch fir déi verschidde Mesuren z'entwéckelen?

Dat ass alles ganz nei, ne? Et ass am Fong alles ganz nei, dowéinst huet et sech dann eeben och verändert/verännert, virdrun war et vill manner organiséiert a vill manner... intensiv och, einfach well d'Capacitésen och net do waren a mam Kommissär a mam ZLS (Zenter) gëtt et lo vill méi konkret Aarbechtsgruppen, [?] di ausgeschafft gëtt. De Kommissär ass net Deel? vum CPLL, hien ass och net an der Reunion dobäi. Awer et gëtt ëmmer Ufroe vum Kommissär un den CPLL, spezifesch Saache, spezifesch Frostellungen. An och de Kommissär freet och den ZLS fir bestëmmt Saachen an dat geet dann an dräi Ecken [palabra que no entiendo, 11:07] tëschent Kommissär, ZLS, an CPLL. An den ZLS am Moment ass déi Instanz di am meeschten schafft, di am meeschten konkret schafft

Q: Baut den ZLS op Aarbechten, déi z.B. vum Conseil gemaach goufen? Gëtt et eng Kontinuitéit?

Dat betrëfft eigentlech [?] d'Ortografi. [Et] ass am CPLL ugefaange ginn, mat verschiddenen Memberen an dann ass den ZLS komm a huet dat praktesch iwwerholl a finanzéiert, jo. Soss eigentlech net konkret. Dat ass eppes just punktuell.

Q: Sinn déi Funktiounen vum Conseil wéinst der Grënnung vum Zënter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch an dem Kommissär iwwerholl ginn? De Kommissär d'Diffusioun vun der Sprooch an den Zënter déi korpusplanerisch Funktiounen. Ass de Conseil wéi e Staatsrot, hie gëtt Avisen of.

Am Fong schonn wéi e Staatsrot awer dat war schonn ëmmer d'Iddi gewiescht, ne? Ech mengen, einfach well di Zesummesetzung an di Aarbechtméiglechkeeten, déi den CPLL virdrun hat, vill ze vill limitéiert waren fir iwwerhaupt ganz konkret Korpusplanung ze maachen, zum Beispill... konnt een dat verlangen oder erwaarden oder erwünschen, awer réischt mam ZLS mengen ech ass et méiglech konkret Korpusplanung ëmzesetzen. Dat war virdrun net denkbar, einfach well di Capacitésen net do waren. **D'Funktioun vum CPLL bleift awer trotzdem mengen ech ëmmer nach wichteg well dat den eenzege**

Gremium ass, an dem eeben *Representantë* vun den ënnerscheedlechen Akteuren am Feld vum Lëtzebuergeschen zesummessinn.

De Kommissär ass just eng Persoun, den ZLS ass just eng Equipe di u konkrete Sujete schafft, awer di Breed vun de Vuen a Perspektiven, di ass just am CPLL. Vun dohier ass de CPLL schonn eng wichteg Instanz. An och di lescht Instanz iwwer d'Ortografi an och iwwer d'Grammaire, also och wann d'Grammaire herno kënnt, dann gëtt déi dem CPLL virgeluecht fir en Avis ze kréien, sou wi d'Ortografi eeben, mat Avis vum CPLL da praktesch ofgeseent ginn ass. Awer du hues et ganz gutt formuléiert mat Staatsrotsfunktoun, jo.

Q: Gëtt et elo eng méi kohärent Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem Institut an den aneren Institutiounen di lo gegrënnt goufen?

Am Fong schonn, jo. Mir maachen jo akademesch Fuerschung. Also, eise Client si Wëssenschaftler, souzesoen, ne? Mir schaffen fir eng wëssenschaftlech Ëffentlechkeet oder fir eng wëssenschaftlech Community, mat den Methoden a mat den Verfahren a sou weider vun enger Fuerschungsorganisatioun di eeben haaptsächlech och international organiséiert ass. Dat ass eist Haaptthema. Et gëtt net bewäert wi gutt ass eis Ëffentlechkeetsaarbecht oder wi gutt... wi vill hu mir elo fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch gemaach, dat ass, ech soen dat virsiichteg, dat ass net eis Haaptaarbecht, eis Aarbecht ass eeben am Kader vun enger akademescher Institutioun Fuerschung iwwer de Sujet ze maachen. Dat schléisst op der anerer Säit net aus, dass mir och Aktivitéiten lancéieren déi mat Ëffentlechkeetsaarbecht, déi mat konkreter Sproochplanung a Sproochpolitik och ze dinn hunn... Dass mer dat och maachen, an dass mer och konkret mam ZLS z.B. zesummeschaffen. Dat ass parallel alles denkbar, maache mer och. Awer de Kär oder den Ursprung vun eisem Institut ass an der Fuerschung.

Vu dass... Wat erschwierend dozou kënnt (del alemán „was erschwerend hinzukommt“, „lo que complica...“), an deem Ganzen ass, Lëtzebuerg ass sou kléng, ne? D'Thema ass och sou kléng, et ass och spezifesch, an et gëtt sou vill konkret Besoinen direkt hei am Land an der Gesellschaft, dass mir eis guer net och als Unisintitutioun guer net rauszéie kënnen, aus dësen aktuellen Diskussiounen di oflafen, an dass mir do eeben och entweder Stellung bezéien, oder matschaffen, oder konkret eppes ubidden fir... wat een als

Sproochplanung oder als Korpusplanung beschreibe géif, ne? Also z.B. alles wat mat dem Infolux ze dinn huet, wou mer konkret Resultater vun eise Fuerschungsprojete presentéieren. Dat sinn Saachen di entweder fir eng wëssenschaftlech Ëffentlechkeet geduecht sinn, oder awer och fir interesséiert Laien, dat heescht fir de breede Public. Dat ass insbesondere de Luxogramm, den elo eigentlech vereelzt ass, awer den säit 2007, gëtt den agesat fir am Enseignement an och einfach vu Leit di d'Sprooch léieren... An och di al Dictionnaren di mer ubidden, sinn fir d'Ëffentlechkeet eng ganz wichteg Source fir iwwer d'Lëtzebuergesch historesch sech ze informéieren. An do hu mer mengen ech eng wichteg Positioun ageholl fir déi Saachen unzebidden. Also dat sinn op der enger Säit Fuerschungsresultater fir d'Fuerschung weiderzebréngen, op der anerer Säit awer och fir de Public an fir Ëffentlechkeetsaarbecht ze maachen. **En plus, bréngt eis dat natierlech och an d'Situatioun dass mir iwwer aktuell sproochpolitesch Mesuren, oder Astellungen, wat och ëmmer, entweder gefrot ginn oder mir soen dat selwer wat mer mengen. Dat schléisst sech net aus, dat ass mengen ech e Lëtzebuerg-spezifesch Situatioun... Dass mir, ob mer wëllen oder net, sproochpolitesch aktiv sinn, ne? Mir sinn net sproochpolitesch passiv, dat kann een net soen. Do sinn eis eegen Ideologien dann och dran.**

Q: Ginn déi akademesch Beiträg vum Institut betruecht, fir sproochplaneresch Mesuren z'entwéckelen?

Ech denken dass den Input z.B. vun eise linguistesche Fuerschungen duerchaus direkten Agang an Ortografi fënnt.

Q: Ass et esou, dass sëlleg Akteuren iwwerlappend Rolle bei der Sproochpolitik a -planung spillen?

Jo, natierlech sinn si iwwerlappend, jo. Et bleift net aus.

Q: Jo, well Lëtzebuerg esou e kléngt Land ass, also...

Den ZLS z.B. mécht natierlech am gewësse Sënn och Fuerschung, ne? Just mat engem anere But, eeben fir konkret relativ séier eppes unzebidden, an net fir en Aufsatz op Englesch draus ze schreiwen, mee ganz konkret eppes fir d'Leit unzebidden. A mir maachen dat och, ne? Just mat engem aneren Zweck. Also vun dohier gétt et schonn Iwwerlappungen. Ech gesinn awer do och kee gréissere Problem.

Jo, et ass nëmmen fir ze gesinn, ob et wéi en Netzwierk ass.

Q: Wat heescht Standardiséierung am Kader vun der Sproochpolitik vu Lëtzebuerg?

Am Fong ass et jo Korpus a Status. An Korpus gesinn ech net, also Korpusplanung gesinn ech als kee gréissere Problem un, an do ass eeben, kann ee soen dass an de leschten zwanzeg, drësseg, Joren extreem vill geschitt ass an di Richtung Kodifizéierung, an a Korpusplanung u sech, an net zulescht och duerch Aktivitéiten vun der Uni selwer, ech mengen dass d'Uni do u sech schonn e wichtege Player an der Korpusplanung ass, an och fir Zukunft, fir di zukünfteg Entwécklung gesinn ech och, wat d'Korpusplanung ugeet, eigentlech just positiv an deem Sënn dass dat wierklech weidergeet, dass [et] vill méi Méiglechkeeten souguer gétt wi virdrun, fir weider un der Korpusplanung vum Lëtzebuergeschen ze schaffen, op verschiddenen Niveauen, also Ortografi, Wuertschatz, Grammaire vläicht als nächst.

Den anere Punkt, Statusplanung, den ass méi *diffizil* an dat ass mengen ech awer och den wichtege Punkt souguer, deen de méi wichteg ass. **An der Statusplanung selwer mengen ech sinn ech eigentlech méi kritesch wéi aner Leit, fir ze gesinn, ob dat wierklech als Standardiséierung schonn iwwerhaapt an di richteg Richtung geet.** Also et gétt sou eppes wi Statusplanung, wi mengen ech lo méi forcéiert iwwer den ZLS, an iwwer den CPLL vläicht manner awer den ZLS an iwwer den Ministère an iwwer de Kommissär mengen ech gemaach gétt... déi eng ganz spezifesch Zort vu Statusplanung envisagéiert, nämmelech d'Léieren vun der Sprooch fir déi di d'Sprooch net kënnen, ze erliichteren. Also alles Méiglech ze produzéieren, Hëllefsmëttel, an op der anerer Säit och am Enseignement Strukturen ze schaffen, dass Kanner, haaptsächlech Kanner a Jugendlecher, Lëtzebuergesch léieren am Kader vum lëtzebuergeschen Bildungssystem. Oder iwwer den INL da fir Erwuessener, dat ass, ech mengen et ass di richteg? Statusplanung déi am

Moment forcéiert vun den ëffentlechen Institutiounen? [23:32] gemaach gëtt. **A wat menger Meenung no vergiess, oder net richtig gemaach gëtt oder net staark genuch forcéiert gëtt ass Statusplanung och wat Lëtzebuergesch fir déi ugeet, déi, fir d'Majoritéit am Fong ëmmer nach ugeet, déi mat Lëtzebuergesch als éischte Sprooch opwuessen, dass déi Sprooch am Enseignement net den korrekten, menger Meenung no, Status anhëlt am Erziungssystem [24:06] an am Sproochenenseignement, an der Prestigeplanung och vun der Méisproochegkeet, wéi dat *kéint* sinn.** Do gesinn ech e groussen Ënnerscheid, dass Statusplanung am Fong ëmmer heescht, „wéi kréie mer Ausländer sou datt si Lëtzebuergesch léieren?“ **An dat ass en Automatismus den iwwerall da drauskënnt an et gëtt vergiess dass déi, dass dat just geet, dass dat just richtig fonctionéiert, wann och déi di Lëtzebuergesch als éischt Sprooch schwätzen, op dem selwechten Zuch sinn, ne? Datt och di dat als standardiséiert Sprooch ugesinn, mat standardiséierten Funktiounen och, déi par rapport zum Franséischen an Däitschen dann missten ausgebaut ginn, an ech mengen dat ass zweigleiseg, et schéngt mir do net zesummenzelaufen.**

Q: Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Standardiséierung vum Lëtzebuergeschen och mat der Diversitéit vun der Sprooch (regionaler a lokaler Diversitéit) kompatibel?

Kee Problem. Also gif (géif) ech generell soen. Diversitéit heescht net dass, oder Standardiséierung heescht net dass d'Diversitéit verschwanne muss. An d'Diversitéit ass net sou grouss wi ee mengt. Dat ass [palabra que no entiendo, 25 :58] wat bei eise Schnëssen-Daten rauskënnt. **Diversitéit ass do awer di ass net sou riseg an di ass net do wou ee mengt, dass se ass. Si ass, ech géif och bal soen, et gëtt keng Dialekter vum Lëtzebuergeschen.** Et gëtt wat an der anere [?] Terminologie als *Accent* (pronunciación en inglés) bezeechent gëtt. **Also et sinn *iwwerwéigend* Aussprooch-Ënnerscheeder, an déi gëtt et, sou wi se et fir Lëtzebuerg, fir esou e kléngen Territoire, gëtt, ass vläicht e bësse vill, fir di Gréiss vu Lëtzebuerg, awer di gëtt et fir all Sproochen op diselwecht Manéier, di géif een net als Dialekt bezeechen, also, di géif een net als, wat d'Diversitéit ugeet, als sou extreem wichteg, als sou ausgebrecht/ausgebreet? [26:36] kennzeechen wéi d'Englesch.** Fir en normale Brit oder fir en normalen *Ami* sinn di Variatiounen di hien all Dag vun allméiglechen *Native Speakers* aus sengem eegene Land héiert, genausou grouss wi déi di e Lëtzebuergeschen héiert. **Ech mengen hei gëtt Diversitéit wierklech als *Wäert***

generell geholl fir datt Lëtzebuergesch nach eng Kéier? [27:01] méi wäertvoll soll maachen. Verstinn ech alles, also alles an der Rei... An di Standardiséierung di jo eigentlech och geplangt ass, di bedeit *net* dass déi Diversitéit a Fro gestallt gëtt, oder si soll reduzéiert ginn. ,T ass just dass vläicht eng Majoritéitsvariant ausgewielt gëtt -di souwisou schonn do ass-, an déi gëtt festgeschriwwen, an dat huet Virdeeler fir den Ausbau vum Lëtzebuergesch als/an? [27:30] Schrëftsprooch. Also ech gesinn do kee grouse Widdersprooch, dat ass meng, gëtt wierklech ideologesch iwwerkonstruieert, ne? Dass duerch Standardiséierung den eigentlechen ursprongleche Charakter vum Lëtzebuergesch verluer géif goen. Dat ass eng Ideologie, natierlech.

Q: Lëtzebuerg ass e méisproochegt Land, dat vill Wert op dës Méisproochegkeet leet. Ass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Et hänkt dovunner of wéi een et mécht, wat ee mat Promotioun mengt. An d'Promotioun vun der Lëtzebuurger Sprooch ass wi si am Aktiounsplang an am Gesetz festgehalten ass, ass jo schonn... ech géif soen, relativ *traditionell*. Also et bezitt sech op de Sproochenenseignement fir Ausländer, wat bestëmmt hëllefträich ass fir d'Méisproochegkeet och weider ze *vereinfachen* mengen ech, an dann op éischer esou traditionell Saache wéi e Musée fir d'Lëtzebuergesch, an historiesch, e bëssi folkloristesche Elementer virzehiewen, dass et en Dag vun der Mammesprooch gëtt, dat sinn éischer sou symbolesch Saachen. Mat der Méisproochegkeet selwer ass mengen ech ganz aner... et ass net?? [28:56] eng Fro vum Lëtzebuergesch [mee et ass mengen ech eng ideologesch Fro, „wivill Méisproochegkeet wëll een hunn?“ an dat ass dann eng Fro, wat? den Status vum Däitschen ass, menger Meenung no. An di Haaptkonkurrenten si mengen ech Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch an der Méisproochegkeet. An do muss een eng laangfristeg Léisung fannen, vu dass den Enseignement eigentlech ëmmer méi komplex gëtt, **an eng Alphabetiséierung op Däitsch ass net méi zäitgeméiss**, also dat ass wierklech wat net geet, an do muss een... **dat ass mat vill ze vill Schued an Ustrengung fir alleguerte Parteien verbonnen. Do muss een eng aner Léisung fannen, an eng Alphabetiséierung op Lëtzebuergesch ass am Fong dat wat fontionéiert. Et wäert wahrscheinlech den Status vum Däitschen am Land reduzéieren, awer de Status vum Däitschen ass souwisou onkloer.** Dass... doduerch dass Däitsch géif verluergeen, géif ech och net

mengen. Wann een dann Däitsch an der drëtter oder véierter Klass, also praktesch ëmswicht, wann een ëmswichte géif, mee mam Lëtzebuergesch ufänken an dann iergendwann mam Däitschen nach eng Kéier *nom* Franséischen dobäikënnt. Dat gëtt Ruckzug [?] datt Däitsch gëtt och sou geléiert.

Q: Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als Integratiounssprooch bezechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Di eenzeg bestëmmt net. Et ass och absolut onkloer wat mat Integratiounssprooch gemengt ass. Ech weess net ob s du di... et gëtt eng Enquête vun der méttlerweil net méi existenter Zeitschrëft *Le Jeudi* vun 2007, « Quelle est à votre avis la langue d'intégration au Luxembourg ? », op Franséisch gefrot, TNS-Ilres, an do ass dann 70% Franséisch rauskomm. Et hänkt dovun of wien du frees, ne ? Also ech denken, et ass absolut onkloer wat mat Integratiounssprooch gemengt ass. Also di wichteg Sprooch fir den Alldag, ass di wichteg Sprooch fir den Aarbechtsplaz, ass di wichteg Sprooch fir sozial Kohäsion, an egal wéi s de di Fro stells, a wien s du di Fro stells, kommen ënnerschiedlech Äntwerten eraus. An ech mengen och net dass just eng Sprooch dat liwwere kann. Also Integratiounssprooch déi iwwer d'Wëssenschaft??? [31:52] ze Lëtzebuerg sech virstellt, oder ADR... Dat heescht am Fong just den Ausländer léiert gefällegst Lëtzebuergesch, just dat. Et geet net ëm sozial Kohäsion, et geet drëms dass Ausländer sech upasse sollen. Dat ass eng **rietspopulistesch Vue**. An di wëllen net mat deene schwätzen, di wëllen egal op wéi enger Sprooch mat dem schwätzen?? Mat dem schwätzen se souwisou Franséisch... Dat geet net, et ass eng [?] Ideologie, mengen ech. De Staat selwer mengen ech, Regierungsméisseg, do ass et e bëssen anescht, och si gesinn d'Lëtzebuergesch als Educatiounssprooch, ech mengen do ass wierklech Interessi wat d'sozial Kohäsion ugeet, gesinn ech jo schonn. Och wann et éischer eng liberal bis konservativ Regierung ass, vläicht e bësse lénks awer ech géif dat net wierklech als lénks gesinn. Ech mengen awer schonn dass dat do wierklech och di Funktioun huet.

Q: D'Standardiséierung leeft. Déi Schreifkompetenzen am Lëtzebuergeschen tëschent de Leit verbessere sech lues a lues. Mengt Dir, datt déi „Freiheet“, déi vill Leit hunn, wann se schreiwen „wéi se wëllen“, wäert verschwannen?

Ech hoffen dat net. Ech gesinn de Punkt och net wierklech. **Also, di Fräiheet mengen ech bleift ëmmer nach, an sou wéi ech dat gesinn, ass et just eng Minoritéit di ufänkt richtig ze schreiwen, oder sech och bewusst an den Discours ranzebeginn?** [34:08]. Si soen „OK et gëtt eng offiziell Ortografi, ech hale mech lo drun“. Dat ass eng Minoritéit, ech mengen di gëtt och méi grouss an da gëtt [et] di grouss Mass vun Erwuessenen, wa mer lo iwwer Adulten, iwwer erwuesse Leit schwätzen, di grouss Mass schreift iergendwéi. **An och do mengen ech dass een no an no beobacht dass effektiv di Variatioun verluergeet, dass si zwar net bewusst lo ufänke richtig ze schreiwen, awer vu dass si ëmmer besser liesen, méi Texter liesen di richtig geschriwwe sinn, sech implizit op eng richtig Form *aschléissen*. Dass si sech dann op di Zilnorm do beweegen ouni dass si dat aktiv wëllen oder maachen.** Dat ergëtt sech mengen ech sou. An et gëtt och mengen ech keng offiziell... **dass du net iergendwéi offiziell forcéiert bass lo richtig ze schreiwen.** Ech mengen awer dass sech d'Astellung dozou scho verännert; dass Leit e bëssen, „et kann een och richtig schreiwen, ech kann et zwar net, oder ech mengen ech kann et net“, **awer dass di Astellung sech par rapport dozou verännert.** Also ass ee méi a méi mengen ech bewusst, denkt „ech kéint jo mol richtig schreiwen, awer egal ech schreiwen dann trotzdem wi ech wëll“. Ech mengen dass [dat] jo schon amgaangen ass. **Ech mengen dass di Fräiheet ze schreiwen wi s du mings, dass de wëlls, dass dat net a Gefor ass, dat gesinn ech net.** Ech mengen awer dass sech d'Manéier ze schreiwen schon verännert an dass och méi richtig geschriwwe [gëtt?], dass d'Ortografi scho wierkt, am Sënn vu Standardiséierung, **dass sech de Kodex schon duerchsetzt. Also, duerchsetzen ass falsch, ech mengen dass de Kodex no an no an Diskussiounen eran; also an d'Bewosstsinn erakënnt.**

Eng aner Fro wär dat Ganzt wann eben op Lëtzebuergesch alphabetiséiert géif ginn, a wierklech e ganze Schoulsystem direkt Kanner mat enger Ortografi konfrontéiert sinn, si hannerfroen dat net, si schreiwen dat einfach richtig. Dat ass jo och de [palabra que no entiendo, 36:09] keng Ustrengung, ne? Also déi Fro géif sech da souwisou erleedegen duerno.

Q: Wéi gesinn an Zukunft d'Friichte vun denger Aarbecht fir d'Sprooch?

Meng perséinlech Aarbecht? Also, meng perséinlech Aarbecht mengen ech ass schonn einfach an deem Sënn Lëtzebuergesch sou ze beschreiwen wéi et a senger Variatioun am Moment existéiert, eeben op verschiddene linguisteschen Niveauen, fir mech ass den Phoneteschen schonn den Primär awer och den Morphologeschen. De lexikaleschen Niveau wäert ëmmer divers bleiwen, also d'Wuertschatz wäert divers bleiwen, dat ass OK a lo gëtt et och e puer interessant Saachen. An dann eebe Syntax, also di verschidden linguisteschen Niveauen sou ze beschreiwen dass si eeben mat dem Variatiounskonzept, das [se le fue el pronombre relativo alemán) mer hunn, zesummepassen, ouni ze vill... eeben hei ze vill d'Standard [no entiendo palabra, 37:18] ze bréngen, mee éischer ze kucken, wat ass d'Variatioun, a wéi eng Richtung entwéckelt sech d'Variatioun. Also vun dohier, d'Sprooch wierklech als historiescht Konstrukt ze gesinn, datt an engem souwisou Variatiounsfeld encouragéiert/arrangéiert [?] an dat richteg ze beschreiwen ech mengen dat wier, dat ass eigentlech dat Wichtigst wat fir mech gëtt.

XIII.1.16. Written Response – President of the CPLL: Myriam Welschbillig

- 1) Dir sidd Iwwersetzerin a Präsidentin vum Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise. Kënnt Dir wgl. Äre Lieweslaf an Är aktuell Chargë beschreiwen ?

Studium zu Heidelberg (Angewandte Sprach- und Übersetzungswissenschaften)

Duerno d'éischt am Beräich vun der Computerlinguistik geschafft (an Däitschland), zënter 2001 awer just nach als Iwwersetzerin a Korrektorin, zënter e puer Joer och als Lektorin tätig.

CPPL: November 2016 als Member an de CCPL genannt ginn. 2019 d'Mandat vun der Presidentin iwwerholl, well den deemolege President, de Marc Barthelemy, Commissaire fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch ginn ass.

- 2) De Conseil Permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise gouf 1998 duerch ministerieelt Reglement gegrënnt. Déi ursprüngelech Funktioun vum CPLL war haaptsächlech d'Kreatioun vun 3 Dictionnaren an och vun enger Orthographie, déi 1999 duerch groussherzoglecht Reglement unerkannt gouf. Mat der Zäit gouf de Conseil ëmgebilt (2004, 2007, 2017). Ech zitieren aus engem Rapport vun 2017:

Zu den Haaptmissiounen vum "Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise" gehéieren d'Etude an d'Diffusioun vun der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, ma och d'Koordinatioun vun den Aarbechten um "Lëtzebuenger Online Dictionnaire" (LOD). Ausserdeem Avisen zu Sprooch-Froen op Demande vum Kultur-oder Educatiounsministère an d'Zesummenaarbecht mat aneren Instituter, déi sech mat der Lëtzebuenger Sprooch befaassen

Säit 2018 huet de Conseil awer am Kader vum Gesetz fir d'Promotioun fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch eng méi konsultativ Funktioun.

Säit wéini sidd dir e Member vum Conseil a wat sinn Är Responsabilitéiten?

Zënter November 2016. Bis de Marc Barthelemy Commissaire gouf, huet de CPLL sech och ëm Orthografiefroen gekëmmert an z. B. och eng Lëscht mat den Uertschaftsnimm op Lëtzebuergesch zesummegeallt. Perséinlech war ech an deenen zwou Aarbechtsgruppen.

Wann d'Regierung en Avis freet, gëtt deen an de Sitzunge besprach, alles gëtt schrëftlech festgehalten an dann am Conseil ofgeseent.

Als Presidentin si meng Aufgaben: Sitzunge festzeleeën (entweeder, well d'Regierung en Avis zu enger Fro wëllt hunn oder well et Froen zur Orthografie, Grammaire, Phoneetik an dem gudden Gebrauch vum Lëtzebuergesch gëtt), de OdJ opzestellen, an - am Fall vun engem Avis fir d'Regierung –, deen der Regierung ze iwwermëttelen.

- 3) Wa méiglech, kënn Dir wgl. d'Organisatioun vum Conseil beschreiwen (wéi kommen d'Memberen zesummen, fir Avisen ze befaassen; gëtt et eng Verdeelung vun den Aufgaben)?

De Conseil huet 11 Memberen, mam President resp. der Presidentin. D'Membere schaffen all éierenamtlech; berufstäteg Membere maachen dat also an hirer Fräizäit. Wien sech fir eng Aufgab meldt, mécht dat och éierenamtlech. Fir Ausnahmefäll kann een eng Entschiedegung ufroen.

D'Membere ginn zesummegeruff, wann en Avis gefrot gëtt oder ëmmer dann, wann et néideg ass. Z. B. wann iwwer Orthographie muss debattéiert ginn. D'Avise ginn an de Sitzungen ausgeschafft. Natierlech informéieren sech d'Membere virun, liesen alles duerch, ier se sech dann am Conseil gesinn. De CPLL däerf och ongefrot Avisen ausschaffen. Den Inhalt vum Avis decidéiert, wie virun allem als Expert gefrot ass.

- 4) Sinn déi Funktiounen vum Conseil wéinst der Grënnung vum Zënter fir d'Lëtzebuurger Sprooch an der Nominatioun vum Kommissär iwwerholl ginn?

Déi fréier Funktiounen (wéi Der se uewen ënner 2 genannt hutt) goufe vum ZLS iwwerholl. Dat ass och déi richteg Entwécklung gewiescht, well nieweberufflech sinn déi Aarbechte guer net ze maachen.

- 5) Wéi eng Roll spillt de Conseil an der neier Sproochpolitik (d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch)?

De Conseil kann Avisen ausschaffen, déi net ausdrécklech vun der Regierung gefrot ginn, e kann och mat Froen un den ZLS oder de Commissaire eruntrieden. De Conseil ass, wéi den Numm et seet, allerdéngs "just" e Conseil a seng Decisiounen sinn net bindend, och déi net zur Orthographie. Nawell gëtt ëmmer versicht, e Konsens ze

fannen. Wann de Conseil Iddien oder Proposen huet, kann en déi un de Commissaire oder den ZLS weiderginn.

- 6) Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent de Membere vum Conseil, dem Zenter an dem Kommissär fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch, fir déi verschidde Mesuren z'entwéckelen? Et ass net d'Mandat vum Conseil, fir Mesüeren ze entwéckelen. Wann de Conseil ëm Rot gefrot gëtt, dann äussert en sech. Wat net heescht, datt ee keng Proposen dierft maachen. Wat genee d'Aufgabe sinn, steet jo am Gesetz. De Commissaire an den Direkter ginn och reegelméisseg an de Conseil invitéiert, fir d'Membere vum Conseil ze informéieren iwwer alles, wat leeft. Well och wann de Conseil keng Mesüre mat ausschafft, sou sollt en dach informéiert sinn.
- Wéint der aktueller Situatioun kënnen mer awer am Moment keng Sitzungen ofhalen.

- 7) Wa jo, wéi schafft Dir mat den Akteure vun anere Secteure (mam Commissaire, mam Zënter, mee och mat Enseignanten) fir iwwer déi nächst Schrëtt ze diskutéieren/weider Mesuren z'entwéckelen?.

cf. 6

- 8) Baut den Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch op Aarbechten, déi z. B. vum Conseil gemaach goufen? Gëtt et eng Kontinuitéit? Z. B. déi nei Orthografie, déi 2019 publizéiert gouf. Jo, ë. a. d'Orthografie an d'Nimm vun den Uertschaften etc. Bei der Orthographie waren awer och nach aner Leit implizéiert, dat steet alles am Bichelche vum ZLS. Wann de Conseil an der Vergaangenheet sollt Aarbechten ausgeschafft hunn, sou kann den ZLS selbstverständlech drop zeréckgräifen.

- 9) Gëtt et eng Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem Conseil an Enseignanten? Z. B. bei der Produktioun vun didakteschem Material.

Dat ass net d'Mandat vun CPLL. Wat net heescht, datt een sech net mat Froe kann un de CPLL wenden. Ween sech dann ëm d'Äntwert bekëmmert, hänkt vun der Fro of.

- 10) Soll Ärer Meenung no d'Zesummenaarbecht tëschent dem ZLS, dem Conseil, de Schoulen an engagéierte Bierger nach verstärkt ginn?

D'Zesummenaarbecht tëscht Conseil, Commissaire an ZLS ass gutt. Engagéiert Bierger gi vun deenen dräi Plaze gehéiert. Virun allem den ZLS mécht do eng gutt Aarbecht (d'Leit wenden sech och meeschtens un den ZLS) an notzt och d'Medien, fir eng méi grouss Bandbreet u Leit ze erreechen. An dat schéngt ze klappen. A si hunn

och déi néideg Ressourcen am ZLS. Engagéiert Bierger wéi de Michel Weimerskierch, deen de Spellchecker entwéckelt huet, Leit wéi Jérôme Lulling an anerer, déi vill fir d'Sprooch gemaach hunn, kënnen sech weiderhin abréngen. D'Diere sti jiddwerengem op. Zur Zesummenaarbecht mat de Schoulen: Do ass de Commissaire déi richteg Uspriechpersoun, de Conseil ass, wéi gesot, just e Conseil.

Zweeten Deel: Astellungen -> MENG! Net déi vum CPLL. :-)

11) Wat heescht d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergesch fir Iech? D'Lëtzebuergesch stäerken, andeems et méi Presenz kritt. An engem Land mat ronn 50 % Net-Lëtzebuurger a Franséisch als dominant Verwaltungsprooch ass dat noutwenneg. Fir mech gehéiert dee ganze Kulturberäich, ma och „Klenggekeete“ wéi Stroossennimm, Reklammen op Lëtzebuergesch do derzou. De kulturelle Beräich muss zum Beispill am Beräich vun der Literatur awer op staatlech Ënnerstëtzung kënnen zeréckgräifen, well och dee beschte Roman säi Mann (oder seng Fra) net erhale kann. Een zweete Schantjen ass de ganze Schoulbetrib. Do si mir an enger schwiereger Situatioun. Ma dat brauch ech sécher net auszuféieren (Alphabetiséierung op Däitsch, vill auslännesch Kanner mat ënnerschiddleche Mammesproochen asw.). Mam Fach Lëtzebuergesch op der Uni ass d'Sprooch sécherlech opgewäert ginn – dat ass schonn eng enorm „Promotioun“.

12) Wat heescht d'Standardiséierung oder Norméierung vum Lëtzebuergesch fir Iech? Ech si mat dem Saz opgewuess: „Du kanns schreiwen, wéi s de wëlls“. Domat gëtt de Lëtzebuurger och eens, hie ka „Wo'récht“ genee esou liese wéi „Wourecht“ a kritt och nach e „Schallümme“ an e „Mackiaasch“ entziffert. Wann dat fir de Privatgebrauch och duergeet (an och eng gewësse Flexibilitéit a Phantasie beweist), sou sollt dat net eng allgemeng Opfaassung sinn, well an esou Aussoen matschwéngt: „an et ass och net wichteg“.

Eng Norméierung bedeit fir mech: D'Sprooch ass derwäert, datt een sech mat hir beschäftegt an duerfir suergt, datt se eenheetlech gebraucht gëtt – wat awer keng regional, lokal etc. Varianten ausschléisst. Et heescht och net, datt een higeet an didaktoresch Schreifweisen oder e Sazbau etc. festleet, wéi et där Instanz da grad gefällt (dofir ass jo

dann och de CPLL do :-)). Et ass en deskriptive Prozess, e Kompromëss, mat natierlech preskriptive Reegelen. :-)

Standardiséierung klénge vläicht heiansdo no „vun uewen erf diktéiert“. Ma et ass eng Hëllef, ech kann éierewou nokucken, wéi ech meng Sprooch dann och zerguttst benotzen, wéi ech mech am Sproochgebrauch verbessere kann. Et bedeit och, dass Grenze gesat ginn, dass ee baussent dem Privatgebrauch op d'mannst seng Sprooch sollt fleegen. An et ass och fir Ausländer vläicht méi einfach, se ze léieren, wann se sech un e Standard kënnen halen :-). An ech mengen, vill Leit si frou, wann se Reegelen fannen, entweder, déi si an hirer Meenung bestätegt oder awer hinnen dee richtegen „Tuyau“ gëtt.

Eng Standardiséierung heescht net, dass ee guer näischt méi däerf, wat net an engem Regelwierk steet. Eng Sprooch ass eppes Lieweges, si verännert sech, an diesen Ännerunge soll ee Rechnung droen.

- 13) Ass Ärer Meenung no d'Standardiséierung vum Lëtzebuergeschen och mat der Diversitéit vun der Sprooch (regionaler a lokaler Diversitéit) kompatibel?

Jo. Et gëtt eng „Héichsprooch“ – an déi brauch een och, wann een d'Sprooch wëll enseignéieren – an dernieft all méiglech regional Varianten. Ech géif esouguer behaupten, dass d'Beschäftegung mat der Héichsprooch och dozou féiert, dass een sech erëm bewosst gëtt, dass mer ganz spannend Varianten hunn (an d'Leit och houfreg drop sinn). Leider gëtt et net méi vill Leit, déi nach esou eng regional Variant wierklech schwätzen. Et bleiwen eenzel Charakteristiken (den „oa“ am Süden: „Goar“, „Poart“, op Plazen am Norde gëtt „genickt“, do gëtt et „engt Bousch“ asw.) Datt dat verluer geet, huet näischt mat der Standardiséierung duerch Reegelen ze dinn. A Radio an Tëlee hunn en immensen Afloss, ma dat schonn esou laang, wéi et se gëtt.

- 14) Lëtzebuerg ass e méisproochegt Land, dat vill Wäert op des Méisproochegkeet leet. Ass d'Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen mat der Méisproochegkeet kompatibel?

Absolutt. Et geet jo net drëms, déi aner Sproochen „auszemerzen“, et geet drëms ze verhënneren, dass d'Lëtzebuergesch iwwehapt kee Wäert méi zougesprach kritt, well ee jo gutt eens gëtt ouni d'Lëtzebuergesch. Ouni Franséisch ass dat net de Fall. An duerfir ass et gutt, wann d'Lëtzebuergesch méi present an ënnerstëtzt gëtt. Déi aner Sproochen brauchen des Ënnerstëtzung net. Däitsch a Franséisch stinn um

Léierplang, vun der Grondschoul bis zur Première (méi oder manner); Tëlee, Kino, Literatur, Zäitschrëften asw.: hei ass Lëtzebuergesch och vill manner vertraueden. Et schuet also näischt, d'Lëtzebuergesch ze fërderen. Doduerch verléieren déi aner Sproochen näischt.

15) Lëtzebuergesch gëtt gäre vun ë.a. de Medien, Politiker a vum Institut National des Langues als **Integratiounssprooch** bezeechent. Ass Lëtzebuergesch Ärer Meenung no déi eenzeg Integratiounssprooch?

Meng Fro: Wat ass Integratioun? Déi rechtlech Gläichstellung vun eis all an engem Land? Eng kulturell „Angleichung“? Wat erwaarden déi eng, wat déi aner? Ass et e Wiesselspill? A wat sinn ech, dee vu bausse kënnt, bereet, fir meng Integratioun ze maachen? Wat maachen ech als Eenheemeschen, wann deen, dee vu bausse kënnt, léiwer a „senger Grupp“ bleift (Beispill: tierkesch Gruppen an Däitschland, verschidde portugisesch Gruppen hei am Land) an do ganz zefridden ass?

Déi zweet Fro: Wat ass eng Integratiounssprooch? Ass déi net ofhängeg dovun, wat ech als deen, dee vu bausse kënnt, wëll? Wann ech just eng rechtlech Gläichstellung wëll, kann ech entweder higoen a fuerderen, datt meng Mammesprooch an deem Land unerkannt gëtt (schwiereg, wann dee Grupp kleng ass), oder ech maachen dee Minimum, deen dofir néideg ass: ech léiere Franséisch zu Lëtzebuerg.

Wann deen, dee vu bausse kënnt, sech awer wëllt „(wéi) doheim“ spieren, sech un de gesellschaftleche Prozesser bedeelege wëllt asw., da brauch en dofir Lëtzebuergesch.

Eng Integratiounssprooch als also ëmmer ofhängeg vun deem, dee vu bausse kënnt. Ech kennen hei Hollänner an Amerikaner hei am Land, déi all Lëtzebuergesch a Franséisch geléiert hunn: Lëtzebuergesch, well dat fir si d'Landessprooch ass, a Franséisch, well se ouni Franséisch verluer sinn op administrativem Plang an och op ville Plaze vum alldéigleche Liewen (Spidol, Geschäfte, Restauranten, Assurancen, Garagen ...).

Fir déi eng geet Franséisch als Integratiounssprooch duer, fir déi aner net.

16) Um Enn vum *Arrêté ministériel du 10 octobre 1975 portant réforme du système officiel d'orthographe luxembourgeoise* ginn och Virschléi fir „Sonner Sproochen“ oder „eenzel

Mondaarten am Land“ schreiwen ze kënnen. Ass dës och méiglech mat der Norméierung, déi verfollegt gëtt?

Do gesinn ech kee Problem. D’Standardiséierung ass esouguer vu Virdeel, well een dann zum Beispill och nach an Zukunft weess, wéi een al Nimm soll ausschwätzen oder Nimm an enger anerer Variant. Well leider hu mer wéineg phoneetesche Referenzen.

17) D’Standardiséierung leeft. Déi Schreifkompetenzen am Lëtzebuergeschen tëschent de Leit verbessere sech lues a lues. Mengt Dir, datt déi „Fräiheet“, déi vill Leit hunn, wann se schreiwen „wéi se wëllen“, wäert verschwannen?

D’Leit huelen sech déi Fräiheet sécherlech och spéider nach am Privaten, op de soziale Medien asw. Ma wat méi Leit sech un déi offiziell Reegelen halen, wat net d’Fräiheet verschwënnt, ma wat et méi zur Gewunnecht gëtt, den offizielle Reegelen no ze schreiwen. Et gesäit jo schonn zënter méi laang, datt ëmmer méi Verlager, Radiosender a Firmen op hire Websäiten asw. versichen, no den aktuelle Reegelen ze schreiwen. Och Gemengen, Ministèren asw. maachen dat. A vill Betriber loossen hir Texter scho verbesseren, esou datt am „ëffentleche Raum“ ëmmer méi no de Reegele wäert geschriwwe ginn. Et kënnt jo och schonn dacks genuch Kritik u bei de Verlager, wa „Feeler“ an de Romaner, de Kannergeschichten asw. sinn.

Wann een also dëse Prozess méi laangfristeg kuckt, dann huelen sech d’Leit vläicht trotzdem am Privaten nach déi Fräiheet, ma doduerch, datt se méi dacks mat der standardiséierter Schreifweis konfrontéiert ginn, wäert sech och hir Schreifweis „verbesseren“. Wann se se an der Schoul léieren, ëmsou méi.

Deen enorme Succès, den d’Orthografiesbuch hat, kéint een awer och esou interpretéieren, datt d’Leit Reege wëllen a gär „richteg“ schreiwen. Vlächgt geet dat och Hand an Hand mam ganze Prozess vun der Opwärtung vun der Sprooch. Dat domat eng „Fräiheet“ verluer geet? Et gëtt kee Gesetz, dat verbitt, ze schreiwen, wéi ee wëll. D’Leit kënnen sech déi Fräiheet huelen, ob se se wëllen huelen, ass dann eng aner Fro.

XIII.2. Case of the German-speaking Community of Belgium

XIII.2.1. Teacher: Albert

Q: Also kannst du dich vorstellen und dein Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:39

Ja, mein Name ist Albert, ich bin 26 Jahre alt, ich hab in Brüssel Germanistik studiert, also Deutsch, Englisch und Niederländisch.

Ich hab ,nen Bachelor und einen Master gemacht und dann auch die Lehrbefähigung gleichzeitig. Ich bin... also ich habe mein Studium 2018 abgeschlossen und seitdem arbeite ich am Athenäum in Kelmis und unterrichte da, ja Deutsch, also ich hab in den letzten Jahren auch Deutsch als Fremdsprache unterrichtet, hauptsächlich in der Unterstufe also erstes, zweites Jahr, und... mittlerweile unterricht' ich aber eher Deutsch als Muttersprache, also dann auch mittlerweile für die Oberstufe im fünften, sechsten Jahr und dann unterricht' ich auch noch Niederländisch im fünften, sechsten Jahr ja.

Q: Ok und deutsche Fremdsprache unterrichtest du äh, hauptsächlich frankophone Schüler?

00:01:41

Ja, es sind frankophon Schüler, aber auch in Kelmis haben wir auch viele Schüler, sag ich mal mit unterschiedlichen Migrationshintergründen, was heißt in Kelmis, wenn die Schüler bei uns, also die zu uns kommen, in die Grund, aus der Grundschule, die haben oft schon mehrere Sprachen, die sie gelernt haben, und dann sind sie meistens sag ich mal ein bisschen schwächer in Deutsch als in Französisch und deswegen und nehmen die Schüler dann Deutsch als Fremdsprache, weil sie auch bei uns halt die Wahl haben.

Aber es waren noch immer Schüler dabei, die wirklich sehr französischsprachig waren, also das ist das Publikum ist ein bisschen, sage ich mal bunt gemischt.

Q: Okay. Mhm und sprechen die Schüler miteinander andere Sprachen, also während des Unterrichts, oder ist es hauptsächlich Deutsch?

00:02:39

Ja, also die Schüler in Deutsch als Fremdsprache, sprechen untereinander auch manchmal Französisch... oder dann ja, ich hatte auch schon die dann je nach dem Arabisch

untereinander sprechen, wenn sie jetzt, wenn es jetzt mehrere aus ja Schüler sind, die zu Hause Arabisch sprechen.

Aber ich versuche natürlich als Lehrer, die Schüler, auch wenn sie untereinander sprechen, ja zu gucken, dass sie halt Deutsch reden, weil das ja Sinn und Zweck des Unterrichts ist (laugh), aber wenn sie kein Deutsch reden, ist es hauptsächlich dann Französisch.

Q: Okay. Und worauf liegt der Fokus vom Kurs Deutsch als Fremdsprache?

00:03:17

Ja, der Fokus ist eigentlich also, wir arbeiten da ähnlich wie im Französischunterricht mit den fünf Kompetenzen im Vordergrund steht natürlich Sprechen und Schreiben natürlich Lesen, Hören, gehört auch dazu, aber es eigentlich, im Fremdsprachenunterricht... legen wir eigentlich den Fokus darauf, dass die Schüler sprechen können, sag ich mal auch in Situationen, die sie im späteren Leben noch wirklich benutzen werden. Das heißt erst mal am Anfang, also im ersten Jahr, wo wir mit der Basis anfangen, sich vorzustellen oder dann...

Ja, ein Gespräch machen, zum Beispiel, in einem Geschäft oder dass sie 'ne Einladung machen zu ,nem, um... für ihren Geburtstag und die präsentieren und ja... einfach, genau so alltägliche Sachen ja

Q: Also alltägliche Situationen. Okay. Und der Deutschunterricht für Muttersprachler, worauf liegt der Fokus da?

00:04:14

Ja, da ist... Auch da sind wir auch eigentlich mit ja mit den Kompetenzen arbeiten wir da auch.

Und ja also es hängt ein bisschen vom Unterricht ab. In der Oberstufe im fünften Jahr haben wir natürlich auch noch Literaturgeschichte, die wir sehen müssen, sage ich mal in Anführungszeichen, wobei der aber auch mittlerweile eigentlich eher im Vordergrund steht, dass die Schüler dann zum Beispiel zu einem literarischen Werk oder zu einem Teil da einen, ein Referat halten, und da ist eigentlich eher sag ich mal, der Inhalt zweitrangig also es geht eher darum, dass die Schüler sich da, um, situationsgerecht ausdrücken können, dass die frei sprechen können und dann aber natürlich das sie auch die Zusammenhänge, um, also, richtig erklären können und beim Schreiben geht es dann darum, sollen da

schreiben die Schüler dann eher vielleicht noch längere Aufsätze von 2 bis 3 Seiten, je nachdem das sind, dann entweder auch Analysen, also zum Beispiel ein Gedicht analysieren oder die Szene aus einem Theaterstück, aber dann haben wir auch Sachen wie zum Beispiel so 'ne auch [?] Argumentation, wo die Schüler halt, sag ich mal, objektiv zu einem Thema Vor- und Nachteile erörtern sollen und ja, das Ganze natürlich auch begründen, das heißt einfach argumentieren und auch da in der Oberstufe versuchen wir halt den Schülern Sachen mit zugeben, die sie im späteren Leben, im Studium oder dann im Beruf auch wirklich, brauchen können, und ja, sag mal, wenn wir so Literatur, Geschichte und sowas sehen, das ist dann halt immer ein bisschen im, im Dienst der Kompetenzen so gesehen.

Q: Und wenn du dich für dein[en] Deutschunterricht vorbereitest, also, schaffst du dein eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgst du einem Buch, das das Bildungsministerium oder die Schule zur Verfügung gestellt hat?

00:06:13

Also ich, ich hab verschiedene Bücher, auf die ich mich basiere, aber ich muss ehrlich sagen ich such mir dann immer aus verschiedenen Unterrichten oder aus verschiedenen Büchern dann halt Sachen raus. Ich versuche auch ab und zu mit sag mal mit Lernvideos zu arbeiten, dass die Schüler dann halt... sich den Inhalt selber erarbeiten, dazu einen Fragebogen bekommen und, um, das ist eigentlich immer so ein bisschen, um, gemischt.

Also wir haben verschiedene Werke, das sind auch Bücher, die halt in Deutschland so benutzt werden, damit wir da auch, sag ich mal, **vom Niveau gleich sind wie in Deutschland**, aber ich hab da jetzt **nicht ein Buch**, das ich von A bis Z folge, also das immer so ein bisschen einmal hier was von hier mal was von hier und mal was von da.

Q: Okay, also gibt es gibt es auch eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen in der Schule?

00:07:12

Ja, auf jeden Fall, also wir haben auch selbst seit, seit 3 Jahren. Seitdem ich da bin, [eine] Fachteamleiterin, die auch die Zusammenarbeit so 'n bisschen koordiniert.

Das heißt, wir wissen auch jetzt mittlerweile, was vor uns passiert, was nach uns passiert, damit auch so eine Kontinuität für die Schüler da ist und, um, ja gut, wir sind jetzt, ich

arbeite nur [in ,ner] sehr kleinen Schule, das heißt, es gibt selten Parallelklassen, aber wenn es Parallelklassen gibt, dann arbeiten wir schon zusammen, dass wir uns halt sag ich mal, die, um, auch die Vorbereitung aufteilen und damit die Schüler auch in beiden Klassen oder in mehreren Klassen halt den gleichen Unterricht und ja, die gleichen Sachen sehen.

Q: Also gehen wir auch auf gesellschaftliche Themen ein. Es ist üblich, in der Fachliteratur zu lesen, dass es einen sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden gibt. Und ich frage mich, ob solche Unterschiede noch zeitgemäß sind. Also denkst du, dass solche Unterschiede noch existieren?

00:08:25

Also zwischen Norden, Süden, jetzt zwischen der Eifel und...

Q: Genau und Eupen und so ja.

00:08:33

Die Frage ist sie jetzt in Bezug auf den Deutschunterricht oder auf?

Q: Auf die ja auf auf die deutsche Sprache, in, in der DG also allgemein.

00:08:46 Speaker 1

Ja, also da kann ich schon Unterschiede feststellen ist jetzt also jetzt nicht direkt durch die Arbeit, sondern eher durch mein Privatleben, weil ich auch als als Jugendleiter arbeite bei einer, also freiwillig, bei einer Jugendorganisation.

Da merkt man schon, sag ich mal, in Bezug auf Wortschatz, dass halt aus, manche Begriffe, die Leute aus der Eifel benutzen, die wir als Eupener, sag ich jetzt mal, nicht verstehen und andersrum auch. Da sehe ich einen Unterschied ja, dann geht's ein bisschen ums Vorurteil, dass die Eifel und bisschen langsamer reden und sowas...

Kann ich jetzt so nicht bestätigen, also ist meiner Meinung nach einfach ein anderer Dialekt, ein anderer Akzent den man spricht... ja natürlich auch bei anderen Leuten vielleicht schwerer ist oder, ja, vor, mir vorhanden ist als bei anderen viel Haus.

Q: Spricht man noch also... ist... In der Fachliteratur wird behauptet, dass im Süden noch Dialekte gesprochen werden. Und... Also dass Dialekte langsam, aber sicher verschwinden, und ich möchte wissen, ob in deiner Erfahrung, ob es in deiner Erfahrung diesen Unterschied noch gibt, also dass die Leute im Süden noch Dialekt sprechen?

00:10:14

Doch also den Eindruck habe ich auch, dass in der Eifel vielmehr der Dialekt noch gesprochen wird und auch gepflegt wird.

Wenn ich dann höre von, von Leuten [?] aus der Eifel, dass sie zum Beispiel im Kindergarten nur Plattdeutsch gesprochen haben und mit Deutsch erst, um, ja in der Grundschule in Kontakt gekommen sind, das finde ich hier im Norden, um, ist das viel weniger der Fall.

Also, da ist Dialekt sind dann eher sag ich mal die älteren Leute also der ältere Teil der Bevölkerung der den noch spricht... ich sehe schon, also bei mir an der Arbeit manchmal Schüler, die halt untereinander vielleicht noch Plattdeutsch sprechen, also in Kelmis auf Platt.

Aber ich hab den Eindruck, dass hier im Norden viel weniger der Fall ist als im Süden, also als in der Eifel.

Q: Okay also auch im Unterricht wird weniger, viel weniger auf Dialekt, also Platt gesprochen?

00:11:11

Also Dialekt höre ich bei meinen Schülern selten... wenn, wenn mal Dialekt auftaucht, ist bei mir ja so im im Niederländischenunterricht, wenn die Schüler dann ein Wort nicht kennen und versuchen dann irgendwie, was aus dem Plattdeutschen als Niederländisch zu verkaufen.

Dann kommt das vor ja, also das ist dann kein Deutsch, ist aber da hört sich ein bisschen anders an. Dann dann kommt Dialekt vor, aber so, dass Schüler jetzt untereinander Dialekt sprechen im Unterricht ist eigentlich bei mir sehr selten.

Q: Sehr selten, ok. Und Sie haben auch die Mehrsprachigkeit von den Schülern erwähnt. Ist deiner Meinung nach die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:12:03

Ja ja, auf jeden Fall also.

Meine Schüler lernen ja auch Französisch schon ab der Grundschule, also die Mehrsprachigkeit ist bei jedem irgendwo vorhanden und ich sehe es, also gerade bei

uns im Kelmis, **da geht's an der Arbeit**, spricht manchmal Deutsch und dann im nächsten Satz wieder auf Französisch, also **ich finde auf jeden Fall, dass die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft ist.**

Q: Und nimmt diese Mehrsprachigkeit zu mit der Einwanderung von Menschen, die ja jetzt einen Migrationshintergrund haben, also dass die Schüler jetzt einen Migrationshintergrund haben und deshalb nimmt die Mehrsprachigkeit der DG zu also... Würden Sie das bestätigen?

00:12:55

Ja, das denke ich auch, dass halt durch die also, durch die Einwanderung, durch die Zuwanderung, immer mehr Sprachen vorkommen. Ja, und es da vielleicht auch ein bisschen schwieriger wird, für die Schüler, also auch zu unterscheiden: „Was ist denn jetzt meine Muttersprache?“ oder „was ist die Sprache, die ich als erstes, um, ja, als Erstes gelernt hab. Also da finde ich auf jeden Fall (die) Mehrsprachigkeit, um, nimmt eigentlich nur zu, ja.

Q: Ok, es gibt auch einen Verband zur Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie, der aus ehrenamtlichen Mitgliedern besteht, und das Ziel der, um, des Verbands ist ja klar die Förderung des Deutschen, aber auch der Austausch zwischen frankophonen und deutschsprachigen Menschen. Um, soll deiner Meinung nach auch das Französische noch mehr gefördert werden in der DG?

00:13:54

Ja, auf jeden Fall also ich finde schon, dass, OK, Französisch ist zwar sag ich mal so im Alltag, ja überall präsent, wenn man irgendwo in die Stadt geht oder im Geschäft... da ist vieles auf Französisch aber ich habe auch den Eindruck, viele Leute, die lernen halt Französisch in der Schule, danach haben sie nichts mehr damit zu tun. Ich finde schon, dass man Französisch auch noch weiter fördern könnte oder diese Mehrsprachigkeit... sag ich jetzt auch mal über, ja, über die Schule oder über den Alltag hinaus, und das noch ein bisschen, ja, fördern, um das auch vielleicht auf beiden Seiten ein bisschen... ja, dass Frankophonen vielleicht noch mehr Deutsch lernen und Deutschsprachige noch mehr Französisch, doch auf jeden Fall.

Q: Okay. Okay und viele Interviewpartner haben mir auch gesagt, dass die Schüler eine Angst vor der französischen Sprache haben. Ist das auch? Also du bist Deutschlehrer, aber das kannst du auch das auch bestätigen, also dass solche Angst existiert.

00:15:04

Ja ja also als Deutschlehrer kann ich's jetzt einmal vielleicht nicht so gut einschätzen, aber ich merke schon, dass die, bei uns, die deutschsprachigen Schüler die haben schon ein bisschen Angst oder Respekt vor Französisch, das ist immer so ein bisschen was, ja, was unbekannt ist, das ist jetzt eine Sprache, mit der man vielleicht außerhalb der Schule nicht so viel zu tun hat.

Und ich kenn's auch selber, also ich als Schüler war na, ich hab die Schule immer, also Sekundarschule auf Deutsch besucht. Für mich war Französisch auch immer 'ne Fremdsprache, da war schon immer ein bisschen Angst okay, „jetzt haben wir Conjugaison und dann noch mehr Vocabulaire“ und sowas. Da kann ich mir schon vorstellen, dass bei manchen Schülern 'ne Angst besteht, wenn man außerhalb der Schule nichts mit der Sprache zu tun hat oder da keine keine Verbindung dazu hat, ja.

Q: Mhm ok so kommen wir dann zurück zurück in die Diversität des Deutschen. Trotz dieser regionalen Unterschiede zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden der BG gibt es deiner Meinung nach ein Ost belgisches Deutsch sowas wie ein Ostbelgisches Deutsch?

00:16:25

Ja also ich glaube schon, es sind so... **So Wörter ja, die vielleicht man in Ostbelgien aus dem Französischen übernimmt.**

Ja, Beispiel hab ich ja noch zum Beispiel in **Deutschland Kugelschreiber**, in Ostbelgien sagen viele Leute ein **Bic**, so glaub ich punkto Wortschatz, da gibt es einige Sachen, was halt so typisch ostbelgisch ist... um, und dann auch glaub ich so ein bisschen der Akzent, dass man halt als deutschsprachiger.

Ja je nachdem, wenn man ja nach Deutschland geht, vielleicht auch ein bisschen anders angeguckt wird, weil ja vielleicht dann **doch der der Akzent ein bisschen französisch, ja französisch gekennzeichnet ist**, sondern bisschen französische Züge aufweist, da denke ich schon, dass, dass es da Unterschiede gibt, so ein bisschen zum Standarddeutschen und dem Ostbelgischen. Aber... ja.

Q: Und wird auch in deinem Unterricht auf dieses, diese Merkmale hingewiesen oder nicht?

00:17:32

Ja, also ja, es ist dann vor allem was den Wortschatz angeht wenn jetzt ein Schüler ein Wort benutzt, Wort benutzt, was nicht Standarddeutsch ist eigentlich auch schon mal den Fall, dass ein Schüler sagt, „ja aber zu Hause sagt das jeder“.

Da sage ich „Ja, vielleicht zu Hause benutzt man das, benutze ich vielleicht auch das Wort, aber es ist kein vielleicht kein Standarddeutsch, kein Hochdeutsch also, es wird schon hin und wieder doch schematisiert das wird noch korrigiert, weil **die Schüler sich auch, sag ich mal korrekt ausdrücken sollen in Hochdeutsch.**

Aber gut, das ist jetzt ne Sache die, keine Ahnung, also die vielleicht eins-, zwei-, drei-, viermal im Monat vorkommt, also das ist jetzt nichts, ist aber nichts Alltägliches, würde ich sagen.

Q: Mhm, ok ja okay also das Hochdeutsch auf Deutsch ist eigentlich die ja die hauptsächliche Sprache, was auch unter den Schülern zu finden ist, also dann die, die mit einem untereinander auf Hochdeutsch oder?

00:18:37

Ja, ja, ja, die Schüler also... Bei uns, meine Schüler sprechen sag mal Hochdeutsch untereinander ist natürlich auch viel Jugendsprache dabei, ist ja auch ganz normal, aber gut bei uns haben wir auch manchmal dann halt Schüler, die untereinander so ein bisschen, **außerhalb des Unterrichts, vielleicht auch von Deutsch nach Französisch hin und her wechseln. Aber gut das also bei uns ist das Ziel auf jeden Fall, dass die Schüler auch Hochdeutsch lernen, so wie es auch in Deutschland halt unterrichtet wird.**

Q: Ok gut. Und wir haben auch über das Französische gesprochen, aber neben dem Französischen und dem Deutschen, können auch deiner Meinung nach Dialekte einen Platz im Unterricht finden?

00:19:33

Ich finde es... Könnte, also fände ich interessant, es könnte vielleicht angeboten werden. Es wäre, oder hab ich dann eher als, vielleicht **als Zusatzunterricht** glaub ich... könnte man das machen ich find sehr schön, wenn man sowas auch irgendwie im Unterricht einbinden würde, oder in den Stundenplan, um, da glaube ich aber ist eher das Problem, dass man dann irgendwelche anderen Unterrichte vielleicht einfallen lassen müßte oder so.

Ich glaub so als Zusatz- oder als als Ergänzungsfach wär das glaub ich schon sehr interessant, aber gut dann auch vielleicht eher für, für ältere Schüler, vielleicht so in der Oberstufe. Und ich glaub, da wär vielleicht auch Interesse da bei manchen Schülern.

Also ich kann jetzt nur für Kelmis reden, weil da in Kelmis doch Dialekt vielleicht noch ein bisschen mehr gesprochen wird als in Eupen oder in Raeren, aber ja stimmt schon, dass es da ,nen Platz dafür geben könnte ja.

Q: Ok und lehrst du Niederländisch als Fremdsprache, oder als Sprache für Muttersprachler?

00:20:47

Nee, nee, das ist also ich unterrichte Niederländisch als Fremdsprache, weil die Schüler bei uns auch erst ab dem vierten Jahr damit anfangen und die zwei Klassen, die ich unterrichte, die haben Niederländisch auch als Pflichtfach, weil das, um, Schüler sind aus der, um, ja Marketing Büroabteilung, die das halt mit in ihrer Ausbildung bekommen, für die Zukunft ja, falls sie mal Kontakt mit niederländischen, mit niederländischsprachigen Personen haben. Ja, im Rahmen ihres Praktikums oder Arbeit oder sowas, aber da sind wir, um, also, da sind wir wirklich bei einem Basiskurs also...

Da war jetzt auch heute hatte ich im sechsten Jahr haben die Schüler Vorträge gemacht, das war der erste Vortrag, den sie überhaupt auf Niederländisch gemacht haben, der 2-3 Minuten gedauert hat und ja, viel weiter sag mal kommen wir da nicht. Das sind nur 2 Stunden pro Woche, ja weiterkommen und dann nicht also, wir streben an, dass die Schüler am Ende [des] sechsten Jahres Niveau A2 haben.

Q: Okay.

00:21:56

Also mit Muttersprache nee, da sind da sind wir weit von entfernt.

Q: Ja, Ok und wird in deinem Unterricht auch auf die Pluralität des Deutschen hingewiesen? Ich meine wie Deutsch auch in Deutschland und Österreich und vielleicht auch in der Schweiz gesprochen wird?

00:22:24 Speaker 1

In meinem Unterricht jetzt nicht also im fünf... wenn also unterrichte ich das dritte und das fünfte Jahr da sehen wir das jetzt nicht. Ich weiß aber, dass die Schüler im sechsten Jahr sich auch mit Sprachwandel und Sprachvarietäten beschäftigen bei meiner Kollegin und, um, ich kann also, ich kann jetzt den Unterricht nicht auswendig, aber ich kann mir gut vorstellen, dass sowas dann da auch vorkommt und thematisiert wird. Das heißt auch so n bisschen, ja Varietäten des Deutschen.

Q: Okay, okay, gut. Hm meinst du, dass die deutsche Sprache in Belgien eine Minderheitssprache ist?

00:23:06

Ja ja, auf jeden Fall also. Die meisten, wenn es auch... die in der Wallonie französischsprachigen Belgien, hier und da sag mal in der Nähe von Luxemburg oder jetzt auch hier in der Nähe, Eupen, Welkenraedt Malmedy da lernen die Schüler schon noch Deutsch, aber sobald man nach Lüttich fährt, versteht kein Mensch mehr Deutsch und, um, ich bin auch damals also, als ich angefangen habe zu studieren in Brüssel wurde ich auch oft gefragt, „aber wann bist du denn nach Belgien gekommen?“, weil ich Deutsch spreche. Das heißt ja also, das ist so finde ich auf jeden Fall eine Minderheitssprache.

Q: Die DG wird ein bisschen vergessen.

00:23:49

Ja ja, also ich habe auch den Eindruck, dass viele Leute, sag mal, die jetzt immer in Belgien wohnen, also im Landesinneren, ja gar nicht, auf dem Schirm haben, also gar nicht wissen, dass es überhaupt eine DG gibt, die deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, also für mich auf jeden Fall ne Minderheitssprache ja.

Q: Und soll also so deiner Meinung nach dann Deutsch in der also in Belgien noch mehr gefördert werden?

00:24:22 Speaker 1

Ja, ich ich finde schon, dass es zumindest, irgendwann, im... weil im, im, in der Schullaufbahn doch mal irgendwo als Pflichtkurs sein sollte und wenn es nur irgendwann 2 Stunden sind im fünften und sechsten Jahr, damit man doch so ein bisschen eine Basis hat, weil es ist eine Landessprache. Die Schüler lernen Englisch ja teilweise schon ab dem,

vielleicht vierten, fünften Schuljahr, je nachdem wo sie sind. Irgendwann können Sie noch Spanisch dabei wählen oder andere Sprachen.

Da finde ich, da hätte Deutsch eigentlich auch irgendwo einen Platz verdient.

Q: Ok letzte Frage ist also da deiner Meinung nach, wird auch das Deutsche in der DG genug gefördert also wird es genug gelehrt und auch gelernt?

00:25:23

Ja, also doch das finde ich. Ja, in der DG hat das Deutsche dann ein normalen ähm Stellenwert wie ne also wie noch die andere Sprachen, die anderen Sprachen in Belgien.

Ja, ja und ich finde in der DG ist Deutsch eigentlich die... Hauptunterrichtssprache. Ich glaube auch die meisten Schüler beenden ja ihren, ihre Schullaufbahn hauptsächlich auf Deutsch, sie kriegen ihr Abitur auf Deutsch. Also ich find‘, von daher wird Deutsch eigentlich... die Sprache an sich genügend gefördert. Man könnte vielleicht auch noch ein bisschen mehr, um die Kultur fördern also mit, mit Ausflügen oder so in Sachen, um die Schüler da auch wirklich ein bisschen ja, das will ich n bisschen praktischer beizubringen oder mit Projektarbeit sowas also ich denke, da könnte man das noch ja bisschen praktisch schon, interessanter vielleicht gestalten für die Schüler, wobei es auch schon finde ich viele Angebote eigentlich gibt und Möglichkeiten. Aber ich find‘ Deutsch wird... an sich, wird Deutsch hier genügend, genügend gefördert.

Q: Gut also, wir sind schon fertig hast du vielleicht fragen oder noch andere Anmerkungen?

00:26:46

Okay. Nee, ja, der eine Sache jetzt also mit dem Deutschfremdsprachunterricht, um dieses Jahr unterricht‘ ich das nicht mehr, also das war jetzt die letzten 3 Jahre, dass ich das unterrichtet habe. Aber ansonsten hab ich jetzt eigentlich keine Fragen mehr.

Also ich weiß nicht, ob ich alles so gut beantwortet hab‘.

Q: Ja ja ja, also du hast wirklich ganz, sehr gut beantwortet und das Gespräch war sehr interessant und auch sehr hilfreich also ich hab noch andere Interview Partner die...

Aber es vielleicht wäre es noch hilfreicher, wenn ich noch mehr Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen interviewen könnte

Vielleicht kennst du noch einige Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen die interessiert wären.

00:27:53

Ja, ich kann mal, ich kann mal bei meinem Kollegen nachfragen, also gut, wir sind jetzt ein kleines Team, ich hab glaub ich 8 oder 9 deutsch Kollegin bei uns in der Schule ich kann ja ich kann denen gerne mal schreiben und die gerne mal fragen damit du noch mehr Leute bekommst ist das kann ich gerne machen ja.

Q: Okay. Das wäre wirklich sehr hilfreich und ich schätze es viel.

00:28:21

Gern geschehen.

Q: Und ja, auch wenn sie oder wenn wenn du die Arbeit noch am Ende bekommen möchtest, kann ich mich bei dir melden und einfach also dir einfach die Arbeit schicken.

00:28:37

Ja ja, das würde mich, das würde mich sehr interessieren.

Q: Okay, vielen Dank, also vielen Dank für deine Teilnahme und für deine Bereitschaft, an meiner Arbeit teilzunehmen.

00:29:14

Kein Problem.

Q: Ok also ich wünsche dir noch einen schönen Tag.

00:29:19 Speaker 1

Ja, danke, gleichfalls.

XIII.2.2. Teacher: Fabian

Q: Du bist Lehrer für Deutsch und Theater an der Pater-Damian-Sekundarschule in Eupen, kannst Du dich bitte vorstellen und deinen Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:17

Ja, also mein Name ist Fabian, ich bin wie gesagt, Deutsch- und Theaterlehrer, an der Pater Damian Schule und das seit nunmehr 18 Jahren.

Ich hab also 1998 Abitur, auch an der Pater Damian Schule gemacht und hab danach Germanistik in Lüttich studiert, hab da meinen Master gemacht, in Englisch und Deutsch und nach dem Studium dann noch ein Jahr meine Lehrbefähigung nachgeholt, damit ich danach ja sofort als Lehrer durchstarten konnte.

Q: Ok und was sind deine Aufgaben als Deutschlehrer an der Pater-Damian Sekundarschule?

00:00:56

Ja also ich unterrichte Deutsch in nahezu allen Klassen, also von den ganz Kleinen im Alter von 12 Jahren bis hin zum Abitur ja, also 17-18 Jahre und ja, also in jedem Jahr gibt es dann spezifische Themen, die im Deutschunterricht erarbeitet werden.

Q: Mhm und zum Beispiel wenn wenn, wenn du dich für dein Deutschunterricht vorbereitest, schaffst du dein eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgst du einem Buch, das das Bundesministerium oder die Schule zur Verfügung gestellt hat?

00:01:31 Speaker 2

Ja, es ist also so, in jedem Jahrgang gibt es so Fachgruppen bei uns an der Schule nennt sich das, das heißt da treffen sich zum Beispiel alle Deutschlehrer der Unterstufe, also der etwas jüngeren Schüler regelmäßig im Team und besprechen dann, welche Kapitel so ja durchgenommen werden sollen. Wir arbeiten teilweise mit offiziellen Büchern, aber auch mit Dokumenten aus dem Internet oder erstellen selber Übungen zum Thema. Also das ist so ein Potpourri, also eine Mischung aus allem dann.

Q: Okay, ok. Und also können wir auch auf die auf andere gesellschaftliche Themen eingehen zum Beispiel? Also in der Fachliteratur ist es noch üblich zu lesen, dass es einen sprachlichen

Unterschied zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden von der DG gibt. Und ich frage mich, ob das noch zeitgemäß ist, gibt es noch sprachliche Unterschiede?

00:02:38

Also mit sprachlichen Unterschieden meinst du dann, dass die Leute aus der Eifel, also aus dem Süden der DG, eher also eine andere Art von Dialekt haben oder was genau?

Q: Ja, genau ja.

00:02:51

Mhm ja, also Dialekt ist schon natürlich ein großer Unterschied man hört sofort, wenn jemand aus dem Süden der DG bei uns in der Klasse sitzt, aber in puncto Sprachvermögen geben sich die beiden eigentlich nichts, also da gibt es keine großen Unterschiede meines Erachtens.

Q: Mhm ok also dann sprechen die Schüler Dialekt im Unterricht oder ist es nicht so anwesend?

00:03:21 Speaker 2

Was heißt Dialekt also? Das ist eher so wir nennen das im Norden der DG immer einen Singsang, also man hört irgendwie, wenn Schüler aus dem Süden der DG kommen. Da ist so ein schöner, kleiner Singsang sehr melodios, sag ich mal und habe mich auch einige Ausdrücke, die es bei uns in dem im Norden jetzt ja nicht so oft gibt, zum Beispiel ein Beispiel wäre bei uns, sagt man **Bonbon oder Klümpchen** ja, und in der Eifel sagen sie **Schick** dazu also das sind dann eben eigentlich alle Unterschiede, aber ansonsten eigentlich gleich.

Q: Okay also dann fokussiert sich der Unterricht, also den Deutschunterricht auf die Lehre vom Standarddeutschen.

00:04:11

Mhm.

Q: Trotz dieser regionalen Unterschiede gibt es ihre also deiner Meinung nach so was wie ein Ostbelgische Ostbelgisches Deutsch oder nicht?

00:04:25 Speaker 2

Ja, auf jeden Fall also gerade wegen unserer Nähe zu Frankreich oder der Wallonie in Belgien haben sich doch viele Gallizismen bei uns auch eingeschlichen.

Also zum Beispiel Camion und Trottoir und all diese Begriffe also, die gibt es natürlich schon bei uns in der Ecke und wenn du dann ein paar Kilometer weiter nach Aachen fährst, verstehen nicht alle Leute dann was damit gemeint ist dann.

Q: Hm, okay also interessant... und würdest du sagen, dass es so ein Bewusstsein von diesen Merkmalen gibt, also dass die Leute sich bewusst sind von diesen Merkmalen?

00:05:19

Ja, zum Beispiel in der Oberstufe so ab dem fünften Sekundarschuljahr, also in der elften Klasse umgerechnet [?]. Da haben wir im Deutschunterricht ein Kapitel das nennt sich **regionale und umgangssprachliche Abweichungen**.

Das heißt, da gehen wir gezielt mit den Schülern auf all diese kleinen regionalen Unterschiede ein, wie es im Deutschen gibt. Und da werden sich dann viele wirklich mal bewusst, dass diese Begriffe, die sie tagtäglich gebrauchen, eigentlich nicht Standarddeutsch sind, sondern wirklich eine Eigenart unserer Ecke hier sind ja.

Q: Interessant, sehr interessant... Und, also, können auch auf die Mehrsprachigkeit eingehen. Würden Sie sagen, oder, ist die DG deiner Meinung nach eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:06:14

Ja, auf jeden Fall also ich hab' es eben noch erlebt ich war einkaufen bei uns hier in Eupen, im Supermarkt und hinter der Kasse der Metzgerei stand also eine Person, die gar kein Deutsch konnte und da wir ja Französisch eben als erste Fremdsprache hier lernen, ja gut, dann habe ich mich dann eben auf Französisch mit ihr verständigt, also da kommt quasi wöchentlich vor, dass man hier einen **Sprachenbad** erlebt ja.

Q: Mhm sehr interessant und wird auch im Deutschunterricht auf diese Mehrsprachigkeit hingewiesen?

00:06:47 Speaker 2

Ja, es ist ja so, dass wir zum Beispiel bei uns im ersten Sekundarschuljahr, also in der siebten Klasse, da haben wir im Moment sechs verschiedene Klassen, wovon eine wirklich

komplett französischsprachig ist, das heißt die Schüler, die da sitzen, sind also von zu Hause aus, haben die Muttersprache Französisch ja und versuchen dann eben bei uns an der Schule auch hier Deutsch dann aufzubessern ja.

Q: Also in diesem Fall ist Deutsch Fremdsprachenunterricht.

00:07:16

Nicht so genau also langfristig ist daran gedacht, dass sie natürlich ein Abitur in deutscher Sprache dann absolvieren, aber gerade in den ersten 2-3 Jahren läuft dann so eine Art differenzierter Deutschunterricht, das heißt, es werden grob die Kapitel gesehen, die auch die anderen Klassen in Deutsch sehen.

Aber es wird dann eben bei den Bilingualen, wie wir sie nennen, noch viel mehr Wert auf Grammatik, Rechtschreibung usw. gelegt, ja.

Q: Also ich, es gibt einen Verband zur Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie, und also das Ziel ist ja die Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie aber soll auch das Französische in der DG mehr gefördert werden?

00:08:06

Es laufen ja schon viele Sachen, also unsere Schule, organisiert zum Beispiel Schüleraustausche mit anderen Schulen aus der Wallonie.

Es gibt natürlich den Französischunterricht an unserer Schule, da laufen doch einige Sachen aber trotzdem also ich hab's ja selber damals als Schüler erlebt. Mein, mein Französisch hab' ich erst dann wirklich angefangen zu lernen und auch regelmäßig zu benutzen als ich an der Universität war und da meine Unterrichte [auf] Französisch [waren?] mich mit französischsprachigen Kommilitonen ausgetauscht hab und so weiter.

Q: Okay. Und jetzt ist die Lage anders oder noch n bisschen das gleiche?

00:08:47 Speaker 2

Ja, so ist heutzutage auf Kompetenzen ge-, also auf Kompetenzen geachtet wird, also man wird dann wirklich in Leseverständnis in Schreibfertigkeit in all diesen verschiedenen Kompetenzen wird jetzt separat ja der Schüler vorbereitet. Früher war es wirklich so ein einheitlicher Unterricht, manchmal schrieb man, was manchmal las. Man war es aber,

irgendwie war das so ein großes Melange, sag ich jetzt mal, aber jetzt ist es wirklich nach Kompetenzen gestaffelt, und die werden dann auch einzeln bewertet.

Q: Mhm, ok. Also das ist ein bisschen ein bisschen provokativ: Soll auch die deutsche Sprache, in der DG mehr gefördert werden?

00:09:35

Also innerhalb der DG glaube ich nicht also ich meine, wir haben ja alle die Muttersprache Deutsch hier und ich finde es einfach wichtig, dass im Deutschunterricht eben auf all diese Regionalismen vor allem hingewiesen wird und den Leuten eben ja vor Augen gehalten wird das nicht alles, was sie hier als Standard Deutsch ansehen auch Standard Deutsch ist.

Aber ansonsten ich ne also es läuft eigentlich ganz gut.

Q: Okay. Und also, neben dem Französischen und dem Deutschen können auch deiner Meinung nach Dialekte einen Platz im Unterricht finden?

00:10:20

Ich fänd' es schön, ich selber kann zum Beispiel überhaupt kein Eupener Platt, wie man es bei uns nennt und so hat ja wirklich jedes Dorf oder jede Gemeinde bei uns so ihre eigene Dialektform. Aber im Süden der DG ist das noch viel stärker. Also da sprechen die Eltern oder Großeltern dann doch noch häufiger Dialekt, bei uns in Eupen geht das leider völlig verloren. Also ich, ich kenne keinen einzigen Schüler, der noch des Eupener Platt mächtig ist zum Beispiel.

Q: Mhm ja, und es gibt auch also ganz viele Unterschiede zwischen den Dialekten des Nordens und den Dialekten des Süden, also die sind, nicht verständlich also. Und in deinen Unterricht also wir haben schon ein bisschen das thematisiert, aber in deinem Unterricht wird auch von einem belgischen Deutsch gesprochen?

00:11:19

Also ich selber als Lehrer versuche natürlich, mich möglichst in Standarddeutsch mit den Schülern zu unterhalten, aber hin und wieder also lasse ich da auch so ein paar regionale Ausdrücke einfließen und ja, die Schüler machen das natürlich auch dann.

Q: was ich gemeint hab' ist wird von einem belgischen Deutsch also gesprochen? Wird es thematisiert? Also gibt es ein solches Deutsch, als Thema für den Unterricht?

00:11:55

Also abgesehen von diesem einen Kapitel, von dem ich eben sprach, wo dann wirklich mal auf diese Abweichungen eingegangen wird ansonsten nicht ne, also ansonsten ist das ein regulärer Deutschunterricht, wie auch in deutschen Gymnasien dann.

Q: Ja ok. Interessant. und zum Beispiel, wenn die Schüler sich ausdrücken und solche Regionalismen benutzen oder verwenden, werden sie korrigiert oder werden solche Äußerungen zugelassen?

00:12:26

Also ich, ich bin da sehr tolerant, ich weis‘ sie wohl darauf hin, dass es eben wirklich also ein ein **Galizismus** ist aber solange sie eben im richtigen Moment den Schalter umlegen können und wissen ok in der und der Situation muss ich jetzt dieses und dieses Deutsch dann benutzen, dann ist das für mich ok. Sie sollen sich einfach nur dessen bewusst sein.

Q: Mhm ok so. Das ist sehr interessant, zusehen dass, also, es gibt viele Parallele zwischen den anderen Interviewpartnern also, was sie gesagt haben und was du gesagt hast.

Also was ich sehe ist, dass in Ostbelgien, ja, eine klare Toleranz für die Mehrsprachigkeit gibt und das das Französische also, zumindest im Norden eine hohe oder wichtige Stelle hat und ich frage mich ob du auch sagen würdest, das im Süden solche Wichtigkeit also, dass das Französische solche Wichtigkeit hat, weil in der Fachliteratur ist es auch üblich zu lesen, dass im Süden nicht so viel Französisch gesprochen wird, aber im Norden also richtig, existiert und ich weiß nicht, ob ob du solch eine Erfahrung hast aber es interessiert also es wäre interessant zu wissen...

00:14:25

Mhm ja, also ich wage jetzt nicht ein Urteil zu fällen, wie es mit den Französischkenntnissen im Süden der DG bestellt ist. Ich hab selber nur ein Jahr lang im Süden der DG unterrichtet und spontan sind mir da jetzt nicht großartig Unterschiede aufgefallen. Aber es war halt nur ein Jahr und ich weiß, zwei meiner Freunde stammen aus dem Süden der DG und wir haben alle 3 damals dann angefangen, in Lüttich zu studieren. Ich wage mal zu behaupten, dass wir alle auf demselben Level waren, also da war jetzt keiner der großartige Unterschiede bezüglich zum anderen hatte also.

Q: Also was das Deutsche in Belgien angeht, würden Sie sagen, dass das Deutsche eine Minderheitssprache ist?

00:15:14

In Belgien auf jeden Fall also es laufen natürlich immer weiterhin seit Jahren Bestrebungen, unsere deutschsprachige Kultur in Belgien ja nach vorne zu bringen, zu verankern. Zum Beispiel, wenn der König ja seine Neujahrsansprache hält, hat er mittlerweile dann auch einen kleinen Abschnitt, den er auf Deutsch dann vorliest. Das ehrt uns deutschsprachige natürlich, aber trotzdem hat so im Alltag immer wieder Situationen, wo dann Dinge nur auf Französisch laufen und wo wir Deutschsprachigen uns wünschen würden ja, könnt ihr dann nicht auch mal bitte der Tatsache Rechnung tragen, dass es eben auch offizielle Deutschsprachige in Belgien gibt? Ja.

Q: Mhm ja, sehr interessant und das ist auch interessant zu wissen, dass zum Beispiel ein anderer Interviewpartner mir gesagt hat, dass in Wallonie gibt es auch Leute, die gar nicht wissen dass Deutsch also, dass die deutsche Sprache eine offizielle Sprache Belgiens ist und das hab ich wirklich ein bisschen schockierend gefunden.

00:16:24

Leider sind auch noch viele, also ja, ich will nicht sagen Haßgefühle, aber aufgrund des aufgrund unserer Vergangenheit, ich meine unsere Ecke gehörte ja zeitlang zu Deutschland vor allem dann auch während des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Als Hitler dann wieder unsere Ecke hier in sein Deutsches Reich eingegliedert hat, und das ist irgendwo zumindest bei den älteren Generationen in der Wallonie noch immer in den Köpfen drin.

Also sie verbinden mit Deutschland immer etwas Negatives und, ab und zu, es ist schon viel besser geworden als noch vor vielen Jahren oder Jahrzehnten, aber wenn ich zum Beispiel ein Fußballspiel mit meinem Sohn, also wenn ich, wenn mein Sohn Fußball spielt, der ist 6 Jahre alt, und ich gehe dann mit ihm ein Spiel gucken, oder er spielt dann selber, dann hört man ab und zu, wenn man gegen wallonische Mannschaften spielt hört man doch ab und zu noch so Ressentiments wie „sales bosch!“ und so weiter also [es hat] natürlich abgenommen Gott sei dank im Laufe der Zeit aber es gibt doch noch immer also eher so ein negatives Gefühl dem Deutschen gegenüber in manchen wallonischen Dörfern oder Städten auch.

Q: Mhm und würden Sie auch sagen, dass wegen dieses also, dieses Identitätsfaktors, der auch mit der Sprache verbunden ist, würde es auch also ein Konflikt geben, wie zum Beispiel der Konflikt zwischen äh, dem Norden von Belgien und im Süden, also Wallonie und Flammen?

00:18:03

Ja, ich weiß nicht, ob es wirklich so n so einen Konflikt gibt ich glaub mittlerweile beschränkt sich wirklich so auf Klischees, die eben die eine Ecke von der anderen hat. Bei uns im Norden der DG sagen wir zum Beispiel oft ja die aus dem Süden sind etwas langsamer, das sind halt Eifeler und so und die Eifeler sagen wiederum von uns im Norden, wir wären ein bisschen hochnäsig ja, würden uns als was Besseres ansehen. So gibt es halt eben diese regionalen Klischees und Stereotype.

Aber ich glaube nicht, dass es, ich ich hab nicht das Gefühl, dass es so extrem ist wie zwischen Flandern und Wallonie zum Beispiel also das nicht.

Q: Ja, ok und im Konflikt zwischen Flandern und Wallonie wird auch die DG manchmal vergessen oder so.

00:18:51

Ich bin eigentlich froh, dass wir so ein bisschen apart stehen, um, **wieder so ein Gallizismus, „apart“ (lacht)**, so dass wir so ein bisschen die Distanz zu dem ganzen haben, weil wir gerade, wir in der DG, weil wir ja eben an 3 verschiedene Länder grenzen, **wir können uns so ein bisschen die Rosinen aus dem Kuchen picken, von jedem, von jeder Kultur um uns herum.** Wir haben also **dieses fleißige Gewissenhafte** der Deutschen. Wir haben dieses **Laisser-faire** von den Wallonen also so holen wir uns irgendwie aus allen Ecken so das Beste raus und voilà.

Q: Mhm ich sehe Parallelen auch dazu, also zur zum Fall von Luxemburg, wo auch hier also eine Mischung würde ich sagen zwischen die beiden den beiden Traditionen existiert also französische Tradition und deutsche. Aber das ist auch ein Diskurs, da, der auch sehr interessant ist.

Hast du auch noch fragen wir sind eigentlich fertig, ich hab noch keine Fragen mehr.

00:20:06

[Keine] Fragen ich hätte vielleicht noch eine letzte Anmerkung und zwar wir Lehrer stellen doch fest, dass nach dem Abitur, die also der Trend wirklich dahin geht, dass, wenn die Schüler studieren gehen, dass sie doch immer häufiger auf deutscher Seite studieren. Das war auch schon damals unserer Zeit so. Aber [es hat] meines Erachtens zugenommen und man hört dann meistens 2 Gründe, die genannt werden einmal, dass die Leute einfach Angst vor dem Französischen haben, dass sie nicht glauben, ein Medizin-oder-was-weiß-ich-Studium in französischer Sprache zu packen und das ist eigentlich paradox, denn man hat ja wirklich diesen diesen Kompetenzunterricht in Französisch hat man ja wirklich eingeführt, weil man der Ansicht war, damit könnte man das das Niveau der der Deutschsprachigen in Bezug auf Französisch verbessern aber trotzdem, ist der Trend eher, dass die Leute nach Deutschland gehen, weil sie Angst vor dem Französischen haben ja und eine andere Sache ist natürlich, dass das belgische Bewertungssystem, das in vielen Augen noch sehr, ja konservativ ist, also man man geht halt so an die Uni, das ist ein bisschen so, als würde man weiter zur Schule gehen. Man hat seinen fixen Stundenplan, man hat Prüfungen usw. ist alles noch sehr nach altem System und in Deutschland kannst du dir ja eben die Unterrichte so n bisschen selber zusammenstellen und wirst ja auch nicht regelmäßig geprüft und so weiter, ja voilà. Das wäre so ne Sache; die doch auffällt.

Q: Und außerdem würdest du sagen, dass auch die Europäische Union dazu beigetragen hat, also dass die Grenzen also wirklich nicht mehr existieren zwischen zum Beispiel also Belgien und Deutschland, Osteuropa das kann man auch sagen, dass das der Prozess vereinfacht hat, um, ja, um außerhalb Belgiens zu studieren.

00:22:04

Ja also die administrativen Schwierigkeiten sind dadurch auf jeden Fall also haben abgenommen, aber ich glaube trotzdem, dass der Hauptgrund, warum eben Leute aus unserer Ecke in Deutschland studieren, wirklich die Sprache ist. Also klar wird die Europäische Union und die Vereinfachungen auch generell kriegt man viel mehr mit von ausländischen Unis, an denen es sich zu studieren lohnt. Aber ich glaub der erste und wichtigste Punkt ist wirklich diese Angst vor der Sprache also.

Q: Mhm, das ist wirklich sehr interessant.

00:22:34

Also als ich damals studieren, ich hatte also in meinem ersten Jahr, obwohl ich Germanistik studiert [habe], da hatte ich natürlich einige Nebenfächer auf Französisch und ich hatte in allen Nebenfächern Nachprüfung also die Hauptfächer habe ich alle gepackt, aber die Nebenfächer auf Französisch musste ich alle wiederholen. Ich hab's dann auch geschafft, aber das war schon... also keine Ahnung, ich will mich nicht selbst loben, aber als wir Deutschsprachige nach 5 Jahren unseren Master hatten, bin ich der Ansicht es klingt vielleicht arrogant, aber dass wir eine größere Leistung als als Studenten erbracht haben als die frankophonen Studenten aber gut, das ist meine persönliche [?].

Q: Also es ist auch interessant zu wissen, dass in Lüttich viele Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen von der DG ausgebildet werden, also... Das ist schon, meine ich einen Beitrag dazu also das, ja, viele Studenten nach Deutschland umziehen so. Das ist wirklich sehr interessant und das für mich interessanteste dazu ist das französische, das also nötig ist also, um in Belgien ein Leben zu führen.

Also wir sind schon fertig vielen Dank nochmals für deine Teilnahme mit meiner Arbeit und also, das war ein sehr interessantes Gespräch und auch sehr hilfreich.

Ich hab nur eine kleine Frage noch.

Kennst du vielleicht noch andere Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen, die vielleicht interessiert wären, an meiner Arbeit teilzunehmen? Und wenn ja, was wäre sehr hilfreich vielleicht, dass sie sich bei mir melden, oder wenn sie wollten wir natürlich und ja. Weil die Arbeit basiert auf Interviews und dass das das wäre wirklich sehr hilfreich, ja.

00:25:09

Mhm könnten wir vielleicht noch einen Namen nennen. Ich kann ihn mal, wenn du einverstanden bist, leite ich deine Emailadresse weiter ist der Vetter meiner Frau und der arbeitet auch als Lehrer in Kelmis, aber er unterrichtet auch teilweise wirklich Deutsch für Fremdsprachige, also für Französischsprachige dann.

Also dessen Adresse kann ich dir oder ich gebe ihm deine Adresse einfach mal und er wird sich dann bei dir melden vielleicht ja.

Q: Ja ja, das das wäre sehr hilfreich also vielleicht kann ich zuers seine Adresse bekommen und dann kann ich ihn kontaktieren ja.

Schick ich dir die gleich nach dem Meeting schick ich dir noch die E Mail-Adresse von ihm ja.

Q: Ok ok, vielen Dank und noch einen schönen Tag.

00:26:01

Ja, auch Tschüss, Tschüss.

XIII.2.3. Teacher: Jasmin

Q: Sie sind Deutschlehrerin im Königlichen Athenäum Sankt Vith. Können Sie sich bitte vorstellen und Ihren Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:16

Ja, also mein Name ist Jasmin. Ich bin 50 Jahre alt und ich habe Germanistik studiert, also Deutsch und Englisch an der Uni in Lüttich. Und habe im Anschluss meine Lehrbefähigung gemacht und habe dann sofort hier in Ostbelgien angefangen, ja in den Sekundarschulen zu arbeiten. In den ersten Jahren habe ich mehrere Vertretungen an unterschiedlichen Schulen gemacht und jetzt, seit etwa ich weiß es nicht genau 25 Jahren arbeite ich am Athenäum in Sankt Vith.

Zuerst habe ich beide Sprachen unterrichtet, ich(.) mag aber Deutsch mehr und hab dann im Nachhinein nur noch Deutsch unterrichtet und bin aber jetzt auch seit 4 Jahren **Middlemanagerin**, das heißt **pädagogische Koordinatorin**, das mach' ich halbtags und ich unterrichte momentan nur noch eine Klasse in Deutsch in der Oberstufe, weil ich nur Dreiviertel arbeit', also 75%, und das ist dann nur noch eine Klasse.

Q: Und was sind Ihre Aufgaben als Deutschlehrerin?

00:01:24

Als Deutschlehrerin, meine Aufgaben? (laugh) Das ist aber jetzt sehr vage diese Frage.

Q: (Laugh) Ein bisschen. Was wird gelernt, was ist der Fokus vom Unterricht?

00:01:40

Also ich unterrichte jetzt in den letzten Jahren immer im fünften und sechsten Sekundarschuljahr. Also in, ein Großteil des Unterrichtes ist Literaturgeschichte.

Wir... ja, wir gehen von von den Anfängen bis heute also immer auch wieder Textanalysen. Ja, ein bisschen diese Zeit kennenlernen oder die unterschiedlichen Zeiten und Denkweisen und dann auch eine Verbindung zum heute knüpfen, ausgehend von dem, was früher war. 'Ne andere Sache sind die also Aufsätze, Erörterungen schreiben zu verschiedenen Themen das ist ein Schwerpunkt und dann natürlich Lektüren, zu Hause aber auch in der Klasse.

Q: Und wenn sie sich für Ihren Deutschunterricht vorbereiten, schaffen Sie ihr eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgen sie ein Buch, das das Bildungsministerium oder die Schule zur Verfügung gestellt hat?

00:02:46

Also wir folgen keinem Buch, Wir haben das nie gemacht, das ist eigentlich überhaupt nicht typisch hier. Wir inspirieren uns natürlich in Büchern, aber wir setzen unseren eigenen Unterricht zusammen.

Bei uns an der Schule ist es schon so, dass wir als Kollegen(.) ich hab ja auch noch andere Kollegen in diesen, in den Jahrgängenunterrichten, wir arbeiten schon sehr parallel. Also wir machen schon dieselben Inhalte, also das ist schon ganz wichtig auch. Also die Schüler lesen dieselben Bücher aber wir inspirieren uns in verschiedenen Lehrwerken.

Q: Okay, und wir gehen auch auf gesellschaftliche Themen ein. In der Fachliteratur ist es üblich zu lesen, dass es einen sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden von der DG existiert. Und ich frage mich, ob solch ein Unterschied noch zeitgemäß ist, also wird noch im Süden mehr der Dialekt gesprochen als im Norden oder ist das eher ein Mythos?

00:04:01

Also der Unterschied ist auf jeden Fall noch da, das ist ganz klar. Also hier in, bei uns, in vielen Dörfern wird schon noch Dialekt gesprochen auch bei den jungen Leuten aber das hängt auch ein bisschen vom Dorf ab. Also es gibt so Dörfer, dann sind ganz viele junge Leute, die Dialekt sprechen und die andern kaum. Also Sankt Vith zum Beispiel ist ja schon mehr Stadt, obwohl das ist ja ‘ne ganz kleine Stadt, aber da sind nicht viele junge Leute, die noch im Dialekt sprechen, aber in den Dörfern schon und es ist auch manchmal lustig, weil die Schüler dann auch wenn die sich gut kennen, aber in der Klasse dann untereinander dann plötzlich Dialekt reden und besprechen, was den Unterricht angeht, das ist immer auch ja, das ist lustig, aber im Norden hat man das viel weniger, also im Norden ist dieser Dialekt weniger vertreten und auch, auch die Umgangssprache ist ja auch ‘ne andere im Norden als im Süden. Also, die, ja(.) dieses Hochdeutsch, dass die Schüler bei uns sprechen, ist ja auch nicht immer so gut, aber wir machen andere, hier machen die Leute andere Fehler als im Norden, das ist, unterscheidet sich schon.

Q: Und also Sie haben schon ein bisschen drauf, sind schon ein bisschen drauf eingegangen, was die Präsenz von Dialekt in Deutschunterricht angeht werden da die Schüler, wenn sie Dialekt sprechen, korrigiert oder wird Dialekt im Unterricht zugelassen?

00:05:35

Ich kann ja nur für mich selbst reden, ich weiß nicht, wie die Kollegen was machen, also normalerweise reden wir Hochdeutsch im Unterricht, das ist passt, kommt ja auch nur vor, wenn schon mal Schüler untereinander irgendwas besprechen oder einer kommentiert etwas, was der andere vielleicht auch gerade laut gesagt hat für die ganze Klasse und dann kommt ein Kommentar und der ist dann im Dialekt. Ach, also, ich korrigiere es nicht immer, aber manchmal sage ich schon „also, wir reden jetzt hier, wenn wir alle zusammen sind, auch auf Hochdeutsch, spricht auch nicht jeder Schüler Dialekt“.

Und das ist immer so, wenn Dialekt gesprochen wird das ist eben nur eine Unterhaltung für einige Leute, die anderen sind dann so nicht beteiligt und deswegen mag ich das nicht so, an sich bin ich schon sehr *für* den Dialekt, ich spreche auch selbst Dialekt und... wir besprechen das auch schon mal im Unterricht welche Vorteile das hat oder auch Nachteile. Aber auch die Unterrichtssprache sollte doch Hochdeutsch sein, weil das eben alle... ja, das sind, alle inbegriffen und nicht nur einige.

Q: Okay. Und trotz dieser regionalen Unterschiede zwischen Norden und Süden, Städte und Dörfer, würden Sie sagen, dass es ein ostbelgisches Deutsch gibt?

Euh, ja.

Q: Etwas, das besondere Merkmale von der DG hat?

00:07:13

Ja also ob man sich für alle, für die ganze DG... nehmen kann, finde ich wieder schwierig. Also dann finde ich schon eher, dass wir hier im Süden, das ähnlich schon auf der deutschen Eifel, auch dieser ja, auch der, das Deutsch, der Dialekt auch. Im Norden ist es schon anders, also einheitlich für die DG würde ich sagen gibt es das nicht, dann muss man schon wieder ganz klar trennen.

Also, so empfinde ich es zumindest hier ist es anders als In Eupen, ja.

Q: und wenn zum Beispiel, wenn ein Mensch aus dem Norden und ein Mensch aus dem Süden, wenn sie miteinander sprechen, sprechen Sie Standarddeutsch, oder...

00:07:56

Ja, ja. Und dabei muss man auch noch sagen, dass die Leute im Norden, auch wenn wir denselben Wortschatz gebrauchen, dass sie trotzdem manche Dinge anders betonen oder dass die das „C-H“ wie „ich“, die sprechen das andere aus als wir hier im Süden und dann hört man trotzdem sofort, auch wenn man Standarddeutsch spricht, von wo derjenige kommt, ne, das ist.

Q: Mein, die anderen Interviewpartner haben mir auch gesagt, dass im Süden ein Singsang oder so etwas (both laugh), ja, was, was ganz identifizierbar ist und das finde ich interessant, dass solche solche Merkmale existieren.

00:08:48

Wer hat das, wer hat das denn gesagt? Die Leute aus dem Süden oder aus dem Norden?

Q: Aus dem Norden.

00:08:53

Ja, die beschreiben das dann so, ja.

Q: Ja, und... Neben dem Deutschen, wird auch Französisch unterrichtet, Ihrer Meinung nach ist die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:09:22

...Mehrsprachig also würde ich jetzt nicht sagen, weil wenn ich jetzt die, die Schüler sehe, oder ich habe auch jugendliche Kinder, also die können besser Englisch als Französisch. Deswegen *mehrsprachig* finde ich jetzt schwierig, also, so die letzten Jahre, die Jugendlichen haben auch sehr viel Kontakt eben mit der englischen Sprache über die Medien und die fühlen sich oft sicherer und fitter in Englisch. Deswegen würde ich jetzt auch da nicht mehr sagen, dass das eine mehrsprachige Gegend ist, die Leute können natürlich auch oft relativ gut Französisch, aber wirklich zweisprachig ja, es gibt natürlich relativ viele, aber auch wirklich zweisprachig sind die meisten nicht. Man kann sich in vielen Sprachen relativ gut verständigen, also Französisch, dann auch Englisch, Deutsch, okay, aber mehr-(.) richtig mehrsprachig oder zwei- oder dreisprachig sind die meisten nicht.

Q: Und im Königlichen Athenäum, also im besonderen Fall vom Königlichen Athenäum, werden andere Sprachen auch gesprochen oder ist es am meisten Deutsch?

00:10:21

Deutsch. Also wir sind auch ein... Ja, manchmal noch Französisch schon, weil wir einige auch französischsprachige Schüler haben, die untereinander auf Französisch reden, aber auch wir haben, wir sind ein reines Gymnasium. Also wir haben auch nur ein spezielles Publikum, manche Schüler haben bei uns keine Zukunft und wir haben auch wenig Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund also wir... Deren gibt es aber sehr, sehr wenige, also Deutsch, ist schon die, Hauptsprache.

Q: Eines der Vorgaben der DG ist eigentlich die Förderung der mehrsprachigen Bildung. Aber wird im Deutschunterricht auch auf die Mehrsprachigkeit, Mehrsprachigkeit von Belgien hingewiesen?

00:11:41

Mhm also im Deutsch...?

Q: Wenn man zum Beispiel Gesellschaft oder Literatur vom 21 Jahrhundert thematisiert, also in solchen Fällen.

00:12:07

Wenig also im Deutschunterricht nicht also wir gehen eher auf, ja, auf die deutschsprachige Literatur dann ein, und die kommt ja doch, bisher haben wir noch nie ein Werk, ein deutschsprachiges Werk von 'nem Belgier gelesen. Also da wird das nicht thematisiert, wenn dann im Französischunterricht denk' [ich], die nehmen dann schon mal was aus Belgien, also die Mehrsprachigkeit, die taucht ja schon irgendwie immer indirekt so auf. Wir sind ja doch damit konfrontiert aber... Also im Deutschunterricht ist das kein größeres Thema, oder gar kein Thema.

Q: Okay. Es gibt auch einen Verband zur Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie und das Ziel des Verbands ist ja die Förderung des Deutschen aber auch also eine einen Austausch zwischen französischsprachigen Studenten oder Schüler und deutschsprachigen Studenten.

Soll ihrer Meinung nach also in der DG noch mehr, also das Französische noch mehr gefördert werden?

00:13:26

Also ich höre das so bei meinen ja auch bei den, ja, meinen eigenen Kindern und dass die sich oft schon noch recht unsicher in Französisch fühlen, auch dann gehen doch viele nach Lüttich oder Brüssel oder Neulöwen oder was weiß ich, studieren und... so *sicher* fühlen die sich *nicht* da drin also man könnte es schon noch mehr fördern, aber auf der anderen Seite, wenn Sie dann mal da sind, dann geht es doch meistens also ich kenne als auch nicht viele Leute, die sagen, ich bin daran gescheitert, an der französischen Sprache. Die brauchen natürlich ein bisschen Zeit... Manchmal ja, ich finde es nur ein bisschen schade, dass viele sich so unsicher da drin fühlen oder so den Eindruck haben "ich kann das nicht gut", die unterschätzen das vielleicht auch, weil Englisch auch einfacher ist, so zu lernen als Französisch.

Ja, und dann haben die Französisch seitdem sie im Kindergarten waren, die haben dann schon 15 Jahre, immer wieder sind die mit der französischen Sprache konfrontiert worden und... viele fühlen sich trotzdem noch sehr unsicher. Also es wäre irgendwie gut, wenn man das trotzdem noch ja ein bisschen stärken könnte, auch vielleicht das Selbstbewusstsein im Französischen, ja. Man könnte dann bestimmt noch mehr tun.

Q: Mhm und so laut einem Interviewpartner gibt es eine Angst vor, vor der französischen Sprache also, und das hat auch dazu geführt, dass viele Studenten nach Deutschland umziehen statt ihre ihr Studium in Belgien zu machen und, ich weiß nicht, ob das so also ob das nur auf die Angst vor der französischen Sprache eingeschränkt ist.

00:15:24

Also ich glaube, dass das sowieso im Norden viel typischer ist, nach Deutschland zu gehen. **Hier im Süden gehen schon noch viele in die Wallonie, also hier gehen auch viele nach Maastricht mittlerweile** weil man da auch auf Englisch studieren kann in Holland und...

Aber hier, so die, also Deutschland, hat man ab und zu, aber sie ist nicht so häufig wie, im Norden. Da gehen schon viel mehr nach Aachen, weil es auch einfach nah ist und man kann hin und her fahren.

Aber diese Angst, die ist irgendwie schon da, ja.

Q: OK. Vielleicht können wir auch auf Ihre Aufgaben als Middlemanagerin eingehen, also was sind dann ihre Aufgaben als Middlemanagerin?

00:16:13

Als Middlemanagerin bin ich mitverantwortlich für die pädagogische Entwicklung der Schule. Das heißt ja, neue pädagogische Konzepte einführen, umsetzen... Es ist aber auch sehr viel, Verwaltungsarbeit, oder ne, nicht direkt „Verwaltung“, *organisatorisch* also wir, wir sind zu zweit, ja, wir organisieren einfach ganz viele Sachen in der Schule, aber wir planen dann auch pädagogische Konferenzen für die Lehrer... Ja, und wir gucken dann auch immer wieder, wir organisieren Versammlungen auch um unsere pädagogischen Richtlinien zu stärken, sowas. Es ist eigentlich sehr vielseitig. Es ist alles Mögliche.

Q: Ja, also gibt es dann einen Austausch zwischen den Lehrer, Lehrerinnen und Ihnen?

00:17:03

Ja.

Q: Ok und was den Deutschunterricht angeht, werden noch neue Themen hinzugefügt, oder... Im Moment gibt es nichts Neues, also was pädagogisches Material angeht zum Beispiel?

00:17:31

Also wir als Schule, wir haben uns so vorgenommen, das selbstständige Lernen stärker bei den Schülern zu fördern. Wir haben auch da so ein Konzept entwickelt, oder wir sind noch immer dabei, und wir versuchen das und ja, das ist auch noch Thema, das ist nicht so einfach, das umzusetzen, wie handhabt man, dass Schüler auch in, im unterschiedlichen Tempo auch arbeiten können, nicht immer auf die anderen warten müssen und so wir, wir testen noch, es ist nicht einfach, da was zu finden und wir versuchen und dann merken wir „ach, das hat nicht so gut geklappt“ und ja, das ist eigentlich immer noch seit 3-4 Jahren schon unser großes Thema, an dem wir immer noch arbeiten und immer Veränderungen vornehmen, jedes Jahr wieder was anpassen und naja. Nicht so einfach (laugh).

Q: Kann ich mir vorstellen (laugh). Und wir haben auch vom Französischunterricht, Deutschunterricht [gesprochen], neben diesen beiden Sprachen können auch ihrer Meinung nach Dialekte im Unterricht gelehrt werden? So, sollen, kann man diesen Dialekten einen Platz zuschreiben?

00:18:50

Sehr schwierig, weil ja auch noch jedes Dorf ‘nen anderen Dialekt hat. Also es gibt ja auch so schon sehr große Unterschiede. Wenn man hier wieder guckt zwischen also hier im Süden nochmal guckt, Norden und Süden, das ist schon sehr, sehr unterschiedlich. Also jeder Schüler bringt ja auch noch einen anderen Dialekt mit und ich glaube auch nicht, dass man das lernen kann in der Schule, das muss man irgendwie... Ja das, das erlernt man so im, im *Alltag* also das hat da ist nicht der Platz in der Schule für, aber was mir, auch ich frag dann auch schonmal immer wie, welche Schüler denn Dialekt sprechen und ob sie da irgendwie einen Vor- oder Nachteil drin sehen. Also wir sind uns fast immer alle einig, dass wenn man Dialekt spricht im Alltag, dass man es einfacher hat mit Leuten in Kontakt zu kommen, so da ist man, ist viel schneller auf so einer familiären Ebene...

Auch bei älteren Leuten, die haben das dann ja, das ist irgendwie anders. Man, man hat schon so irgendeine Gemeinsamkeit und die führt dazu, dass man viel schneller wir sagen ja “mit jemandem warm wird“ so man kommt viel schneller in den... Wir haben so einen lockeren Kontakt also es hat schon Vorteile, wenn man das kann und das sehen, das merken die Schüler auch, die wissen das. Manche denken zwar, die dann keinen Dialekt sprechen, auch „ne, die können dann auch kein richtiges Hochdeutsch“, aber das Eine hat mit dem Anderen überhaupt nichts zu tun.

Aber für in der Schule sehe ich da den Platz nicht, dann muss man das irgendwie anders... fördern.

Q: Ja, also ja, ich verstehe so Dialekte sind gesprochene Sprachen, also nicht für solche Kontexte angebracht...

Wird in ihrem Unterricht von einem belgischen Deutsch gesprochen also wird davon also wird zum Beispiel von einem Phänomen vom Deutschen in Belgien gesprochen? Also zum Beispiel, wird vom Deutschen in der DG gesprochen? Also die Geschichte vom Deutschen in der Gemeinschaft?

00:21:19

Also ich denke mal, dass das eher im Geschichtsunterricht thematisiert wird, dass da die, „warum reden wir deutsch“, also... ich kann mich erinnern, dass ich das viele Jahre auch gemacht hab, nochmal so ‘n bisschen gucken... Ja, das war dann eher so wenn mal Wahlen anstanden, auch, dass ich da mit den Schülern ein bisschen geguckt hab, welche Parteien und warum reden wir Deutsch und so dieser ganze Kontext, aber seitdem wir die neuen

Rahmenpläne haben, die haben wir jetzt schon einige Jahre, da ist irgendwie kein Platz für sowas und das ist schade und ich gehe aber davon aus, dass der Geschichtslehrer das macht. **Das wird vielleicht mal am Rande thematisiert, aber es gibt, bei mir dann auch, aber es gibt keine, keine Unterrichtseinheit dazu.**

Q: Können Sie ein bisschen mehr über diese Rahmenpläne sprechen?

00:22:10

Ja, das sind Vorgaben vom Ministerium, da steht drin, welche Kompetenzen die Schüler erwerben müssen. Die gibt es für fast jedes Unterrichtsfach mittlerweile. Und ja, es geht ja mittlerweile sowieso weniger um Inhalte, sondern es geht darum, diese Kompetenzen bei den Schülern zu fördern, die sind dann sehr klar auch aufgelistet in den Sprachen ist das immer auch die 4 Kompetenzen Lesen, Hören, Schreiben und Sprechen, die man fördern muss und... ja, da steht dann auch welche Inhalte man benutzen kann. Man ist jetzt nicht verpflichtet, alle Inhalte, die da aufgelistet werden, auch durchzunehmen, das ist auch zu komplex.

Aber das bindet uns schon mehr an Vorgaben, als es früher war. Also ich habe viele Jahre ohne irgendwelche Vorgaben gearbeitet, da hab ich wirklich das ein bisschen gemacht, was ich wollte. Das ist auch nicht immer gut... weil man dann auch gewisse Sachen vergisst oder nicht macht aber jetzt manchmal ist es zu strikt so... und wenn man auch sehr stark parallel arbeitet, unter Kollegen, dann ist man auch so gebunden, kann man nicht so viel oft irgendwas machen, was einem dann so gerade mal in den Sinn kommt.

Q: Und also, das ist ein bisschen provokativ formuliert, aber wird die Autonomie der Schule dadurch gefährdet, oder? Zum Beispiel was das Material angeht, was die Freiheit der Lehrer und Lehrerinnen angeht.

00:23:49

Ob die Autonomie gefördert wird durch diese Rahmenpläne, meinen Sie.

Q: Ja, nicht gefördert, gefährdet.

00:24:01

Also ich, joaa, wir... Es ist so schwierig, weil man hat ein Dokument und da steht genau drin, was man machen muss. Ich bin auch mit sehr vielem einverstanden, auch was die Kompetenzen angeht, weil wir haben vielleicht auch viele Jahre gewisse Dinge

vernachlässigt, die wir gar nicht dran so gedacht haben auch... Was weiß ich, Hören und diese Kompetenz haben wir vielleicht nicht so gefördert, das machen wir dann mittlerweile schon.

Wir wissen nicht immer genau welche Freiheiten haben wir im Endeffekt noch, man sagt uns immer „ihr müsst das nicht alles machen“... ja so ‘ne kleine Unsicherheit würde ich sagen, inwieweit muss ich mich jetzt dann doch daran halten? Inwieweit bin ich noch frei, irgendwas zu machen? Also kontrolliert sind wir noch nie... also man hat uns noch nie kontrolliert deswegen, ich denke, dass ich mir als Lehrer doch noch die Freiheit nehmen kann. Ich sag so, ich denk‘, „das ist jetzt wichtig, dass ich mir dann auch ein paar Stunden dazu nehmen sollte“, also ich glaube, man kann sowieso an jedem Kapitel gewisse Kompetenzen fördern, auch wenn es richtig aus dem literarischen Bereich ist, wenn es mal was anderes ist, dann fördere ich trotzdem irgendwas.

Wenn sie verstehen, was ich so meine.

Q: Ja, ich verstehe.

00:25:25

Letztes Jahr hatten wir ja Coronakrise, dann haben wir auch plötzlich haben wir dann auch mal was über Fake News gemacht das ist so nicht vorgesehen, aber auch man muss dann doch auch solche Freiheiten haben und dann, mal was Aktuelles mit einbauen können.

Q: Okay. Also die letzte Frage, finden Sie, dass die Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft in Belgien ein bisschen vergessen wird?

00:26:00

Nö, das finde ich nicht also ich glaub das wir doch schon sehr viele Privilegien haben, für ich weiß nicht 77000 Einwohner also, was wir hier alles an Ministerien, Ministern und so haben wir dürfen doch schon über sehr vieles selbst entscheiden, wo ich mir dann schon manchmal eher die Frage stelle, „oh Gott, wie viel Leute arbeiten bei uns in der Verwaltung“ so prozentual gesehen ist doch schon enorm ist das überhaupt noch zu rechtfertigen, dass das so, so kostet? Also ich finde, dass wir, dass wir nicht vergessen werden, also wir sind haben so viele Privilegien, und wir dürfen so vieles selbst entscheiden. Also na ja, manche Belgier wissen dann immer noch nicht, dass es uns gibt,

oder? Aber im Grunde wir haben ja doch sehr viele Vorteile hier. Wir wohnen in 'nem Grenzgebiet und...

Q: Und trotz dieser Vorteile Privilegien ist Ihrer Meinung nach die deutsche Sprache in Belgien eine Minderheitssprache?

00:27:04

Ja, auf jeden Fall es ist 'ne Minderheitssprache ja, ich glaub auch nicht, dass so viele Belgier auch Deutsch in der Schule lernen, also schon hier in den Nachbargemeinden, weiß ich nicht, wie es aussieht, ich glaube, es sieht auch nicht so gut aus, wenn man jetzt so die älteren Generationen sieht, die können ja auch noch Deutsch, also in den französischsprachigen Orten, aber die Jüngeren da ist das schon viel schwieriger. Also wir sind schon ganz klar eine Minderheit und wir, ach, bei vielen Leuten haben wir auch keinen sehr hohen Stellenwert, denk ich mal, aber ok ist vielleicht auch normal.

Q: Okay so, wir sind schon fertig. Wenn Sie noch Anmerkungen oder Fragen hätten, dann bin ich also ich bin hier nochmals, wenn Sie keinen Anmerkungen oder Fragen haben, dann nochmals vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme an meiner Arbeit.

Vielleicht, wenn sie noch andere Deutschlehrer und -lehrerinnen kennen, die vielleicht interessiert wären, an meiner Arbeit teilzunehmen, wäre das sehr hilfreich.

Also ich kann ja, bei euch, ich kann mich bei ihnen melden und ja das Informationsblatt schicken und solche Sachen.

00:28:43

Also unser Direktor hat das doch an alle weitergeleitet, glaube ich, aber Sie haben von jemandem anderen ne Rückmeldung bekommen bei uns in der Schule?

Q: Nein, leider nicht, aber es gibt noch andere Schule, die positiv beantwortet haben.

Aber weil die Arbeit auf Interviews basiert, wäre es sehr hilfreich, viele Interviewpartners zu haben, ja.

00:29:15

Aber ich kann mal meinen Kollegen, ich sage Ihnen das morgen mal oder frag sie mal ob nicht noch jemand das machen möchte ist ja nicht so aufwendig.

Q: Vielen Dank.

00:29:27

Noch einer ist dann sag ich Ihnen Bescheid oder derjenige kann sich ja auch an Sie wenden, der hat ja normalerweise die, aber wir bekommen so viele Mails und so viele Anfragen, dann geht auch vieles unter.

Q: Das kann ich mir vorstellen hier, das ist ja und wir sind auch Mitte des Semesters also ganz beschäftigt

00:29:51

(laugh) Wir sind immer beschäftigt.

Q: So noch nochmals vielen Dank für ihre Bereitschaft also und dann dann schönen Tag.

00:30:06 Speaker 2

Ja, ihnen auch und viel Erfolg bei Ihrer Arbeit.

Q: Danke, danke so Tschüss, Tschüss.

XIII.2.4. Teacher: Laura

Q: Du bist Deutschlehrerin im Bischöflichen Institut Büllingen. Kannst du dich bitte vorstellen und deinen Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:12

Naja, also mein Name ist Laura, ich hab meinen Bachelor an der Uni Luxemburg gemacht, in Cultures européennes, filière Germanistik dann. Für den Master bin ich dann nach Trier gegangen und hab da meinen Master in Germanistik beendet.

Danach habe ich direkt angefangen mit Unterrichten auf 'ner anderen Schule in der DG, Maria Goretti Sekundarschule in Sankt Vith. Da hab ich dann 4 Jahre unterrichtet, auch Deutsch vorwiegend und dann einige Fächer fachfremd, wie Umweltkunde usw. Und jetzt bin ich seit 3 Jahren am Bischöflichen Institut in Büllingen. Ich habe nur die Schule gewechselt, einfach weil wir ein Haus gekauft haben und das ist da viel näher. Also der Arbeitsweg hat sich jetzt noch auf 5 Minuten minimiert, also ist das schon praktischer.

Q: Ja sehr praktisch. Und was sind dann deine Aufgaben als Deutschlehrerin?

00:01:05

Ja, vor allen Dingen das vermitteln der deutschen Sprache. Es hängt natürlich auch ein bisschen davon ab, in welchen Jahrgänge man unterrichtet, beispielsweise in der Unterstufe legen wir noch sehr viel Wert auf eine korrekte Rechtschreibung, Grammatik, Deklination, Konjugation, Satzbau und sowas, und in der Oberstufe gehen wir dann mehr an die Bereiche der Literaturgeschichte, Sprachgeschichte, selbständiges Schreiben, Aufsätze verfassen, Strukturen, Aufsätze reinbringen, beispielsweise in Erörterungen, uhh, Leserbriefe also wirklich dann mehr das freie Arbeiten, anstatt diese *Regeln* verstehen und anwenden.

Q: Und wenn du dich für deinen Unterricht vorbereitest, schaffst du dein dein eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgst du einem Buch, das das Bildungsministerium...

00:01:50

Nein, nein also ich nehme zwar aus Lehrmaterialien Beispiele raus, aber ich schreibe meinen Unterricht selbst, dann oder je nachdem wie wenn wir also wenn wir parallel unterrichten, also der selbe Unterricht nur 2 verschiedene Lehrpersonen, dann ist es auch

unserer Direktion sehr wichtig, dass wir parallel also mit denselben Unterlagen arbeiten. Das heißt, wir arbeiten als zweit neue Unterlagen aus.

Q: Ok, so gibt es dann eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen an der Schule?

00:02:21

Ja, also wir haben bei uns in der Schule die Besonderheit, wir haben *Fachteams*, das heißt jedes... Fach hat quasi ein eigenes Team und da haben wir auch ein *Fachteamleiter*. Der ist dann beispielsweise da für uns Feedback zu geben, wenn wir uns irgendwie nicht sicher sind, der macht auch einen großen Teil der Organisationsarbeit zum Beispiel, wenn wir Theateraufführungen besuchen wollen und so weiter, der kümmert sich dann um die Reservierungen, uuh, Busverbindungen und so weiter dann. Aber auch also es hängt auch davon ab, mit wem man zusammenarbeitet natürlich mit dem einen Kollegen klappt es schon mal besser als mit dem anderen.

Q: Okay, und vielleicht können wir auch auf den ja Themen des Unterrichts eingehen, wird auch die zum Beispiel die Pluralität des Deutschen während des, dem Unterricht thematisiert?

00:03:11

Ja, also beispielsweise ein Kapitel in unserem vierten Jahr ist dann wirklich so der Sprachwandel. Dann taucht die Frage auf „gibt es ‘nen Sprachverfall oder gehört das dann eben dazu?“ Das machen wir jetzt gerade aktuell auch noch im vierten Jahr, also es ist Zufall. Dann beschäftigen wir uns mit Jugendsprache mit Anglizismen, Gallizismen, ob diese wirklich elementär sind oder auch nicht, wo sie angebracht sind, in welchem Bereich, und was die Merkmale sind, was die Ziele auch davon sind, also warum beispielsweise man Werbung in der Jugendsprache schaltet also...

Q: Und wird auch von den regionalen Unterschieden in Ostbelgien gesprochen?

00:03:52

Ja, wir haben eine Einheit. Die nennt sich Ostbelgisch. Da wird dann geschaut wie sind die Sprachmerkmale, beispielsweise **bei uns dann in der Ecke, weil es wird auch nochmal der Unterschied gemacht zwischen Süden und Norden in Ostbelgien, lohnt sich bei so**

einer großen Fläche natürlich absolut, aber beispielsweise wie in der Eupener Gegend, die reden ganz anders als wir hier im Süden.

Da wird dann den Unterschied gemacht, wir achten darauf, welche Laute(.) den Ostbelgiern(.) schwerfallen. Beispielsweise haben wir die Tendenz, anstatt **gegangen**, sagen wir **jegangen** oder **lustig** wird **lustisch** dann beispielsweise und da gehen wir dann auch mit den Schülern ein und dann müssen sie auch ein bisschen so sich selbst mal einschätzen „welche Fehler mache ich noch?“ „Warum ist das so?“ und „wie könnte ich das verhind-, also verhindern?“ und dann schauen wir beispielsweise mit der Benrather Linie wie sollen diese Sprachverschiebungen stattgefunden haben, und...

Q: Ja, sehr interessant also, du hast ein bisschen schon davon gesprochen, aber in der Fachliteratur ist noch üblich zu lesen, dass es einen sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen Eupen und der Eifel gibt. Wirst du das also würdest du sagen, dass dieser Unterschied noch zeitgemäß ist, so dass das noch existiert?

00:05:12

Ja, absolut, also ganz klar also, wir machen auch gegenseitig so ein bisschen Witze übereinander, dass man den anderen noch schwer verstehen kann oder dass das typisch Eifel ist, oder typisch Eupener geht und das gibt es schon auch.

Q: Ja, von von den anderen Interviewpartner habe ich auch das Wort Singsang gehört, also die sprechen von einem Singsang und ja.

00:05:36

Das stimmt wirklich, also ist wirklich so ja.

Q: Und in der Schule werden auch andere Sprachen gesprochen oder hauptsächlich Deutsch?

00:05:49

Auf dem Schulhof meinst du jetzt?

Q: Ja, also, unter den...

Also wir haben beispielsweise viele Schüler aus der Wallonie, das heißt, die sprechen dann Französisch untereinander, oder das Wallon dann, also diese, ja, Dialektform. Wir haben

auch Schüler, die Flämisch miteinander sprechen, die dann beispielsweise ihre Wurzeln in Gent haben, irgendwo da.

Dann haben wir schon, dass das so ein bisschen gruppiert ist, so die Flämischsprachigen, die Deutschsprachigen, die Französischsprachigen.

Q: Und hast, hast du auch solche Schüler in deinem Unterricht oder nicht?

00:06:25

Doch doch also mein drittes Jahr, wo ich jetzt unterrichtet, das ist auch eine extrem, uuh, also es ist schon eine große Klasse mit 24 Leute und von den 24 Leuten sind 9 französischsprachig, Muttersprachler, und dann habe ich nochmal 3 Bilingue [?] da drin also.

Q: Okay. Also dann ist Deutsch als Fremdsprache in diesem Unterricht, oder nicht?

00:06:47

Eigentlich nicht. Wir gehen davon aus, weil die Schüler, die beispielsweise französischsprachig Muttersprachler sind, die sind seit dem ersten Sekundarschuljahr bei uns auf der Schule. Das heißt also, die haben jetzt 2 Jahre Zeit gehabt, ihre, ihr Niveau anzupassen. Also, in der Bewertung differenzieren wir noch ein wenig im dritten Jahr, aber ab dem vierten Jahr ist dann dieselbe Bewertung wie bei allen anderen Schülern dann.

Beispielsweise wäre dann, bei Diktaten ist es bei Muttersprachler so, 2 Fehler ein Punkt und bei französischsprachigen Muttersprachler ist es dann 3 Fehler ein Punkt.

Q: Okay. Das ist sehr interessant, dass es eine solche ja mehrsprachige Gruppe gibt also. Und wird auch also neben diesen anderen Sprachen wird auch Dialekt gesprochen, oder...?

00:07:41

Ja, ganz viel also ich würde sogar behaupten, pure Deutschmuttersprachler, also wirklich nur Deutsch zu Hause sprechen, gibt es eigentlich *eher weniger*. Wir sprechen hier das *Platt*, sagt man dann dazu, und das wird dann eher zu Hause gesprochen, aber auch da gibt es *große* Unterschiede schon allein in den Dörfern, teilweise was die Aussprache angeht oder die Bedeutung und, Da merkt man manchmal schon, dass dann Leute, die dann ganz verschiedenes Platt sprechen, dass wir dann eher dazu tendieren, Deutsch untereinander zu sprechen.

Q: Und während dem Unterricht wird, wird das zugelassen?

00:08:22

Also im Deutschunterricht sage ich immer ganz klar wir sind im Deutschunterricht, also wird auch bitte Deutsch gesprochen. Ich unterrichte aber auch noch Ethik und dann geht es ganz oft darum, dass zum Beispiel persönliche Erfahrungen miteinander geteilt werden in Kleingruppen, wenn sie da schon mal untereinander Platt sprechen, dann drück ich schon mal ein Auge zu, aber natürlich alles, was offiziell präsentiert wird oder auch bewertet wird, ist natürlich auf Deutsch allein, weil wir auf einer deutschsprachigen Schule sind.

Q: Ok gut, so gehen wir auch auf gesellschaftliche Themen ein. Ist die BG ihrer Meinung nach eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:09:01

Ja, absolut, weil wir grenzen halt an der Wallonie an und erfahrungsgemäß, auch persönlich einfach die französischsprachigen oder die Wallonen haben es schwierig, sich ans Deutsche anzupassen. Sie verstehen es meist passiv, aber aktiv können sie sich nicht mitteilen und dadurch haben wir dann die Tendenz, uns immer ans Französische anzupassen, weil es einfach *einfacher* wird dadurch.

Q: Ok und ja, das ist wirklich sehr interessant, weil es einen ist, einen Verband zur Förderung des Deutschen in Wallonie gibt und das Ziel ist ja die Förderung des Deutschen, aber auch den Austausch zwischen frankophonen und deutschsprachigen Menschen und ich frage mich also, wie ist es dann in in deiner Schule? Also gibt es auch solchen Austausch zwischen frankophonen und deutschsprachigen, oder?

Oh, die Verbindung ist nicht gut, glaub ich. Hörst du mich?

00:10:19

Hallo, hallo, ja, irgendwie war gerade Verbindung oder ja ja ja, du hast Grad noch vom Verband zur Förderung der deutschen Sprache gesprochen hab da war irgendwie alles weg.

Q: Ja, die Verbindung ist schlecht. Ja, ich hab nur gefragt, ob es auch einen Austausch zwischen den Schülern deiner Schule gibt, also zum Beispiel zwischen Frankophonen und deutschsprachigen.

00:10:51

Ja, also bei uns an der Schule ist das so unsere Schule ist beispielsweise in den TQ und in den A-Klassen haben wir die Abteilung für Büro, Kaufleute und unsere Schüler gründen dann einmal pro Jahr, von der Oberstufe, also fünftes, sechstes Jahr ein Mini-Unternehmen in Zusammenarbeit mit einem lüttischen, lüttischer Schule dann quasi, die sich gegenseitig unterstützen dann.

Q: Ok, interessant. Und soll deiner Meinung nach auch das Französische noch mehr gefördert in der DG?

00:11:28

Auf jeden Fall. Allein schon dadurch, wir haben zwar die AHS, also die Autonome Hochschule in Eupen, da kann man dann für Primarschul, uuh, Primarschullehrer, Kindergärtner und für Pflegeassistenten lernen. Aber das ist auch die einzige Möglichkeit, wenn man also richtig studieren gehen möchte, muss man nach Lüttich oder nach Brüssel(.) Und wenn man da kein gutes Französisch spricht, dann ist das Bestehen quasi schon nicht mehr möglich, und deswegen finde ich das einfach gut drauf vorbereitet auf das Alltagsleben. Wie gesagt also, die, die *Germanophones* die haben eher die Tendenz, sich anzupassen, an, an die Französischsprachigen als andersrum und dann finde ich das, also wirklich wichtig, dass man auch miteinander kommunizieren kann einfach.

Q: Also du bist du bist Deutschlehrerin aber ich frage mich, was dein Eindruck ist was zum Beispiel die Angst vor Französisch vor der französischen Sprache angeht...

00:12:27

Ich glaub, das ist wirklich so ein bisschen die Sprachhemmung, sich zu blamieren, vielleicht was Blödes zu sagen oder vielleicht auch dumm zu wirken, weil man natürlich nicht das Level in der Fremdsprache hat wie in der Muttersprache.

Q: Okay, weil ich ja von anderen Interview Partnern gehört hab', dass ihre Schüler, oder Schüler, Angst vor der französischen Sprache haben und deshalb gehen nach Deutschland zum Beispiel ein Studium zu machen statt in Belgien zu bleiben und das, das finde ich sehr interessant, aber auch ein bisschen ja nicht gut was ähm, die, das Erlernen der Sprache angeht.

00:13:22

Also ich hatte auch die eigene Tendenz, deswegen wollte ich nicht nach Lüttich studieren gehen, weil ich hatte Angst, dass... Dieses Level einer Uni ist viel höher als das an einer Schule einfach, also dieser Leistungsdruck ist größer auf 'ner Uni und ich hatte Angst, diesen Leistungsdruck plus in 'ner Fremdsprache zu studieren, nicht schaffe, und deswegen habe ich dann den Weg gewählt, erst dann in Luxemburg zu studieren und dann später in, ja in Deutschland dann.

Q: Und warum Luxemburg?

00:13:56

Weil ich selbst Luxemburgerin bin.

Q: Ah wirklich ok.

00:14:02

Damals hatte sich das einfach angeboten und also ich musste mein Studium selbst finanzieren. Ich hatte also, meine Familie konnte mich finanziell nicht unterstützen, und dann konnte ich einfach jeden Tag mit dem Zug hin und her pendeln und das war einfach der finanzielle Aspekt auch ein bisschen, dass ich mir kein Kot (Kot-à-projet) in Lüttich holen musste, oder?

Q: Okay, ja, sehr interessant. Wir haben ok, wir haben auch gesagt, dass das Französische auch gefördert werden muss, und wir haben auch über das Deutsche gesprochen. Aber neben diesen beiden Sprachen können auch deiner Meinung nach Dialekte einen Platz im Unterricht finden?

00:14:47

Das hängt davon ab, also wenn es wirklich jetzt ist... Also wenn wir mal das Beispiel holen von der Benrather Linie das erklärt ja alles so ein bisschen warum die Dialekte sind, wie sie sind dann finde ich es elementär einfach, weil das aus dem Alltag der Schüler ist. Sie können vielmehr in Bezug dazu herstellen, als diese trockene Theorie, und...

Aber Dialekt als Unterrichtsfach? Ich stelle es mir schwierig, einfach weil wir so viele verschiedene Dialekte haben welchen Dialekt würde man dann unterrichten?

Den Dialekt der Schule, also den Standort der Schule, das wäre aber wieder ein ganz anderer Dialekt als viele Zuhause sprechen, das wäre dann quasi wieder als Fremdsprache

zu lernen teilweise... Ein Hochdialekt wie Hochdeutsch oder so gibt es eher nicht also ich finde die Umsetzung schwierig, aber ich finde es eigentlich wichtig, sich damit ein bisschen auseinander zu setzen, einfach auch weil es für die Schüler interessant ist, wenn sie dann schon mal so miteinander den Vergleich ziehen, „ja, wir sagen bei uns so und und zwei Kilometer weiter im nächsten Dorf wird das ganz anders gesagt“.

Q: Mhm ja, also, die Umsetzung ist schon schwierig, weil es so viele Varietäten gibt, weil es nicht wie in Luxemburg ist, wo das Luxemburgische ja sich vereinheitlicht hat, so.

00:16:10

Ja, ja, stimmt.

Q: Und vielleicht darum ist es einfacher Luxemburgisch zu lernen als ein Dialekt von ja vielen Dialekten, die im Norden nicht, ja, verständlich sind also dann.

Und ja, eins der Vorhaben der DG, der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft ist die Förderung der mehrsprachigen Bildung. Wird auch in deinem Deutschunterricht über Mehrsprachigkeit gesprochen? Nicht nur im Deutschen, aber Mehrsprachigkeit allgemein also generell?

00:16:56

Ja, wir sprechen schon beispielsweise über Mehrsprachigkeit, wenn wir dann den *Ursprung* der Sprache gucken, dann diese *germanischen* Sprachen, und welche Ähnlichkeiten es zwischen Englisch und Deutsch gibt, dann kommt es *schon(.)* zum Thema und wir haben beispielsweise auch das ist bei uns an der Schule echt cool, also das hab ich echt gerne, wir arbeiten auch beispielsweise unter uns Sprachenlehrer miteinander, dass wir dann zum Beispiel ein Buch haben, das meine Schüler auf Deutsch lesen müssen, im Englisch „Starkkurs“ müssen sie dasselbe Buch dann auf Englisch lesen, und dann arbeiten wir beispielsweise Sachen zusammen aus(.) sie müssen Sachen präsentieren oder auch dann als großes Projekt einfach dann, also *fächerübergreifend* machen was draus.

Q: Sehr interessant. Gibt es auch Schüler, die also nicht frankophon oder deutschsprachig sind, aber einen anderen Migrationshintergrund haben zum Beispiel?

00:17:53

Also wir haben auch Schüler mit polnischen Wurzeln, die Zuhause polnisch sprechen. Oder ja, wir hatten jetzt Jemische [?] letztes Jahr auf der Schule, die dann auch so 'ne Form von rumänischem Dialekt sprechen dann.

Q: Und wie geht man mit solchen Schülern um?

00:18:16 Speaker 2

Also wenn die wirklich ganz als Fremdsprache herkommen, dann also machen wir eigentlich quasi dieselben Richtlinien wie für die Frankophonen, also differenzierte Bewertung. Plus wir haben in der ersten Stufe fünf Stunden Deutsch pro Woche und wir organisieren dann quasi eine gratis, ja, *Cours de rattrapage* so ein bisschen, die dann von uns Lehrern auch geleitet wird, wo die Schüler dann nochmal Sachen aufarbeiten können, Fragen stellen, Zusatzübungen oder Zusatzerklärungen bekommen, dann einfach, dafür fällt ihnen dann eine Studiumstunde, also 'ne frei Stunde weg.

Q: Ok, gut und auch also neben dem Französischen gibt es auch das Englische. Also wird Englisch auch so gelehrt oder gelernt, als das Französische zum Beispiel, was die Zeit angeht usw.?

00:19:23

Ja also wir haben sowohl Französisch als auch Englisch, also Französisch ist ein Pflichtfach mit 4 Stunden die Woche bei Englisch dürfen die Schüler selbst auswählen. Sie können zwischen Englisch - stark und Englisch - schwach wählen. Englisch – schwach sind 2 Stunden, Englisch - stark 4 Stunden. In der Oberstufe, also ab der zweiten Stufe also ein drittes, viertes, fünftes, sechstes Jahr sind Deutsch auch nur noch 4 Stunden, das heißt also, das ist schon gleichwertig.

Man darf aber nicht aus den Augen verlieren, Französisch wird ab der Grundschule gelernt, Englisch erst ab dem zweiten Sekundarschuljahr. Deswegen ist natürlich der Umfang des Gelernten beim Französischen wesentlich höher als beim Englischen.

Q: Ja, das ist interessant, weil auch andere andere Interviewpartner gesagt haben, dass die Schüler vielleicht ein größeres Interesse am Englischen haben, obwohl die englische Sprache später gelernt wird und ist das auch, also ist es das gleiche Erfahrung?

00:20:26

Ja, doch das ist so also. Die Schüler sagen auch, das ist echt interessant eigentlich, sie merken den Vergleich, wenn sie beispielsweise nach Griechenland in Urlaub fahren und sie möchten sich verständigen, dann hilft ihnen das Englische mehr als das Französische und sie merken, dass durch das Französisch ist man schon eher ortsgebunden, dann so ein bisschen ja Belgien, Frankreich, aber wir wohnen ja also jetzt hier, wo ich wohne, ich wohne 10 Kilometer von der deutschen Grenze und da wird auch kein Französisch mehr unterrichtet, also wenn ich die mit Französisch ansprechen, die verstehen wirklich nicht was ich sage, und dadurch ist es natürlich schon so ein bisschen ja unattraktiv auch für unsere Schüler, weil sie genau wissen wenn ich 10 Kilometer weiter bin, dann versteht mich kein Mensch mehr.

Aber in die andere Richtung 10 Kilometer muss ich es sprechen, weil mich sonst überhaupt niemand versteht.

Q: Hm, da sehe ich Parallelen zwischen Ostbelgien und Luxemburg, weil hier auch das Französische ein bisschen ja also nicht vernachlässigt wird, aber die Schüler haben nichts kein großes Interesse an der Sprache. Ja, wegen dem Englischen, weil es cooler ist.

00:21:39

Ja ja wirklich ja.

Q: Ja, das also ich hab dann die letzte Frage soll auch das Deutsche in Belgien noch mehr gefördert werden?

00:21:54 Speaker 2

Ja, leider habe ich wirklich alleine, ich bin jetzt 6 Jahre Lehrerin auf die 6 Jahre habe ich jetzt schon gemerkt, dass der Austausch, die Ausdrucksfähigkeit besonders im Schriftlichen, jetzt schon sehr nachlässt, auch Rechtschreibung in der Unterstufe wird wirklich immer schwieriger. Man merkt wirklich wer viel beispielsweise am Handy mit Unterstützung arbeitet, wer noch viel liest und die Wörter jeden Tag sieht. Also eigentlich müsste wirklich noch mehr unterrichtet werden, weil das selbstständige Schreiben oder auch lesen und auch verstehen, was man liest, also nicht dieses „blinde-Lesen“, das wird immer weniger und wenn ich jetzt schaue, also, seitdem ich unterrichte, hatte ich immer ein viertes Jahr für Deutsch, und wenn ich diese Niveaus von vor 6 Jahren mit heute vergleiche, dann liegen da wirklich teilweise schon Welten zwischen.

Q: Ja, das kann ich verstehen, also hier gibt es auch ein ein ein eine ähnliche Situation also was die Sprachen angeht also wie viele Lehrer sagen das gleiche, dass die Sprache unter unterrichte oder der Sprachunterricht vernachlässigt wird. Aber ja. Wir sind schon fertig und vielleicht hab ich noch nur eine Frage.

00:23:21

Ja gerne.

Q: Sprichst du Luxemburgisch?

00:23:25

Ja, aber nicht als Muttersprachler. Ich habe es dann einfach gelernt, weil ich da gewohnt habe und also ich hab schn- also ich hab, Gott sei Dank, wenn ich eine Sprache regelmäßig höre, dann kann ich das leicht übernehmen.

Q: Okay, dann bist du ein bisschen begabt also (laugh).

00:23:45

Ja ja doch also vor allen Dingen sind Dialektformen, das fällt mir auch sehr leicht also.

Ich hab zu Hause nie, wir haben nie ein Dialekt gesprochen, wir haben immer Hochdeutsch gesprochen, weil meiner Mutter das sehr wichtig war, dass wir das beherrschen können und mittlerweile also ich spreche mit meinen luxemburgischen Freunden Luxemburg ohne Probleme. Da, wo ich vorher gewohnt hab, das Platt, hab ich auch gesprochen. Jetzt so... wir wohnen jetzt ein Jahr in 'nem neuen Dorf, ist wirklich ein ganz anderes Platt, da tue ich mich noch ein bisschen schwer aber es wird langsam.

Q: Das das ist schon da die Diversität des Deutschen noch. (laugh). Okay, hast du vielleicht Fragen oder noch andere Anmerkungen?

00:24:28

Was war jetzt das eigentliche Ziel deiner Arbeit? Also, was möchtest du erfahren, oder?

Q: Ja, das Ziel ist nur eine Analyse der Sprachpolitik, also wie zum Beispiel die Sprachen in Ostbelgien und in Luxemburg gemanagt werden also wie den Unterricht, der Unterricht organisiert wird, also von einer institutionellen Ebene und auch von ja, Mikro, Mikro sowie, wie Lehrer wie die Lehrer selbst, die Kurse organisieren.

00:25:04

Ja ja, auch schulintern einfach welche Richtlinien es da gibt?

Q: Ja, also was die Zusammenarbeit angeht. Aber auch die Kontradiktion, also wie die Widersprüche, das, das ist das Ziel, also eine Analyse davon zu machen.

00:25:15

Mhm ja, und das ist dann deine Doktorarbeit, oder?

Q: Ja genau, ja, ja.

00:25:29

Dann wünsche ich dir viel Erfolg.

Q: Vielen Dank, vielen Dank noch und danke dir für deine Teilnahme, wenn du auch noch andere Deutschlehrerinnen kennst, die vielleicht interessiert wären, an der Arbeit teilzunehmen, wäre es auch sehr hilfreich, ihnen vielleicht meinen Kontakt zu geben.

00:25:35

Ja gerne. Ja, ich höre mich um.

Q: Okay, danke. Schönen Abend dann.

00:25:59

Dankeschön, Tschüss, Tschüss.

XIII.2.5. Teacher: Mandy

Q: Okay, also können Sie sich bitte vorstellen und ihren Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:09

Ja also ich bin Mandy. Ich wohne... komme aus Weywertz in Bütgenbach. Ich hab, umm, an der Schule, an der ich jetzt arbeit', Abitur gemacht, am Bischöflichen Institut Büllingen. Dann hab ich in Lüttich, an der Universität, Germanistik studiert, *Langues et littératures germaniques*, also Deutsch und Englisch, und hab danach noch die [?] Niederländisch nachgemacht. Dann hab ich die Aggregation gemacht und seit 15 Jahren bin ich jetzt Lehrerin.

Seit dreieinhalb Jahren bin ich noch halbtags Lehrerin weil ich ein politisches Mandat habe, ich bin Schöffin hier bei uns in der Gemeinde – Schulschöffin [chuckle] - und deshalb arbeite ich jetzt noch halbtags als Lehrerin. Zurzeit unterrichte ich die fünfte, sechste-A in Deutsch, umm, hab aber schon Deutsch, Englisch, Niederländisch - Geschichte auch - in allen Klassen, allen Abteilungen eigentlich unterrichtet.

Q: Ah sehr interessant und wenn Sie sich zum Beispiel für Ihren Deutschunterricht vorbereiten, schaffen Sie Ihr eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgen Sie einem Buch oder wie? Wie wie läuft das?

00:01:20

Nee, also eigentlich mache ich mein eigenes Material und benutze dann aber natürlich, Handbücher von Cornelsen oder P.U.L.D [?] finde ich ganz gut so für die Oberstufe Deutschliteratur.

Ja, aber auch Kommunikation oder so hab ich da einiges draus, aber das ist jetzt nicht dass wir jetzt, dass alle Schüler ein Handbuch haben und wir systematisch damit arbeiten. In der Unterstufe machen wir das schon noch ein bisschen so mit Rechtschreibung manchmal. Also komplette Rechtschreibhefte gekauft werden übernommen, auch schon mal ein Lesebuch, aber ich glaube, in den letzten Jahren [wird es] auch immer seltener, also es ist nicht, dass wir mit einer Methode jetzt arbeiten und die durchziehen die ganzen Jahre, sondern man nimmt eher so ein bisschen Blick-Block-Sachen (?) und ja, passt sie dann so an, wie man meint, dass es passt für die Schüler.

Ich find' nämlich auch dieses, also, Niveau sehr, sehr hoch, also wenn ich so unterrichte zur Vorbereitung aufs Abitur, ne so auf Abiturklausuren oder so also deshalb [können wir manchen?] die Fragen nicht stellen ich glaub, da werden sie schon überfordert.

Q: [laugh]

00:02:19

Ja, das ist manchmal sehr hochgesteckte Ziele da.

Q: Ja, und also wird in Ihrem Unterricht an einem Fokus auf Kompetenzen vorgezogen, oder?

00:02:57

[Long pause] Ummm, in der Bewertung immer mehr. Also wenn ich jetzt schaue zum Beispiel heute haben manche Schüler ihre Prüfungsaussetzung geschrieben da hab ich schon, umm, ja, ein Bewertungsraster, wo ich wirklich die Kompetenzen einzeln aufliste und dann unterteile in Inhalt, Aufbau, Sprache... Das machen wir eigentlich immer mehr also ich weiß als ich anfing zu unterrichten, da machte ich das noch nicht unbedingt [laugh], also dass ich für jeden Aufsatz, für jeden Vortrag oder so so ein ganzes Bewertungsraster hatte, aber das Bewertungsraster ist kompetenzorientiert, ja.

Q: Ok, ja. Also ja, weil zum Beispiel es gibt 3 Rahmenpläne über den Deutschunterricht also es wurden 3 Rahmenpläne verfasst und auf den 3 Rahmenplänen wird ein klarer Vorschlag also für einen Fokus auf Pragmatik gemacht, also wie Sprache in verschiedenen Kontexten benutzt wird und ich frage mich, ob sie als Lehrerinnen, diesen Richtlinien folgen?

00:04:06

Ich kann jetzt nicht sagen, dass ich 'nem Rahmenplan eins zu eins folge also ich schreib jetzt nicht meine Bewertungsraster mit dem Rahmenplan daneben; an den Inhalten orientiert man sich natürlich *schon*, wenn dann Kommunikation zum Beispiel in der dritten Stufe auf dem Programm steht, oder welche Literaturepoche, also wir machen noch immer sehr viele Literaturgeschichte in der dritten Stufe, also das ist nach wie vor der Fall, umm, ja, da, da schaue ich natürlich nach dem Rahmenplan, ja, aber das ist nicht, dass ich jetzt mein, umm, mein Bewertungsraster unbedingt jedes Mal mit dem Rahmenplan daneben mach'. Dann würd ich lügen, wenn ich sag' "ja meine Bewertungsraster, sie sind alle genauso wie das Ministerium das gerne hätte" ich hab [es] schon gemacht ne, ich hab auch

schon den Schülern ein Kapitel, uumm, “Pragmatische Texte lesen”, so hieß das ne, und dann hab ich den Schülern mal den Rahmenplan raus kopiert und sie sollten abhaken, welche Kompetenzen sie bearbeitet haben und alle haben festgestellt, dass sie alle Kompetenzen bearbeitet hatten, so, weil ich find’ das ist auch, im fünften Jahr können die Schüler ruhig, auch jünger schon ne, aber auch mal über ihren eigenen Prozess und das, was sie da machen, auch nachdenken so ne, das lerne ich gerade eigentlich da.

Was ich vielleicht da noch erwähnen möchte ist, dass wir haben einen Lerntagebuch. Also, uum, früher war das so, dass wir jede Stunde aufschrieben, was wir gemacht hatten, das wird ein Tagebuch und dann waren jetzt mal 2 Linien pro Fach pro, also pro Unterrichtsstunde und dann schrieb man am Ende der Stunde [?] “wir haben und das und das gemacht” und das fanden wir als Schule sehr administrativ nur, dass die Schüler relativ wenig davon hatten. Die schauten nie mehr da rein, die müssen das immer in Ordnung haben, aber die benutzen das nicht und wir haben jetzt vorne im Tagebuch einen Unterrichtsplanung, also wo sie auch planen, ihre Hausaufgaben reinschreiben usw, und hinten haben wir einen Unterrichtsjournal pro Fach. Und da sollen die Schüler dann aufschreiben, was sie gemacht haben, und dann haben sie das chronologisch pro Fach und da erwarte ich zum Beispiel, dass sie das kompetenzorientiert aufschreiben, also nicht aufschreiben... Sie bekommen zum Beispiel, wenn ich jetzt ein Kapitel Literaturgeschichte, was ja oft auch so theoretischer ist gerade in so noch, ja Phasen, wo es darum geht, das Hintergrundwissen zu erwerben, haben sie einen Leitfaden, wo inhaltlich so die Eckdaten stehen, die Daten, die Namen und so weiter und natürlich Auszüge manchmal mache ich das auch eine, ja ein noch Stationarbeit oder so also das ist jetzt nicht jedes Mal nach dem gleichen Schema, aber ich möchte nicht, dass sie den Leitfaden und die Inhalte abschreiben, sondern ich hätte dann gerne ins Lerntagebuch reinschreiben, das hab ich gemacht. Zum Beispiel wir haben im Hörverständnis dazu gemacht. Ich habe einen Paralleltext dazu geschrieben, so dass sie mehr schreiben, “was ich kann jetzt, was ich gemacht hab”, als die Inhalte nochmal da aufzulisten und ‘ne Zusammenfassung zu schreiben, dann nutze ich schon systematisch das Lerntagebuch und damit sie so diesen Fokus auf die Kompetenzen mehr bekommen.

Q: Mhm, okay. Gut und gibt’s auch eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen?

00:07:40

Ja, eigentlich funktioniert das sehr gut, ja, ich bin auch Fachleiterin der Deutschgruppe und dadurch, dass wir klein sind, also wir haben höchstens, ja manchmal 3 ab und zu 2 Lehrer, die parallel arbeiten und das klappt eigentlich sehr gut.

Q: Okay gut, ja, dann gehen wir auf die Sprachen und Deutschunterricht ein, also sprechen die Schüler manchmal auch andere Sprachen im Unterricht?

00:08:10

Also wir haben jetzt schon französischsprachige Schüler, die bei uns auf der Schule sind, um Deutsch zu lernen.

Q: Ja, also Deutsch als Fremdsprache?

00:08:20

Ja, aber sie folgen dann 'nem Deutschunterricht als Muttersprache ne, das ist ja auch Ziel, deshalb sind sie ja bei uns auf der Schule, denn in den ersten Jahren, wenn die Französischsprachigen, die sind wirklich aus den umliegenden Dörfern hier ne, also die kommen, die wohnen 10 Kilometer von der Schule weg oder so, also das ist nicht, dass die da im Internat sind oder so also es ist... uuum, und sie, ja die werden in den ersten 2-3 Jahren noch differenziert bewertet.

Q: Ja ok. Und werden auch andere Sprachen gesprochen, also vielleicht vom Schülern, die Migrationshintergrund haben, oder?

00:09:03

Na eigentlich sehr wenig also, so, umm, so Polen oder so die dann zu Hause polnisch sprechen, aber die dann in der Primarschule, die Primarschulzeit komplett in, umm, auf Deutsch verbracht haben, die aber dann gutes Niveau Deutsch haben.

Q: Und wird auch Plattdeutsch gesprochen oder nicht?

00:09:23

Ja, je nachdem was [?] verschiedenen Dörfern, sprechen die Schüler Platt miteinander in Gruppenarbeiten, ist lustig. Wenn man zufälligerweise eine Gruppe hat, wo alle aus demselben Dorf kommen und die normalerweise auch im Bus oder Platt sprechen. Sprechen sie manchmal in der Pause oder in einer Gruppenarbeit, sprechen sie Plattdeutsch, sehr süß.

Q: Das ist auch sehr interessant, ja.

00:09:50

Wir haben nämlich äh also, das ist ja das ist so ähnlich wie Dialekt in Luxemburg auch ne, also, der ist wirklich von Dorf zu Dorf unterschiedlich. Ich komme aus Weywertz, es ist [??] von Bütgenbach. Wenn ich Weywertzer Platt sprech', dann verstehen wir uns ohne Probleme, aber mir fallen trotzdem die ganzen Unterschiede auf, so dass ... Teilweise wirklich, also, "sein," "ist," ne? ist hier im Bütgenbach "es" und in Weywertz "os".

Q: Ah ok, ja sehr unterschiedlich (laugh)

00:10:22

Oh, und das ist, das ändert sehr viel ja ja, das klingt anders, obwohl wir Nachbardörfer sind so.

Aber das ist, das ist, das sorgt auch oft für ja Gesprächsstoff ... manchmal gibt es Wörter, die gibt es dann nur in einem Dialekt, in einem Dorf, und in 'nem anderen Dorf kennt man das nicht, und das ist einem och [=auch] sehr amüsan, unterhaltsam [vor allem] wie die Unterschiede auffallen.

Q: Ja, und also, wenn sie zum Beispiel Platt sprechen, werden sie dann im Unterricht korrigiert oder werden solche Gespräche zugelassen?

00:10:56

Also wenn, ja also ich sprech' nie Platt im Unterricht, auch nicht in der Schule. Ich spreche, ich spreche nur Plattdeutsch mit meiner Oma.

Q: Mhm, ok.

00:11:05

Und aber auch nicht mit meinen Eltern, also so nur, nur mit Oma und, uuum, wenn die Schüler Platt untereinander sprechen in der Gruppenarbeit, dann lass ich die Platt sprechen, solange die Hochdeutsch mit mir sprechen; die kämen aber nicht auf die Idee Plattdeutsch mit mir zu sprechen. Auch nicht mit anderen Lehrern in anderen Fächern. Das machen sie wirklich das, was sehr Privates, Platt sprechen.

Q: Okay. Ja und wird auch also in Ihrem Unterricht von Sprachvariation gesprochen?

00:11:43

Ja ja, das machen wir ja, das macht man auch ein bisschen so automatisch ne?

Q: Also zum Beispiel von anderen Varietäten des Deutschen...?

00:11:48

Ja, verschiedene Sprachen.

Q: Ok. Und also wird auch zum Beispiel von den Besonderheiten des Deutschen der DG gesprochen?

00:12:01

Ja, ja. [Wir haben?] so einen Unterricht? Das heißt Ostbelgisch [laugh] Da sind dann die ganzen Fehler drin, die wir machen, weil wir halt den Einfluss des Französischen haben und wir benutzen manche Artikel falsch, zum Beispiel. Weil, aber, das sind... also verschiedene Fehler, die wir machen, die kann man wirklich begründen, weil wir denn diesen französischen Einfluss haben und andere Fehler machen wir aus dem Plattdeutschen, wo wir so Formulierungen, ganz blöd wir sagen zum Beispiel Hühnerhaut ne?, also anstatt Gänsehaut, weil das heißt "Poulet" auf Französisch, so so solche, solche Fehler machen [wir].

Q: Ja. Und also werden dann diese Abweichungen als Fehler betrachtet?

00:12:59

Also ich versuche ihnen dann, wenn wir uns wirklich damit befassen, versuche ich ihnen schon zu zeigen, wie man es richtig sagen würde.

Q: Okay.

00:13:09

Also das ist für uns also doch das sind da, das ist schon ein Fehler ne also?

Q: Also die DG hat auch eine Strategie zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit und ich frage mich, ob sie also in ihrer Meinung nach Dialekte auch im Unterricht gefördert werden sollen oder nicht?

00:13:34

Ja, gefördert auf also befördert finde ich nicht. Also, ich find', es ist nicht so ersichtlich. Ich muss auch sagen... die Mehrsprachigkeit... also, wir haben in unserer Schule haben wir so ein bisschen Immersion. Früher war es viel mehr, also hatten wir also als ich Abitur gemacht hat, hatte ich eine ganze Reihe Unterrichte, die auf Französisch waren, und jetzt haben die Schüler eigentlich nur eine [?] auf Französisch aha, das heißt in Wirtschaftswissenschaften oder Naturwissenschaften oder so.

Und das ist, also, ich finde das schade, weil die Schüler eigentlich immer weniger, weniger Französisch haben als wir und ich muss auch sagen, sie sind nicht sehr motiviert, so Französisch zu lernen. Sie sind, ummm, ja, Französisch ist so, nicht so beliebt bei den Schülern.

Q: Und warum?

00:14:29

Ich weiß es nicht. Sie sehen es gar nicht als Chance an. Ich sag Ihnen auch immer, ihr müsst also ich sag, das ist so super weißt du also so ich bin viersprachig, ne? Wer kann das behaupten?

Also so sind viele Leute bei uns in der Gegend, die studiert haben, die werden sie auch noch ein bisschen Niederländisch können, wirklich viersprachig sind und das ist so eine totale Seltenheit. Deshalb... ja, sie nutzen, das finde ich oft, zu wenig. Und in den letzten Jahren sagen sie dann "och, ich gehe in Aachen studieren oder nach Köln." Und früher war das eher so, da ging [man] automatisch nach Lüttich, also bei uns in der Schule gingen sehr viele nach Lüttich, manchmal nach Löwen oder so, aber oder nach Brüssel, aber auch in den letzten Jahren haben wir schon Tendenz dazu, "Ach jo, ich gehe nach Aachen studieren" nun gut, was ist, Ingenieure oder so. RWTH ist super, ne also das ist ja auch, oder Informatik. Ja, das ist ja wirklich eine gute Uni.

Q: Ja, und würden Sie sagen, dass Englisch beliebter ist als Französisch?

00:15:35

Ja, ja. Meine Schüler können auch im fünften Jahr, also ich hab auch lange Englisch im fünften Jahr unterrichtet, und meine Schüler, die können [Englisch sprechen]. Dann hatten sie im zweiten, dritten, vierten, also wenn die bei mir ankommen, hatten die erst 3 Jahre

Englisch und sie können besser Englisch als Französisch schreiben drin. Obwohl sie Zeit im Kindergarten Französischunterricht hatten, ne so “Bonjour Monsieur, [gibberish]”. Also im Kindergarten haben die Kinder wirklich systematisch Französisch und trotzdem können sie mit 15 Jahren besser schreiben. Und...

Q: Sprechen?

00:16:18

Sprechen ich weiß nicht ob, ob sie besser verstehen, vielleicht ich glaub verstehen, aber ich glaub wo er vor allen Dingen, dieses Produzieren das ist also die aktive Sprache, das ist irgendwie sie haben da schon Hemmungen.

Q: Und finden Sie, dass das ein Problem ist, dass zum Beispiel Englisch beliebter ist als Französisch?

00:16:40

Ja beliebter, in Ende, also, ich kann im Englischen, als Englischlehrerin bin ich ja sehr froh, dass meine Schüler so motiviert sind, Englisch zu lernen, aber die Motivation ist größer und sie... also ich finde es eigentlich sehr schade, dass sie das Französische so vernachlässigen.

Q: Und ja, und auch in Belgien, das sein ja also Wallonie nur Französisch wird gesprochen wird.

00:17:08

Wir sind Wallonen, ne?

Q: Entschuldigung?

00:17:12

Wir sind deutschsprachige Wallonen. Das vergessen wir och ne? **Also, aber wir sind deutschsprachige Wallonen!**

Q: Mhm ja, also gehen wir dann auf die Einstellungen zum Deutschen ein. Also kann man Ihrer Meinung nach von einem Ostbelgischen Deutsch sprechen? Gibt es sowas?

00:17:38

[Long pause] Ja, genau wie es ein bairisches Deutsch gibt oder ein, uumm, ein ostdeutsches Deutsch oder ein rheinisches Deutsch oder so also von Regionalismen schon, aber dieses Ostbelgisch ne also, dass ich das Ostbelgisch genannt habe ein Kapitel, das ist auch um die Schüler so ein bisschen zum Nachdenken so, und sie diskutieren sehr viel darüber was ist ein Fehler und was ist kein Fehler zum Beispiel.

Ok, das ist schon auch dann, das wird schon auch thematisiert, ne, und das zu sagen ist das in Ordnung oder ne so aber?

Q: Ja, also dann sind also Ostbelgisch bezieht sich dann auf Regionalismen und solche Sachen, nicht auf eine eigene Sprache?

00:18:23

Eigene Sprache, nee, nee, Luxemburgisch ist ja auch keine eigene Sprache, ne?

Q: [Laugh]

00:18:30

Aber erzähl bloß keinem Luxemburger das, dann schimpfen sie dir, “eis Sprooch!” oder sowas. [Laugh]

Q: Man soll das nicht den Luxemburgern sagen also! [Laugh]

00:18:44

Genau! Wenn wir Sprachgeschichte machen sag ich meinen Sinn Schülern also, wir machen das meistens so in der zweiten Stufe, so drittes Jahr, und dann sag ich immer: “Ja, Friesisch ist eine Sprache aber Luxemburgisch leider nicht. Dann lachen sie mal, “Oh, sagen Sie kein[em] Luxemburger!”

Q: Ja, genau. Also, finden Sie, dass es einen starken sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden der DG gibt?

00:19:16

Ja ja also man sieht ja ganz klar wo die Dialektgrenzen verlaufen, also das sieht man, kann man sehr gut erkennen, ne, wir machen auch ganz andere Fehler als der Norden.

Q: Mhm also Büllingen steht dann im Süden Ihrer Meinung nach ok.

Und ist die DG dann eine mehr, eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft? Kann man das behaupten?

00:19:48

[Long pause] Ich würd sagen, die DG ist eine deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft, auch wenn die in Eupen es nicht gerne hören würden. Die wollen sich lieber so verkaufen als ob hier jeder alles kann, aber das ist nicht so. Ich kenne auch Leute, die auch wirklich sehr schlecht auf Französisch sprechen. Die können wirklich nur Deutsch. Und man merkt auch manche... Jetzt nicht von den Schülern ne, weil das sind ja aber auch alles ja junge Leute, die Abitur machen und so weiter. Aber bei den älteren Personen, da merkt man schon wenn die Hochdeutsch reden müssen, müssen sie sich anstrengen, Hochdeutsch zu reden.

Q: Und denken Sie dann, dass die Mehrsprachigkeit noch mehr gefördert werden soll in der DG? Oder nicht?

00:20:46

Ja, aber ich weiß nicht wie.

Q: Und also welche Sprachen dann? Französisch und Englisch, Niederländisch auch oder soll man vielleicht nur Französisch und Deutsch?

00:21:01

Nee, Englisch, auf jeden Fall, das brauchen sie auch später im Berufsleben.

Oder auch, auch zum Studium ne? sind immer mehr Studiengänge auch international ne, also wir haben auch hier und Abiturienten die gehen irgendwie studieren internationales Recht in Maastricht oder so ne also studieren, also, ich hab auch Abiturienten, die studieren [Nex??] auf Englisch oder ich hab eine Studentin jetzt eine Abiturientin [???] studiert jetzt in der Schweiz, und das alles auf Englisch, ne zum Beispiel. Also so und ich glaube schon, dass je mehr Sprachen man kann, desto einfacher hat man zum Leben und je mehr Sprachen man kann, desto [?] lernt man die nächsten Sprachen einfach.

Q: Okay, und also die letzte Frage ist dann...

00:21:45

Also es erweitert ja immer den Horizont so, das ist eine Sprache lernen, man lernt ja nicht nur die Sprache, die Grammatik und den Wortschatz. Wenn man [eine] neue Sprache lernt,

dann lernt man auch immer Kultur kennen und eine andere Art und Weise zu denken und so also aber sie fragen da also, ich hab ja auch Fremdsprachen studiert also.

Q: Ja, ja, das hängt auch von der Person ab also, also die letzte Frage, dann gibt es dann, würden Sie sagen, dass es im Bildungssystem der DG viel Freiheit gibt, zum Beispiel, mit dem Deutschunterricht also, dass man ja nicht so strikt unterrichten soll?

00:22:33

Nee, also ich finde unsere Rahmenpläne, die sind schon **relativ offen**, manchmal sind sie ein bisschen **zu offen**. Dann steht da die Schüler müssen einen Sachtext verstehen können, und das steht dann schon im dritten Stufe Primar steht auch in der dritten Stufe Sekundar, also nee, das ist dann sehr vage gehalten, aber irgendwie finde ich das trotzdem gut und gibt mir auch da die pädagogische Freiheit. So ist entscheidend.

Also ich fänd' es ganz schlimm, wenn wir jetzt ein Lehrwerk hätten und man uns sagen würde, wie es gibt, so keine Ahnung, in kommunistischen Ländern oder so nee, dann hat man das Buch und dann haben wir eine Einheitsprüfung, ne so **Teaching for testing**, ne also so, **das finde ich ganz, ganz schlimm** also das find' ich... das also ich finde das schon sehr bereichernd selbst so trotzdem noch so eine Richtung einschlagen zu können.

Q: Ja gut. Okay gut also, wir sind schon fertig. Haben Sie fragen? Und dann Kommentare vielleicht.

00:23:46

Nee, aber ihre Doktorarbeit also sie interviewen jetzt Deutschlehrer? Hast du nur Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen?

Q: Ja und ich hab auch eine Schulinspektorin geinterviewt und das war ja es ist ganz gut gegangen, aber es wäre noch besser, wenn sich noch andere Leute melden weil, ich hab nur vielleicht 8 oder 7 Teilnehmer gefunden und ja, das ist ein bisschen schade, dass ich nicht wirklich eine repräsentative Anzahl von Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen finde.

00:24:26

Ja, ja, ich kann nochmal Werbung machen in der Fachteamgruppe.

Q: Das wäre ja sehr schön also.

00:24:34 Speaker 3

Kann ich sagen, das hat nur 20 Minuten gedauert und der war ganz sympathisch der junge Mann! [laugh]

Q: [laugh] Ja, danke, vielen Dank. Ja das, das, das würde ich wirklich sehr schätzen also ja, wenn Sie das machen könnten, ja wäre das sehr schön also und wenn Sie auch vielleicht noch Fragen hätten, stehe ich immer zur Verfügung also Sie können mich eine Email schreiben. Und vielleicht können Sie auch eine Kopie der Doktorarbeit am Ende erhalten. Wenn Sie möchten, kann ich Ihnen ja eine Kopie zusenden.

00:25:19

Ja oder digital oder so ne PDF oder so. Das Resultat würde mich schon interessieren.

Q: Ja, ja, auch.

00:25:28

Haben Sie das auf Deutsch, oder?

Q: Nein, auf Englisch leider weil ja, das ist die die globale Sprache also ja.

Dann sag ich Ihnen noch vielen Dank also für Ihre Teilnahme und auch einen schönen Tag.

00:25:55

Ja, ebenfalls, ich mach noch ein bisschen Werbung für Sie, ne?

Q: Okay, tschüß tschüß.

XIII.2.6. Teacher: Raquel

Q: Okay so, sie sind Deutschlehrerin im Königlichen Athenäum in Sankt Vith. Können Sie sich bitte vorstellen und Ihren Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:14

Also ich arbeite am Königlichen Athenäum in Sankt Vith seit 2007.

Im Jahre 2006 hab ich noch an einer anderen Schule gearbeitet, in der Nähe von Neulöwen, in Bierges weil ich dann noch im letzten Studiumjahr war und hab dann halbtags neben dem Studium in der Schule gearbeitet, hab dann im Athenäum angefangen und bin auch da geblieben. Also ich hab dann keine andere Stelle mehr.

Ja, und ich unterrichte Deutsch und Englisch vorher nur in der Unterstufe oder in meinem ersten Jahr 2007 habe ich in der Oberstufe unterrichtet, danach nur in der Unterstufe und seit 5 Jahren auch in der Oberstufe wieder, also seit 2016.

Q: Und liegt der Fokus des Unterrichts auf Literatur oder Grammatik?

00:01:08

Ja also ich unterrichte den vierten Jahr und da geht es... da ist es noch sehr breit gefächert, also Grammatik wird kaum noch gelehrt, weil wir denken, sie haben das 6 Jahre in der Primarschule gelernt und 3 Jahre in der... bis zum dritten Jahr, also bis zur neunten Klasse lernt man wirklich noch Grammatik und Rechtschreibung, aber es werden dann nur noch Probleme aufgegriffen, wenn wirklich Probleme sind in der Rechtschreibung, also wie dass/das oder die Kommaregeln oder auch der Apostroph, der ist, wird vorher nicht gelernt. Das wird wirklich im vierten Jahr erst gemacht...

Grammatik, eben nur noch Apostroph... Oder Zweifelsfälle aber ganz wenig. Also ist viel Medienpädagogik, viel, etwas Literaturgeschichte, Sprachgeschichte, Jugendliteratur und dann eben auch nur lesen wir zusammen ein Theaterstück, über das Fremdwort, also Sprachwandel wird viel gemacht, ja.

Q: Okay. Und wird auch die so das Thema vom Deutschen in Belgien auch aufgegriffen, oder?

00:02:20

Das hatten wir früher mal in der Unterstufe, aber jetzt gar nicht mehr. Ich hab wohl vor das, im sechsten Jahr unterrichte ich noch Ausdruck und Kommunikation, aber das ist nur eine Stunde die Woche. Dort hab ich vor, eine kleine Einheit zu machen aber wir reden nicht viel darüber.

Q: Okay. Und wenn Sie sich für Ihren Deutschunterricht vorbereiten, schaffen Sie Ihr eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgen sie einem Buch, das das Bildungsministerium oder die Schule zur Verfügung gestellt hat?

00:02:50

Nein, also in der Oberstufe haben wir, wir haben 'ne gut aus, eine gut ausgestattete Mediothek, auch wir haben einen Mediothekenverbund in Ostbelgien, ich weiß nicht, ob Sie das wissen und wir nehmen uns die, um... Die Bücher, also wir nehmen die Unterrichte so... wir legen die Themen fest und suchen dann aus verschiedenen Büchern zusammen und machen die Unterrichte so wie die uns gefallen. Also wir sind auch sehr frei in der Wahl.

Q: Deutschlehrerinnen und -Lehrer haben dann viel Freiheit beim...

00:03:22

Ja, auch das, der Rahmenplan ist sehr vage, also der ist so ausgedrückt, dass die Kompetenzen dort vorgegeben werden, aber die sind auch so breit gefächert, dass wir machen können was wir wollen.

Q: Hm, okay und können wir auch vielleicht auf eine gesellschaftliche Themen eingehen? Ihrer Meinung nach ist die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:03:53

...Ja, weil es eben auch viele Leute gibt, die Französisch sprechen oder eben auch anderer Herkunft sind. Also ich habe auch viele Schüler, deren Muttersprache nicht Deutsch ist, also die zu Hause Russisch sprechen, oder... Albanisch, also irgendwelche Sprachen, die ich nicht beherrsche ja.

Q: Okay, also sprechen die Schüler auch andere Sprachen in der Schule, oder?

00:04:15

Ja, also, es ist jetzt eher eine Minderheit, also pro Klasse sind das 2 oder 3 Schüler, aber die können trotzdem sehr gut Deutsch reden, weil viele schon seit, seit der Primarschule in Ostbelgien sind.

Dieses Jahr im vierten Jahr habe ich zum Beispiel eine Schülerinnen, die aus Arlon kommt, also sie fängt dieses Jahr an, das haben wir manchmal, dass sie dann erst im vierten oder fünften Jahr kommen, weil sie einfach etwas Neues lernen wollen und sie kann, sie kann schon ein bisschen Deutsch, sie kann schon sehr gut Deutsch, aber eben nicht so wie jemand, der die Primarschule schon auf Deutsch gemacht hat.

Q: Ok, und in der Fachliteratur ist es auch üblich zu lesen, dass es einen sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden von der DG gibt. Und ich frage mich, ob sie diesen Unterschied für zeitgemäß halten? So gibt es noch diesen Unterschied?

00:05:14

Uum, ja also so von der Aussprache her und von der Intonation, also jemand aus Eupen merken wir sofort, dass der aus Eupen kommt, so wie sie sofort merken, dass wir aus der Eifel kommen also aus dem Süden.

Als ich meine Sekundarschule gemacht hab, hatten wir sogar so diese geläufigen regionalen Fehler, die dann ausgebessert werden mussten quasi also eine Unterrichtseinheit dazu, und da waren viele Fehler, die wir in der Eifel nicht machen, aber die in Eupen machten, wie Dativ und Akkusativ vertauschen und so, das wird in der Eifel weniger gemacht.

Also ich muss ehrlich sagen die Leute aus Eupen, mit denen ich Kontakt habe, das sind meistens Deutschlehrer, sie reden dann einfach gutes Deutsch oder meine Cousine und ihr redet auch sehr gutes Deutsch also ich weiß dann auch gar nicht wie, ich hab wenig Kontakt mit Leuten aus Eupen.

Q: Und in Ihrem Unterricht oder in der Schule allgemein, wird auch Dialekt gesprochen, oder?

00:06:14

Ja, das ist sehr jahrgangsabhängig, also vor ein paar Jahren hatte ich eine... eine Klasse, wo sehr viele Schüler waren, die auch Platt zu Hause reden, also Plattdeutsch, und die reden dann auch untereinander Plattdeutsch also wenn zum Beispiel Gruppenarbeiten sind,

dann wird dann auch Plattdeutsch geredet. Dann sag ich wohl „im Deutschunterricht redet ihr Deutsch“, aber sie reden einfach Platt untereinander. Das heißt aber nicht, dass sie dafür schlechter Deutsch sprechen, also.

Q: Und wenn sie untereinander auf Deutsch, also Plattdeutsch oder Dialekt sprechen, werden sie während des Unterrichts korrigiert oder wird der Dialekt zugelassen?

00:06:59

Na also, ich selbst spreche keinen Dialekt. Also ich verstehe das, aber die Schüler dürfen bei mir auch kein Dialekt sprechen.

Also weil die dürfen das reden, also in den Pausen dürfen sie reden, aber wenn sie einfach mir immer auf Deutsch und selbst in Gruppenarbeiten, sag ich sie sollen Deutsch miteinander reden, ja, weil ich kann den Dialekt auch gar nicht korrigieren, weil ich das selbst nicht spreche.

Q: Okay. Und gibt es also Ihrer Meinung nach trotz dieser regionalen Unterschiede so etwas wie ein Ostbelgisches Deutsch?

00:07:41

Manche Begriffe ja. Wir haben ‘nen großen Einfluss vom Französischen, also oft merken wir nämlich gar nicht, dass die Wörter, die wir benutzen, falsch sind, weil wir so aufgewachsen sind und wenn dann jemand ein Deutscher zum Beispiel, mit dem wir Kontakt haben, die lachen, also, weil die verstehen uns nicht.

Q: Ja, Gallizismen und... also wie Camion oder Trottoir.

00:08:07 Speaker 2

Ja, aber Trottoir ist selbst im Duden, oder nicht?

Q: Ja doch.

00:08:13

Ja, Camion nicht aber sowas wie Farde. Wir benutzen Farde für „Ordnung“. Das kommt aus dem Französischen, und das versteht ein Deutscher nicht. Oder „Schick“. Also in der Eifel sagt man Schick für Bonbon. In Eupen sagt man der Klümpchen, das versteht ein Deutscher auch nicht, oder wir sagen plattes Wasser, *de l'eau plate* für stilles Wasser, solche Sachen eben.

Q: Ja, und gibt es eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen in der Schule? Sowas Beispiel, was unter die Unterrichtsplanung betrifft?

00:08:51

Ja, also wir haben ein gutes Fachteam, wir arbeiten sehr eng zusammen.

Q: Ok, und ja, was noch noch ein, ein gesellschaftliches Thema, es gibt einen Verband zur Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie...

00:09:15

Hm, BDGV, der Bund der Deutschen Germanisten oder sowas?

Q: Das ist etwas anderes. Also es gibt noch einen Verband was, das oder der von ehrenamtlichen Mitgliedern, ja, aus ehrenamtlichen Mitgliedern besteht. Und ich frage mich also Ihrer Meinung nach soll auch das Französische in der DG noch mehr gefördert werden?

00:09:46

Also ich glaub‘ dass sehr viel getan wird um das Französisch zu fördern, also meine französisch, Kollegen, die Französisch unterrichten, sind doch wirklich sehr motiviert und versuchen alles zu machen, aber die Schüler haben eben Englisch lieber, aber vielleicht ist es auch weil wir immer gesagt bekommen „du musst Französisch können, damit du später Berufschancen hast in Belgien“, weil wir sonst auf dem Arbeitsmarkt interessant sind. Ich finde dass viel gemacht wird(.) wahrscheinlich könnte noch mehr gemacht werden, also was ich seit Jahren sag‘, was gemacht werden könnte, es müsste einen Verband geben, der die Schülerinnen dazu bringt, auch mal ein Praktikum oder eine Fernarbeit im französischsprachigen Teil Belgiens zu machen.

Es ist oft auch gar nicht weit, aber und vielleicht, wenn es so einen Ansprechpartner beim Ministerium gäbe dafür und jemand, der sich um die Koordination kümmert, wir haben zum Beispiel eine Kunstabteilung bei uns auf der Schule und die würden garantiert mal irgendwo in der Wallonie arbeiten gehen, irgendwas in dem Bereich oder einfach nur ein Praktikum machen und wenn es jemand gäbe, der sich darum kümmern würde, glaub‘ ich, hätte das auch Erfolg.

Q: Okay, haben Sie den anderen Eindruck, dass die Schüler Angst vor dem Französischen haben?

00:11:07

Ich glaub schon, weil die Sprache auch einfach schwieriger ist. Englisch hat man sofort viel Erfolg also da kann man nach einem Jahr richtig viel reden und versteht auch richtig viel, vor allem weil der Satzbau auf Englisch viel einfacher ist, und im Französischen ist es *immer* komplizierter. Also, das weiß ich noch von meiner eigenen Erfahrung selbst heute lese ich nicht gerne auf Französisch, obwohl ich fließend Französisch rede.

Q: Mhm und würden Sie, würden Sie auch sagen, dass diese Angst ein Faktor dafür ist, dass viele Studenten Studierende nach Deutschland gehen also?

00:11:45

An unserer Schule gehen nicht viele nach Deutschland, also in Eupen schon, von Sankt Vith aus nicht. Viele gehen trotzdem noch nach Belgien und in den nächsten Jahren gehen sehr viele nach Maastricht. Aber auch wegen des Systems, weil es auf Englisch ist sie fühlen sich einfach wohler auf Englisch, und weil es da viel freier ist.

Ja, weil das belgische System noch sehr stark ist. Ich glaub', es hat sich einiges verändert in den letzten Jahren, aber, ich glaub' trotzdem dass es in Maastricht sehr viel freier ist, sehr viel eigenständiger und sehr viel individueller.

Q: Ok, und wir haben auch ja Französisch also über das französische und das Deutsche in der DG gesprochen auch ein bisschen über das englische aber soll auch die Mehrsprachigkeit als ein Wert, als ein positives Wert im Bildungssystem noch mehr gefördert werden, oder?

00:12:51

Uum, ja, ich also bei uns auf der Schule wird zum Beispiel(.) werden die Naturwissenschaftlichen Fächer auf Französisch unterrichtet. Nur das Problem ist, dass man manchmal kein Personal findet, das das unterrichten kann.

Also wir haben zum Beispiel auch Physiklehrer aus Russland, die können kein Französisch, wir haben Deutsche, die können auch kein Französisch und diese rein frankophonen Lehrer sind auch keine Lösung, weil das weiß ich, dass das bei mir der Fall war, als ich Abitur gemacht hab', die konnten nur Französisch, kein Wort Deutsch, dann verstand man den Unterricht nicht so.

Also ich finde es gut, wenn das gefördert wird, es wird auch sehr gefördert, weil aber noch viele in Belgien studieren gehen, damit sie den Fachwortschatz können... Aber, es ist auf

dem Papier gut und es wird viel versucht, nur manchmal scheitert es an Personal meiner Meinung nach.

Q: Okay. Und neben dem Französischen und dem Deutschen, dem Englischen auch, können Ihrer Meinung nach auch Dialekte im Unterricht einen Platz finden?

00:13:58

Ich selbst rede keinen Dialekt, ich bin da ni-, ich hänge da nicht so dran, also ich glaub‘ wenn jemand mit Leib und Seele das Plattdeutsche gelernt hat und dann über Generationen und dann gibt es ja auch so Streitigkeiten „heißt es zwuu oder zwee oder zwin?“, kei-, ich, weiß ich nicht.

Q: Ja, okay. Also ja, vielleicht ist es für Sie... Also Dialekten, sollen dann gesprochene Sprachen bleiben?

00:14:30

Ja, genau.

Q: Und also eins der Vorhaben der DG ist auch wie gesagt die Förderung der mehrsprachigen Bildung wird auch im Deutschunterricht auf, zum Beispiel die Mehrsprachigkeit, hingewiesen? Also, die Pluralität des Deutschen zum Beispiel. Deutsch wie es in Deutschland, Österreich, äh, in der Schweiz gesprochen wird.

00:15:10

Wir reden über Lautverschiebungen, und da gehen wir dann auch auf die Dialekte ein also im Thema Sprachgeschichte reden wir darüber, wie Dialekte entstanden sind. Aber wir reden nicht darüber, wie in Österreich gesprochen wird oder in der Schweiz, nein.

Q: Okay, Sie haben auch den Sprachenwandel erwähnt. Wie wird also dieser, dieses Thema dann aufgegriffen im Unterricht?

00:15:41

Das wird, geht vor allem um Anglizismen im Deutschen. Ich muss wohl sagen also, ich hab eine Kollegin, mit der ich parallel arbeite, wir machen hundert Prozent denselben Unterricht und sie arbeitet jetzt noch 2 Jahre danach. Bin ich dann mit einer anderen Kollegin und dann haben wir auch vor, das viel freier zu gestalten also es geht jetzt sehr

um den Einfluss des Englischen aber auch um den Einfluss des Lateinischen und Französischen früher aber heute eben nur um das Englische.

Aber, ich weiß nicht, wie wir das in 2 Jahren gestalten werden, ja.

Q: Und das ist die letzte Frage, wird auf die Regionalismen oder die regionalen Unterschiede des Deutschen in Ostbelgien hingewiesen oder nicht?

00:16:33

Ja manchmal, wenn so wenn die Schüler Texte schreiben und dann sind dann eben solche Ausdrücke, die ich dann auch erkenne. Manchmal erkenne ich die ja auch nicht, weil das für mich ja das normale Deutsch ist, dann weiß ich sie darauf hin. Aber wir haben keine separate Unterrichtseinheit dazu, aber wie gesagt in 2 Jahren vielleicht schon, wenn ich eine andere Kollegin hat und wir dann...

Q: Ok, und also die letzte Frage die Eigentliche: sind sich die Schüler bewusst von diesen regionalen Unterschieden also oder sprechen die Schüler eigentlich Standarddeutsch? Oder haben sie kein Bewusstsein über das Deutsche in Belgien?

00:17:24

Ich glaube nicht, dass sie sich bewusst sind, dass manche Wörter, die sie benutzen, kein Hochdeutsch sind also wir weisen sie darauf hin, aber ich glaub, das geht hier rein und da wieder raus.

Q: Ok, gut. Ah, wir sind schon fertig. Haben Sie vielleicht Fragen oder noch andere Anmerkungen?

00:17:47

Ich habe eine Frage und zwar ist ein Professor Achim Küpper, der früher in Luxemburg war, der ist einm ein Bekannter von uns, und der ist jetzt nicht mehr da ist er wohler auf der Uni, in Luxemburg?

Q: Ich glaube ja, ich glaube schon, ich hab einen Artikel von ihnen gelesen und auf dem Artikel steht, dass er ja Professor an der Uni Luxemburg ist.

00:18:14

Ah ja, ok.

Q: Ja also, ich glaub, er ist noch hier, aber ich kenne ihn nicht persönlich.

00:18:24

Ja ja, ok haben Sie denn viele Interviewpartner gefunden?

Q: Noch nicht, ich bin noch auf der Suche nach Interviewpartnern. Vielleicht, wenn Sie noch einige Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen kennen, die interessiert wären an meiner Arbeit teilzunehmen, wäre das wirklich sehr hilfreich.

Ich hab schon mit einem Interviewpartner von ihrer Schule gesprochen aber, ja, nicht viele muss ich zugeben.

00:19:07

Ja, ich kann aber noch ein bisschen Werbung machen, ja.

Q: Ok, vielen Dank, das wäre wirklich sehr, sehr hilfreich, ja.

00:19:13

Ja, ok.

Q: Mhm, ok, und wenn Sie noch vielleicht die Arbeit am Ende bekommen wollen, dann melde ich mich bei Ihnen.

00:19:33

Ja, okay, gut, ja dann viel Glück noch weiterhin.

Q: Vielen Dank und noch einen schönen Tag, tschüss!

XIII.2.7. Teacher: Xenia

Q: Okay also Sie sind Deutschlehrerin im Robert Schumann Institut können sie sich bitte vorstellen und ihren Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:14

Mhm ja, sehr gern also Xenia ist mein Name. Ich hab nach meinem Abitur, welches ich in Ostbelgien dann natürlich gemacht habe, in Büllingen, also im Süden der deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, umm, ein Studium in Köln, an der Universität zu Köln gestartet, von 2001 bis 2006 habe ich dann 5 Jahre Germanistik, Anglistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaften studiert und da auch dann im Jahre 2006 im Sommer meinen Master gemacht, also „Magister artium“ war noch der korrekte Titel [??] inzwischen alles in die offiziellen Master umgewandelt worden.

Und dann hab ich aber schon immer nebenbei unterrichtet, also ich war gleichzeitig auch in der Politik tätig, also im Kabinetten gearbeitet und so weiter, auch im Gemeinderat, selber als Ratsmitglied und hab aber auch halbtags nebenbei unterrichtet. Das Unterrichten ist dann phasenweise mehr geworden, sodass ich wirklich gesagt hab, „ich mach auch die Lehrbefähigung noch“, hab also an der Uni Lüttich noch die „Aggregation d’enseignement secondaire supérieur“ gemacht. Also die ist AES, wie das heißt,

Q: Hm ok.

00:01:28

Und hatte somit dann auch wirklich das korrekte Diplom, um auch in der Sekundarschule Oberstufe Deutsch unterrichten zu dürfen hier in Ostbelgien, ja und seit diesem Abschluss, das war 2010, dass ich das nochmal drangehängt hab. Ein Jahr war das nochmal Uni Lüttich. Seitdem unterricht‘ ich dann auch und hab‘ trotzdem weiterhin Politik gemacht, manchmal auch hauptberuflich, bin aber jetzt wieder volltags Lehrerin. Also ich bin halbtags Deutschlehrerin, aber auch halbtags im Middlemanagement, das ist so eine [?] Sonderform, ist man dann auch in der Organisation und Schulentwicklung tätig.

Aber ja, Stadtrats mache ich immer noch hier in Eupen zum Beispiel also ehrenamtlich, kann man fast sagen, bin ich dann immer noch in der Politik, aber mein Hauptberuf ist jetzt schon im Schulwesen, dann ja.

Q: Ok, haben Sie Robert Müller als Lehrer in der Universität kennengelernt, oder?

00:02:32

Äh, ich glaube nicht.

Also Germain Simons mit dem hatte ich sehr viele Unterrichte. Und Florence van den Hove [Florence van Hoof]. Waren so meine, meine Hauptlehrer zu der Zeit, aber ich bin nicht ganz sicher, da müsste ich nachschauen wenn, dann war es ein kleinerer Kurs, den ich da mit ihm hatte.

Q: Ja, das war nur, ich war neugierig.

00:02:55

Ja, ja, ja natürlich.

Q: Also was sind dann ihre Aufgaben als Deutschlehrerin im Robert Schumann Institut?

00:03:05

Ja, also Deutsch-Oberstufe unterrichte ich denn im vierten Jahr aber auch im sechsten und auch im siebten Jahr also auf die beruflichen Abteilungen des RSI, also Robert Schumann Institut ist eine technisch berufliche Schule. Das heißt, wir haben sowohl die allgemeinbildenden Schulungswege als auch die berufsbildenden Schüler. Und wenn die Schüler ihr Abitur haben, ob das jetzt in den technisch befähigenden Klassen ist, oder auch im beruflichen Weg, dann haben die immer die Möglichkeit, anschließend noch zu studieren, also Abitur, ist ja gleichwertig anerkannt, ob ich jetzt den beruflichen Weg mit schon mehr Berufspraxis gegangen bin oder den technischen Befähigenden, was auch viele also wir haben ja was sind das 17 verschiedene Abteilungen im Robert Schumann Institut? Das geht über Biochemie Kunst, uum, was haben wir noch alles? Hotel, Fachschule, Kosmetik, aber auch Sozialkosmetik zum Beispiel, Betreuer von Kindergemeinschaften, wirklich ganz unterschiedliche Abteilungen und ja also, ich unterrichte dann Deutsch mit diesen Schülern – für diese Schüler – und ja, die andere Aufgabe, die ich dann hab, ist wie gesagt den Middle Management, das heißt, man ist Teil der erweiterten Schulleitung, dass wir also auch zusammen mit anderen Kollegen regelmäßig uns versammeln, um große Weichen zu stellen für die Schule, ja, so ‘ne so ‘ne Mischung aus Versammlungen und Beratungen, die man hat in den Beruf, aber auch der ganz reguläre Deutschunterricht, den man so kennt, nach, nach Lehrplänen und so weiter.

Q: Und da Sie in der Politik tätig sind, frage ich mich, ob Sie sich mit solchen Prozessen auskennen, also mit Prozessen zum Beispiel von Design von Curricula zum Beispiel, kennen Sie sich damit, oder nicht?

00:05:08

Ja, also Sie meinen auch, was jetzt wirklich Bewerbungsschreiben, Lebensläufe usw betrifft oder welche Prozesse sprechen Sie jetzt an?

Q: Zum Beispiel Curricula, also was mit dem Deutschen in der Schule...

00:05:22

Ah genau die Lehrpläne oder Rahmenpläne und so weiter, die schulinternen Curricula ja doch ja ja, das ist auch mit unser, unser Gebiet auch im also einerseits in der Praxis als Lehrerin, weil ich natürlich jedes Jahr für meine Schulklassen, dann auch meine Arbeitspläne schreiben muss. Einmal die Kompetenzerwartungen, aber dann auch die Inhaltskontexte, und dann aber auch im Middle Management oder **selbst vorher schon war ich auch teilweise Mitglied der Arbeitsgruppe, die auch die Rahmenpläne für Deutsch mit festgelegt hat sogar. Also, da gab es so Kollegium aus Deutschlehrern und auch anderen Experten, die dann zusammen überlegt haben, „was muss denn da rein, was muss für welche Stufe auch festgehalten werden, verbindlich?**

Wobei den Lehrern immer noch gewisse Freiräume zugestanden werden. Ich denke, das macht doch Sinn, aber es ist auch schon wichtig, dass man diesen Leitfaden hat, um möglichst einheitliche Standards trotzdem erreichen zu können. Ja.

Q: Okay, also weil in in der Fach, in der Fachliteratur ist es noch üblich zu lesen, dass sie zum Beispiel, dass es in der DG einen geografischen Unterschied gibt zwischen zum Beispiel dem Norden und dem Süden, sprachlich gesehen, und ich frage mich, ob Ihrer Meinung nach diese dieser Unterschied noch zeitgemäß ist. Also existiert noch solch ein Unterschied?

00:06:55

Ja doch, ich finde der Unterschied ist immer noch da, ist immer noch hörbar, vernehmbar. Ich selber komm' ja aus dem Süden der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft und, uum, anfangs hat man das, uum, sehr gut gehört, ob ich in in Köln studiert hab oder auch im Eupener Raum, dann war, stellten die Leute immer so eine gewisse Dialektfärbung fest, wenn ich Deutsch gesprochen hab. Aufgrund meines Studiums in Deutschland war das

dann aber weniger so. Da hab ich dann mehr so gehört, „Aha du hörst dich an wie ‘ne Deutsche, du sprichst jetzt wie eine Deutsche“.

Und inzwischen als ja Eiflerin man nennt die Leute hier im Süden der DG auch „die Eifler“. Aber [da ich] jetzt in Eupen wohne, also im Norden der DG, hör‘ ich dann oft immer noch, „ja, der der Eifeler kommt noch durch, man hört das immer noch raus“, also witzig die eine Gruppe findet immer über die andere Gruppe, wenn man das so teilen möchte, würde jetzt von der Mentalität keine Riesenunterschiede haben, finde ich persönlich.

Trotzdem sagen die einen immer von den anderen, dass das sich so anhört, als würden sie singen beim Sprechen, dass das also eine ungewohnte Betonung einfach ist, und dass deshalb die Eifler von den Eupener sagen „Ah, die singen so, wenn die sprechen“ und andersrum das Gleiche, die Eupener sagen „Ah die Eifler, *die* singen“ das ist glaub ich einfach nur das, was man ausdrücken möchte, wenn das eine ungewohnte Betonung, [??, 8:18] Melodie, das hört man halt raus und es gibt natürlich auch trotzdem sehr viele Regionalismen, Ausdrücke, die wirklich dann typisch sind für für die eine oder andere Region. **Viele plattdeutsche Begriffe** noch für die Leute aus dem Süden der DG. Da hab ich noch mehr Plattdeutsch gesprochen und spreche ich selbst auch noch mit meinen Eltern zum Beispiel also Dialekt.

Q: Ok.

00:08:39

Und hier im Norden der DG, also Eupen und Umgebung, da ist das schon weniger der Fall, dass die jüngeren Leute noch Dialekt sprechen. Also es verliert sich schon immer mehr, leider, muss man sagen, aber es gibt auch hier diese typischen, ja Regionalismen oder auch Fehler also, so Formulierungen wie „mit und mit“ anstatt „nach und nach“ sagt man hier, ne, „das ergibt sich so mit und mit“ oder **immer dieses Schreckliche, was man hier in Eupen leider sagt „es geht sich um“**.

Ne, nicht „es geht um folgendes“, sondern „es geht sich um“, [sound of disgust], das sind so ganz seltsame, grammatische Eigenheiten, die aber alle Menschen dann hier so sagen und **irgendwann bürgert das sich dann wirklich ein**, und, aber man erkennt schon noch teilweise gibt es Leute, die stark Eupener Betonung und Wortschatz noch immer, uum, ja, haben, und genauso hört man auch oft auch bei Schülern, wenn die aus der, aus der Eifel kommen, also aus dem Süden der DG.

Dann hört man das auch noch immer bei einigen sehr gut raus. In der Aussprache auch dieser „ich“ und „ach“-Laut, das ist auch so ein Punkt also S-C-H oder C-H [pronounced letters]. „Ich“ müsste etwas feiner ausgesprochen werden als „sch“ [pronounces it], das S-C-H, und da schaffen es die Eifler gar nicht, eine Unterscheidung zu machen, die hören das doch gar nicht raus und bei den Leuten hier im Norden der DG, geht schon etwas besser, aber auch nicht unbedingt. Also sind viele solche Feinheiten, die man schon trotzdem.

Q: Gibt es Ihrer Meinung nach sowas wie ein Ostbelgisches Deutsch, oder nicht?

00:10:15

Doch, auch das ja, wir haben gewisse Dinge, die überall, uh, **falsch** gesagt werden (laugh), oder auf unsere Art einfach gesagt werden, dieses „ich hab kalt“, ne, also, ok das sagen auch manche Rheinländer, also es ist nicht nur Ostbelgien, es geht auch ein bisschen noch darüber hinaus, in den deutschen Sprachraum rein. Auch sagt man oft, dass das Rheinland auch wieder sehr ähnlich spricht. Also, „ich hab kalt“ anstatt „mir ist kalt“, solche Sachen, oder ja einfach ganz viele Begriffe auf die, vom Französischen trotzdem dann in unsere Sprache Eingang gefunden haben. Ob das **Trottoir** oder **Toilette** ist, keine Ahnung, mir könnten 100 Begriffe einfallen, eben da eigentlich an französische Lehnwörter sind, die man aber so in den Alltag integriert hat. Der **Camion**, ne? Für Lkw, oder Kleintransporter, ist bei uns der **Camion** und solche Dinge, die sind sonst ein bisschen...

Q: Sehr interessant.

00:11:15

Umgangssprachlich teils aber haben sich so eingebürgert. Die Leute erkennen teilweise gar nicht mehr, **dass das kein hochdeutscher Begriff** ist, auch die Schüler nicht, ne, also, aber auch Erwachsene... da muss man die dann darauf hinweisen und sagen ja, „das ist so ein typisches Wort bei uns, im Hochdeutschen gibt's das eigentlich gar nicht. „Aha“ sind immer sehr erstaunt, aber gut, das ist jetzt nicht so schlimm. Man versteht uns trotzdem, aber man hört raus, meistens noch irgendwie.

Q: Was, was, die Gewohnheiten der Schüler angeht, sprechen sie auch zum Beispiel in Eupen, sprechen sie auch andere Sprachen im Unterricht oder ist es einfach Standarddeutsch, was gesprochen wird?

00:11:59

Also ich würde schon sagen, also auch wir hier im Robert Schumann Institut, wir sind jetzt keine bilinguale Schule, es gibt ja auch frankophone Abteilungen dann wirklich hier in einigen Schulen, in Ostbelgien, **das sind wir nicht**, also Deutsch wirklich ist die Hauptsprache auch als Muttersprache im Unterricht so festgelegt.

Wir haben aber aufgrund der Tatsache, dass ein paar Mathelehrer oder so zum Beispiel auch selbst eigentlich Frankophon sind, die Situation, dass immer wieder auch mal einen Satz in Französisch erklärt wird, besonders wenn die Schüler dann auch Französisch sprechen, Muttersprachler sind, das dann auch gerne mal zur Erklärung nochmal den Satz auch in französischer Sprache hergeschoben wird.

Aber die Unterrichtssprache offiziell ist eigentlich Deutsch, und das wird auch in fast allen Kursen so eingehalten. Also wir haben da jetzt nicht, dass ich wüsste, irgendwelche Kollegen, die wirklich, es sei denn, es ist ein Sprachenunterricht, dann ist es klar, wir haben natürlich auch viel Französisch, Englisch, Niederländisch als Unterrichtsfach, dann, da wird natürlich diese Sprache gesprochen, aber sonst ist es schon Deutsch bei uns in der Schule ja.

Q: OK und wenn Sie sich zum Beispiel für Ihren Deutschunterricht vorbereiten, schaffen Sie ihr eigenes Lehrmaterial oder folgen Sie einem Buch, das vom Bildungsministerium oder von der Schule gestellt wurde?

00:13:24

Ja, genau also nee, das stell ich schon selbst zusammen. Wir haben jetzt kein Lehrbuch, was so einfach fürs ganze Jahr passen würde, was auch alle Lerninhalte dann wirklich umfasst, das gibt es so nicht hab ich noch nie, wenn das geben würde würde ich das auch gerne mal versuchen [laugh], aber ansonsten mache ich das tatsächlich so, dass ich dann angepasst auf die jeweilige Klasse, je nach Abteilung auch und zusehenden Lerninhalten, dann die Texte auswähle, die Lehrmaterial selber erstelle größtenteils manchmal auch auf bestehende Materialien zurückgreife aus Vorjahren oder auch 'ne tolle Arbeitsunterlage die frei verfügbar ist im Netz gibt es auch immer wieder mit Quellenangabe, dann natürlich, aber trotzdem, es ist eine Zusammenstellung aus eigenem Material, ich würde sagen, es sind doch so wirklich 50-60% von mir selbst erarbeitet und auch 40% natürlich auch fremde Texte oder auch was vom Kollegen, ist aber eher selten, meistens kommt man am

besten zurecht mit seinen eigenen Materialien, weil man genau weiß, wie das konzipiert ist und dann auch besser verstanden wird, denke ich.

Q: Okay, und dann, vielleicht können wir auch auf gesellschaftliche Themen eingehen, ist ihrer Meinung nach die DG eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:14:53 Speaker 2

Ah, das ist eine interessante Frage. Man sagt zumindest, dass ihre Bürger in der Regel mehrsprachig sind, mindestens zweisprachig. Wenn man dann den Dialekt der Eifel hinzuzählt sind sie ja [chuckle] dreisprachig, wobei es ist auch noch so eine Eigenheit, die Leute im Norden der DG sind meistens besser in Französisch als die Leute im Süden. Nicht alle, da gibt es auch wieder viele Unterschiede. Aber ja, weil weil, ja, das kommt auf die Gemeinden drauf an, also wenn ich das so sehe, [die] Gemeinde Büllingen, die ja zum Beispiel direkt an Deutschland dann auch grenzt, ne? Monschau und so weiter, haben wir da direkt, uhh, die orientieren sich dann schon irgendwie noch mehr, auch, auch kulturell, so mein Empfinden, Richtung Deutschland auch was Fernsehen, Medien betrifft, Zeitungen und alles und Gemeinden wiederum wie Bütgenbach, die dann aber auch wieder am Weismes' Grenzen und so weiter, frankophoner Raum, da ist es schon wieder ein bisschen anders, also es kommt wirklich darauf an, wie nah man auch an der Sprachengrenze wohnt, denke ich tatsächlich also, wie viele Berührungspunkte man da auch im Alltag dann dadurch hat, ob man dann auch die andere Sprache wirklich gut beherrscht.

Ein bisschen Französisch kann hier jeder also fast jeder. Ich glaube, die Leute sind echt in der aus also Ausnahmehzahl, die da jetzt kein Wort Französisch sprechen. Wir haben dann auf jeden Fall schon auch ein Problem in Ostbelgien, weil immer wieder was leider nur doch dann in Französisch existiert also ich persönlich hab mich da auch sehr viel eingesetzt, auch als ich selber politisch dann aktiv war, auch jetzt noch durch das im Rahmen des Verbands zur Förderung der deutschen Sprache in der Wallonie. Das ist dann wirklich komplett die wallonische Region sowohl im frankophonen Teil als auch in deutschsprachigen Teil, welchen Stellenwert die deutsche Sprache da dann auch hat oder haben sollte, haben muss eigentlich auch laut Gesetz. **Und diesen Stellenwert hat sie leider nicht immer in der Praxis ne, wir merken, dass das manchmal noch immer Dokumente nicht übersetzt werden, dass die DG tatsächlich oft vergessen wird, aufgrund ihrer Kleinheit zum Teil, das sind manchmal wirklich dann**

Flüchtigkeitsfehler man denkt sich irgendwas Tolles aus auf föderaler Ebene oder auch auf Ebene der wallonischen Region, und kommt dann noch nicht dazu, das so schnell auch wieder ins Deutsche übersetzen zu lassen. Das, erfordert ist immer wieder dann so den kleinen Wink aus Ostbelgien seitens unserer Minister hier oder auch der Abgeordneten in den verschiedenen Parlamenten, die dann darauf hinweisen: „Dieses und dieses Dokument“ oder „diese Kampagne“, „diese Informationen“, was auch immer „dieses Projekt, das gibt es noch nicht in deutscher Sprache“.

Und es ist trotzdem dann wichtig, selbst wenn die Leute hier ein gewisses Grundkenntnis in Französisch haben und viele auch sehr gut sprechen, ist es trotzdem andere ist je nachdem für Gesetzestexte, Details, Feinheiten, wo es wirklich darauf ankommt, jedes Komma richtig zu verstehen [laugh], da ist es schon am besten in der Muttersprache, dann ist es einfach so viel Aufwand, wenn die Materie schon neu und komplex ist für die Menschen und es dann auch noch in einer anderen Sprache ist, dann wird's zu schwierig, also ne? Gerade was Gesetzestexte betrifft ist ganz klar, dass das einfach [?? 18:11] übersetzt werden muss und da gibt es immer wieder ein Rückstau was, was echt sehr zu beklagen ist, aber im Forstwesen haben wir da gewisse Probleme, dass unsere Förster dann immer die Infos nur in französischer Sprache bekommen, **obwohl die eigentlich hier In Ostbelgien gar kein Französisch können müssten und so weiter**, da gibt's so immer wieder [?].

Q: Ja, ja.

00:18:29

Und da müssen wir weiter dran arbeiten auf politischer Ebene, aber auch gesellschaftlich. Deshalb machen wir zum Beispiel diesen Tag der deutschen Sprache in der wallonischen Region, jetzt schon zum vierten Mal am 20. Oktober steht er jetzt wieder bevor, wo wir dann wirklich auch Sensibilisierungskampagnen machen für die gesamte Bevölkerung. Also, Fokus „Frankophon“, dass man erkennt “ja stimmt, die Deutschsprachigen gibt es auch und wir vergessen dich nicht“, aber auch für uns selber hier in Ostbelgien, um unsere Muttersprache zu feiern und wertzuschätzen, und die eine oder andere originelle Aktion wie jetzt dieses Jahr ein Flashmob für die deutsche Sprache zu starten, auch an Schulen und so weiter, dass man ja dann nochmal auch da versucht, unserer Muttersprache den richtigen Stellenwert einfach einzuräumen.

Q: Ok, also können wir dann sagen, dass einer der Ausgangspunkte von, vom Verband die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit ist also nicht nur die Förderung des Deutschen in der Wallonie, aber, auch die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit, also was von französischer Seite, ja, Deutsch gelernt wird aber auch vielleicht Französisch gelernt [wird].

00:19:47

Genau doch also als nicht als erstes Ziel als erstes Ziel würde ich wirklich nach wie vor sagen, es ist die Förderung der deutschen Sprache, wie unser Titel auch sagt, unsere Bezeichnung.

Aber natürlich die Mehrsprachigkeit wird da unter verstanden, dann auch mit gefördert. Natürlich, dass man auch zeigt welche Vorteile hat man dadurch eine andere Sprache speziell dann Deutsch also es gibt wirklich Broschüren, die wir dann verteilen und zeigen „10 Gründe, Deutsch zu lernen. Warum ist das so?“ Ne so ‘ne hilfreiche Sprache gibt ja doch leider manchmal da Vorurteile, alle denken immer [es wär] schwer und leider ist es auch nicht ganz einfach, muss man zugeben, aber ich merk’s ja bei ihnen ich weiß nicht, wo Sie so toll Deutsch gelernt haben, aber das klappt ja hervorragend. Oder haben Sie auch Muttersprachler? Nee, wollte ich noch wissen.

Q: Und besteht der Verband aus Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen also?

00:20:46

Ja, der Verband, der unser Vorsitzender, also unser Präsident ist der Doktor Manfred Peters. Das ist ein ehemaliger Professor an der Uni Lüttich, ja, also auch aus Ostbelgien selber kommt also aus dem Süden, der DG kommt der selber.

Und dann gibt es auch Deutschlehrer in der wallonischen Region, die mit dabei sind, aber auch, wie ich zum Beispiel ‘ne Deutschlehrerin aus Ostbelgien dann. Also setzt sich aus verschiedenen ehrenamtlichen Mitgliedern zusammen und wir erleben natürlich auch von der Zusammenarbeit mit unseren Partnern wir haben wirklich namhafte Partner, zum Beispiel das Goethe Institut in Brüssel, die deutsche Botschaft in Brüssel, dann aber auch die Regierung der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft, auch die Regierung der wallonischen Regionen also, [?? 21: 38 Name of a partner]

Uum, ja, wir haben noch weitere Partner, Maison des langues in Lüttich zum Beispiel also, das sind wirklich viele Vereinigungen oder Institutionen.

Q: Mhm ist ein ganzes Netzwerk.

00:21:52

Ja, wir haben ein ganzes Netzwerk aufgebaut. Wir haben 3, höchstens 4 Versammlungen im Jahr und planen dann wirklich so die wichtigen Schritte, also Tag der deutschen Sprache ist ein ganz großer Punkt, dass wir da ganz viele Aktionen eben konzipieren, aufbauen, die sich aber das ganze Jahr ziehen. Es ist nicht nur dieser eine Tag und dann verpufft das wieder, sondern das sind oft Projekte, die auch länger gehen, dann Unterrichts[?], dass Filme in deutscher Sprache auch in frankophonen Kinos gezeigt werden, mit Begleitmaterial für die Schüler, Sprachtausch und so weiter. Also, das sind wirklich ganz viele Projekte, auch mit den Partnern, die wir dann bisschen bewerben, auch 'ne Kampagne im Moment, die heißt „Alors on Deutsch!“. Das Stromae-Lied kennt jeder „Alors on dance“ und entsprechend haben wir da so ein Wettbewerb für Schüler und Studenten gemacht, dass sie selbst sich ein Logo ausdenken konnten und der Gewinner war dann „Alors on Deutsch!“

Da gibt es eine ganz tolle Kampagne zu in den Landesfarben haben wir bewusst angelehnt an, die belgische Flagge, Nationalfarben in diesen Farben, dann alors on Deutsch immer mit einem speziellen Wort wie Traumtänzer oder Naschkatze so ganz originelle deutsche Worte, die aufzeigen die deutsche Sprache ist sehr spielerisch, ist gar nicht so ernst und hart, wie viele Leute das denken mögen, sondern es gibt ganz viele auf, lustige, originelle Begriffe, die wir mal vorstellen wollten auch Kabelsalat ist ein so ein Wort ne, die werden dann ganz lustig und optisch dargestellt und auch immer in Klein[?] in Französisch noch mal erklärt damit so die die Frankophonen auch das sehen und kennenlernen und alleine Lust haben, das mal auszusprechen, so neugierig machen ne, das ist mehr so der Anreiz aber, klappt ganz gut, das dann ganz viele TEC-Busse, also unsere öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel hier sind die TEC-Busse „Transport-en-commun“, da war diese diese Poster und ja besondere Bilddarstellungen überall oder auch große Poster auf [?] Säulen usw. das passt in den Schulen verteilt immer mit dieser Kampagne „Alors on Deutsch!“. Also sind alles Beispiele jetzt für für die Aktionen, die wir da so machen?

Q: Sehr interessant also, dass es jetzt eine sozusagen Sprache sprachliche Landschaft von Deutschen und Französischen gibt, also, dieses Zusammenspiel zwischen den Deutschen und den Französischen in der Öffentlichkeit ja.

00:24:24

Stimmt stimmt ja, auf jeden Fall ah ja, das ist richtig und auf die Versammlungen bei uns, das läuft auch ganz lustig ab.

Es gibt da Leute, die sprechen, Französisch und andere Deutsch auf das Protokoll, das ist manchmal in Deutsch, manchmal Französisch, manchmal in beiden Sprachen. Aber das klappt trotzdem sehr gut, weil weil die Leute, die da dabei sind, schon immer so viel, Kenntnisse der, der, der anderen Sprache meistens sprechen wirklich beide sehr, sehr gut, aber es gibt auch ein Paar, die dann in einer Sprache stärker sind, und das merkt man dann auch.

Das war auch kein Problem, weil wir das gemeinsame Ziel einfach haben. Gab das schon, schon sehr gut, viel Planung mit so vielen Partnern wie jetzt wieder mit einer Pressemitteilung sind wir jetzt schon Wochen bei der Planung des alle Fach Neue, das dann richtig formuliert haben, dass jeder sich darin wiederfindet. Aber wir haben das jetzt bald fertig jetzt glaub morgen kann die Pressemitteilung rausgehen.

Zum diesjährigen Tag der deutschen Sprache, dass man auch wieder hört was sind so die Aktionen diesmal. Und ist immer so ein kleiner Wink „Hallo, *vergisst* das nicht“ also das ist schon wichtig so regelmäßig immer zu erinnern.

Und es, das mag manchen so als kleines Anliegen erscheinen ach da, „was stellen die Deutschsprachigen sich da an?“ oder so ne es sind oft ganz wichtige Dinge, wenn man mal den Hintergrund versteht, warum ist das wichtig? Ist irgendwas auch wenn die Muttersprache zu übersetzen dann meistens ist da gar kein großer Diskussionsbedarf mehr, aber Anfang mag das so erscheinen „haben wir nicht größere Probleme als das?“ ne also jetzt auch mit Naturkatastrophen, Hochwasser und alles Corona und so weiter, ne dann könnte das so erscheinen.

„Auf deutsche Sprache ist doch alles gut sie dürfen ihre Sprache da sprechen alles in Ordnung“, aber ne, es gibt noch viele Dinge, an denen weiter gearbeitet werden muss und es ist schon wichtig, **weil sonst kann es sehr schnell passieren, dass wir auch wieder unseren Status verlieren, den wir da jetzt noch haben.**

Q: Und meinen Sie, dass andererseits also, dass die Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG auch gefördert sein soll?

00:26:34

Ja, auf jeden Fall, auf jeden Fall, das ist auch ein ganz wichtiges Thema, also wir haben zum Beispiel aktuell nur 2 bilinguale Kindergärten, die dann auch darauf aufbauen, dass auch im im Schulsystem noch aufbauen wollen, aber derzeit noch nicht so weit sind.

Der erste Schritt sind schon mal die bilingualen Kindergärten ist schon mal sehr gut, dass das klappt. Einen im Norden und einen im Süden der DG haben wir da jetzt.

Aber es sind einige politische Parteien, die das fördern und die sich wünschen, dass es mehr von diesen bilingualen Kindergärten gibt, also Französisch, Deutsch. Schon die beiden Sprachen spricht jetzt keiner davon Niederländisch oder oder so oder sogar Englisch oder so, ne schon hier direkte Nachbarsprache.

Also ja, Niederländisch ist auch für für Kelmis, die kommen auch irgendwo an an Holland und so weiter oben dran, ne und so also haben schon wieder den Berührungspunkt. Aber es ist schon Französisch hier, die die wichtige Sprache [?] und da bin ich auch selber wirklich dafür, dass man da diesen Schritt weiter verfolgt. Man kann natürlich nicht das Personal der aktuellen Kindergärten irgendwie entlassen oder jetzt komplett da umformen(.) dass die jetzt morgen alle perfekt Französisch sprechen, aber man kann schon, wenn dann die Leute in Rente gehen, Leute neu einstellen, die wirklich zweisprachig sind. Das wäre interessant, dass man dann darauf achtet bei Jungen, das schon als Bedingungen festlegt „wir nehmen ab jetzt nur noch zweisprachiges Personal“, das wäre auch ein Anreiz für alle Schüler, die zum Beispiel bei uns in der Autonomen Hochschule sind.

Wir haben ja in Ostbelgien auf die Autonome Hochschule, die Grundschullehrer ausgebildet, dass man da auch mehr Basis hat. Warum die französische Sprache so wichtig ist, wenn man wirklich weiß, das ist eine Bedingung bei uns auf Französisch und im Kindergarten in der Grundschule als Lehrer zu beherrschen. Ja, dann haben wir einen ganz anderen, ganz anderen Anreiz auch wirklich ihr Französisch perfektionieren also es sind schon einige dafür.

Aber in der Praxis ist es scheinbar nicht so einfach. Es sind auch einige Schulleiter wiederum die sagen ja, da hat unser Personal Bedenken, weil die dann selbst um ihre Stellen [?] und dann müssen sie aber gar nicht ich denke schon, das muss man nach und nach machen, erst wenn Leute dann in Rente gehen und die Stelle neu besetzt wird, dass man dann die Gelegenheit nutzt und jemand einstellt, der zweisprachig ist, wobei die Leute natürlich auch sehr begehrt sind. Das ist klar ne so Leute die perfekt zweisprachig sind. Sie haben oft auch sogar mehrere Jobangebote und Möglichkeiten ob die dann unbedingt auch

Grundschullehrer oder Kindergärtner werden wollen ne, das ist dann muss [du] die finden, das ist dann immer wieder Fachkräftemangel das Problem auch aber... es ist doch möglich, vielleicht muss man das Gehalt ein bisschen noch anpassen, dann wird es möglich sein.

Q: Mhm und zwischen beiden Sprachen kann oder können ihrer Meinung nach auch den Dialekten einen Platz zugestanden, zugeschrieben werden, also zum Beispiel im Unterricht?

00:29:37

Ja, spannende Frage, doch, also ich weiß, dass man in einigen Schulen auf Grundschulen, auch in Ostbelgien so gewisse Projekte startet, um auch den den diesen Dialekt ne diesen *Plattdeutsch* auch gebührenden Stellenwert einzuräumen, es gibt auch diese tolle Mundartsendung beim BRF, also unser belgischer Rundfunk ist schon das meistgehörte Radio immer noch hier und die machen das auch jeden, [ich] glaube Sonntagmorgen, dass auch jüngere Leute, dass Leute, egal welchen Alters in ihrer, in ihrem Dialekt dann auch sprechen, da gibt es manchmal schöne Projekte, aber das ist bisher nicht strukturell also wir haben da jetzt keine Initiative, die ich kennen würde, die wirklich das flächendeckend unterstützt und fordert, dass man das mehr einbaut. Das ist mehr so auf Initiative der einzelnen Lehrer, ob die das dann für wichtig halten und offen sind dafür oder nicht.

Also, ich persönlich finde, das ist sehr interessant, das ist sinnvoll denk ich auch mal, als kleine Bereicherung, also es steht ja auch wieder zum Beispiel im Lehrplan drin, wenn ich jetzt schaue, mein, mein, mein Unterricht in Deutsch einfach also, wir haben ja nicht nur die vier Grundkompetenzen Lesen, Zuhören, Schreiben und Sprechen, sondern auch die Fünfte, **Über Sprache reflektieren.**

Und da ist zum Beispiel dann auch Varietäten von Sprache, also Dialekte, Regionalismen das alles gehört ja dazu, auch Jugendsprache dieser speziellen Sprachfärbungen, und da passt das sehr gut, dann auch punktuell über Projekte auch das einzubauen und uns zu fragen „wer kann denn selbst noch hier Dialekt sprechen und und wär‘ bereit, das mal vorzuführen?“ oder „habt ihr in eurem Bekanntenkreis Leute das aufleben zu lassen?“, ne das man auch mal gehört.

Q: Mhm, Mhm.

00:31:24

Also finde ich sehr spannend und so ansatzweise wird es gemacht, aber wie gesagt nicht strukturell das wäre auch, was sicherlich interessant wäre auszuweiten, ja und was, was auch ein bisschen Identität ja ist Heimat einfach ne, das gehört ja alles dazu, sowie auch die Großeltern oder Eltern gesprochen haben, wenn man das selbst auch noch beherrscht ist schon schön, das schwingt auch viel Geschichte dann immer mit ne also.

Q: Und die letzte Frage, wird in ihrem Unterricht auch von einem belgischen Deutsch gesprochen?

00:32:01

Ja also, es kommt erstmal immer der Witz von den Schülern, wenn sie in Deutschland unterwegs sind und sich als Belgier vorstellen, dass man sie dann erstmal fragt „Ah, dann sag mal was auf Belgisch“, weil anscheinend viele Deutsche das nicht wissen, dass unser Land wirklich dreisprachig ist, also wenn sie überhaupt mitbekommen haben, dass es Französisch, Niederländisch gibt.

Das ist dann schon viel, aber dass man auch Deutsch spricht als Muttersprache sind die meisten deutschen Nachbarn immer noch erstaunt. Also ok in Aachen in der Ecke weiß man das noch aber je nachdem wenn man ein bisschen weiter weg ist, weiß schon nicht mehr, also auch selbst in Köln muss auch ich das tatsächlich oft noch erklären, ja, also belgisches Deutsch ist ist schon ein Thema.

Q: Okay.

00:32:44

Wir haben wir haben ein bisschen unser Deutsch, aber ich denke jetzt nicht, dass es so stark abweicht, dass **man das jetzt kein Hochdeutsch mehr nennen könnte, so schlimm ist es dann doch nicht.**

Und wie gesagt was Thema ist auch im Deutschunterricht, sind dann diese Regionalismen, das zu erkennen, was sind denn die Eigenarten unserer, unseres Wortschatzes, unserer Aussprache, unseres Satzbaus, auch manchmal Grammatik, dass das eben auch von den Schülern wahrgenommen wird, dass sie das erkennen, ok, Eigentlich wäre es vielleicht so oder so richtig, aber bei uns spricht man es halt so aus und **das ist auch nicht falsch.** Zum Glück gibt es ja laut Duden jetzt mehrere... zum Beispiel auch Artikel, die dann für ein

Wort gültig sind, je nach Region, in der Schweiz oder so ne, man hat ja manchmal für den gleichen Begriff unterschiedliche Artikel, die zugelassen sind inzwischen.

Diese Öffnung braucht man dann auch, glaube ich, um zu zeigen Sprache entwickelt sich und, ja, wichtig ist, sich zu verstehen und dass das Zwischenmenschliche dabei auch immer noch ja gelebt werden kann.

Q: Genau also wir sind schon fertig. Nochmals vielen Dank für ihre Teilnahme an meiner Arbeit und...

00:33:59

Ja, sehr gerne.

Q: Wenn Sie vielleicht andere Deutschlehrer und Lehrerinnen kennen, die vielleicht interessiert wären, an dieser Arbeit teilzunehmen, wäre das sehr hilfreich. Ich stehe jederzeit zur Verfügung und kann.

00:34:18

Oh schön ja. Der Herr [anonymous], der wollte sich zum Beispiel melden mein Kollege [anonymous]. Hat er sich schon gemeldet vielleicht bei Ihnen?

Q: Nein, noch nicht.

00:34:27

Ah der wollte das auch machen, also ich kann ihn gerne nochmal fragen oder mir fallen auch noch ein paar andere Kollegen ein, ich kann ihnen erzählen, dass das wirklich nur ne halbe Stunde war und dass Sie sehr nett sind, da werden wir vielleicht, werden sie das vielleicht machen hoffe ich, dass sich noch der eine oder andere meldet.

Q: Ja ja, das wäre sehr hilfreich und ich wäre also Ihnen sehr dankbar.

00:34:50

Ja, ich wird versuchen, gerne ja dann ihnen viel Erfolg weiter mit der Arbeit.

Q: Vielen Dank.

00:34:57

Kann man am Ende, werden sie uns nochmal informieren, jetzt die Leute, die teilgenommen haben, dass man das Endergebnis irgendwie lesen kann oder ist das erstmal nur...

Q: Ja, ja bestimmt ja.

00:35:07

Das würde mich auch interessieren.

Q: Ja bestimmt also ich, ich sage Ihnen Bescheid und kann dann vielleicht noch Kontakt mit Ihnen haben und ja das das kann, das kann man bestimmt ja.

00:35:17

Gerne also können Sie mir gerne das Resultat mal, mal schicken oder auch sonst, wenn Sie eine Frage haben dazu .

Q: Danke, danke, Tschüss, schönen Abend.

00:35:29

Auch so.

XIII.2.8. Ministry Official: Victoria

Q: Also können Sie sich bitte vorstellen und Ihren Lebenslauf beschreiben?

00:00:08

Ja, also mein Name ist Victoria. Ich bin Schulinspektorin im Unterrichtswesen in Ostbelgien mit Schwerpunkt Grundschule. Von der Grundausbildung her bin ich Grundschullehrerin, habe dann auch über 20 Jahre unterrichtet in verschiedenen Grundschulen und bin dann 2004 ins Ministerium der deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft gekommen, ähm, und habe dort meine Prüfungen als Schulinspektorin abgelegt. Als Schulinspektorin habe ich natürlich den Auftrag, in Schulen zu gehen und Kontrollfunktionen wahrzunehmen, aber in unserem Aufgabenbereich liegen eben auch die **Ausarbeitung von Lehrplänen, Rahmenplänen für das Unterrichtswesen und dann im Anschluss natürlich auch die Kontrolle über die Umsetzung dieser Rahmen und Lehrpläne.**

In dem Rahmen hab ich dann auch... also, einer meiner Schwerpunkte in *dem* Rahmen waren dann auch ursprünglich Französisch "Fremdsprache", **das ist ja ein sehr wichtiger Aspekt in Ostbelgien**, weil ja die Unterrichtssprache im Prinzip Deutsch ist, aber natürlich auch alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger darauf angewiesen sind... ähm, ja die erste Fremdsprache oder die Zweitsprache -man mag das so ein bisschen nennen, wie man es möchte- Ja, gut in, in ausgeprägter Qualität würde ich mal sagen, zu beherrschen, weil man natürlich sehr schnell auf dem Arbeitsmarkt oder zum Studieren usw.... ähm, Ja, diese Grenzen überschreiten muss und dann eben auch Französisch beherrschen.

Q: Ja gut und was ist dann die Strategie der Regierung der DG, also für den Deutschunterricht als Erstsprache?

Genau, also Deutsch ist im Prinzip die Unterrichtssprache und... hmm, Ja, es ist also so, dass ähm wie gesagt, 2008 wurden die ersten Rahmenpläne für die Primarschule und die erste Stufe der Sekundarschule geschrieben, in den verschiedenen Fächern aber eben unter anderem auch in Deutsch, und die Strategie, die dort hinter den Rahmenplänen steckt, ist natürlich zuerst einmal der Kompetenzansatz wie für alle anderen Fächer auch, und das setzt sich dann so um, dass wir uns auch für einen integrativen Deutschunterricht entschieden haben. Das heißt, der Schwerpunkt liegt eben auf den **Kernkompetenzen**

Lesen, Hören, Schreiben, Sprechen... und der Integrative An, uhh, der integrative Ansatz ist eben ja, dass **diese 4 Kernkompetenzen um ein Thema herum eigentlich unterrichtet werden sollten, und der Schwerpunkt weg von der Grammatik und der Rechtschreibung, die dann nur noch im Kontext eigentlich auch gelernt werden,** und auch beispielsweise in der Rechtschreibung, eher auf Rechtschreibstrategien usw. geachtet wird, uhh, Regeln, wenn es notwendig ist, aber das ist kein ausgeprägter Grammatik- und Rechtschreibunterricht eigentlich erwünscht in dem Sinne.

Q: Gut okay, also? Meines Wissens wurden 3 Rahmenpläne für den Deutschunterricht ausgearbeitet, also einer für die Primärschule, wie Sie schon erwähnt haben.

00:03:50

Ja, das ist ein Heft für die, Entschuldigung, ein Heft für die Primarschule und die erste Stufe Sekundar, weil man da auch den Übergang von der Primarschule zur Sekundarschule besser gestalten wollte genau.

Q: Genau.

00:04:04

Und dann kam diese die zweite und dritte Stufe der Sekundarschule für den allgemeinbildenden Unterricht. Und danach in einer nächsten Phase ist dann eben dieser Rahmenplan Deutsch für die zweite und dritte Stufe der Sekundarschule, aber dann für die technischen und beruflichen Studienrichtungen geschrieben worden. Ja.

Q: Okay und ich frage mich, wie diese Rahmenpläne verfasst wurden also mit welchen Akteuren? Mit Deutschlehrer und –lehrerinnen, mit Beamten? Wie, wie war der Prozess?

00:04:39

Genau also zunächst möchte ich mal sagen, dass das also in der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft in Ostbelgien **immer ein sehr partizipativer Prozess** ist, auch wenn das nicht immer von allen Akteuren so wahrgenommen wird in der Öffentlichkeit... uhh, in 2008 als also die ersten Rahmenpläne erstellt wurden, **sind wir sogar, ich sag nee, das jetzt mal, von einem weißen Blatt ausgegangen...** Haben verschiedene Fachlehrer also, das heißt, **das war natürlich auch Grundschullehrer, die Deutsch unterrichten, aber auch Fachlehrer auch für Deutsch in der Sekundarschule, uhh, und auch Dozenten der Autonomen Hochschule, die also bei uns für die Lehrerausbildung zuständig sind,**

uh zusammengerufen, immer unter Koordination eines Mitarbeiters des Fachbereichs Pädagogik im Ministerium, also ein Beamter aber das sind auch trotzdem alle von der Grundausbildung sowie ich Lehrer ja.

Q: Okay

00:05:38

Und von da ausgehend wurde dann dieser Rahmenplan erarbeitet. In der nächsten Phase, wo es dann für die zweite und dritte Stufe der Sekundarschule ging, haben wir eigentlich diesen Prozess etwas vereinfachen wollen und haben einen Vorentwurf ausgearbeitet mit den Dozenten der Autonomen Hochschule und sind mit diesem Vorentwurf dann wieder an Lehrer und Fachlehrer herangetreten.

Es hat dann auch verschiedene Phasen in diesen Prozessen gegeben, also ausgehend vom Entwurf, der dann auch zu einem wissenschaftlichen Experten ging, und die erste Rückmeldung kam und das auch überarbeitet wurde. Und dann nochmal an alle Schulen, wobei wir dann den Schulträgern überlassen haben, wie sie das dann an Ihre Lehrer brachten, das heißt, es hat (? 6:38) Schulträger gegeben, die haben dann verschiedene Arbeitsgruppen zusammengerufen und die haben sich mit verschiedenen Fächern befasst. Es hat aber auch schon Träger gegeben, die einen nicht die Meinung von allen Lehrer eingeholt haben und dann kamen - kommen - immer gebündelt die Rückmeldungen zu uns zurück und dann wird das nochmal überarbeitet, bis dann am Ende sozusagen ein Konsens... Uh, um...

Q: Ja, entstanden ist, oder?

00:07:04

Entstanden ist genau.

Q: Okay.

Und in einer nächsten Phase sind diese Rahmenpläne dann auch implementiert worden. Das heißt, es hat dann Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen zu diesen neuen Rahmenplänen, wo die vorgestellt wurden, wo aber auch das Unterrichtskonzept, das dahinter stecken sollte, erklärt wurde, woran dann alle Lehrer nochmal teilgenommen haben.

Q: Ok, sehr, sehr interessant und warum wurde dann ein Fokus auf Kompetenzen als Basis für die Unterrichtspolitik vorgezogen?

00:07:42

[lacht] Ja, das ist eine gute Frage, wir haben uns damals... also man muss wissen, **dass es vor 2008 im Grunde genommen gar keine speziellen Lehrpläne oder Rahmenpläne für die Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft gab, weil das ja Jahre vorher unter der Éducation nationale, also u-u-unter dem Unterrichtsministerium in Brüssel sozusagen zentralisiert war.** Und bei der Übergabe der Kompetenzen an den Bildungsminister wurde dann einfach entschieden, dass **man erstmal die Lehrpläne der französischen Gemeinschaft übernehmen sollte.**

Man hat dann aber, [cough], Entschuldigung, im Laufe der Jahre gemerkt, dass das keine gute Idee war, gerade jetzt für die Sprachenfächer wie Deutsch und Französisch, weil natürlich die Situation in, ähm, in der Wallonie sehr unterschiedlich von der Situation in Ostbelgien ist, was vor allen Dingen, was die Sprachen angeht, uuum,

Und, gut, deshalb musste man sich dann als... die Entscheidung gefallen war, **dass spezifische Rahmenpläne, Lehrpläne für die Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft geben sollte,** für ein Konzept entscheiden. Dann haben wir uns eigentlich so ein bisschen im In- und Ausland informiert, wie das eben in andern Ländern gemacht wird, und haben dann eine Kooperation, sind dann eine Kooperation eingegangen mit einem deutschen Bundesland, uhh, Berlin Brandenburg. Und da war eben dieser Kompetenzansatz, uumm... auf jeden Fall stand der schon im Vordergrund und das war sozusagen das Modell, für das wir uns entschieden haben.

Q: Okay gut also und ja, Sie haben schon ein bisschen drüber gesprochen, dass die Strategie oder der Fokus der Rahmenpläne eigentlich die Pragmatik ist, also wie Sprache in verschiedenen Kontexten benutzt wird. Soweit Sie wissen, wurde dieser Fokus von Deutschlehrern vorgezogen also?

00:10:06

Uuuuhh... Ja, das ist eine schwierige Frage, die Sie mir stellen. Uuum, Ich sage es mal, ich will es mal so sagen, es war am Anfang ein schwieriges Unterfangen und es bleibt auch bis heute, wenn ich in Schulen gehe, immer noch bei einzelnen Lehrer schwierig zu verstehen, dass es diesen Kompetenzansatz gibt und diesen pragmatischen Hintergrund für das Sprachenlernen.

Viele Lehrer sehen trotzdem noch immer diesen theoretischen Ansatz, wie ich das jetzt nennen würde. wo eben Regeln gelernt werden müssen, wo eben Grammatik *geübt* werden muss, so unter dem Motto *Übung macht den Meister* also das ist, uhh, auf jeden Fall war das sehr schwierig in der Vergangenheit, wobei ich jetzt sagen muss, dass natürlich ganz viele, uhhh, *junge* Lehrer in den letzten Jahren hinzugekommen sind, die auch den Kompetenzansatz in ihrer Lehrerausbildung eigentlich schon, ähm, so vermittelt bekommen haben und uum, **dass es immer selbstverständlicher eigentlich wird, dass es ja im Grunde genommen darum geht, dass Schüler lesen, sprechen, hören und so weiter können und nicht darum geht einfach Grammatik kriegen**, ja wiedergeben können oder auch vergessen, zu vergessen, ne? [joke] im Laufe der Zeit; man lernt das in der Schule, man kann das eventuell auch wiedergeben aber es ist ja eigentlich nur *Wissen* und damit ist ja noch keine, uhh, kein pragmatischer Sprachgebrauch eigentlich sichergestellt, aber es war, sch-, es war schwierig und es bleibt schwierig. Ich fand sogar, weil wir den ähm, einen ähnlichen Ansatz, auch im Fremdsprachenunterricht haben [12:00], dass es im Fremdsprachenunterricht, verständlicher und selbstverständlicher für die Lehrer war als jetzt im Deutschunterricht, der ja als Unterrichtssprache oder als Muttersprache, **aber Muttersprache ist, ein schwieriger Begriff, das werden Sie sicher wissen...** Also dass wirklich, dass das bei allen Lehrern ankommt.

Aber, ja, in den letzten Jahren, wie gesagt, mit den jungen Lehrern und das auch in ihrer Ausbildung so lernen, wird es weitgehend akzeptiert.

Q: Okay, ok und was ist dann ein bisschen die Strategie der zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG? Woraus besteht die Strategie?

00:12:49

Die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit ist eigentlich ein Thema, mit dem man sich schon sehr viel länger und sehr viel intensiver in, in... ja, seit 2004 befasst hat als mit der Förderung der Muttersprache.

Und auch da ist das natürlich kompetenzorientiert. Das basiert auf die diese diesen pragmatischen Ansatz auf das Vermitteln der Kernkompetenzen. Ummm, ja, der Ansatz ist eigentlich der gleiche wie, wie bei Deutsch als Muttersprache.

Wir haben dann auch, wir haben es dann auch geschafft ähm, umm... seit... ich muss jetzt überlegen, und das wären... seit 2008 haben wir, führen wir jedes Jahr standardisierte

Sprachtestung durch und an der, also es ist eine Vollerhebung, an der alle Schüler des sechsten Primarschuljahres und des sechsten Sekundarschuljahres teilnehmen; das sind die DELF-Prüfungen und durch diese standardisierten Prüfungen, die natürlich dazu führen, dass die Schüler eventuell ein Zertifikat, ein zusätzliches Zertifikat erhalten aber, **unsere Zielsetzung ist eigentlich auch statistisch zu erfassen, ob die ganzen Maßnahmen, die wir in den letzten Jahren investiert haben, nämlich um die Unterrichtsqualität zu verbessern, auch greifen und ihre Früchte tragen.**

Und da muss ich sagen da sehen wir also eine sehr positive Entwicklung, und das überzeugt dann natürlich auch wiederum die Lehrer, uum, ja, die diese Anwendung dann eben im praktischen Unterricht auch anzunehmen und durchzuführen [sic: 14:40].

Und die Strategie ist wirklich, dass alle Schüler am Ende der, also mit dem Abitur, eine B2-Prüfung ablegen können, in ihrer Muttsprache.

Q: Gut und auch ein bisschen ok, das ist vielleicht eine provokative Frage, aber im Rahmen der Strategie zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit können Ihrer Meinung nach auch Dialekte, zum Beispiel Plattdeutsch im Unterricht, gefördert werden?

00:15:15

Ja, das könnte theoretisch gefördert werden, es wird aber nicht gefördert. Also es gibt ja bei uns im im Süden der Region angrenzend an Luxemburg, ähm, eigentlich noch ganz viele kleine Dörfer, in denen das Plattdeutsch auch in den Familien sozusagen **praktiziert** wird. **Ich würde sagen, es wird in den Schulen akzeptiert. Es wird nicht mehr verpönt, wie es ja auch mal früher gewesen ist, dass man gesagt hat, “aber die Schulsprache ist kein Plattdeutsch und wir wollen auf dem Schulhof jetzt kein Plattdeutsch hören oder keinen Dialekt hören”.**

Also sie sind in diesem Sinne weit verbreitet gut akzeptiert, dass die Familien das Zuhause praktizieren, und man geht auch nicht mehr davon aus, dass das jetzt wirklich einen schlechten Einfluss auf das Erlernen der Unterrichtssprache oder der Fremdsprache haben könnte. Ich glaube, das ist auf jeden Fall sehr positiv, aber es ist jetzt nicht so, dass es in den Schulen auch zum Thema des Unterrichtes gemacht wird, oder als, als Unterrichtssprache oder als Arbeitssprache genutzt wird.

Q: Ok, und wird dann die also Sie haben schon ein bisschen über diesen Unterschied zwischen Norden und Süden gesprochen wird die Sprachpolitik also wie zum Beispiel in Unterrichtspolitik einheitlich definiert oder regional und lokal angepasst?

00:16:50

Nein, sie wird schon einheitlich definiert. Jetzt muss man ja wissen, dass Ostbelgien ein sehr kleines Gebiet ist, wo es eben kleine, feine Unterschiede gibt. Aber das wird jetzt nicht in der Sprachenpolitik wirklich berücksichtigt. Also es gibt schon einheitliche Strategie für alle Schulen. Ja.

Q: Ok. Und auf den Rahmenplänen wird der Kompetenzbereich „über Sprache reflektieren“ beschrieben, wo man auf die Sprachvariation eingeht, soweit Sie wissen, heißt das auch die regionale Variation der DG? Also wird auch die Variation des Deutschen in der DG thematisiert?

00:17:38

Ja, das ist eine schwierige Frage, das weiß ich jetzt nicht bis in alle Einzelheiten. Es ist effektiv so, dass es in den Rahmenplänen steht... Aber ob es jetzt dann auch wirklich thematisiert und unterschiedlich thematisiert wird, das kann ich Ihnen leider auch nicht sagen.

Q: Ok.

00:17:56

Was weiß, also das steht auf jeden Fall nicht im Vordergrund, das weiß ich wohl, weil sonst wäre es mir natürlich bekannt.

Q: Ja ok, dann gehen wir auf die Einstellungen zum Deutschen ein.

Kann man Ihrer Meinung nach von einem Ostbelgischen Deutsch sprechen? Also gibt es sowas?

00:18:17

Auf jeden Fall. Ja, auf jeden Fall genau.

Q: Ok.

00:18:21

Man kann auf jeden Fall von einem ostbelgischen Deutsch sprechen ja, ich denke, da sind auch französische Einflüsse, die sehr stark vorhanden sind, sei es jetzt In der Aussprache, sei es auch in, in gewissen Wortschatzvariationen, also da gibt es auf jeden Fall ‘ne ostbelgische Färbung für, für die deutsche Sprache ja.

Q: Okay. Und Ihrer Meinung nach gibt es, gibt es noch einen starken sprachlichen Unterschied zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden in der DG?

00:19:02

Nein, das denke ich nicht.

Q: Okay. Und ist die DG ihrer Meinung nach eine mehrsprachige Gemeinschaft?

00:19:15

Also meiner Meinung nach schon [laugh], ich mache das daran fest, dass wir natürlich, uumm, wir sehen, dass auch in den Schulen eine Reihe von rein deutschsprachigen Familien haben ‘ne Reihe auch von, also zwar eine Minderheit, aber trotzdem auch eine Reihe von französischsprachigen Familien, wo dann erst Deutsch in der Schule eigentlich auftaucht.

Wir haben aber auch sehr viele bilinguale Familien, die bei uns leben, wo die Kinder dann schon von Anfang an zweisprachig Deutsch/Französisch sind.

Uuumm, ja, **ich denke, und ich denke auch, dass ähm eben durch diese, diese *Kleinheit* des Gebietes an sich jeder davon überzeugt ist, man kann das auch oft in der Presse lesen, dass Mehrsprachigkeit oder zumindest Zweisprachigkeit sehr wichtig ist**, wobei auch immer mehr Stimmen laut werden, dass man die englische Sprache noch mehr fördern sollte, vielleicht auch noch früher fördern sollte, weil wir fangen relativ spät mit der also zweiten Fremdsprache Englisch beginnen wir aber ich denke im allgemeinen kann man schon sagen, dass **wir eine mehrsprachige Region sind, die auch Wert auf die Mehrsprachigkeit legt und wo auch, ähm ja, eigentlich jedem Bürger bewusst ist, dass das wichtig ist, aber dass es natürlich auch ein Vorteil für, für die Bürger der Region ist. Worüber sich die Geister auch noch *scheiden* würde ich sagen, das ist, ob denn jetzt die die erste Fremdsprache Französisch in , also, umm, *gut genug* gefördert wird in den Schulen**, also da werden schon noch immer Stimmen laut die sagen “na ja, ihr sagt

die sind auf Niveau B2 wenn die das Abitur erhalten, aber de facto sind die Kompetenzen doch nicht immer so ausgeprägt, wie sie sein sollten”.

Manche Schüler, die dann auch in die Wallonie gehen, um zu studieren, haben doch am Anfang große Schwierigkeiten, das Studium in französischer Sprache zu bewältigen. Also da werden immer noch Stimmen laut, die sagen, das müsste *noch* mehr sein. Aber, umm, ja, ich also ich persönlich denke, dass eigentlich in keinem Fach so viel nach vorne getrieben wurde, wie eben in dieser Mehrsprachigkeit.

Q: Okay, und dann also, ja, Sie haben ein bisschen schon darüber gesprochen, aber nur als, als zusätzliche Frage soll dann ihrer Meinung nach die Mehrsprachigkeit in der DG eine wichtigere Stelle im Bildungswesen erhalten?

00:22:12

Ich glaube, eine wichtigere Stelle kann sie eigentlich nicht mehr erhalten. Also sie hat nun eine ganz prioritäre Rolle im Bildungswesen bekommen in in den, ja, sag mal in den letzten 20 Jahren und ähm, ich sehe jetzt persönlich gar nicht, wie man das *noch mehr* in den Vordergrund stellen würde... denn wir haben dann trotzdem auch gemerkt, dass wir sehr viel Wert auf diese sprachlichen Aspekte liegen in den Schulen. Und dass vielleicht zum Beispiel dann naturwissenschaftliche Fächer, uhh, so ein bisschen vernachlässigt wurden und dass da auch ja Bedarf ist, ja das, auch das nach vorne zu bringen und wir sp-[?] auch vielleicht ab und zu mal zu verlagern in dem Sinne dann.

Q: Und jetzt die letzte Frage denken Sie, dass die englische Sprache, dass das Englische das Französische verdrängt?

00:23:20

Nein, das glaub ich an sich, also zumindest bei uns nicht würde ich sagen. **Also es hat auch in der Vergangenheit immer wieder Stimmen gegeben, die von uns gefordert haben, dass wir eben die englische Sprache als erste Fremdsprache sozusagen auch als Option anbieten würden, aber das ist immer wieder auch von Seiten der Politik abgelehnt worden, weil wir eben in Belgien leben und weil wir ja verschiedene Nationalsprachen haben und weil man gesagt hat... uumm, Ja, Französisch ist eigentlich wichtiger für unsere Schüler, für unsere Bürger in erster Linie und das Englische sollte dann später dazu kommen.** Wir haben auch in 2006 an einer Studie, internationalen Studie der Europäischen Gemeinschaft teilgenommen, wo dann auch die

Englischkompetenzen unserer Schüler, die ja, wie ich eben sagte, relativ spät mit dem Englisch beginnen, **nämlich erst in der achten Klasse** in der Regel, und da sind die Kompetenzen verglichen worden durch Testung und wir haben festgestellt, dass sie trotzdem am Ende des, uhh, der Sekundarschule, ähm, sehr gute Kenntnisse in Englisch haben.

Und ich glaube nicht, dass das *irgendwann* diese erste Fremdsprache bei uns verdrängen würde, wobei mir natürlich [?] bewusst ist und allen bewusst ist, dass Englisch so *in der Welt* natürlich eine wichtige Sprache ist und es natürlich von Interesse ist, wenn man auch diese beherrscht, dann.

Q: Ja, ok. Vielen Dank, also wir sind schon fertig, also das war wirklich sehr interessant und auch sehr hilfreich. Also es gibt so viele Informationen in diesem Gespräch also nochmals vielen Dank für ihre Teilnahme und wenn Sie fragen haben, dann stehe ich immer zu Verfügung.

Wenn sie auch eine Abschrift von meiner Doktorarbeit bekommen möchten...

00:25:31

Ja sehr gerne, sehr gerne.

Q: mache ich das dann nach der Verteidigung, ja.

00:25:36

Genau und ich würde sagen, wenn vielleicht im Nachhinein bei Ihnen noch Fragen aufkommen... Man hört sich das dann wahrscheinlich noch mehrmals an und nimmt dann die Informationen daraus. Aber wenn noch Unklarheiten sind oder wenn Sie dann noch Fragen, zusätzliche Fragen haben, können Sie mir das auch gerne mitteilen und dann können wir das entweder per Mail oder wir machen nochmal einen Termin ab, nochmal besprechen.

Q: Ok, vielen Dank, dann noch einen schönen Tag! Tschüss.

00:26:10

Ja ebenfalls.