



RESEARCH ARTICLE

MULTILINGUALISM IN LUXEMBOURG

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ABSTRACT

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a multilingual country with three official languages: Luxembourgish, French and German. Many people living and working in Luxembourg also speak English and other languages, such as Portuguese and Italian. The purpose of this paper is to investigate contemporary language use and language attitudes towards multilingualism in Luxembourg. We conducted online research on language situation in Luxembourg from 1 July 2016 to 31 August 2016, which included a questionnaire via Google forms. Mixed questionnaire with both close and open ended questions was used to collect all the responses. 155 participants completed our survey, 82 of which (or 52.9%) are Luxembourgish (this number also comprises dual nationalities, for example Luxembourgish-Portuguese or Luxembourgish-French), and 73 (or 47.1%) are foreign nationals. All of the participants live and/or work in Luxembourg and they experience multilingualism on a daily basis. Mostly social networks, such as Facebook groups or Reddit, were used to share the questionnaire. The average age of the participants is 26.8. Therefore, the results are representative for the younger generation.

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INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism is not such a rare phenomenon, but in fact, there are more people who speak two or more languages, than those who speak only one. According to the Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2016) more than 7,000 languages (7,097) are spoken in 196 countries in the world, or approximately 36 languages per country. However, most of the world population (95%) speaks approximately 5% of the world's languages. Statista's list of world's most spoken languages (2016) include Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, English, Hindi/Urdu, Arabic, Portuguese, Bengali, Russian, Japanese, French, German and Korean. Moreover, the total number of speakers of these languages is always bigger than the number of native speakers. The statistic shows that the most spoken language worldwide is English with 1,500 million speakers, of whom only 375 million are native speakers; which means that the rest are non-native speakers and speak at least one other language. Multilingualism plays a major role in the world today, and in people's everyday lives. Knowledge of other foreign languages is a must, and being able to understand and communicate in other languages apart from one's own mother tongue is crucial for education, social and cultural life, and it is often a requirement when looking for a job.

The first part of the paper discusses and explains multilingualism, and current language situation in the European Union, especially in Luxembourg. The second part presents the results of the research on multilingualism in Luxembourg. Focus of the research was primarily on the participants' language use in different contexts, and their attitudes towards multilingualism. Luxembourg proved to be an excellent context for studying multilingualism as it is a mini model of Europe, a very multicultural and multilingual society with three official languages.

About multilingualism

Defining and redefining multilingualism

When trying to define bilingualism and multilingualism, one comes upon a terminological problem, which is partly caused by the fact that the terms are sometimes used interchangeably. Bilingualism refers to the knowledge and use of two languages, while multilingualism refers to the knowledge and use of three or more languages. Ideally, a bilingual or multilingual speaker would speak each language as proficiently as an educated native speaker, who is referred to as ideal or balanced bilingual or multilingual (Macías 2005). However, this is often not the case, and people who speak two or more languages may differ a lot in their language skills from one another.

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Blommaert (2010, cited in Weber and Horner 2012: 3) redefines the traditional notion of multilingualism. He suggests that we are all multilingual, to a greater or lesser extent, as we all use different linguistic varieties, registers, styles, genres and accents, be it in one or more languages. All of these linguistic resources make up our linguistic repertoire, which is not static, but dynamic and it changes over time. Thus, in general terms multilingualism can be defined as “verbal repertoires consisting of more than one variety (whether language or dialect)”. (Weber and Horner 2012: 4). According to this definition of multilingualism, everyone is at least to some degree multilingual. Multilingualism may be found on both individual and societal level (Wei, 2012: 26). A society may consider itself bi- or multilingual and different groups of individuals in a society may speak and use many different languages, but the individuals themselves may not necessarily be bi- or multilingual (such is the case in Canada or Belgium). On the other hand, individuals in a community may be bi- or multilingual, while the community as a whole recognizes only one language for public use (as is the case in the USA).

Multilingualism on societal level

There are many different reasons for the emergence of multilingual realities, and Edwards (2013) lists some of them. Bringing languages and societies into contact can come with immigrants, whether settlers or invaders. Historically, with imperialism and colonial invasions, it was unnecessary for many people to physically move, as they experienced other languages through soldiers, merchants, missionaries and bureaucrats. Nowadays, economic migrations, in order to find work and improve one's standard of life, count for most of the linguistic diversity in Europe and the USA. Natural disasters or religious oppression may also cause major movements of population. Further reasons for the emergence of multilingual societies include globalization, education, technology and the Internet. With the development of technology and the emergence of the Internet, global sharing of information and content in different languages has become a part of everyday life. However, not all languages are equally used online and even though everyone can access a lot of different language content, English and Chinese are the dominant languages on the Internet (Internet World Stats 2016). Furthermore, a political union between different linguistic groups may also create a multilingual society. For example, Switzerland comprises French, German, Italian and Romansch population. Also, one may learn a foreign language at school. Almost all students who go through a European system of education have to study foreign languages at a certain age. The most studied foreign languages in the EU are English, French, Spanish and German (Eurostat 2016).

Multilingualism on individual level

Why do people become bi- or multilingual? They may be born into bi- or multilingual families and exposed to several languages simultaneously from birth. They may learn additional languages at a later stage in life, due to schooling or changes in life experience (such as job opportunities, migration, etc.) (Wei 2012: 31). However, not all individuals in a bi- or multilingual society are bi- or multilingual themselves. Li Wei (2012: 31) argues that this depends on learner-internal and learner-external factors. Learner-internal factors are those that are specific to each individual: learner's age, personality, intrinsic motivation, experiences, native

language and cognitive capacity (Lightbown and Spada 2013). Infants seem to be able to acquire a new language with greater ease than adults, who often have difficulties in achieving the same levels of fluency or accuracy in the languages they learn later in life. This is related to the critical period hypothesis, which, according to Lenneberg (1967), supposes that there is an ideal age to acquire a language in a linguistically rich environment, after which the brain gets set in its way and the individual will never achieve a full command of language: “At a certain phase in *most* children's lives appropriate language input will lead to native-like proficiency, whereas the absence of the right input at the right time “closes the door” forever in *most* people and only allows the attainment of limited L2 proficiency later.” (Dörnyei, 2009: 241)

Extroverted students who enjoy learning will usually learn faster and take more opportunities to speak in the target language than those who are introverted and anxious about making mistakes. Language experience also plays a role, for instance Gerard (TEDx Talks 2013) argues that the children who can speak two or more languages before the age of twelve, have no trouble learning other foreign languages later in life. One's mother tongue is also important; in general it is easier to learn a language from the same language family. For example, a German speaker would find it easier to learn English than Arabic or Polish.

Learner-external factors include extrinsic motivation, instruction, input, pedagogy, language policy, culture and status of the languages, etc. (Lightbown and Spada 2013). Learners who get continual encouragement from their parents and teachers usually do better than those who do not. Quality input and the opportunity to use the language in everyday situations with other speakers is also very important.

European Union and multilingualism

Multilingualism is one of the ground cores of many EU projects and it is a symbol of the EU's motto “united in diversity”. European Union comprises 28 members and has 24 official and working languages (European Union 2016a). Therefore linguistic diversity is a fact of everyday life in the EU and the ability to communicate in several languages is a must for individuals, organizations and companies. Languages are seen as an essential part of one's identity and the most direct expression of one's culture (European Parliament 2016). In order to promote mobility and intercultural understanding better, the EU has set language learning as an important priority, and funds various projects and programmes in this area. The promotion of language learning and linguistic diversity is one of the objectives of the Erasmus+ lifelong learning programme for the period 2014-2020. The programme supports school partnerships, assistantships and teacher trainings, linguistic preparation for mobility in Europe, multilateral projects and networks, conferences, study information campaigns and mobility actions. The main focus is on EU languages in order to promote better communication and mobility within Europe: “Foreign language competence is regarded as one of the basic skills that all EU citizens need to acquire in order to improve their educational and employment opportunities within the European learning society, in particular by making use of the right to freedom of movement of persons. Within the framework of education and vocational training policy, therefore, the EU's objective is for every citizen to master two languages in addition to his or her

mother tongue.” (European Parliament 2016) The European Union advocates the ideal of the multilingual European citizen, and promotes a policy of (individual) multilingualism, so that every EU citizen should be proficient in his/her mother tongue plus two other European languages. The EU refers to this as *plurilingualism*. In the EU terminology multilingualism refers to the presence of more than one language variety in a geographical area, in such an area there might be monolinguals too; while plurilingualism refers to multiple language varieties that individuals use, and is therefore opposite to monolingualism. Thus in some multilingual areas some individuals are monolingual and some are plurilingual (Council of Europe 2014). The EU supports language learning because of several reasons: better language skills open more opportunities to study and/or work abroad; it promotes mutual understanding, which is essential in multilingual and multicultural Europe; and language industry (including translation and interpretation, language teaching and language technologies) is among the fastest growing areas of economy (European Union 2016b).

In order to promote plurilingualism throughout the EU, the Council of Europe has created many new tools: European Language Portfolio (EFL), a document in which language learners can self-assess, record and reflect on their language learning and intercultural experiences (Council of Europe 2016b); Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is used to describe foreign language proficiency in four language skills (listening, reading, writing and speaking) at six levels: A1 and A2 (basic user), B1 and B2 (independent user), C1 and C2 (proficient user). CEFR is “designed to provide a transparent, coherent and comprehensive basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses and curriculum guidelines, the design of teaching and learning materials, and the assessment of foreign language proficiency” (Council of Europe 2016a).

Moreover, the EU encourages Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where the second language is used to teach non-linguistic content matter, e. g. biology in French in a German speaking country (see Weber and Horner 2012: 109-110). The emphasis is on standard, national or official European languages. However, Budach, Erfurt and Kunkel (2008: 38, cited in Weber and Horner 2012: 110) argue that CLIL establishes “an elite form of bilingual education” because it concerns only global languages, such as English or French, while other minor languages are ignored. This can be seen on the example of Luxembourg, where subjects are taught in German or French, and not in Luxembourgish or other languages of the minorities (such as Portuguese or Italian). But at the same time, the EU supports small autochthonous languages such as Catalan, Basque or Welsh. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages protects, as the name says, regional and minority languages, although it excludes immigrant minority languages.

Luxembourg as mini Europe

Luxembourg has been a multilingual state for centuries and it is one of the six founding countries of the EU - together with Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands (European Union 2016c). Following Kingsley's argument (2010: 22) and taking in mind its multiple languages and large international community, we argue that Luxembourg represents the microcosm of the multilingual European Union. Firstly, Luxembourg reflects the EU's high value for multilingualism and it supports individual competences in

more than one language (or what EU calls *plurilingualism*), which has been one of the aims and goals of the Council of Europe well before the establishment of the EU. The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has indeed a complex multilingual education system, where different languages are introduced at different ages and where languages are being taught both as subjects and used as mediums of instruction (thus supporting CLIL too). Children start learning Luxembourgish in kindergarten, switch to German in primary school, and German is the language in which they learn to read and write. In the second grade of primary school they start learning French, English comes in secondary school, possibly along with other languages as well.

Secondly, it can be said that Luxembourg is like a mini model of Europe, as a lot of social changes taking place at numerous levels in Europe as a whole can be seen in the Grand Duchy (Kingsley 2010:23). These changes are particularly connected to globalization, transnational free movement of capital, goods, services and people, and the modern information technologies which enable extremely fast and dense circulation of information (see also Maurais and Morris, 2003). These social changes can be clearly seen in the everyday life in Luxembourg, where people enjoy the benefits of mobility and borderless travel, trade and work. Thirdly, as a result of globalization and the expansion of the EU, there have been a lot of sociolinguistic changes in Luxembourg. Since the 1970s, there has been a big increase in in-migration and Luxembourg has the highest percentage of foreign residents in the EU with 46.7%, and even 69% in the capital (Statec 2016). From the 1980s the economy relies on *frontaliers*, who make up about 40% of the workforce in Luxembourg. *Frontaliers* coming from Belgium and France are mostly French speaking, and those coming from Germany are mainly German speaking, however, many of them are bilingual in German and French, and speak English as well (Horner 2009, 104, cited in Kingsley 2010:25). All these changes contribute to the complexity of language situation in Luxembourg.

Languages in Luxembourg

Luxembourg has been multilingual for centuries due to many historical, political, economic and social factors. Territorially, Luxembourg is situated on the border of the German and French speaking countries and these two languages meet and interact in Luxembourg. Different languages are used in different spheres of life, whether private, professional, cultural or political. Multilingualism is the marking feature of the Grand Duchy and the importance of coexistence of these languages is an integral part of national identity. The language situation in Luxembourg can be referred to as “triglossic” (Weber and Horner 2008: 70, cited in Redinger 2010: 41) as there are three official languages recognized by the 1984 language law: French, German and Luxembourgish (or as they say in Luxembourg, *Lëtzebuergesch*). They are used for communication and publication purposes on both formal and informal levels. The linguistic practices of three institutions will be presented in the following paragraphs: the state, school and church.

Politics

The legislation is written in French and French is the language for all levels of public administration. However, nowadays, in Parliament the debates are held in Luxembourgish and spoken French has gradually disappeared from Parliament, and it is only used occasionally by some when making important

declarations. The politicians are to a certain degree free to express themselves in the language that they prefer. On the other hand, legal texts are always in French. The law of 1984 states that one may use French, German or Luxembourgish in administrative or judicial matters. Citizens may submit an administrative application in any of these languages, but “without the administration nevertheless being strictly bound to respect their preference” (Le Gouvernement du Grand Duché du Luxembourg 2008: 4).

Even though German is not so present on the national level of public life, it enjoys the strong written and spoken presence on the local level (local council publications). The Luxembourgish state administration prefers Luxembourgish as the spoken language in the workplace and for communication purposes and French as the written language. Such practice became standard even at the highest levels: in 1996, for the first time in the history of Luxembourg, Prime Minister at the time, Jean-Claude Juncker, presented the annual government statement on country's economical, financial and social situation in *Lëtzebuergesch* (Le Gouvernement du Grand Duché du Luxembourg 2008: 4).

Education

Due to the mass immigration, school attendance is compulsory from the age of four, and there are possibilities of preschool education from the age of three. These initiatives have been launched primarily to familiarise immigrant children with the Luxembourgish language as soon as possible. In preschool education and during the compulsory nursery school, teachers speak Luxembourgish to their young students. For many of the immigrant children, school is the first contact with the Luxembourgish language. When they are six, children learn to read and write in German and at the age of seven they start learning French. The language of primary education is German. In classical secondary education the working language becomes French for all subjects, except the language courses, while German prevails in the vocationally-oriented schools (Le Gouvernement du Grand Duché du Luxembourg 2008: 4). English is introduced as a foreign language at secondary school level and students can also choose whether they want to study Latin, Italian and Spanish (Redinger 2010: 40). Luxembourgish is taught only one hour per week at primary school and later it is completely discarded (Horner and Weber, 2008: 92, cited in Redinger 2010: 41). It is used as a language of instruction for music, arts and sports in primary schools and according to an official Ministry of Education report, Luxembourgish is described as an inadequate tool for academic purposes due to its primary role as a spoken language (Berg and Weis, 2005: 76, cited in Redinger 2010: 41). It needs to be codified and standardized, in relation to the development of grammar and dictionaries. Moreover, there are few teaching and learning materials available for Luxembourgish (Gilles and Moulin, 2003: 323, cited in Redinger 2010: 41).

Church

The Catholic Church has the largest congregation in the Grand Duchy. Services and sermons are usually held in Luxembourgish, as are christenings, weddings and funerals, while the communications are published in German. However, priests do address their parishioners in German or French, depending on their own linguistic preferences or the

size of the immigrant community. Some parishes offer services in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian (Le Gouvernement du Grand Duché du Luxembourg 2008: 5). It is not unusual that during one service all languages are mixed (e.g. die Octave), and the main parts of the mass are in French, with readings in French, German, Luxembourgish, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Portuguese, and even Arabic and Hebrew.

Is Luxembourgish a dying language?

There are concerns and fear of Luxembourgish dying out as a language due to rapid demographic changes and high levels of in-migration in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. In the 1970s ‘Actioun Lëtzebuergesch’ was founded, a non-profit organisation whose purpose is to “speak for everything which is Luxembourgish, especially the language” (Newton, 1996: 192, cited in Redinger 2010:39). Pressure and support for the development of Luxembourgish grew and a language law was passed in 1984, which gave Luxembourgish the status of national language of the Grand Duchy, alongside French and German. However, this was not accompanied by an increase in use and low status of Luxembourgish language in the education system and its marginalisation still continues (Redinger 2010: 40).

Luxembourgish has been upgraded from a “dialect” of German to a “national language”. Paradoxically, with the upgrade of its status, it has automatically become an endangered language, since it is a small language with a relatively limited number of speakers (Weber and Horner 2012: 60), spoken by few hundred thousand people. However, Luxembourgish is not a minority language in terms of power and prestige (minority languages being Portuguese, Italian and other). Weber and Horner argue (2012: 61) that it is important to make a difference between languages and their speakers. When we focus on the speakers, people who speak Luxembourgish as their home language are in no way oppressed for doing so; while on the contrary, speakers of Portuguese or other languages are sometimes discriminated because of the language-in-education policy which makes them go through a German-language literacy program, and seems to ignore their linguistic needs. However, when we focus on languages, Luxembourgish is often presented as an endangered language, which is in need of preservation and promotion. Since the country has high levels of in-migration, there are fears that Luxembourgers might become a minority in their own country. As a result, there are many debates about the survival of the language itself.

Paradoxically, Luxembourgish is and is not a lesser used language at the same time. The President of European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages in Luxembourg brings out this contradiction in his article 'Why protect the lesser-used languages?'. The article is about promotion and protection of Luxembourgish, while he explicitly points out that lesser used languages are those which are used by minority groups within a particular country and which are different from the official or national language(s) of the country (Hostert 2004). There have been suggestions for promoting Luxembourgish as an EU working language, fueled by the 2004 entry of Malta into the EU and the addition of Maltese, another small language, to the list of EU working languages. While French is the EU working language for Luxembourg, the government is now considering negotiating to have Luxembourgish also acknowledged as a lesser-used but officially recognized language. This will allow

the citizens of Luxembourg to write to the EU in their “mother tongue” if they wish to do so. Similar rights have already been granted to Catalan, Basque and Galician speakers in Spain and to Welsh speakers in the UK (Weber and Horner, 2012:61).

While in the 19th century Luxembourgers referred to their varieties as “our German” or “Luxembourgish German”; they now tend to perceive Luxembourgish as a wholly separate language from German. With the language law in 1984, Luxembourgish was officially recognized as the “national language” of Luxembourg (see Weber and Horner 2012:29). We can draw the conclusion that the boundaries between languages are created in relation to the socio-political rather than only linguistic factors, and in this sense languages are social constructs. Moreover, the development of separate languages and their standard varieties is closely connected to the politics of state-making.

Research

METHODOLOGY

We conducted an online research on language situation in Luxembourg from 1 July 2016 to 31 August 2016. The research consists of two parts: language usage and language attitudes. A questionnaire via Google forms was made and mostly statistical data about language use were collected (quantitative method). Longer responses about language attitudes were also collected. Mixed questionnaire with both close and open ended questions were used to collect all the responses. For close ended questions, design feature of checkboxes with multiple possible answers, dropdown feature for yes-no questions and linear scales were used. For open ended questions, short and long answer text features were used. Some forms include participants' comments and some do not.

155 participants completed our survey, 82 of which (or 52.9%) are Luxembourgish (this number also comprises dual nationalities, for example Luxembourgish-Portuguese or Luxembourgish-French), and 73 (or 47.1%) are foreign nationals (including in alphabetic order Algerian, American, Austrian, Belarus, Belgian, Bosnian, Brazilian, British, Canadian, Cape Verdean, Croatian, Czech, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Honduran, Hungarian, Iranian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Maltese, Mexican, Nepalese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Salvadoran, Serbian, South African, Spanish (Catalan), Swedish, Swiss, Tunisian, Ukrainian). All of the participants live and/or work in Luxembourg and they experience multilingualism on a daily basis. Mostly social networks, such as Facebook groups or Reddit, were used to share the questionnaire. Most of the participants belong to the young generation (the average age is 26.8). Therefore, the results might not be representative for the whole country, but for the young generations.

Language Use

Language knowledge

Out of all 155 participants, the majority said that they can speak English (98.1%) and French (92.3%), followed by German (72.3%) Luxembourgish (61.3%), Italian (17.4%) and Portuguese (15.5%) (see Figure 4.2.1). More than half (50.3%) of the participants said that they can speak other languages which were not on the list, and most of which include Spanish (21.9%), Croatian/Bosnian/Serbian (7.7%), Dutch (5.8%), and

Which language(s) can you speak? (155 responses)

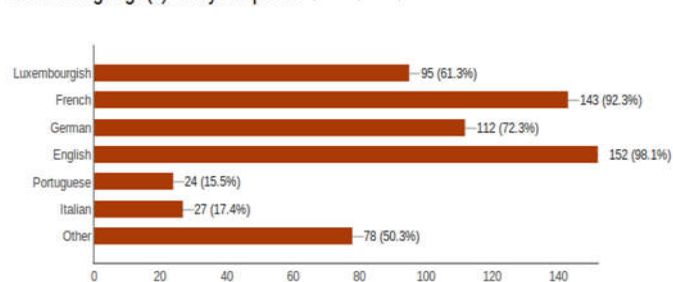


Figure 4.2.1. Participants' language knowledge

Russian (5.2%). Moreover, all 155 participants noted that they can speak at least two languages, and an average participant speaks 4.1 languages. All percentages are calculated from the total number (155). The results are based on participants' self-assessment and the level of proficiency in the languages that they stated they can speak is unknown. The results show that almost everyone speaks English (98.1%), which is not surprising when we consider the fact that about half of the participants (47.1%) are expatriates and the average age is 26. However, this means that more people can speak English, than any other official language in the country. When looking only at the Luxembourgish nationals, all of them (100%) stated that they can speak four languages (Luxembourgish, French, German and English) and 65% can speak additional language(s). Most common other languages among Luxembourgers are Spanish, Dutch, and Croatian/Bosnian/Serbian. Among non-Luxembourg nationals, the most spoken languages are English (96% speakers) and French (84% speakers), followed by German (41%) and Luxembourgish (18%). From this point of view, the concern about Luxembourgish as a dying language is valid, because, as the results show, only 18% of foreign nationals speak Luxembourgish, and foreigners make up about half of the population of Luxembourg, with a tendency of still growing. Also, we can see that most non-Luxembourgers speak English rather than French, or any other of the recognized languages.

Everyday language usage

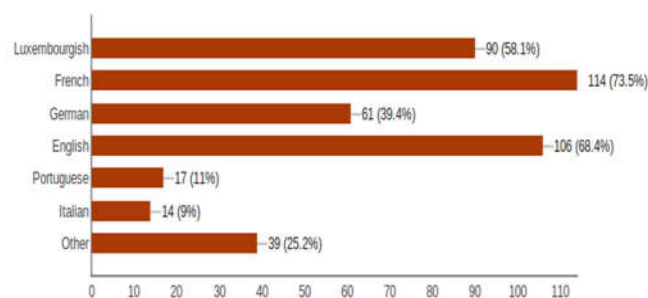


Figure 4.2.2. Participants' everyday language usage

It is a common myth that a person living in Luxembourg cannot spend a day speaking only one language. Many people use two or more languages every day, and this research shows that the average is 2.8 languages per day. Most of the participants use French on a daily basis (73.5%), followed by English (68.4%) and Luxembourgish (58.1%). German is used only by 39.4% participants every day, Portuguese by 11%, Italian by 9% and other languages by 25.2% of participants every day.

The Figure 4.2.2 shows that French is the most used language in everyday life. Also, there is a difference between competence and performance, as 92.3% said they can speak French, but only 73.5% use it every day. The same happens in the case of German, where the difference is even bigger, as 72.3% said they can speak German, and only 39.4% use it in everyday life. Again, English is spoken by more participants every day than both German and Luxembourgish. There is a big difference between the everyday language use of Luxembourgish and non-Luxembourgish nationals. 98% of the Luxembourgish nationals use Luxembourgish every day, 85% use French every day, 58% use English and 52% use German in their everyday life. On the other side, 82% of the non-Luxembourgish nationals use English every day, 66% use French every day, 25% German, 18% Luxembourgish and 36% other languages. An average Luxembourgish uses 3.3 languages every day, while an average non-Luxembourgish uses 2.5 languages per day.

Language usage at home

Which language(s) do you speak at home (with your family)? (155 responses)

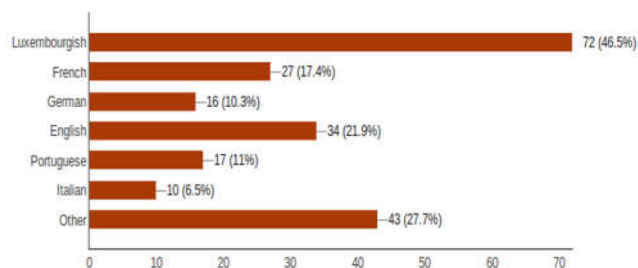


Figure 4.2.3. Participants' language usage at home

Luxembourgish is the most spoken language at home with 46.5% of the participants using it, followed by other languages (27.7%), then English (21.9%), French (17.4%), Portuguese (11%), German (10.3%) and Italian (6.5%). (see Figure 4.2.3). An average participant speaks 1.4 languages at home. Again, there is a difference between Luxembourgish and non-Luxembourgish nationals, 85% of Luxembourgish speak Luxembourgish at home, while the non-Luxembourgish speak other languages at home (45%), English (38%) and French (25%). It is interesting that German is only second last on this list with only 10% speaking German at home, even though it is one of the three official languages in the country, and English and Portuguese are spoken more widely than German.

Language usage with friends

Which language(s) do you speak with your friends? (155 responses)

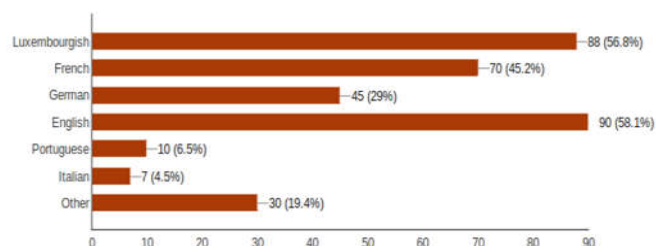


Figure 4.2.4. Participants' language usage with friends

Most participants speak English with their friends (58.1%), followed by Luxembourgish (56.8%), French (45.2%) German

(29%), and other languages (19.4%) (see Figure 4.2.4). Most of the Luxembourgish nationals speak Luxembourgish with their friends (96%), but they say that it "depends on the friends", so they also use other languages when they talk to them. 43% of the participants speak also French with their friends, and 32% speak German or English to their friends. Among non-Luxembourgish the main language spoken among friends is English (77%), and half of the participants communicate in French with their friends.

Language usage at work

Which language(s) do you speak at work? (155 responses)

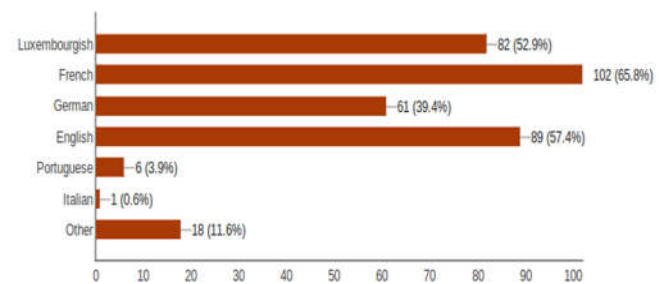


Figure 4.2.5. Participants' language usage at work

The average participant speaks 2.3 languages at work. Most of them use French (65.8%), followed by English (57.4%), Luxembourgish (52.9%) and German (39.4%) (see Figure 4.2.5). The results show that there is a gap between the Luxembourgish educational system and work market. The main language throughout primary school is German, and students learn how to read and write in German, French comes later during primary school, while English is introduced only in secondary school. And most of the people speak French, English and Luxembourgish at work, with German only on the fourth place on the scale, completely opposite to the educational system. Luxembourgish use 2.8 languages at work on average, which usually include Luxembourgish (88%), French (78%), English (59%) and German (50%). Non-Luxembourgish use 2 languages at work on average, and it is mostly English (74%), French (57%) and German (28%).

Formal writing

Which language(s) do you use for formal writing (school or work reports, different forms)?

(155 responses)

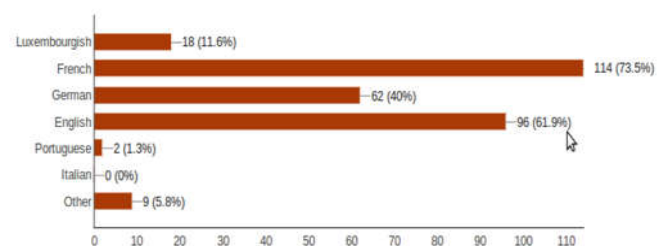


Figure 4.2.6: Participants' language use in formal writing

Formal writing, such as school or work reports and different forms are written mostly in French (73.5%), English (61.9%), or German (40%). Luxembourgish got only 11.6% (see Figure 4.2.6). From this figure it can be seen that French, German and English are used for formal writing, and French is the preferred

language, even more than German (one of the official languages, which is falling behind the international language English by 24%). Luxembourgish is rarely used for formal writing, due to the fact that it is first and foremost spoken language, and it still needs to go through the process of standardization. Luxembourgers use mostly French for formal writing (95%), but some also use English (60%) and German (58%), only 22% said they used Luxembourgish. Foreigners use English (68%) and French (55%), only 19% said they use German.

Informal writing

Which language(s) do you use for informal writing (e.g. text messages to your friends)?
(155 responses)

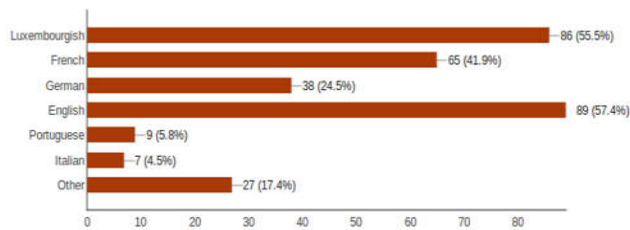


Figure 4.2.7: Participants' language use in informal writing

On the other hand, for informal writing (such as text messages to friends), 57.4% use English, 55.5% Luxembourgish, 41.9% French and 24.5% German (see Figure 4.2.7). We can see a big difference between formal and informal writing in Luxembourgish (11.6% in formal to even 55.5% in informal). It must be kept in mind that most of the survey participants are young people who use text messaging as a fast everyday way of communication. As Melanie Wagner says in her article (2013: 89), Luxembourgish was very rarely written until quite recently and its popularity in written form has increased with the rise of the new media. With these new media, Luxembourgish became a popular medium for writing Facebook posts, text messages, blogs, emails, etc. Even Google Translate introduced Luxembourgish on its list in February 2016. 91% of Luxembourgers use Luxembourgish for informal writing, which is a vast majority, but about a half of them also use English (46%), French (40%) and German (27%). Foreigners use English (71%), French (50%), other languages (31%) and German (23%) for informal writing.

Watching TV

Which TV programs do you watch? (155 responses)

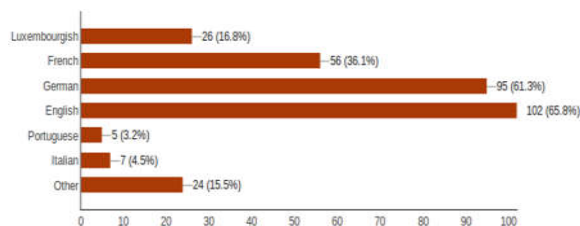


Figure 4.2.8. Participants' language preference when watching TV

Most of the participants watch English TV programmes (65.8%), followed closely by German (61.3%), while 36.1% watch TV in French, 16.8% in Luxembourgish and 15.5% in other languages (see Figure 4.2.8). High percentage of English TV viewers can be explained by the English media culture and

its high availability online, via Internet, Netflix, various streaming websites, etc. Most of the Luxembourgish nationals watch mainly German (89%) and English TV (63%), while foreigners watch English (75%), French (52%) and German (32%) TV programmes.

Listening to the radio

Which radio stations do you listen to? (155 responses)

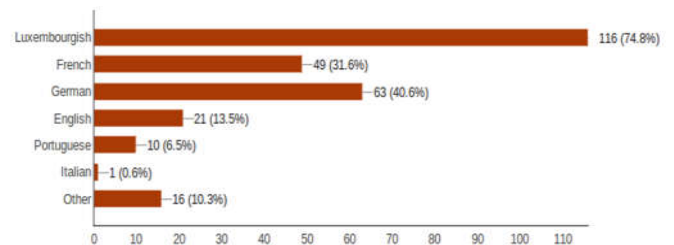


Figure 4.2.9: Participants' preference when listening to the radio

Majority of the participants listen to Luxembourgish radios (74.8%), followed by 40.6% who listen to German radios, 31.6% listen to French radios and 13.5% to English radio stations (see Figure 4.2.9). All Luxembourgers listen to Luxembourgish radio (100%) and some also listen to German stations (40%), such as *RTL Deutschland*, or French speaking radio (21%), such as the Belgian *Classic 21*. Non-Luxembourgers also listen mostly to Luxembourgish radios (49%), and this is interesting because also people who do not speak Luxembourgish at all listen to Luxembourgish radio stations. They also listen to French (45%), German (31%) and English (21%) radio stations. Luxembourgish is much more dominant in this media than in any other. This only confirms the fact that Luxembourgish is first and foremost a spoken language, and even people who don't speak Luxembourgish at all listen to Luxembourgish stations, such as *RTL Radio Lëtzebuerg* or *Eldorado*, which are the most popular radio stations in the Grand Duchy, followed by the German *RTL radio*, and the *Radio Latino* in Portuguese, according to TNS Iires survey on media proliferation in Luxembourg (Luxemburger Wort 2015).

Reading

Which language do you prefer to read in (e.g. newspapers, magazines, books)?
(155 responses)

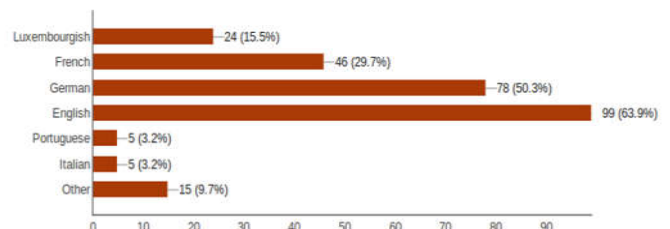


Figure 4.2.10. Participants' language preference when reading

Most participants prefer to read (e.g. newspapers, magazines, books) in English (63.9%), followed by German (50.3%), French (29.7%) and Luxembourgish (15.5%) (see Figure 4.2.10). Luxembourgers prefer to read in German (76%), or English (62%), while non-Luxembourgers prefer to read in English (69%) or French (36%). German has traditionally been

the language of the printed press in Luxembourg and there are currently six daily newspapers in the Grand Duchy: four in German and two in French (Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 2015). Some popular printed newspapers include the German *Luxemburger Wort* and *Tageblatt* and the French *Le Quotidien* and *L'Essentiel*. Printed media in Luxembourg are reflecting the language situation in the country and are therefore also characterised by multilingualism. Even though German has been the main language of the press since the 19th century (Horner 2013: 26), it is not unusual to see articles written in French, Luxembourgish or English side by side on one page. Most journalists use only one language, and their language choice sometimes depends on the country in which they were educated, and sometimes on the topic they are writing about. Local news and domestic politics are usually covered in German, while those writing about culture and economy usually choose French (Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg 2008: 9).

Thinking

Which language do you think in? (155 responses)

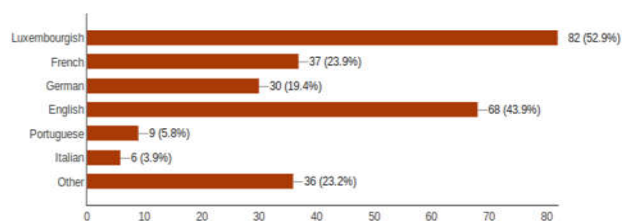


Figure 4.2.11: Language(s) in which participants think

52.9% of the participants stated that they think in Luxembourgish, 43.9% in English, 23.9% in French, 23.2% in other languages and 19.4% in German (see Figure 4.2.11). The majority of Luxembourgers think in Luxembourgish (91%), while non-Luxembourgers think in English (64%), other languages (38%), French (34%) and German (25%).

Swearing

Which language do you swear in? (155 responses)

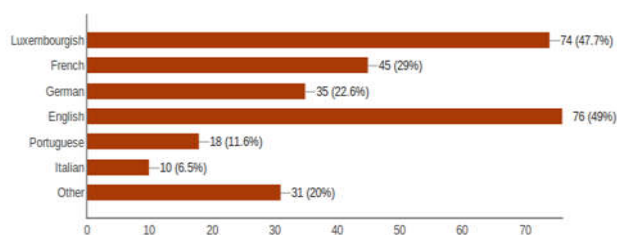


Figure 4.2.12. Language usage when swearing

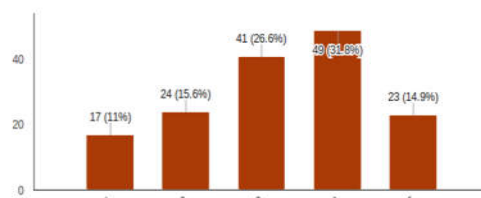
An average participant swears in 2 languages, 49% swear in English, 47.7% in Luxembourgish, 29% in French, 22.6% in German and 20% in other languages (see Figure 4.2.12). Luxembourgers swear in Luxembourgish (84%), English (50%), French (30%), German (26%) and other languages (18%). Non-Luxembourgers swear in English (50%), other languages (37%), French (27%) and German (21%).

Attitudes towards language situation in Luxembourg

In this part of the questionnaire, we have listed some statements people have said about the language situation in

Luxembourg. Statements from Redinger's PhD thesis (2010) on language attitudes in a multilingual context were used. The participants were asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statements about the language situation in Luxembourg and choose one answer on a scale from 1 to 5 (1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree).

School subjects such as geography, biology or history are made more difficult by the use of a foreign language of instruction. (154 responses)

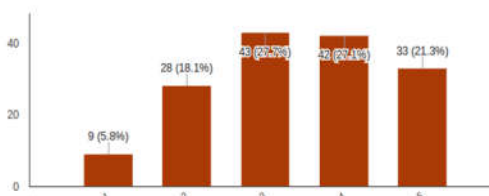


(1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Figure 4.3.1. Language attitudes, statement 1. School subjects such as geography, biology or history are made more difficult by the use of a foreign language of instruction.

In general, the participants think that school subjects are more difficult because of the use of a foreign language of instruction (see Figure 4.3.1). More Luxembourgers agree with this statement than non-Luxembourgers.

The current system of education does NOT create equal opportunities for all students coming from different backgrounds. (155 responses)

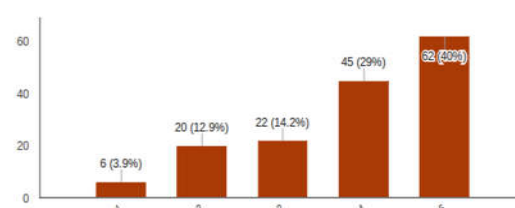


(1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Figure 4.3.2. Language attitudes, statement 2. The current system of education does NOT create equal opportunities for all students coming from different backgrounds

More people agree that the current educational system does not create equal opportunities for all students coming from different social and cultural backgrounds (see Figure 4.3.2). Non-Luxembourgers agree more with this statement than Luxembourgers, probably because they are more negatively influenced by it.

Immigrants can integrate better if they speak Luxembourgish. (155 responses)



(1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Figure 4.3.3: Language attitudes, statement 3. Immigrants can integrate better if they speak Luxembourgish

Most participants think that immigrants can integrate better if they speak Luxembourgish (see Figure 4.3.3). The majority of Luxembourgers think so, and the non-Luxembourgers as well.

Luxembourg will lose its identity if it loses the Luxembourgish language.
(155 responses)

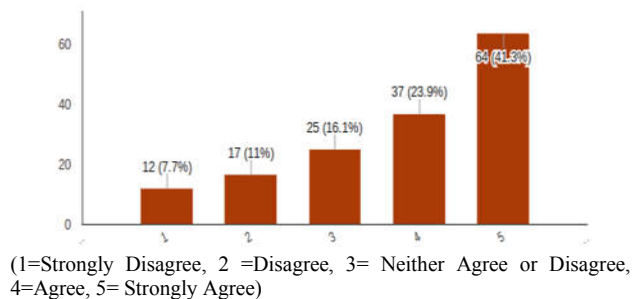
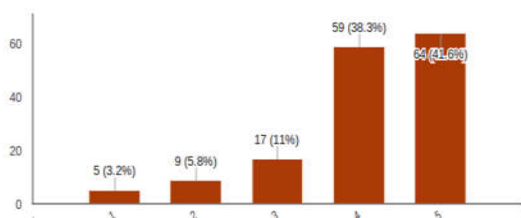


Figure 4.3.4: Language attitudes, statement 4. Luxembourg will lose its identity if it loses the Luxembourgish language.

More participants agree that Luxembourg will lose its identity if it loses the Luxembourgish language (see Figure 4.3.4). This attitude is more prevalent among Luxembourgers than non-Luxembourgers.

It is easier to find a job if you speak French rather than any other language.
(154 responses)

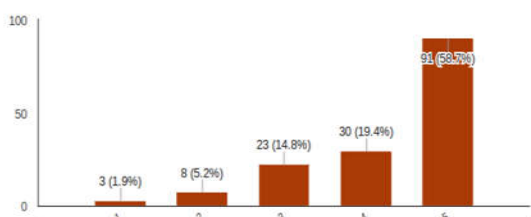


(1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Figure 4.3.5. Language attitudes, statement 5. It is easier to find a job if you speak French rather than any other language

Most participants agree that it is easier to find a job if one speaks French rather than any other language (see Figure 4.3.5). This attitude is more common among non-Luxembourgers. As the results showed, all Luxembourgers said they can speak French and 85% use it every day. On the other hand, 88% of foreigners can speak French and 66% use it every day. Therefore, for Luxembourgers, speaking French is considered to be common practice, while for foreigners it is not, and it is an important aspect to consider when looking for a job.

I enjoy speaking many different languages in Luxembourg. (155 responses)



(1=Strongly Disagree, 2 =Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Figure 4.3.6: Language attitudes, statement 6. I enjoy speaking many different languages in Luxembourg

The big majority of participants enjoy speaking many different languages in Luxembourg (see Figure 4.3.6), Luxembourgers and non-Luxembourgers alike. This is in accordance with the participants' positive attitudes towards multilingualism in general. Luxembourg is a unique place in Europe, where every day one can use three, four, five or even more languages in different contexts, what is an enjoyable practice for most speakers.

Attitudes towards multilingualism

Negative

Only 3% of the participants think that multilingualism is a negative phenomenon and some explanations state that is because people are "not able to communicate" and that "it makes things more difficult". Some say it is negative because "you will never know a language perfectly" or because "people prefer to speak other languages than Luxembourgish, and Luxembourgish is slowly dying".

Mixed feelings

Some see both advantages and disadvantages (12%). Some participants say that it is positive for the children, but negative for the job. Some further disadvantages include speaking a broken language, having no mother tongue and not being able to write correctly; not learning other languages correctly; having troubles finding words in one language; mixing languages when speaking and mixing up spelling. Participants also say that problems in school might occur because of different languages of instruction. Many people do not bother learning Luxembourgish, and moreover, some Luxembourgers are not speaking Luxembourgish but other languages. Multilingualism endangers other "smaller" languages, and gives advantage to "bigger" languages such as English or French, which are "killing" small languages. Luxembourg as a country does not have a clear *lingua franca* and the language of the country is not clearly defined. Furthermore, one participant says that it "can be complicated when you meet people who cannot speak any of the same languages as you"; but it "is relatively rare". Some of the participants' attitudes towards multilingualism include the following:

- Both positive and negative. I have worked with Luxembourgish people in the past who can speak 4 languages but don't have a true mother tongue i.e. They can't write correctly in any language. The positive is it opens up the mind to other cultures. The way things are said in one language can be completely different to another and what is totally okay in one language may be considered rude or funny in another.
- Both. Many Luxembourgers told me that many kids have lots of problems at school due to language. Positive - unique environment, no nation in Europe speaks so many languages

Positive

85% of the participants see multilingualism as an extremely positive phenomenon and they list many reasons: it is useful when travelling, looking for a job, or communicating with different people. The more languages you speak, the more people you can reach and connect with. It opens up a lot of doors, there are a lot more opportunities and advantages if you speak more than one language; you can communicate with more than one group of speakers; you can meet people from different countries. Some say that it broadens your horizons

and enriches the cultural life; it improves mental activity and creates a positive environment, encourages multicultural exchanges and integration, tolerance in general; brings more diversity; better and deeper understanding of other cultures and people. Furthermore, it enables one to consume cultural goods (such as music, books, movies) in their original version; one can watch different TV stations and get different news from different sources. It creates new friendships; it promotes personal growth; more flexibility and adaptability; brings forward new ideas and perspective. Some of the participants' explanations on the advantages of multilingualism include the following:

- Very positive! The more languages you know the better your brain works. That's already a good thing to have and keep (a well functioning brain!). It opens one's mind too: you meet people and discover other cultures instead of remaining in stereotypes. It opens more perspectives in life: to move to other countries to fulfill one's dreams or, more pragmatically, find better jobs and live better.
- Definitely positive. On a social level i am not restricted to one group of people to communicate with, but i can broaden my social circle. On a professional level, it provides us with many more possibilities. On my job i talk 4 languages each day, and i think that is a huge asset.

Conclusion

The majority of the world population is multilingual and multilingualism plays an important role in the contemporary world. In the age of globalization, knowing and learning other languages is important for international communication, socializing, studying, work etc. This paper discusses the phenomenon of multilingualism on the example of Luxembourg. The overall objectives of the study were to investigate the language use and language attitudes in Luxembourg among younger generation. In addressing these questions, the various analyses presented in the paper have provided empirical evidence enabling us to arrive at the following conclusions. The population of Luxembourg speaks many languages. An average participant speaks 4.1 languages and uses 2.8 languages every day. An average Luxembourger uses more languages every day than an average non-Luxembourger. Different languages are used in different spheres of life, whether private, professional, cultural or political.

The majority of participants use French when shopping, going out, for formal writing, and at work. Most of the participants watch TV and read in English. English is also widely used every day, for informal writing, at work, when going out and speaking to friends. Some participants use German for work and formal writing. Many participants watch TV, listen to the radio and read in German. However, German did not reach the top in any of the categories and many participants do not even speak German, or if they do, they do not use it much. Luxembourgish is used among family, friends and when going out. Some people use it at work, some for informal writing and the vast majority of the participants listen to Luxembourgish radio stations, which proves the premise that Luxembourgish is primarily an oral language. Many participants (mostly Luxembourger nationals) think, and swear in Luxembourgish, while some (mostly non-Luxembourgers) do it in English and other languages. Considering the attitudes towards language situation in Luxembourg, some participants think that current

education system has some disadvantages, because school subjects are made more difficult by the use of foreign language of instruction and it does not create equal opportunities for students coming from different backgrounds. Participants mostly agree that Luxembourg will lose its identity if it loses the Luxembourgish language, and that immigrants could integrate better if they spoke Luxembourgish,

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