

SLOVENE AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES IN CONTACT
IN THE ETHNICALLY MIXED AREA OF SLOVENE ISTRIA

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ABSTRACT

At the outset, the article highlights the development of Slovene sociolinguistics, dealing with languages in contact, to focus on the contacts between the Slovene and the Italian languages in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria. The second part offers an in-depth description of the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria, which in accordance with the Treaty of London, and later the Treaty of Osimo, introduced institutionalised bilingualism. However, numerous questions in relation to the level of communicative competence in the first and second languages of each individual and individual social groups remain open. The outcomes of the sociolinguistic research presented in the final part of the article confirm that communicative competence depends on a number of personal and social factors, and also on the so-called ethnic awareness, i.e. the attitude of each individual to his own and co-existing culture as well as to intercultural values.

Key words: Slovene sociolinguistics, languages in contact, Slovene-Italian languages contact, Slovene Istria, bilingualism, communicative competence, ethnic awareness, national and language awareness

LE LINGUE SLOVENA E ITALIANA A CONTATTO NEL TERRITORIO NAZIONALMENTE
MISTO DELL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo viene dapprima delineato il processo di sviluppo della sociolinguistica slovena nel contesto della problematica delle lingue a contatto, dopodichè si passa alla problematica del contatto tra le lingue slovena e italiana nell'ambiente etnicamente misto dell'Istria slovena. Si tratta di un ambiente in cui, in base al memorandum di Londra e, più avanti, in base al trattato di Osimo, è stato istituzionalizzato il bilinguismo e, dunque, dell'ambiente in merito al quale rimangono aperte numerose questioni legate alla capacità di comunicazione linguistica nella prima e nella seconda lingua di ogni singolo individuo e dei singoli gruppi etnici. Tale capacità comunicativa dipende da una serie di fattori individuali e sociali, tra i quali l'atteggiamento dell'individuo nei confronti della/e propria/e cultura e dell'/e altra/e cultura/e nonché dei comuni valori culturali e dunque dalla consapevolezza etnica, il che risulta evidente dai risultati della ricerca sociolinguistica presentata nell'ultima parte dell'articolo.

Parole chiave: sociolinguistica slovena, lingue a contatto, contatto linguistico italo-sloveno, Istria slovena, bilinguismo, capacità di comunicazione linguistica, consapevolezza etnica, coscienza nazionale, coscienza linguistica

INTRODUCTION

Modern Slovene sociolinguistics made its first steps towards national (Slovene and Yugoslav) and international recognition as an independent interdisciplinary science in the 1960s. Today, in accordance with its tradition and social context, which determines the specific character of the Slovene linguistic environment, it focuses on two problem areas: language planning and policy on one hand, and languages in contact on the other. Even though both thematic sections are intertwined in terms of their contents, emphasis can be laid on separate constituent parts of each of the two.

From the territorial perspective the Slovene language is spoken in a relatively small geographical area. Apart from the Republic of Slovenia it also covers areas with recognised Slovene minorities in neighbouring Italy, Austria and Hungary. In addition, the Slovene language is also spoken by emigrants. These facts unquestionably encourage an in-depth research of the Slovene language as a language in contact. Hence, the issue of the Slovene language in contact with other languages within the Slovene state, in border areas of the Slovene and neighbouring states, and in emigration, is a wide research area of modern Slovene sociolinguistics.

SLOVENE SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

The language policy in the Republic of Slovenia is reflected in formal legal acts that define Slovene as the official language of the Republic of Slovenia (Article 11 of the Constitution). Special rights restricted to areas where the minorities live are guaranteed to Italian and Hungarian as the official languages of the Italian and Hungarian autochthonous minorities. Special rights of national minorities in the Republic of Slovenia are specified by Article 64 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, while the right to use the minority languages in the Republic of Slovenia is defined by Article 11 of the Constitution. These rights are also acknowledged by the legislation and municipality statutes effective in the two ethnically mixed areas. Both autochthonous national minorities engage in various forms of cultural activities, are entitled to co-operation with their homeland nations, and are granted the right to partici-

pate in the planning of the spatial, economic and social development of the areas where they live. Their interests are also represented in the National Assembly by one elected Member of Parliament each, and by the operation of a nationality commission. Therefore, it can be asserted that the language policy of the Republic of Slovenia in the ethnically mixed areas strengthens the individual and collective two-way bilingualism of members of minority communities and the majority population, and strives for the recognition of institutional bilingualism and the establishment of equal status for all speakers. This leads to the realisation of two important components of language planning: to strengthen the population's awareness of the importance of the preservation of the cultural and linguistic variety in ethnically mixed areas, and to provide the conditions for the use of the mother tongue in private and public communication (see Nečak Lük, 1998, 84).

Slovene Language in Contact with Languages of Immigration Groups

Despite the high level of ethnic homogeneity of Slovene citizens,¹ immigrant groups belonging to other former Yugoslav nations (especially Croats, Serbs, and Muslims²) should be taken into consideration. However, because of their immigrant character their mother tongues do not enjoy special rights in public communication. After World War II, the Slovene language was one of the national languages of the socialist and federative Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, in certain aspects of political and social life the Serbo-Croatian language was used exclusively (the operation of national organs and institutions, the national military administration, military commands and education, partly the media, etc.), which resulted in its impact on the Slovene language also within the territorial framework of the Slovene republic of that time. In the 1970s in particular, but also later, the influence of the Serbo-Croatian language on the Slovene language was researched by numerous linguists. Today, the interference of the Croatian and Serbian languages in the Slovene language has abated. That is why the theoretical research of the language culture is more focused on the impact of the English language as a *lingua franca* in modern European and world integration processes.

1 According to the census taken in 1991, the population structure in Slovenia was as follows: 1,727,018 or 87.8% Slovenes; 54,212 or 2.8% Croats; 47,911 or 2.4% Serbs, 26,842 or 1.4% Muslims; 8,501 or 0.4% Hungarians; 4,432 or 0.2% Macedonians; 3,064 or 0.2% Italians; 2,293 or 0.1% Roma; 26,565 or 1.43% members of other nationalities.

2 Translator's Footnote: Although 'Muslims' are of course not a nation, the author is working from the 1991 Census delineated in the previous note. In addition, Slovenes were taught to consider 'Muslims' a category equivalent to 'Serb' or 'Macedonian', etc. Such complexities are endemic to the topic, as is illustrated, for one instance, by references in this same paragraph to the Serbo-Croatian language as, subsequently, the Serbian and Croatian languages.

Slovene Language in Contact with Languages of Autochthonous Minorities

Slovene Language in Contact with the Hungarian Language

In Slovenia, autochthonous minorities live in so-called contact areas, where the Slovene language comes into contact with languages of neighbouring national communities. The bilingual situation in the Prekmurje region which is defined by the presence of the Hungarian minority is dealt with especially within research projects of the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana and the Scientific Institute of the Faculty of Arts (Nečak Lük, Lukanovič, Bernjak, et al.). After the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Prekmurje, reaching up to the watershed of the Mura and Raba rivers, was annexed by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon (1920). The Hungarian community was granted the status of national minority, according to a certain level of protection in relation to language use. However, the economic, linguistic and cultural conditions of the Hungarian minority in Prekmurje, having been affected by the loss of the (anyway) modest share of its intelligentsia, gradually declined. Only after the year 1945 was the Hungarian minority again given the opportunity for the recognition of their ethnic and linguistic traits. In 1959, when the development of bilingual education and the gradual introduction of the concept of institutional bilingualism started, both languages, Slovene and Hungarian, were granted an equal status in public communication in the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje. The language used by the Hungarian national minority is a regional variant of the Hungarian language, and reflects a typical multi-layered functional, social and generational diversity. The rights of the Hungarian national minority are respected by means of the bilingual external symbolism of the area (public inscriptions), bilingual administration (administrative, legal, economic, cultural, etc., organs and organisations), and the bilingual educational system, according to which pupils of both nationalities in ethnically mixed classes are exposed to both languages of instruction. This bilingual educational system encompasses the linguistic and social functions: the linguistic or communicative function leads to the establishment of equal and equivalent linguistic contacts between individuals, while the social function leads to the enhancement of symbiosis and tolerance.

Slovene Language in Contact with the Italian Language

In the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria, where the Slovene and Italian national communities have been co-existing and interweaving for centuries, the structure of relations between the majority and minority national communities has always depended on a number of

changing factors: the possibilities to develop formal and informal bonds between members of both nationalities, the language policy, the state border with all concomitant effects, and the importance and reputation of nations to which the majority and minority national communities belong. Until World War II, the dichotomy village vs. town marked the ethnic character of Slovene Istria. The majority of the Italian population lived in the three coastal towns of Koper, Izola and Piran, while Slovenes mostly inhabited the countryside. After the end of World War II, Slovene Istria first belonged to Zone B of the Venezia Giulia region, then to Zone B of the Free Territory of Trieste, and then in the year 1954, in accordance with the Treaty of London, it was annexed by the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The Treaty of London also defined a certain period of time (until the beginning of 1956) when all inhabitants of Italian nationality who wished to live in Italy could emigrate. After a number of Italians, and also Slovenes, had emigrated from Slovene Istria (mostly) into today's Italian territory, and after a number of Slovenes from the Istria hinterland and continental Slovenia, in addition to numerous members of other nationalities, had migrated in, particularly in the three coastal towns, the ethnic character of the area changed considerably. In this period, the Italian minority was granted the integral protection of their rights. Hence, the official languages in the three coastal municipalities are both Slovene and Italian. All public inscriptions and public operations have to be bilingual; this applies to all social organisations in relation to their names and operation. As a result, bilingualism in Slovene Istria after World War II permeated public life, and within its framework the educational system. The system of bilingual education in Slovene Istria includes elementary and secondary schools with Slovene as the language of instruction and Italian taught as an obligatory school subject, and elementary and secondary schools with Italian as the language of instruction and Slovene taught as an obligatory school subject. The language policy aims at the formation of socially recognised or institutional bilingualism taking into account the individual-society relation, and at group or collective two-way bilingualism, taking into account the number of speakers.

Therefore, the situation encompasses an entire spectrum of sociolinguistic questions, which are researched in particular by the Institute for Ethnic Studies (Štrukelj, Nečak Lük, Lukanovič, et al.), the Scientific Institute at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana (Pogorelec, Stabej, et al.), Science and Research Centre of the Republic of Slovenia, Koper (Čok, Furlan, Mikolič, Sedmak), as well as other researchers dealing with these issues from the perspective of other branches of science (Bufon, Darovec, et al.). Issues concerning the other Italian minority have also been researched by its representatives, especially under the patronage of the research institute of

the Italian minority, the Centre for the Research of History from Rovinj in Croatia (Bogliun Debeljuh, Milani-Kruljac, Orbanič, et al.).

Slovene Language as the Minority Language in Contact with National Languages

The Slovene language has the status of minority language with limited rights of public use in Italy, Austria, and Hungary. As a result of different historical backgrounds, the range of language rights varies from state to state and also from region to region. Although these rights are guaranteed by legislation, in most cases they are unenforced. In comparison with the language freedom acquired and enjoyed before World War I, the position of the Slovene language as the minority language in all of these three states, for different reasons, fails to meet the expected rate of development. Nowhere is the minority language sufficiently respected and fostered, while the members of the Slovene minorities either do not have sufficient information about the rights to use their mother tongue in public life or they have these rights denied. Therefore, in these circumstances the use of the Slovene language often depends entirely on the speaker's language loyalty or visible and invisible sanctions imposed by the environment (Pogorelec, 1996, 53). As has been mentioned above, due to different historical backgrounds, the level of language rights varies from state to state and also from region to region: within the research framework of the status of the Slovene language, the position of the Slovene minority in Italy is discussed separately for the Trieste region, the Gorizia region, the Venetian Slovenia region, and the Val Canale (Bogatec, Bufon, Gruden, Kaučič Baša, Petrot, Pogorelec, Sussi, et al.), in Austria in Austrian Carinthia and Styria (Domej, Križman, Mauer Lausegger, Prunč, Zavrtnik Zimič, et al.), and in Hungary in the Raba region (Nečak Lük, Perger, et al.).

Slovene Language as the Language of Emigration

Another object of research of Slovene sociolinguistics is the Slovene language of emigration, which in many places appears at the formal level (Pogorelec, 1996, 55). Its level of preservation depends on the social level of emigrants, their level of education achieved before emigration, their national awareness, etc. Questions researched so far include the position of the Slovene language spoken by Slovenes world-wide in relation to different generations (Bešter), the position of the Slovene language in the USA and Canada (Greenberg, Šabec), and Argentina (Glušič), etc.

Slovene Language in European and World Integration Processes

European integration and globalisation processes

have provided an interesting challenge for Slovene sociolinguistics, in particular with reference to languages in contact. Thus, another task of Slovene sociolinguistics has become the analysis and anticipation of factors which, in the course of the formation of European and world inter-cultural society, enable the formation of such Slovene national and language awareness that will allow the development of a positive attitude toward other cultures without paralysing their own. In this respect, mechanisms for the cultivation of each individual need to be established. These ought to be based on the motivational and not on the moral level of his national and language awareness. Only if the individual acts in accordance with his inner volition and not in accordance with obligations enforced upon him by the external environment, can he adopt an upright and natural posture in relation to his own and other cultures. Only this will enable him to creatively co-exist with other national communities. Similar claims can be made with reference to the acquisition processes of the first and the second languages (Mikolič, 2000a).

SLOVENE-ITALIAN LANGUAGE CONTACT IN SLOVENE ISTRIA

Structure of Relations between the Slovene and Italian National Communities

Within the European and world integration processes, the issue of languages in contact, which already in the present can be observed in the existing contact (very often border) areas, such as Slovene-Italian cultural and linguistic contacts in Slovene Istria, will acquire even more importance.

The professional and wider public in the ethnically mixed territory of Slovene Istria often discusses the issue of the structure of relations between both autochthonous national communities and the related language questions. Both at collective and personal levels, continuous confirmations and revisions of the national identity and the national as well as language awareness take place. In addition, in public and private spheres questions referring to the collective and personal bilingualism are of topical importance.

In the Slovene Istria of the 20th century processes of the formation of interpersonal relations between the two national communities and the acquisition of both languages significantly depended on the generation group. In other words, different generations have shaped their national awareness, Slovene or Italian or both, and their attitude toward the second language and culture, and have acquired the knowledge of both languages in a variety of national, political, social, and cultural circumstances. Since mostly the Italian population inhabited the towns of Slovene Istria before World War II, there are few autochthonous Slovenes among the elderly and middle-

aged generations, which provides another link between the question of generation groups and that of origins. The eldest, elderly and middle-aged generations in Slovene coastal towns, apart from the far fewer autochthonous Italians, mostly consist of immigrants: Slovenes from rural areas of Slovene Istria, which in the past was populated by Slovenes, Slovenes from continental Slovenia, or members of national communities from south republics of former Yugoslavia. The latter immigrated into the Slovene coastal towns after the so-called exodus that occurred in the first decade following World War II, when a primarily Italian population emigrated to Italy. It is a different situation with younger generations, on the other hand, who actually are descendants of immigrants but who were mostly born in this area and therefore identify with it and its culture(s).

Influence of Ethnic Awareness on Communicative Competence in the First and the Second Languages in Slovene Istria

Research Purpose

The previous section discusses questions related to the interpersonal relations between the Slovene population, today representing the majority population, and the Italian minority population, which undoubtedly influence the level of bilingualism of both social groups. These questions stimulated the sociolinguistic research presented in the following chapters. The research purpose was to confirm our basic assumption that ethnic awareness, i.e. the attitude toward one's own culture(s) and toward the second culture(s) present in the environment as well as toward intercultural values, significantly affects the level of communicative competence in the first and second languages, as well as the language use of the Slovene population in the ethnically mixed area of Slovene Istria.

This article highlights only some questions related to the above-mentioned basic assumption, i.e. relations between individual components of ethnic awareness, and the relation between communicative competence in the first and the second languages. Our aim was to find out whether a positive attitude toward the second culture and high communicative competence in the second language, recorded for different generation groups, is also reflected in the attitude toward one's own culture and the level of communicative competence in the mother tongue. Our theory was that a positive attitude toward the second language and culture, and bilingualism or bi/multiculturalism in general, does not exclude a positive attitude toward the mother tongue and culture, and vice versa. Bernjak reports that bilingualism in a bi/multicultural society also encompasses the ability to identify with both cultures, to which a bilingual indi-

vidual develops a positive attitude, still preserving his own cultural identity (Bernjak, 1990, 23). Research outcomes confirm the assumption introduced above.

The key issue is considered to be how and when the attitude toward one's own culture and toward the second culture and language, as well as toward intercultural values, influences language use and communicative competence in the mother tongue and in the second language. Several theoreticians argue that a close relationship between language and culture in intercultural communication, both in ethnically mixed territories and in the international environment, fosters greater language awareness than monolingual communication in an ethnically homogeneous territory; i.e. they assert that bilingual speakers have greater awareness of their own speaking behaviour than monolingual speakers (van Lier, 1995, 6; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 195). As a result, it can be assumed that in cultural contact areas, e.g. in the ethnically mixed territory of Slovene Istria, daily contacts between members of different nationalities mostly enable the attitude toward one's own and the second culture and language to be consciously shaped, and that this is the reason why it significantly influences the level of communicative competence in the first and second languages, and actual language use. Due to a variety of factors, which we attempted to define in the course of our research and are highlighted in this article, this attitude expressed by individuals or individual social groups can tend to be more positive or more negative, which certainly affects the level of communicative competence.

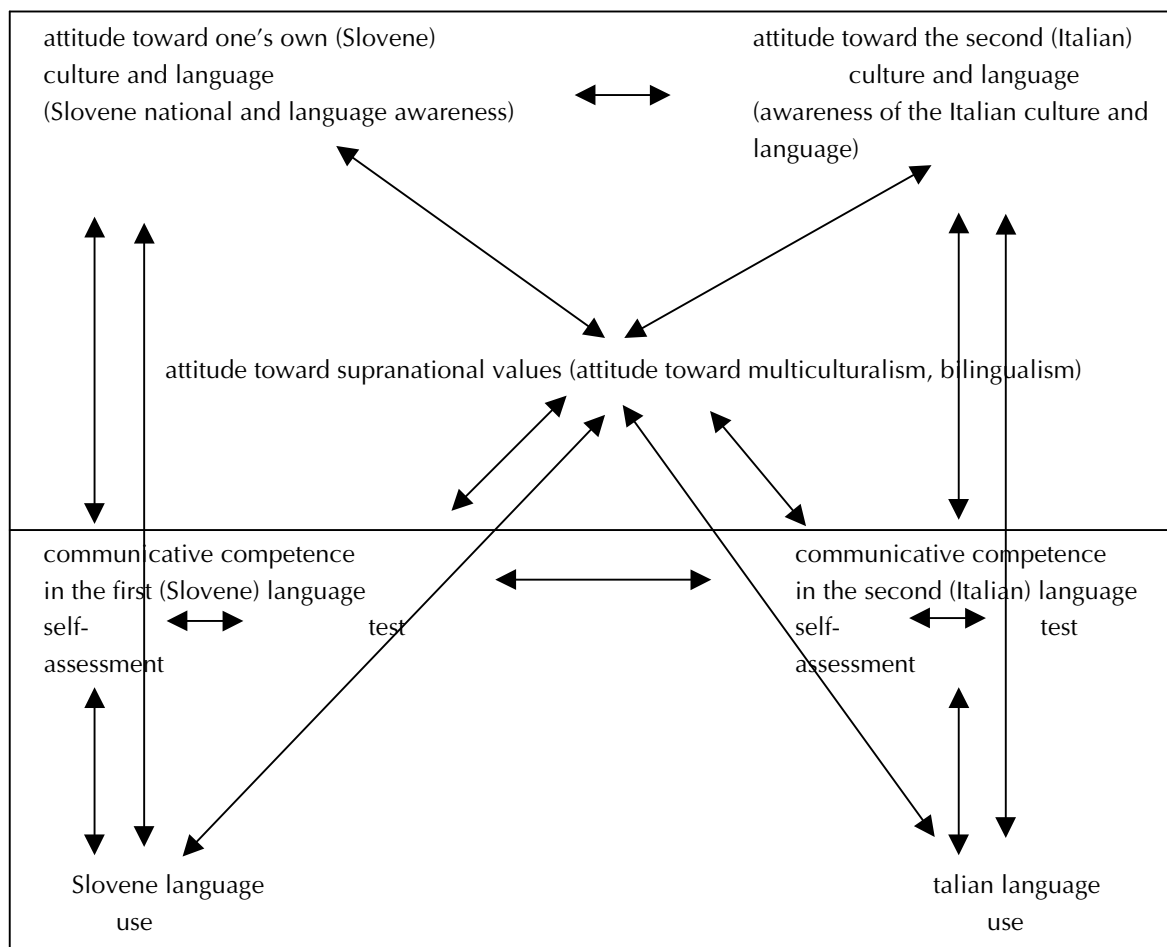
The review of literature dealing with ethnic studies revealed the difficulty to find reliable measurement instruments to be used in researching the attitude toward one's own ethnic identity, culture and language, i.e. the level of national and language awareness, and the attitude toward other cultures and languages. Moreover, scientists' views concerning the definition of communicative competence and various methods to test it vary to a large extent. This provided a stimulus for the design of a measurement instrument based on our own concept of ethnic awareness and communicative competence. The instrument was used for the research of the level of ethnic awareness, its constituent components, and communicative competence in the first and second languages (Mikolič, 2000a). Another research purpose was the verification of the adequacy of the measurement instrument for similar empirical research.

Methodology

Description of the Measurement Instrument

Based on the formulated research hypotheses, ethnic awareness and communicative competence concepts, the following research model was designed:

ETHNIC AWARENESS



COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AND LANGUAGE USE

Chart 1: Research model.

Diagram 1: Raziskovalni model.

The measurement instrument, which consisted of a questionnaire and a language test, was designed to verify theories regarding the inter-dependence of individual variables shown in the research model.³ The questionnaire contained indicators of the following variables in the research model:

- Slovene national and language awareness - variable indicators related to the components of the formation of the attitude toward one's own nationality, national community, and the first language (cognitive, emotional, active/dynamic components),
- awareness of the Italian culture and language - variable indicators related to the components of the formation of the attitude toward the second culture and the language of the environment (cognitive, emotional, active/dynamic components),
- attitude toward intercultural values - variable indicators important for the definition of the attitude toward shared cultural values, such as bi/multilingualism, bi/multiculturalism, tolerance, etc.,
- self-assessment of communicative competence (CC) in the Slovene language - variable indicators related to the four basic communicative skills in the first language (comprehension and production of spoken texts, comprehension and production of written texts) and topics taken from various aspects of life that the language speakers are able to verbalise in their first language,
- self-assessment of communicative competence (CC) in the Italian language - variable indicators related to the four basic communicative skills in the second

³ Chart 1 shows all assumptions concerning the inter-dependence of individual variables in the research model. This article will present only those relations connected with the questions discussed in the subchapter introducing the research purpose.

language (comprehension and production of spoken texts, comprehension and production of written texts) and topics taken from various aspects of life that the language speakers are able to verbalise in their second language,

- Slovene language use - variable indicators designed to indicate existing opportunities for the use of the first language and the extent to which these opportunities are used,
- Italian language use - variable indicators designed to indicate existing opportunities for the use of the second language and the extent to which these opportunities are used,
- social-economic-demographic variables (gender, age, education, profession, etc.).

These variable indicators were obtained by means of answers to sets of questions, e.g.:

- ◊ Which TV programs do you most often watch? Slovene, Italian, Slovene and Italian equally often, other - active/dynamic component of the "Slovene national and language awareness" and the "awareness of the Italian culture and language",
- ◊ Which football team would you support if the two teams playing against each other were Slovene and Italian? Slovene, Italian, I don't know - emotional component of the "Slovene national and language awareness" and the "awareness of the Italian culture and language",
- ◊ Can you sing the song "En hribček bom kupil" or "La mulla de Parenzo"? Yes, yes--partly, no--but I know the song, no--I've never heard this song - cognitive component of the "Slovene national and language awareness" and the "awareness of the Italian culture and language",
- ◊ If you are bilingual, you are more tolerant to other cultures and to all people in general. I strongly agree, I agree, I cannot decide, I don't agree, I strongly disagree - "attitude toward intercultural values",
- ◊ In a conversation in the Slovene/Italian language I can understand: everything, the general meaning but not every word, individual sentences, individual words, I cannot understand anything - "self-assessment of CC in the Slovene/Italian language",
- ◊ Which language do you use in Koper to start a conversation with a person whom you know to be a member of the Italian minority? Always Slovene, mostly Slovene, always Italian, mostly Italian, sometimes Slovene, sometimes Italian, other - "Slovene language use" and "Italian language use".

The variable value was calculated by recoding the indicators to obtain different categories, e.g. categories 1 and 2. Each answer from category 1 represented one unit of the value of the variable "Slovene national and language awareness", while each answer from category 2 represented one unit of the value of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language". The value of the variable "Slovene national and language awareness" was obtained by adding the answers from category 1 (and answers of other categories representing half a unit of the value of this variable⁴), while the value of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language" was obtained by adding the answers from category 2 (and answers of other categories representing half a unit of the value of this variable⁴). After the calculation of the values of each of the observed variables for each respondent, the average value of each variable for each respondent was calculated in relation to the highest possible value of each variable.

The questionnaire was administered together with a language test, which can be described as a combination of a goal-oriented integrative test and a test of separate elements, a psychometric and edumetric test. The test consisted of:

- a) a test of Slovene as the mother tongue,
- b) a test of Italian as the second language.

In accordance with our view of communicative competence (Mikolič, 2000a), the main parts of the test of the Slovene and the Italian languages consisted of several tasks related to the different constituent components of communicative competence:

- a) communicative competence:
 - grammatical and sociolinguistic competence - observation of all elements at the text production level,
 - grammatical competence - elements at all language levels, with special emphasis on semantics,
 - sociolinguistic competence - elements related to pragmatic rules, the recognition of communicative purposes and communicative circumstances;
- b) interference:
 - grammatical competence, with special emphasis on the discourse level.

As indicators of variables "test of the Slovene language" and "test of the Italian language" solutions to tasks were defined; the value of the variable was calculated by adding the points achieved in the test of the Slovene language and in the test of the Italian language separately. The value of the variable "CC in the Slovene language" was calculated by adding the values of the variables "self-assessment of CC in the Slovene language" and "test of the Slovene language", while the

4 Each answer from category 3 represented half of a unit of the value of the variable "Slovene national and language awareness" and half of a unit of the value of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language"; each answer from category 4 represented half of a unit of the value of the variable "Slovene national and language awareness"; each answer from category 5 represented half of a unit of the value of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language".

value of the variable "CC in the Italian language" was calculated by adding the value of the variables "self-assessment of CC in the Italian language" and "test of the Italian language". The average value of each variable was calculated for each respondent in relation to the highest possible value of these variables.

The results were analysed by means of appropriate subprograms of the program package SPSS (Frequencies, Descriptives, Crosstabs, and Regression).

The measurement instrument was supported by qualitative methods, e.g. participatory action research, interviews, and guided interviews.

Research Sampling

The enquiry was based on a representative sample of Slovene nationality citizens of Koper, consisting of 153 persons of both genders, different levels of education and professions, who were divided into 5 age groups (from 15-100 years), as follows:

- a) population, born between 1900-1925 (aged 75 and more - age group 5),
- b) population, born between 1926-1940 (aged 60-74 - age group 4),
- c) population, born between 1941-1955 (aged 45-59 - age group 3),
- d) population, born between 1956-1970 (aged 30-44 - age group 2),
- e) population, born between 1971-1985 (aged 15-29 - age group 1).

According to the 1991 census, the population of the town of Koper included 13,714 citizens of Slovene nationality aged between 15 and 85 plus, which means that the selected sample accounts for 1.1% of 1991's population.

The sample of randomly selected respondents with registered permanent addresses in the area of the town of Koper was provided by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. The random selection approach was supplemented by the snowball strategy (Sedmak, 2001), which means that respondents from the random sample were asked to provide us with at least another person who would meet the selection criteria and would be willing to co-operate. Aiming at the highest possible sample diversification, each following respondent, too, was asked to provide another informant. The questionnaire was administered to 104 persons (68%) after the random selection approach, while 49 respondents (32%) were collected by means of the snowball strategy. The enquiry took place from October 2000 to December 2001, and was carried out by the project leader and selected enquirers.

The research involved a total of 153 respondents, 54 (35%) men and 99 (64.7%) women. The sample struc-

ture with reference to the age of respondents is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Age structure.

Tabela 1: Starostna struktura.

Age group	Number	Percentage	Valid percentage
1	38	24,8	24,8
2	41	26,8	26,8
3	30	19,6	19,6
4	23	15,0	15,0
5	21	13,7	13,7
Total	153	100,0	100,0

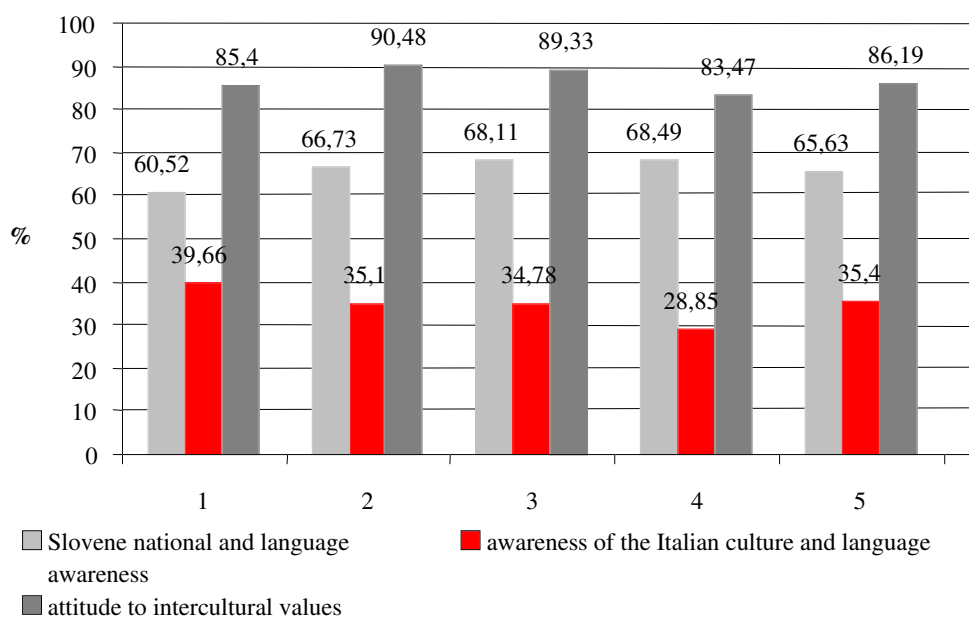
14% of respondents had elementary or lower education, 16% represent secondary school and tertiary level students, 53% of respondents had professional or secondary school education, and 17% had college, university or post-graduate education. With reference to their origins, 60% are natives of Slovene Istria, 20% come from other areas of Primorska, 13% from other parts of Slovenia, and 7% from other areas (the Trieste region, Croatian Istria, former Yugoslav republics).

Research outcomes

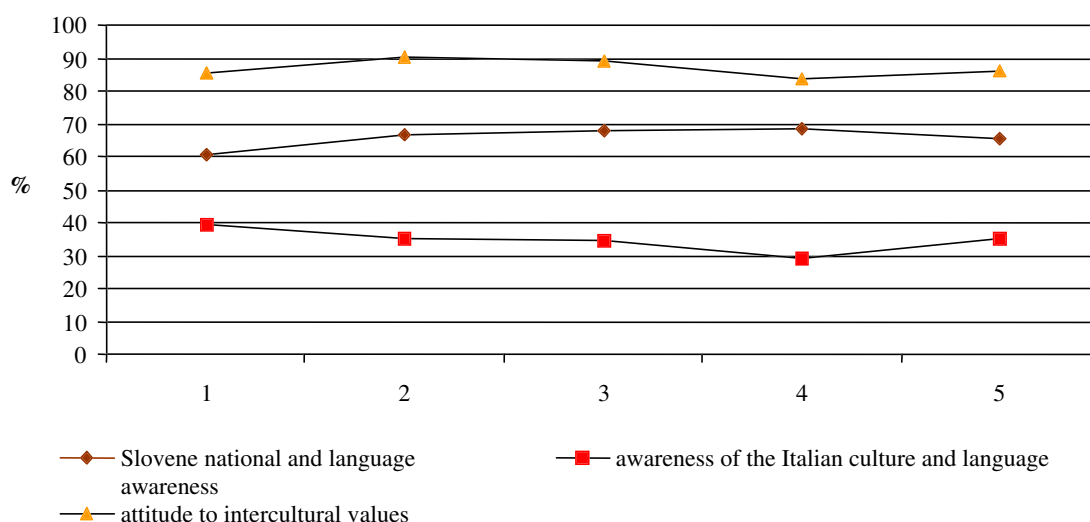
Relation between Individual Components of Ethnic Awareness

The respondents averaged 65.57% (the results ranged from 26.09% to 88.41%) for the variable "Slovene national and language awareness", while the average of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language" was 35.27% (the results ranged from 4.35% to 78.26%). On the basis of the range of results for the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language", it can be deduced that all respondents, to a major or minor extent, are aware of the existence of the Italian culture in their living environment, despite the evident difference between the average values of the variables mentioned, which indicates a favourable attitude of the respondents toward their own culture. The highest average (87.36%) was achieved for the variable "attitude toward intercultural values" despite wide gaps between individual respondents (the results ranged from 10% to 100%).

If the variables "awareness of the Italian culture and language" and "Slovene national and language awareness" are juxtaposed, it can be discovered that the majority of the respondents (148 or 96.7%) achieved a higher result for the latter, while a higher result for the former was achieved by 5 respondents (or 3.3%) only - all belonging to age group 1. The fact that the Italian culture and language are more favourably accepted by members of the youngest generations is proved by the



Graph 1: Average values of variables of ethnic awareness with regard to age groups.
Graf 1: Povprečne vrednosti spremenljivk etnične ozaveščenosti glede na starostne skupine.



Graph 2: Attitude toward components of ethnic awareness with regard to age groups.
Graf 2: Odnos do komponent etnične ozaveščenosti glede na starostne skupine.

correlation between the variable "age group" and variables "Slovene national and language awareness" and "awareness of the Italian culture and language". A statistically significant positive correlation was found between age and attitude toward one's own culture, i.e. the Slovene national and language awareness, which means that Slovene national awareness is higher amongst higher age groups. A statistically significant negative correlation was observed between age and the

attitude toward the Italian culture, which means that the highest value of the variable "awareness of the Italian culture and language" was achieved by the youngest age group (see also Graphs 1, 2).

Since the correlation coefficient for the whole population did not indicate a mutual dependence of variables "Slovene national and language awareness" and "awareness of the Italian culture and language", it cannot be asserted that a positive attitude toward the

Italian culture is only adopted by the youngest generation. This leads us to the conclusion that a positive attitude toward the mother tongue and one's own culture does not necessarily imply a positive attitude toward the second language and culture, nor necessarily excludes it. Hence, members of all age groups can develop a high level of national awareness without hindering the development of the awareness of the Italian culture.

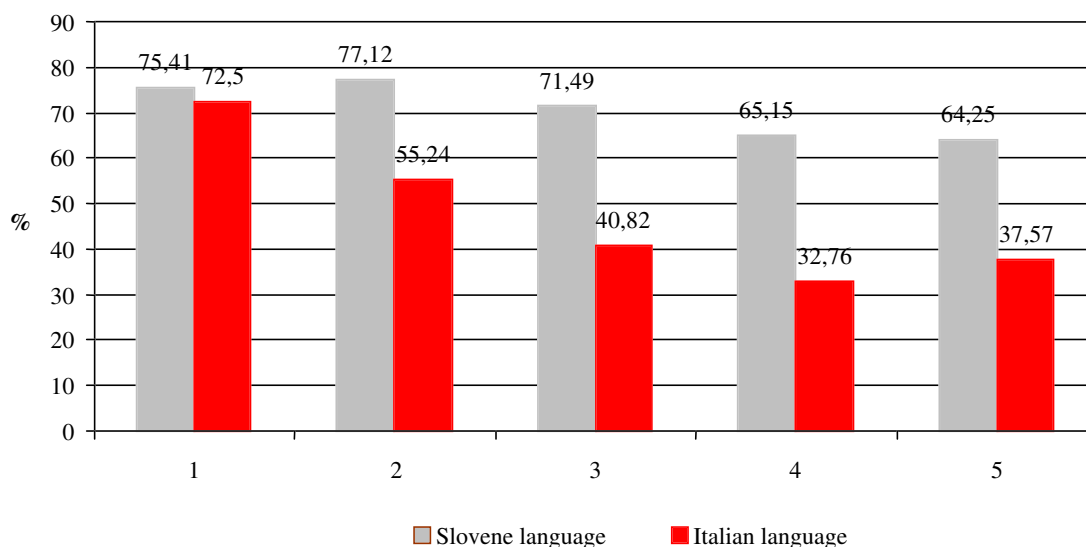
Furthermore, the level of Slovene national awareness is not only determined by the age but also by the level of education. A statistically significant positive correlation was found between the level of education and the attitude toward one's own culture; i.e. Slovene national and language awareness. This means that a higher level of education is more likely to correspond to higher national awareness. Nevertheless, a statistically significant correlation between the level of education and the awareness of the Italian culture and language was not obtained.

Another aim of our research was to find out whether the attitude toward intercultural values affects the attitude toward the Slovene and the Italian cultures. A statistically significant proportion was found between the variable "attitude toward intercultural values" and the variables "Slovene national and language awareness" and "awareness of the Italian culture and language". On the basis of these data it can be asserted that for the se-

lected population the choice at the level of principles, as we can understand the attitude toward joint cultural values such as bilingualism, tolerance, symbiosis of several cultures, etc., influences their concrete attitude toward their own and the second cultures.

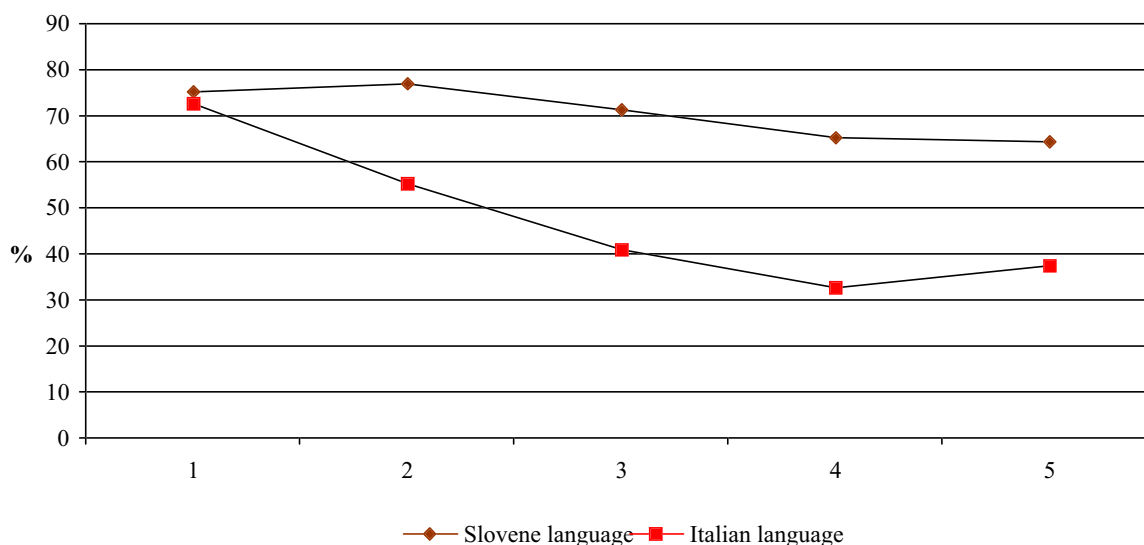
Fig. 1: Slovene national awareness increases with the level of education and age.

Sl. 1: Raven slovenske narodne zavesti se viša z izobrazbo in starostjo.



Graph 3: Average values of variables "CC in the Slovene language" and "CC in the Italian language" with regard to the age group.

Graf 3: Povprečne vrednosti spremenljivk "sporazumevalna zmožnost v slovenskem jeziku" in "sporazumevalna zmožnost v italijanskem jeziku" glede na starostne skupine.



Graph 4: Communicative competence in the Slovene and the Italian languages with regard to the age group.
Graf 4: Sporazumevalna zmožnost v slovenskem in italijanskem jeziku glede na starostne skupine.

The Relation between the Communicative Competence in the Slovene Language and Communicative Competence in the Italian Language

The respondents averaged 72.03% (the results ranged from 28.99% to 98.55%) for the variable "CC in the Slovene language," while the average obtained for the variable "CC in the Italian language" was 50.89% (the results ranged from 0% to 91.30%). Within each age group, too, the average of the variable indicating communicative competence in the mother tongue was higher than the average of the variable indicating communicative competence in the Italian language (Graph 3). Again, the group that stood out was age group 1, variable averages being only slightly different. In this group, the average of the variable "CC in the Slovene language" was 75.41% (the results ranged from 34.06% to 91.30%), while the average of the variable "CC in the Italian language" was 72.50% (the results ranged from 32.61% to 91.30%).

The majority of respondents (129 or 84.3%) achieved a higher result for the variable "CC in the Slovene language", but as many as 24 (15.7%) achieved a higher result for the variable "CC in the Italian language": 14 respondents from age group 1, 4 respondents from age group 2, 3 respondents from age group 3, 1 respondent from age group 4, and 2 respondents from age group 5.

The correlation coefficient revealed that communicative competence in the Slovene language and communicative competence in the Italian language are related to age. Hence, a statistically significant negative correlation was found between the variables "CC in the Slovene language" and "CC in the Italian language", and

the age group variable, which indicates that, statistically speaking, with age the level of communicative competence in the mother tongue as well as in the second language declines (see Graph 4).

Another important factor influencing only the communicative competence in the Slovene language but not the communicative competence in the Italian language is the level of education. A statistically significant positive correlation was found between the variables "CC in the Slovene language" and "education", which means that a higher level of education indicates the likelihood of higher communicative competence in the mother tongue. On the other hand, a statistically significant correlation was found between the variable "CC in the Ita-

Fig. 2: Italian culture and language is most accepted by the youngest generation.

Sl. 2: Najmlajša generacija je najbolj odprta do italijanske kulture in jezika.

lian language" and the variables "respondent's place of birth" and "respondent's mother's place of birth". The correlation between these variables indicates that the respondents whose place of birth or whose mother's place of birth was in the territory of Slovene Istria have developed the highest level of communicative competence in the Italian language; this level slightly decreases if the respondent was born or brought up in other parts of Primorska. It declines further if the respondent or his/her mother come(s) from other parts of Slovenia, and is the lowest if the respondent or his/her mother come(s) from elsewhere. More than the level of education, therefore, it is spatial proximity that determines the knowledge of the Italian language.

A statistically significant positive correlation was also found between the variables "CC in the Slovene language" and "CC in the Italian language", which means that a higher level of communicative competence in the Slovene language generally corresponds to a higher level of communicative competence in the Italian language, and vice versa. Therefore, the knowledge of the second language tends not to hinder the development of appropriate communicative competence in the mother tongue. What needs to be achieved is an appropriate communicative competence both in the mother tongue and in the language of the environment.

Language use depends on communicative competence: A statistically significant positive correlation was found between the variables "CC in the Slovene language" and "Slovene language use", as well as between the variables "CC in the Italian language" and "Italian language use". The values of the variable "CC in the Italian language" were relatively high for the entire sample, thus relatively frequent use of the Italian language could be expected. However, averages of the variables "Slovene language use" and "Italian language use" do not confirm this assumption; the average of the former variable is 80.77%, while the latter is just 9.3%. That means that in comparison with the frequency of the use of the Slovene language, the frequency of the use of the Italian language is significantly lower. These data are understandable if we consider the fact that respondents were members of the majority national community. Nevertheless, for the high level of bilingualism found and a generally positive attitude toward the culture and language of the Italian minority, a more frequent use of the Italian language could be expected.

Influence of the Attitude Toward One's Own and Co-existing Culture and Language and Toward Intercultural Values on Communicative Competence in the Mother Tongue and in the Second Language, and on Language Use

A statistically significant dependence occurred between the variables "Slovene national and language

awareness" and "CC in the Slovene language", as well as between the variables "awareness of the Italian culture and language" and "CC in the Italian language". Therefore, the awareness of the culture and language has a major impact on the knowledge of any language, the mother tongue, i.e. Slovene, and the language of the environment, i.e. Italian. However, a statistically significant correlation was not present between the attitude toward values and communicative competence, which means that values do reflect in the attitude toward one's own and second cultures (see previous subchapter), but they do not have a direct influence on the concrete level of communicative competence.

A surprising statistically significant negative correlation was found between "Slovene national and language awareness" and "Italian language use", as well as between "awareness of the Italian culture and language" and "Slovene language use", which indicates less frequent use of the Italian language when the level of Slovene national awareness is higher, as well as less frequent use of the Slovene language when the level of awareness of the Italian culture is higher. On the other hand, it was found that greater "awareness of the Italian culture and language" also leads to a more frequent "Italian language use", while greater "Slovene national and language awareness" leads to a more frequent "Slovene language use".

Discussion and Conclusion

On the basis of the research outcomes it can be deduced that the Slovene nationality population in the urban, ethnically mixed part of the Municipality of Koper has a positive attitude toward its culture and intercultural values such as multiculturalism, bilingualism, tolerance, and symbiosis of different national communities. It also more or less favourably accepts the culture of the Italian national community. These facts are reflected in the high level of Slovene-Italian bilingualism of this population.

Significant differences can be present among various age groups. Beginning from the youngest generation and proceeding towards the eldest age group, the national awareness increases, while with age the awareness of the Italian culture and language declines. The phenomenon related to the levels of communicative competence in the first and the second languages is different: both are highest in the youngest generation group, gradually decreasing towards the eldest generation group. Undoubtedly, a possible cause can be identified in the correlation between age and the level of education. On average, respondents in the first two age groups have achieved a higher level of education than respondents in other groups. In addition, most respondents in the youngest age groups are autochthonous Slovene Istrians, exposed to obligatory lessons of the Italian language in elementary and secondary school.

Nevertheless, the analysis of the entire sample revealed a statistically significant correlation between the level of education and the Slovene national and language awareness as well as communicative competence in the Slovene language. However, a statistically significant correlation was not present between the level of education and the awareness of the Italian culture and language, the communicative competence in the Italian language, nor the attitude toward intercultural values. Therefore, it can be concluded that the openness to the Italian culture and intercultural values is determined by other factors, such as, it may be posited, a favourable attitude toward European integration, globalisation processes and international integrations, the attractiveness of the Italian culture as depicted in today's media, contacts with members of the Italian minority, etc (Mikolič, 2001a, b).

With reference to the level of bilingualism, research outcomes confirmed findings of previous research (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), detecting a positive transfer during a simultaneous acquisition of different languages. Similarly, it was found that communicative competence in the Slovene and the Italian languages are directly proportional. However, no statistically significant correlation was found between the Slovene national awareness and the awareness of the Italian culture. Therefore, we can deduce that the Slovene national awareness of the selected population does not imply nor exclude a positive attitude toward the Italian culture and language, and allows a high level of communicative competence in Italian as the second language, as no statistically significant interdependence exists between the Slovene national awareness and the communicative competence in the Italian language, nor between the awareness of the Italian culture and language and the communicative competence in the Slovene language.

On the other hand, a correlation was found between Slovene national awareness and communicative competence in the mother tongue, as well as between the awareness of the Italian culture and communicative competence in the Italian language, which means that communicative competence is a skill which also depends on the attitude toward the language and the culture to which it belongs. The correlation between the attitude toward intercultural values and the attitude toward one's own and one's second culture is positive, but it has no impact on the communicative competence. In spite of that it can be asserted that two fundamental components of ethnic awareness, i.e. the awareness of one's own and one's second culture, have a significant influence on communicative competence in the mother tongue and in the language of the environment.

The same cannot be claimed for the use of the Slovene and Italian languages. The Slovene national and language awareness and the use of the Italian language are inversely proportional, and so are the awareness of

Fig. 3: Despite institutionalised bilingualism in Slovene Istria numerous questions related to the level of communicative competence and language use remain open. Sl. 3: V Slovenski Istri kljub institucionalizirani dvojezičnosti ostajajo odprta številna vprašanja, povezana z ravniijo sporazumevalne zmožnosti in jezikovno rabo.

the Italian culture and language and the use of the Slovene language. That means that the higher the Slovene national awareness is, the more frequent the use of the Slovene language is, and less frequent use of the Italian language. In other words, the higher the awareness of the Italian culture is, the more frequent the use of the Italian language is, and less frequent the use of the Slovene language. These facts and data revealing that in comparison with the use of the Slovene language the frequency of the use of the Italian language is significantly lower are understandable if we take into consideration that respondents are members of the majority national community. Nevertheless, due to the high level of bilingualism and a relatively positive attitude toward the culture and language of the Italian minority as well as to intercultural values, a more frequent actual use of the Italian language, independent of Slovene national awareness or even directly proportional to it, could be expected.

Therefore, the ethnically mixed territory of Slovene Istria allows the possibility of a positive attitude toward both cultures without neglecting one's own cultural identity. It depends on a variety of circumstances, however, whether these possibilities are used. Considering all expected changes to be brought into this area by the Slovene entrance into the European Union, it would be appropriate to introduce suitable programs which would strengthen the impact of education on the formation of modern national awareness and on the increase of the

level of communicative competence in the mother tongue, as well as on the attitude toward the Italian culture and on the level of communicative competence in the Italian language if both autochthonous cultures living in this area are to be preserved. The attitude toward these cultures should not be left to coincidental factors, such as the continuously changing influences of the media and politics, but should be part of an appropriate long-term language and cultural policy, realised through appropriate educational and socio-cultural programs.

SLOVENSKI IN ITALIJANSKI JEZIK V STIKU NA NARODNOSTNO MEŠANEM PODROČJU SLOVENSKE ISTRE

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POVZETEK

Članek sprva osvetli razvoj slovenske sociolingvistike na področju jezikov v stiku, nato pa se osredotoči na problematiko stika slovenskega in italijanskega jezika na narodnostno mešanem področju Slovenske Istre. V prvem delu so tako predstavljeni sociolingvistični vidiki slovenščine v stiku z jeziki priseljeniških skupin in avtohtonih manjšin, tj. z madžarskim in italijanskim jezikom, v Republiki Sloveniji, dalje slovenščine kot manjšinskega jezika v stiku z državnimi jeziki, kot jezika izseljenstva in nazadnje slovenskega jezika v evropskih in svetovnih združevalnih procesih. V drugem delu je natančneje obravnavano narodnostno mešano področje Slovenske Istre, kjer je bila na osnovi londonskega in kasnejših osimskih sporazumov vpeljana institucionalna dvojezičnost. Kljub temu ostajajo odprta številna vprašanja, povezana z ravni sporazumevalne zmožnosti v prvem in drugem jeziku vsakega posameznika in posameznih družbenih skupin. Jezikovna sporazumevalna zmožnost je odvisna od vrste osebnih in družbenih dejavnikov, nenazadnje tudi od odnosa, ki ga ima posameznik do lastne/-ih in druge/-ih kultur v okolju ter do skupnih kulturnih vrednot, torej od t.i. etnične ozaveščenosti, kar potrjujejo tudi rezultati sociolingvistične raziskave, predstavljene v zadnjem delu članka.

Z anketo, ki je bila izpeljana na osnovi anketnega vprašalnika in jezikovnega testa ter je zajela reprezentativni vzorec občanov slovenske narodnosti mesta Koper, je bila tako ugotovljena prenosorazmerna povezanost tako narodne zavesti s kompetenco v maternem jeziku kot zavesti o italijanski kulturi s kompetenco v italijanskem jeziku. Odnos do nadnacionalnih vrednot, kot so večkulturnost, dvojezičnost, strpnost, sožitje različnih narodnih skupnosti, je sicer pozitivno povezan z odnosom do lastne in druge kulture, nima pa vpliva na jezikovno kompetenco. Na osnovi dobljenih rezultatov lahko tudi ugotovimo, da imajo prebivalci slovenske narodnosti v urbanem, narodnostno mešanem delu mestne občine Koper pozitiven odnos do lastne kulture, hkrati pa z naklonjenostjo sprejemajo kulturo italijanske narodne skupnosti kakor tudi nadnacionalne kulturne vrednote. To se kaže tudi v visoki stopnji slovensko-italijanske dvojezičnosti pri tej populaciji.

Pri tem prihaja do razlik med različnimi starostnimi skupinami. Narodna zavest se od najmlajše proti najstarejši generaciji veča, medtem ko je zavest o italijanski kulturi pri višjih starostnih skupinah nižja. Drugače je s sporazumevalno zmožnostjo v prvem in drugem jeziku; tako raven kompetence v slovenščini kot kompetence v italijanščini je najvišja pri najmlajših generacijskih skupinah in se nato postopoma niža proti najstarejši starostni skupini. Pomembno vlogo pri tem igra seveda tudi izobrazba. Zanimivo je, da je ta prenosorazmerno povezana le s slovensko narodno zavestjo in kompetenco v slovenskem jeziku, ni pa bila ugotovljena statistično značilna povezava niti z zavestjo o italijanski kulturi, niti s kompetenco v italijanskem jeziku in prav tako ne tudi z odnosom do nadnacionalnih vrednot. Glede na to lahko sklepamo, da na odprtost do italijanske kulture in nadnacionalnih vrednot bolj vplivajo drugi dejavniki, kot na primer: naklonjenost evropskim združitvenim in svetovnim globalizacijskim procesom ter mednarodnemu povezovanju, privlačnost italijanske kulture, kot jo kažejo italijanski mediji, stiki s pripadniki italijanske manjšine itd.

V zvezi s stopnjo dvojezičnosti so se potrdila spoznanja nekaterih predhodnih raziskav, ki govorijo o pozitivnem jezikovnem transferju pri usvajanju več jezikov hkrati. Tako sta se nam sporazumevalna zmožnost v slovenskem in italijanskem jeziku pokazali kot prenosorazmerni. Drugače pa je s slovensko narodno zavestjo in zavestjo o italijanski kulturi, med katerima ni bilo zaslediti statistično značilne povezave. To pa lahko pomeni, da slovenska narodna zavest pri obravnavani populaciji ne izključuje pozitivnega odnosa do italijanske kulture in jezika ter tako dopušča tudi visoko raven jezikovne sporazumevalne zmožnosti v italijanskem kot drugem jeziku. Tega pa ne izpričuje jezikovna raba, saj je pogostnost rabe italijanskega jezika v primerjavi s pogostnostjo rabe slovenskega jezika občutno nižja.

Kljub temu lahko zaključimo, da na narodnostno mešanem območju Slovenske Istre torej obstaja možnost pozitivnega odnosa do obeh kultur, ne da bi pri tem zanemarili lastno kulturno identiteto, čeprav je od različnih okoliščin predvsem v bližnjem okolju odvisno, ali posameznik to možnost izkoristi. Najbrž bi z vidika sprememb, ki jih bo na to območje prinesel vstop Slovenije v Evropsko unijo, z ustreznimi programi kazalo okrečiti vpliv izobrazbe tako na oblikovanje sodobne narodne zavesti in raven sporazumevalne zmožnosti v maternem jeziku kot tudi na odnos do italijanske kulture in kompetenco v italijanskem jeziku, če seveda želimo ohraniti avtohtoni kulturi tega območja.

Ključne besede: slovenska sociolingvistika, jeziki v stiku, slovensko-italijanski jezikovni stik, Slovenska Istra, dvojezičnost, jezikovna sporazumevalna zmožnost, etnična ozaveščenost, narodna in jezikovna zavest

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