1. Language families and language groups

In the Baltic area two language families have been in contact since prehistorical times, the Indo-European and the Uralic language families. Indo-European is represented by three linguistic branches, the Germanic, Baltic and Slavic groups, and Uralic by the Balto-Fennic branch and the Saami language(s). In addition, relatively early settlers in the area are the Tatars in Belarus (Belorussia, Byelorussia), Lithuania and Poland, and the Karaims in Lithuania and Poland who have partly kept their languages (of the Turko-Tataric language family) and the Roma (Gypsies) who speak various dialects of Romani or Romanes (an Indo-Iranian language).

An enumeration gives an overview of great linguistic diversity in a relatively small area but this is not the full picture. The overview may be both simplified and complicated. Many of the languages mentioned above are small. Only Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, German, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Belarusian (Belorussian, Byelorussian, Belarusian), Ukrainian and Polish count more than a million speakers, and these languages are the only ones able to fulfil the role of national languages. All the other languages are minority languages, spoken by as few as 50–60 people up to as many as a hundred thousand. Some of them are near extinction, such as Votian, Livonian, Ingrian, the South Saami, and Lower Sorbian.

2. Language and dialect

In defining a language it is never easy to draw a borderline between dialect and language. This is especially cumbersome in the case of very closely related languages such as the Scandinavian, the Slavic, or the Balto-Fennic ones. In many of these cases the distinction between a dialect or language is, or was, decided by extra-linguistic factors such as state borders. The dialects of the present Swedish provinces Skåne, Blekinge, and Halland would have been Danish if Sweden had not captured the area in the 17th century. The same goes for the Swedish provinces Bohuslän, Härjedalen and Jämtland but with the difference that they would have been Norwegian. Another example is that the dialects of the Smolensk area, which in the beginning of this century were considered Belarusian, are now Russian.

The problem of differentiating between dialect and language has also been used for political purposes. In the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the Ukrainian (Little Russian) and Belarusian dialects were considered dialects of a greater Russian language, and consequently any attempt to develop a Ukrainian or a Belarusian literary language could be labelled an attempt to break a greater Russian unity. Another example is the
Language families

Studies of the relations between different languages allowed scientists in the 19th century to construct language trees. These have more recently been confirmed and extended. Extinct languages, such as Prussian and Gothic are indicated to the left of the contemporary ones.

Three of the 12 groups constituting the Indo-European language family are found in the region: Germanic, Slavic and Baltic. Many scientists suggest that the two latter have a distant common origin as a Balto-Slavic language. The original Indo-European language is believed to have been spoken in a region in contemporary southeastern Turkey some 10,000 years ago. The present extension of the Indo-European languages is shown in the map as the dotted area. The Finno-Ugric language family, shown as a dark grey field in the map, is found in the northern part of the Eurasian continent. Nine of the Balto-Finnish languages found in the Baltic region are spoken by minority people (see also Table 7c).

Some researchers hypothesize that the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages have a common origin some 15,000 years ago in the Eurasian superfamily of languages. The language trees have more recently been confirmed by genetic investigations. These suggest that the human species spread over the Eurasian continent some 45,000 years BC.
status of the Kashubian dialects. Are they dialects of a separate West Slavic language or are they dialects of Polish? Researchers have differing views, but Polish linguists have typically regarded the Kashubian dialects as Polish.

These problems could also be exemplified with the northern Balto-Fennic languages, i.e. Finnish, Karelian, Vepsian, and Ingrian. The Karelian dialects have been considered Finnish, and there has been discussion about the Ingrian dialects. Do they belong to the Karelian dialects or not? The Ludic dialects are now counted as Karelian dialects but were earlier considered a separate language.

Dialects of a given language area can be more or less differentiated. It is possible to claim that all speakers of Russian are able to understand each other. The same probably also goes for the speakers of the other Slavic languages in the area. In this respect Sweden has much more variation. Between the most extreme poles mutual intelligibility is low. Most speakers of Swedish dialects would not, for example, understand the dialect of Älvdalen in the northwest of the Swedish province Dalarna. The difference between standard Swedish and this dialect is also huge. For that reason most inhabitants in the area are bilingual, speaking both Swedish and their home dialect. If we take intelligibility as the criterion for what constitutes a language, it could be argued that the Älvdalen dialect is a separate language. In the Saami language, which is spread over four states, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia, the differences are especially great, so great that some researchers even talk about 9 or 10 Saami languages.

**Common languages around the Baltic Sea**

**Russian** was the common language in the former Soviet Union and is still understood and can be spoken by a majority of the people in the new independent countries. But the Russian language is still seen in the former Soviet republics as a language of dominance, and only time can wash away that brand. Nevertheless, Russian will be an important language of communication in the area, especially if Russia succeeds with its reform policy. Then knowledge of Russian will probably be seen as an advantage in the neighbouring countries.

In the Scandinavian countries **English** is clearly the first foreign language. Nearly all of the younger generations have some knowledge of English. The dominance of English in television and in pop-music is also evident. English is rapidly gaining ground in other countries as well.

The unification of Germany, the strong economic position of the country and its interest in economic and other contacts with the former Socialist part of Europe have increased the role of **German** in the area. Thus there are at least three languages which could function as lingua francas, and all three will be important in the Baltic region in the future. English, however, has the advantage that it is not the native language of any of the Baltic nations. Thus all nations would be in a relatively equal position concerning the language for international communication.

Some of the national languages might also be influential outside the domain of their own countries. If the Polish economic revival continues, knowledge of **Polish** will be of interest, particularly for neighbouring Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine with their Polish minorities, but also for the other countries around the Baltic. At the same time Poland also has Belarusian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian minorities. In Karelia and Estonia, **Finnish** is an important language. **Swedish** is an official language in Finland and during discussions in Finland about the study of Swedish in the schools, it is often pointed out that knowledge of Swedish is a means for deeper contact with Sweden as well as with Norway and Denmark. One of the hallmarks of the Nordic community has been the possibility to use all three Scandinavian languages, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish freely at meetings, conferences, etc.

Today, one important obstacle for cooperation in the Baltic area is the lack of a common foreign language. A common policy concerning the teaching of foreign languages in the countries and regions in the Baltic area is thus of utmost importance for the future. A harmonization of language laws and language rights would also be an important step forward.
3. Linguistic systems and standard languages

The word language has two meanings. Internally defined, that is, from a strict linguistic angle, it can be defined as a system – so called diasystem – of dialects united by a set of common features. In this case it does not need to have any written form. However, the term language is today most commonly associated with what is usually called a “standard language” or a “literary language”, that is, a language variety having a written form which has a norm, codified in grammars and dictionaries; which is polyvalent, meaning that it can function in all spheres of society; and which is also stylistically diversified.

A standard language has always some degree of political recognition, a fact which often accounts for why national languages and standard languages are relatively synonymous notions. Due to the increased mobility of the populations and the impact of education and mass media in today’s societies, standard languages usually have a spoken norm. A standard language is always artificial to a certain extent, a deliberate creation by one or more individuals or groups.

There is no one-to-one correspondence between language defined as a linguistic diasystem and language defined as a standard language, although both politicians and laymen mix up the definitions, sometimes deliberately. A good example that shows that the two notions of language do not necessarily correspond is Norway, which is one nation with definitely one linguistic diasystem but with two standard languages, the Danish-based Bokmål and the dialect-based Nynorsk. The Kashubian written language is another example, though it is not yet a full-fledged standard language. If the Kashubians are to be considered Poles and the Kashubian dialects Polish, we then have two Polish written languages, the fully standardized Polish and the less standardized Kashubian.

The Norwegian example shows us that one nation can have two literary languages. To a certain extent this is also true for Ukraine and Belarus, where parts of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population have Russian as their mother tongue.

That two and more nations or peoples can have the same standard language is also evident from the German example. The German standard language is the national language in both Germany and Austria, as well as one of four official languages in Switzerland. In modern times this is not the case in any of the countries around the Baltic, but when Norway belonged to Denmark, Danish was also the official language in Norway. A similar example was the situation in the Russian empire or in the eastern parts of the Polish state in the period between the two World Wars. The situation in Belarus before 1989 also displays similar traits. Russian had taken over most functions in society, while Belarusian had a very limited area of use and was more or less banished to the countryside.

Any dialect or language variety may be developed into a standard language given the right conditions, such as a separate ethnic, or regional identity in the group of speakers in question, an identity based on a common history, a common culture (including religion), common myths, etc. which differ to a greater or lesser extent from those of the main bulk of the population. That is why Kashubian intellectuals have attempted to develop a written language of their own since the middle of 19th century. The Kashubian area was then a part of Prussia, and Kashubians had lived apart from Poland since the first division of Poland in 1772. On a smaller scale, the same reason – that is, a feeling of a separate identity which very well could be included in a wider national identity – stands behind every attempt at writing in dialect or creating regional variants of a language.
The Multilingual Baltic Region

Any language or dialect has a unifying and at the same time a demarcating function. To speak a language or dialect means that you are (or are counted as) a member of a group of speakers of the same language or dialect and that you are identified as a member of that group both by the other speakers of the language and by speakers of other languages or dialects. Languages are thus a very important means for both internal and external group identification. The concern about the vernaculars in the last few years in the Baltic area, especially on the eastern side of the Baltic, has had as its goal the reinforcement of internal group identification among the nations and nationalities in the area and to demarcate the vernaculars against the dominant Russian language. At the same time political changes and the opening up of the former Socialist countries towards the West have increased the need for a common language or common languages in the countries around the Baltic Sea as a region and in Europe as a whole. This means that profound knowledge of one or more languages, in addition to a vernacular – that is, bilingualism or multilingualism – is very important for contacts outside one’s own group.

In the multi-ethnic Baltic region, bilingualism and multilingualism must have been a fact from prehistoric times. Most early towns were to some extent multi-ethnic, and the tradesmen and artisans came from various ethnic groups. The soldiers who were often hired also contributed to the multi-ethnicity. For example, early Novgorod had a population consisting of Slavs, Swedish Varangians, Finnish peoples, and others. Later, Novgorod was a main trade centre, with special parts of the town reserved for foreign tradesmen. Multi-ethnicity and consequently bilingualism and multilingualism were typical for most of the towns around the Baltic Sea from the Hanseatic times, towns such as Riga, Viborg, Gdaƒsk (Danzig), and others. In the Slavic and Baltic parts of the area at the beginning of the 20th century, the population composition in the towns was still very mixed. Minsk then had, for example, 51.2% Jews, 25.5% Russians, 11.4% Poles, 9.3% Belarusians, and 0.7% Germans. Vilnius had 40.3% Jews, 31.9% Poles, 20.2% Russians, 4.2% Belarusians, 2% Lithuanians, 0.3% Ukrainians, and 1.1% Germans. Kyjiv had 54.2% Russians, 23.4% Ukrainians, 12.1% Jews, 5.6% Poles, and 1.8% Germans.

The population mix has changed greatly during this century, but the same cities are still multiethnic and at least bilingual. In the West, many of the towns and cities are now multiethnic and multilingual due to post-World-War-II immigration. For example, Berlin has huge Turkish areas, and in Stockholm you find areas where the majority of the population is immigrant and where approximately 70 languages are taught as so-called home languages in the schools.

The peasants in the countryside were mostly monolingual, due to their low mobility but at the same time the countryside as such was not exclusively monolingual. A foreign German nobility was typical for the Estonian and Latvian parts of the area, and there were also many villages with non-Estonian and non-Latvian populations. In the Eastern part of the Polish state, the nobility in time became Polonised and after the divisions of Poland, partly Russianised. Due to colonisation, many villages with non-native populations were dispersed over the area.

4. National minorities and language

National minorities, that is groups from nations living in another country, are abundant, due to the shifting history of the Baltic area. In relative isolation from the majority of the nation, minorities tend to develop specific traits in their languages even though they may well have decided to use the standard of the motherland. The minority languages are still subject to interference from the dominant language or culture in the area. This is the case with Swedish in Finland. It has a pronunciation norm that differs from that of the spoken standard in Sweden. The vocabulary is also different to some extent.

That the vocabulary is influenced is typical for most national minorities and perfectly natural, since different countries have different realities. In the case of closely related languages such as Belarusian and Polish, Russian and Belarusian, or German and Danish, the changes
do not only concern the vocabulary. Both morphology and syntax might be involved. This is typical for the pidginized or mixed Belarusian-Russian in Belarus and for Ukrainian-Russian in Ukraine, the so-called *Trasjanka* and *Surzbyk*.

The linguistic complexity of the Baltic area is not fully described without mentioning the effects of the post-World-War-II worker and refugee migrations and the effects of migration inside the Soviet Union. This movement of people has resulted in groups of speakers of many of the world’s languages ending up in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, as well as to a certain extent in Norway, and to a much lesser extent in Finland. Most of the more numerous groups of speakers of immigrant languages come from Europe or the Middle East, but there are enough speakers of even more far-away languages to make it possible to talk about between 150 and 200 immigrant languages. As in the case of the languages of national minorities, many cases of interference in the immigrant languages exist.

The policy of the Soviet Union has led to an ethnic mosaic in the former Soviet republics. Most of the approximately one hundred nationalities and ethnic groups are represented. Many of the groups’ members probably still use their native languages at home, but it is evident that many, or the majority of the representatives of the non-Russian nationalities, used and still use Russian as their first language.

### 5. From vernaculars to lingua francas

Long before modern times the linguistic diversity of the Baltic area created a need for languages for communication over the linguistic borders of the vernaculars, the spoken languages. The fact that most of the area was Christianized from Rome made Latin, the official *church language*, a common high language for a long period of time. In the East Slavic part of the area that was Christianized in 988 from Byzantium, the church language and the common language became Old Church Slavonic, a tongue based on the South Slavic dialects around Thessaloniki. Created for missionary purposes in West Slavic Moravia, in the tenth century this language was developed and refined in the Bulgarian state.

The differences between Old Church Slavonic and the East Slavic vernacular were not huge. Old Church Slavonic could easily be counted as an indigenous language variety while Latin was clearly a foreign language in the Catholic parts of the Baltic area. The diglossic situation was thus clearer and sharper in the Catholic countries, whereas Church Slavonic and the vernaculars can be seen as communicating vessels with varying proportions of either Church Slavonicisms or vernacular traits, depending on genre. Christianization from Byzantium and the choice of Old Church Slavonic as the church language came, after the split of the Western and Eastern churches in 1054, to isolate the Slavic orthodox world from the Latin culture of Western Europe and also to a great extent from the Greek heritage. For the greater part of the East Slavic area this isolation deepened with the Mongol-Tartar invasion in the 13th century.

The Christianization of the area was an uneven process. In the Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian areas this process was not completed until the 13th-14th centuries. In the Saami area Christianization came even later and was not finished until the 18th-19th centuries. In most of the area except among the Germans, we do not see any written texts in the vernaculars before the 11th century. From the 11th century we have, for example, most of the laconic runic inscriptions in Sweden and Denmark or some few texts in Old Russian (Old East Slavic) – for instance the inscription on the Tmutorakan’
stone from 1068. During the Middle Ages the number of texts in Old Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, German, and Polish, as well as in Old Russian, rose. To some extent, Church Slavonic elements are nearly always present in Old Russian. The number of genres of the texts written in the vernaculars is limited. Of great importance are the judicial texts and to some extent belles lettres. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway the vernacular languages influenced each other but the most important source of influence was the Low German language of the Hanseatic League, which in the 14th and 15th centuries was the dominant commercial power of the Baltic Sea.

The Renaissance and the Reformation were turning points in the use of the vernaculars. Translations of the Bible, either partial or whole, and of other Protestant religious works, such as Luther’s catechism or his spiritual songs, marked the beginning of modern literary languages. Such translations were the first written and often printed works of a particular vernacular language. Luther’s printed translation of the New Testament in 1522 and of the whole Bible in 1534 into High German were cornerstones for the development of this language and a model for translation into other languages such as Danish (1524 and 1550) and Swedish (1526 and 1541). In Poland the translations of the Bible were also extremely important for the development of a vigorous literary language.

The first religious works in Latvian, Lithuanian, Kashubian, the now extinct West Slavic language Slovincian, the now extinct Baltic language Old Prussian, Estonian, and Finnish came in the 16th century, while the first works in Saami came in the 17th century. Latin was, however, not ousted by the vernaculars until the 18th century and in some spheres the 19th. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation also made their impact on the Eastern parts of the Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów (Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania).

In the main part of the East Slavic area, in Moscovite Russia, the Reformation, Counter Reformation and Renaissance had no real impact. The language was still Church Slavonic or in some genres the vernacular with Church Slavonic traits. But Church Slavonic was now a conserved language which differed greatly from the vernacular which in time had developed considerably. The absence of influence by the huge cultural and religious movements in the West (the only real gateway for this influence, Novgorod, had been effectively closed at the end of the 15th century) hindered any reforms, including linguistic reforms, until the end of the 17th century when Peter I realised that his growing empire also needed a functional language based on the vernacular. The creation of a functioning literary language, however, took more than a century of trial and error, of battle between the Church Slavonic and the Russian elements and was not completed until the beginning of the 19th century. The result of this century-long battle was a compromise between Church Slavonic and Russian which means that the Russian literary language is the Slavic language most influenced by the Church Slavonic tradition.

The modernization period of the 18th century opened Russia for influences from other languages. German, Dutch, and Latin influenced Modern Russian but in time French became the most influential language, since it was the first language of large portions of the Russian nobility. French was also important in the Western part of the Baltic area, becoming in the 18th century the language of diplomacy and culture. In the 17th-century multiethnic Swedish empire, Latin, Swedish, and German were, however, more common languages in the chancelleries and in contacts with foreign countries. In Denmark, German was used as an administrative language until the middle of the 19th century.
6. Romanticism, nationalism and language

The 18th century saw a rise in the use of vernaculars but it was with Romanticism and its coupling of language and nation that the use of vernaculars also gained the status it has today. The rise of the vernaculars had its roots in the needs of changing societies in which industrialization had caused greater mobility of the population. The spread of at least basic education to larger strata of the population and the increased role of mass media enhanced the vernaculars’ position.

The principle of national self-determination became an inalienable part of European life, one which later spread to the whole world. This statement does not mean that nationalism did not exist before Romanticism, but at least the strong coupling between language and nation must be seen as a result of Romanticism. From this time onwards there is also a strong coupling between language and culture. Language is thus seen as an inalienable part of a nation’s culture. The formula which developed and which has been of utmost importance in the history of 19th and 20th century Europe is thus that any people or nation has the right to develop its own language and culture and the right to at least some kind of self-determination, varying from cultural autonomy to total independence.

The strong coupling between language and nation is to a great extent due to the fact that many of the Romantic ideologists were Germans. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century Germany was, in most respects, a divided area. The only common denominator was the literary language which had its roots in Luther’s Bible translation. The German literary language was thus the strongest uniting factor, the strongest reason for the unification of the various Germanies into a German nation and state. Language thus fulfilled a very important role in the unification of Germany.

By the beginning of the 19th century, Swedish, Danish, German, Polish, and Russian were already full-fledged instruments for communication and the expression of culture in the Baltic area. This does not mean that these languages were essentially fully developed at the time. As for the other literary languages which had their basic development in the 19th and or 20th centuries, the development of these languages was to be influenced by nationalist and Romantic ideas.

7. Language in multilingual societies

Most countries in the Baltic region are, as mentioned, more or less multilingual. This means that the relation between languages and the status of language in any of the societies in the area are of huge political and social importance. The relation between various languages in a society is mostly a relation of inequality; one language is more widely used and fulfils more functions in the society than other languages. This is the case in most states with a language majority and in most national states with one national or state language, like for example in Sweden. The notion of a nation state is to a great extent equal to the notion of language inequality.

The situation when one language or language variety in a society fulfils more functions and is more widely used than other languages is called diglossia. Diglossia does not always mean that the speakers of the high language or language variety are more numerous than the speakers of the low language or language variety. In many cases, as for example in many of the republics of the Soviet Union, Russian was not the majority mother tongue, but nevertheless the dominant language. In most multilingual societies of today, the speakers of minority lan-
languages must know the majority or dominant language in order to function in society or to be able to climb socially. He/she must be bilingual. The majority member or speaker of the dominant language does not have the same incentive to learn the minority language. Thus, bilingualism is usually a characteristic for a member of a linguistic minority. Only in cases where there is a power balance between various language groups, bilingualism may be more equally dispersed. Bilingualism is usually considered a characteristic of the individual. This does not mean that a bilingual person normally knows all varieties and registers of both languages equally well. A bilingual person, however, has the ability to switch from one language to another more or less unconsciously.

Language contacts

Language contacts often result in language conflicts. To a great extent such conflicts are inevitable in multilingual societies, due to the fact that there are very few, if any societies, where full equality between languages exists. The majority-minority relations, the thinking in terms of national states, the need for effective communication in modern states, and the internationalization inevitably create a hierarchy of languages in function, a superior position for some languages and a subordinate position for others, usually minority languages. This does not mean that the “subordinate” languages are to be regarded as inferior. Every language is unique and has the right to live and refine and to function as an expression of the specific feelings and culture of its speakers.

A multilingual society also inevitably means that languages influence one another. A common term for this influence is interference. Interference is more widespread when the languages concerned are closely related. Language contact thus leads to interference, and in the long run to structural changes within the languages concerned. Usually the dominant language or language variety influences the non-dominant one(s). This was the case in the Russian empire and even more so in the Soviet Union, where this influence was considered beneficial for the other, “less developed” languages. Tribute was sometimes paid, rather rhetorically, to influences in the other direction.

The meeting of two languages often results in what is called mixed languages (pidskins). The attitude towards such languages is usually negative. The mixed Ukrainian-Russian and Belarusan-Russian spoken languages have their own nick-names: Surzhyk and Trasjanka. The inhabitants of the Nordic countries use a kind of mixed Nordic, called Scandinavian or Samnordiska in every-day communication.

The existence of more than one language in a society inevitably also has as an effect on the possibility to choose between languages. This choice is seldom free, but depends on the
hierarchical relations between the various languages. Even when parents have the possibility to send their children to minority language schools or classes, parents who belong to a linguistic minority often tend to send their children to schools where the majority language is the language of instruction, in order to give their offspring better opportunities in society. For the same reason it is often the case in more or less bilingual families that the parents speak the majority language with their children. In mixed marriages the language of the parent belonging to the majority language usually takes the upper hand. In groups with strong patriarchal traditions this might not be the case. The language of the male parent is often the choice there.

Many minorities find themselves in a *triglossic* situation: local dialect (sometimes influenced by the surrounding society) + the standard language of the mother country (usually taught in minority schools and often very different from the local dialect) + majority language. Depending on how close the ties with the mother country are, this might lead to a resistance against the study of the standard language of the mother country and to the creation of new standards, as for example in the case of the Finns in the Torne Valley in Sweden or to a double depreciation of the local dialect both vis-à-vis the standard language of the mother country and to the majority language of the settlement country. This type of *triglossia* is very common among many of the new emigrant groups in, for example, Sweden, where the language spoken in the families often differs sharply from the so-called home language (now called mother tongue) taught at school. This situation easily furthers linguistic assimilation to the majority language.

Intense language contact results more often in *assimilation* than not, and in some cases even in language death. A change of mother tongue is usually the forerunner of loss of ethnic identity. This also leads to the conclusion that the preservation of the mother tongue is of utmost importance for the preservation of ethnic identity.
Writing in dialect

Writing in dialect is a relatively common phenomenon in most countries of the Baltic region. During the last decades a dialect-based literary language, called Meänkieli, has found increasing use among the Finnish-speaking population in the Torne Valley in Sweden. A dictionary was published in 1992. From April 2000 this language, together with Finnish, Romani Chib, Saimi and Yiddish, is an officially recognized minority language in Sweden. A Polish example is the literature written in the Silesian dialect.

A very interesting effect of the great changes in Eastern Europe was the attempt to create a new Slavic literary language in Western Polesia in the southwest of Belarus, the so-called West Polesian or Yatvingian language. The area to a certain extent also has a history of its own. The attempts to create a separate language were accompanied by demands for at least some cultural autonomy. This has irritated some Belarusian patriots who feel that these demands split the efforts to re-Belarusianize the Belarusian society.

Another group worth mentioning in this connexion are the Lemkos in Poland who claim that they are not Ukrainians (they have been counted as Ukrainians in the post-War period) but rather Rusyns and who are trying to develop a Lemko literary language in cooperation with Rusyns in other countries.

Table 7a. Romani languages of the BSR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIC (Indo–Iranian)</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Number speakers</th>
<th>Written records</th>
<th>Cross-ethnic communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romani (Chib, Lovari, Sinti, Kelderari, Eurarí, some of them)</td>
<td>The Baltic region</td>
<td>€30,000 in Poland, 10,000 in Scandinavia, about 50,000 in the entire Baltic region</td>
<td>20th c.</td>
<td>Polyglossia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 71. Lemko performance during their yearly festival Watra (‘camp fire’) in Michałowice (southern Poland). Photo: Alfred F. Majewicz

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