

Minority language promotion suffers from many over-arching constraints.

1) The stress, notably in higher education, on *internationalisation* results in education prioritising a national language and one or more foreign languages, primarily *English*. Other foreign languages are learned less, minority languages even less, except for historically strong regional minority languages.

2) The *Bologna Process*, and the EU's effort to create a trans-European higher education and research 'area', has never articulated a policy of strengthening the linguistic diversity that the EU otherwise claims to 'respect': *laissez faire* means that market forces strengthen English and few other 'big' languages. It is a missed opportunity for *raising awareness* of linguistic diversity, bilingualism, etc.

3) *Language rights* in international law that states have ratified have a low profile in public discourse, with little awareness even of their existence.

4) The *European Parliament resolution on endangered European languages and linguistic diversity in the European Union*, adopted by a 92% majority on 11 September 2013, contains a wealth of good ideas for implementation by Member States, among them to 'acquire the endangered language, as a mother tongue, from the very earliest age; points out that such a policy of promoting two or more languages would, as scientifically demonstrated, benefit and help children learn additional languages later on, while encouraging intergenerational transmission of languages, and that it would offer speakers of endangered languages practical support in revitalizing intergenerational language transmission in areas in which it is dwindling ...'. Is there action?

4) *Recommendations* such as the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* have multiple goals - good on paper but ignored in practice - but there are no duty-holders and they are not actionable, e.g. 'all Nordic residents have the right ... to preserve and develop their mother tongue and their national minority language'.

5) *DG for Research and Innovation* has had some funding for multi-disciplinary multilingualism and language policy projects, including a major grant for Sign languages, but there are serious constraints: fierce competition for funds; English as the sole language for both applications and their evaluation; impact prediction; modest results from this type of cross-national collaboration.

6) *PISA tests* tend to be taken seriously, but they are monolingual and monocultural.

7) The status of *English as the dominant in-house language of the EU* will not change after Brexit. An EU Ombud *Public Consultation on Multilingualism in EU institutions* (15 February 2019) produced a report but probably no action or changes were triggered.